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“Timeless, Modern, and German?
The Re-Mapping of Bavaria through the Marketing of Tourism, 1800-1939”

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B.A., Virginia Wesleyan College, 2002
M.A., Old Dominion University, 2004

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An Abstract of
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Abstract

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By Adam T. Rosenbaum

Over the course of the long nineteenth century, industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of the nation-state dramatically altered the face of Germany. What was once a loose assemblage of agrarian states had become an industrial giant and a military superpower by 1914. How did Germans decide to represent this new nation to visitors from home and abroad, and how did it reflect changing conceptions of nature, history, and modernity? How did a growing tourism industry respond to widespread feelings of displacement and anomie? This dissertation examines the connections between Bavarian tourism and the turbulent experience of modernity during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A close examination of “tourist propaganda” (guidebooks, brochures, postcards, etc.) reveals that the tourism industry of Bavaria consistently promoted an image of “grounded modernity,” an alternative vision of modern society that synthesized old and new identities, as well as local, national, and cosmopolitan perspectives. This vision was part of a larger process of “grounding modernity,” as the tourism industry worked to make the experience of modernity more concrete by linking impersonal and abstract ideas, like national identity, with tangible and familiar experiences and sights. Excursions into “nature” and sojourns in health resorts provided visitors with an antidote to an urban existence increasingly experienced as hectic, dirty, and stressful. The tourism industry often marketed these destinations as retreats from modern life, but they were actually therapy, allowing the tourist to return to the real world rested and reinvigorated. Trips to cities themselves allowed Germans to reacquaint themselves with the historical roots of the fatherland, in addition to providing a new perspective on the modern nation, exemplified in industrial progress and political triumph. This balanced representation of the nation was also available to international tourists, who were presented with the image of a hospitable and peace-loving Germany. Tourism thus accommodated and grounded modernity, even when it was ostensibly fixated on the natural environment and the past. By discussing this process in the German context, I demonstrate that neo-romantic sentiments were not always explicitly reactionary, and that the acceptance of modernity did not preclude pre-modern sensibilities.

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List of Abbreviations

BArch	Federal Archive, Berlin
BayHStA	Bavarian Main State Archive, Munich
BDV	Federation of German Travel Associations
BR	Historical Archive for Bavarian Broadcasting, Munich
BWA	Bavarian Economic Archive, Munich
HAT	Historical Archive for Tourism, Free University Berlin
KdF	<i>Kraft durch Freude</i> , or “Strength through Joy” Program
RDV	Reich Central Office for German Tourism Promotion
SGSV	Administration of State Castles, Gardens, and Lakes
StAA	Augsburg State Archive
StAB	Bamberg State Archive
StadtAA	Augsburg City Archive
StadtAM	Munich City Archive
StadtAN	Nuremberg City Archive
StAM	Munich State Archive
StAN	Nuremberg State Archive
VVA	Augsburg Tourism Association

Introduction

Grounded Modernity and Bavarian Tourism

“The state of Bavaria is made up of three elements. First, the ancient land of the Franks, then, the more earthy *Bajuwaria*, and finally, the old cultural region of Swabia... But the land of Bavaria is not at all a museum of historical memories. Munich and Nuremberg are industrial cities, just like the remote but beautiful Amberg, and the golden Augsburg... Those who seek pleasurable travel, travel to beautiful Bavaria. Friends of art find incomparable treasures, the sick and weary healing power and strength, and hikers and sports enthusiasts quiet valleys, beautiful lakes and glacial blue-green rivers, rustling mountain forests and sleepy, peaceful villages.”¹

Dresdner Anzeiger, 18 June 1938

When this advertisement appeared during the summer of 1938, there was little doubt that the region of Bavaria had secured its status as a multi-faceted tourist destination. This brief excerpt captures the diversity of the Bavarian tourist landscape, as well as the careful balancing of nature, tradition, and modernity that characterized its marketing. The fact that this advertisement appeared in a Saxon newspaper suggests that these tropes had become common currency throughout Nazi Germany. In fact, Willy Liebel, the Mayor of Nuremberg, received a copy of the advertisement with a note attached, in which the editors of the Dresden newspaper declared their commitment to the collective homeland, or *Heimat*.² During the Nazi era, Bavaria served as a symbol of the German nation, and its timeless landscapes and historical legacy were the foundations of its

¹ *Dresdner Anzeiger* (Dresden) 18 June 1938. “Drei Elemente Land formen und bilden das Bayerland. Da ist zuerst das alte Frankenland, dann das derbere Bajuwarien und schließlich der alte schwäbische Kulturraum... Das Land Bayern aber ist durchaus nicht ein Museum geschichtlicher Erinnerungen. München und Nürnberg sind Industriestädte wie das schöne, abseits liegende Amberg oder das goldene Augsburg... Wer Recht in Freuden reisen will, der fahre in das schöne Bayernland. Der Kunstfreund findet unvergleichliche Kostbarkeiten, der Kranke und Erholungsbedürftige Heilkraft und Gesundheit, der Wanderer und Sportfreund stille Täler, schöne Seen und gletscherhaft blaugrüne Flüsse, rauschende Bergwälder und verträumte stille Dörfer..” All translations my own, unless otherwise indicated.

² StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1295: “Beschreibung der Stadt Nürnberg und ihres Bezirks, Verkehrswerbung etc. Bd. 7, 1938-1939.”

modern-day identity. Then again, nationalized renderings of Bavarian tourist attractions were common as early as the First World War, just as the deliberate balancing of past and present, tradition and progress, nature and technology, had defined regional tourist propaganda for longer still.

Today, Bavaria is internationally-renowned as a tourist destination, and in the eyes of many visitors, the region functions as a synecdoche of Germany itself. The consequences of this development are noticeable internationally, and much to the chagrin of modern Rhinelanders and Berliners, Lederhosen, Oktoberfest, and Neuschwanstein have become the prevailing symbols of German culture around the world, even being profitably reproduced in American amusement parks and theme towns.³ But Bavaria as a German tourist attraction was once overshadowed by the Rhineland and the Black Forest, conveniently situated along the meandering route of the aristocratic Grand Tour. The rise of the tourism industry during the nineteenth century, and the subsequent marketing of Bavaria as a premier travel destination created a space for collective self-reflection concerning a number of topics, including society's relationship with nature, the balance between tradition and progress, and conceptions of national identity.

These days, scholars tend to agree that the modern phenomenon of tourism provides much more than revenue. Ethnographer Orvar Löfgren argues that tourism produces a "cultural laboratory" in which both visitors and the visited can experiment with the properties of collective identity.⁴ In his influential *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, sociologist Dean MacCannell wrote: "Entire cities and regions,

³ See Stephen Frenkel and Judy Walton, "Bavarian Leavenworth and the Symbolic Economy of a Theme Town," *Geographical Review* 90, no. 4 (October 2000): 559-584.

⁴ Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 7.

decades and cultures have become aware of themselves as tourist attractions.”⁵ Tourism led to a massive re-mapping of Bavaria, raising the profile of some locations while rendering others invisible, but did it make Bavarians self-aware? Did tourism facilitate the development of a distinctly Bavarian form of “Germanness”?

To address these questions, my dissertation focuses on the self-representation of Bavaria through the marketing of several representative tourist attractions. Although I had initially hoped that tourism would provide insight into the construction of a Bavarian, regional identity, I discovered much more. The following chapters describe a complex relationship between the promises of tourism and the turbulent experience of modernity in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Germany evolved from an assemblage of predominantly agrarian states into an industrial and military superpower in a matter of decades. How did a growing tourism industry respond to widespread feelings of displacement and anomie? How did Germans decide to represent the new nation to visitors from home and abroad? How did their picture of their locality as a tourist attraction reflect changing conceptions of nature, history, and modernity? These are the larger questions that my work seeks to answer.

I am not alone in arguing that tourism was a modern phenomenon, pioneered by the nineteenth-century middle classes who dedicated their limited free time to rewarding leisure activities. While extended hikes and trips into the countryside were romanticized as temporary flights from modern civilization, I insist that this was never pure escapism. Tourism provided distance from the contemporary world, but it also provided

⁵ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 16.

perspective.⁶ In fact, I would argue that tourism became an important feature of modern life itself. In a post-traditional world rendered unrecognizable by industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of the nation-state, tourism promised to reconcile civilization and its discontents, anchoring contemporary urban society in the natural environment and a common past.

The Bavarian tourism industry consistently promoted an image of what I refer to as *grounded modernity*, an alternative vision of modern society that synthesized old and new identities, as well as local, national, and cosmopolitan perspectives. This vision balanced progress with tradition, and change with continuity, and it was part of a larger process of *grounding modernity*. The tourism industry worked to make the experience of modernity more concrete by linking impersonal and abstract ideas, like national identity, with tangible and familiar experiences and sights. Excursions into “nature” and sojourns in health resorts provided visitors with an antidote to an urban existence increasingly experienced as hectic, dirty, and stressful. Trips to cities themselves allowed Germans to reacquaint themselves with the historical roots of the fatherland, in addition to providing a new perspective on the modern nation, exemplified in industrial progress and political triumph. Travel thus accommodated and grounded modernity, even when it was ostensibly fixated on the natural environment and the past. The region of Bavaria provides insight into this process, giving us numerous case-studies that showcase how both visitors and the visited coped with modern life, and thus, paved the way for the future.

⁶ For more on tourism as simple escapism, see Ursula A.J. Becher, *Geschichte des modernen Lebensstils. Essen-Wohnen-Freizeit-Reisen* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1990), 197-198, 204-205.

Regionalism and Bavaria

By focusing on Bavaria, this dissertation contributes to a growing body of scholarship that has employed the “region” as a category of historical analysis. Decades ago, historians tended to dismiss the region as an anachronistic holdover from pre-modern times. Historians of Germany in particular rarely questioned nation-building as their “central theme,” and according to James Sheehan, “even fewer questioned the role of the *nation* as the basic conceptual unit within which historical problems were to be defined.”⁷ Regions did not register as worthwhile topics, and when they did garner attention, it was, in the words of James Retallack, only “as the sites of resistance to modernity and nationalism, as the bastions of parochial outlooks and particularist navel-gazing.”⁸ This “myth of backwardness” defined much of the earlier scholarship on European regions.⁹ For example, in *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Eugen Weber confirmed the persistence of regional identities well into the nineteenth century, while also demonstrating how the Third Republic employed educational reforms, universal military service, and the construction of railways and roads to integrate the regions of rural France into the modern nation. In his view, an official, national culture effectively neutralized regionalism, with state-engineered modernization as the catalyst behind national consciousness.¹⁰

⁷ James J. Sheehan, “What is German History? Reflections on the Role of the Nation in German History and Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern History* 53, no. 1 (March 1981): 2. In this influential essay, Sheehan also lamented the lack of research on local and regional history, adding: “It is difficult, therefore, to think of works on regional history which have had a major impact on German national historiography...” Ibid., 11.

⁸ James Retallack, “Introduction: Locating Saxony in the Landscape of German Regional History,” in *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830-1933*, ed. James Retallack (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 18-19.

⁹ David Blackbourn and James Retallack, “Introduction,” in *Localism, Landscape, and the Ambiguities of Place: German-Speaking Central Europe, 1860-1930*, ed. David Blackbourn and James Retallack (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 2007), 15-17.

¹⁰ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1879-1914* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1976), xii.

Historians have rehabilitated the region in recent decades, especially in light of a more critical scholarship on nation-building that stresses “multiplicity and fragmentation, diversities and contingencies, uneven diffusions and incomplete projections.”¹¹ New attention to regions has provided a new perspective on larger historical processes, complicating earlier accounts of nationalism and modernization. In the case of England, scholars have used regional accounts of industrialization to “capture that variety of experience and motivation which makes up the whole.”¹² In the case of continental Europe, scholars like Caroline Ford, Celia Applegate, and Alon Confino have continued to emancipate the region from the analytical framework of modernization theory, demonstrating that regional particularities are not always reactionary and anti-modern, just as regionalism and nationalism are not always mutually exclusive. For example, in her work on the Breton region of Finistère during the long nineteenth century, Caroline Ford reveals how religious identity and local politics could serve as a mediator between the region and nation in modern France.¹³

Historians of modern Germany have been more attentive to the cultural manifestations of regional identity, paying special attention to the concept of *Heimat*.¹⁴ In her influential work on the *Heimat* movement in the Bavarian Pfalz during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Celia Applegate contends that local hiking clubs and

¹¹ Celia Applegate, “A Europe of Regions,” AHR Forum: “Bringing Regionalism back to History,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (October 1999): 1164.

¹² Pat Hudson, ed. *Regions and Industries: A Perspective on the Industrial Revolution in Britain* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1.

¹³ Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993).

¹⁴ Nancy Reagin has recently concluded that the *Heimat* movement was unique to Germany, as such “icons of locality were not nearly so intrinsic to national identity elsewhere in contemporary Europe.” Nancy Reagin, “Recent Work on German National Identity: Regional? Imperial? Gendered? Imaginary?,” *Central European History* 37, no. 2 (2004): 283. In addition to the monographs by Applegate and Confino, see Elizabeth Boa and Rachel Palfreyman, *Heimat, A German Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

preservation groups helped to redefine both regional and national identities, effectively “mediating” between them. The *Heimat* movement, she insists, was decidedly modern, and participated in a new, public discourse on what it meant to be “German.”¹⁵ Alon Confino’s work on Württemberg identifies a similar relationship between the region and the nation in Imperial Germany. Focusing on Sedan Day festivities and the activities of the local *Heimat* movement, Confino verifies that regionalism persisted after the unification of Germany, but that the glorification of local communities and regions became the “common denominator” that linked one’s “intimate, immediate, and real local place” with “the distant, abstract, and not-less-real national world.”¹⁶ By idealizing the familiar culture, environment, and history of the region as part of a larger entity, the nation was made tangible, and a greater “imagined community” was born.¹⁷

Applegate and Confino have proven that regionalism is a worthwhile category of historical analysis, using the concept to frame discussions of local culture and politics, while simultaneously reevaluating the development of nationalism. These scholars have shown that the paths of regionalism and the *Heimat* movement in particular “do not always lead away from modernity, but rather to its very core,” to borrow a phrase from Thomas Kühne.¹⁸ In a 1999 forum in the *American Historical Review*, Applegate commended the historians who had questioned the authenticity of regional identities by

¹⁵ Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹⁶ Alon Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4.

¹⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).

¹⁸ Thomas Kühne, “Imagined Regions: The Construction of Traditional, Democratic, and Other Identities,” in *Saxony in German History*, 51. For more on the relationship between nationalism and regionalism, see Charlotte Tacke, *Denkmal im sozialen Raum. Nationale Symbole in Deutschland und Frankreich im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995); Siegfried Weichlein, *Nation und Region: Integrationsprozesse in Bismarckreich* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 2004); Michael B. Klein, *Zwischen Reich und Region. Identitätsstrukturen im Deutschen Kaiserreich (1871-1918)* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005).

emphasizing contingency, instability, and practice in regional identity. Still, she advocated a more nuanced approach to regional history, stressing that regions cannot be reduced to “would-be nations,” because then regionalism becomes “backward, archaic, and, above all, transitional.”¹⁹

In spite of these pitfalls, the region remains a useful category of analysis for historians of Germany.²⁰ My work engages with this literature, although I do not concentrate on regional identity as a “mediator” or “metaphor” for national identity. Instead, I am interested in the array of identities propagated by the tourist destinations of a single geographical unit, ranging from the local to the national, and the international to the universal. The cultivation of various identities coincided with the re-mapping of Bavaria, as boundaries were revised and territory redefined. I do not focus on a single, Bavarian regional identity because that is rarely what the tourism industry chose to sell. Often enough, the only thing “Bavarian” about these destinations was their location. By addressing a multiplicity of identities, and exploring the ways in which Bavaria was a region of localities, I hope to historicize the historical artifact that is Bavaria.²¹ At the same time, I hope to reintegrate modern Bavarian history into German history, confirming that the region took part in some of the “great cultural, political, and social

¹⁹ Applegate, “A Europe of Regions,” 1171. Eric Storm has arrived at a similar point, noting that current research still tends to dismiss regional particularities as instances of backwardness. Eric Storm, “Regionalism in History, 1890-1945: The Cultural Approach,” *European History Quarterly* 33, no.2 (2003): 251-265.

²⁰ According to James Retallack: “Discussing culture in a regional setting provides a means to gather ideas about identities, mentalities, and loyalties without implying that there is something parochial about this exercise,” allowing scholars to “explore how local, regional, and national cultures commingle, diverge, and influence each other.” Retallack, “Introduction: Locating Saxony in the Landscape of German Regional History,” 2.

²¹ Kühne, “Imagined Regions,” 53, 60.

developments of the modern world.”²² Before it was confronted with world war, socialist revolution, and economic crisis, Bavaria faced modernity, and its tourism industry responded by developing and marketing antidotes for alienation and disenchantment. Ironically, these antidotes often celebrated technological, cultural, and political progress. However, before we address this apparent contradiction, it might be helpful to define Bavaria.

As one of the oldest political entities in central Europe, Bavaria began as a duchy north of the Alps in the sixth century C.E. Various noble lines presided over the state during the middle ages, as Bavaria’s official territory was regularly expanded, surrendered, divided, and re-united. In 1180, Holy Roman Emperor Friederich Barbarossa deposed the presiding Duke of Bavaria, Henry the Lion (founder of Munich), and awarded the duchy to the Wittelsbach family, who would rule uninterrupted until 1918. Old Bavaria remained largely unaffected by the Protestant Reformation during the sixteenth century, and actually became a center for the Jesuit-led Counter-Reformation. In the midst of the Thirty Years’ War, the Duke of Bavaria became a Prince-Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, increasing the prestige of the region. Over the next two centuries, the ambitions of the Wittelsbach rulers led to numerous military clashes with the nearby Habsburg Empire, as Bavaria established a reputation for itself. However, it was not until the Napoleonic Wars that Bavaria acquired its modern appearance,

²² Heinrich Wackerbauer, “Vorwort zur 1. Auflage,” in *Geschichte des modernen Bayern: Königreich und Freistaat*, ed. Manfred Treml, 3rd ed. (Munich: Bayerische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildungsarbeit, 2006), 5.

becoming a kingdom and incorporating portions of largely Protestant Swabia and Franconia, including the cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg.²³

Over the course of two decades, Bavaria grew tremendously, and its population nearly tripled, rising from 1.25 million in 1794, to 3.68 million in 1817.²⁴ After the death of King Maximilian in 1825, his son ascended the throne as Ludwig I (or Louis I, after his godfather, Louis XVI of France). His reign was marked by his enthusiastic patronage of the arts and the gradual industrialization of Bavaria.²⁵ He oversaw the construction of the first Bavarian railroad, as well as the dedication of the *Glyptothek* and *Pinakothek* galleries in the capital city of Munich. Ludwig I also transcended Bavarian particularism by dedicating monuments to the idea of the German nation, most notably, the *Walhalla* on a hillside near Regensburg.²⁶ Ludwig was succeeded by his son, Maximilian II, who fancied himself a scholar, and became a patron of German intellectuals like Leopold von Ranke, Heinrich von Sybel, and Justus von Liebig. Like his father, Maximilian was also a patron of the arts, and dedicated substantial funding to architectural projects. Like his grandfather, he sought to protect Bavarian interests within the loose confederation of German lands, and even campaigned for a union of southern German states, called the *Trias*, that would offset the growing power of Prussia and Austria-Hungary. However, his reign was cut short by poor health, and he died in 1864.²⁷

²³ For a concise overview of pre-modern Bavaria, see Andreas Kraus, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Bayerns* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 1-135.

²⁴ W.R. Lee, *Population Growth, Economic Development and Social Change in Bavaria, 1750-1850* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 12.

²⁵ For more on the second Bavarian king, see Golo Mann, *Ludwig I. von Bayern* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1999).

²⁶ George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: H. Fertig, 1975), 28.

²⁷ For more on the third Bavarian king, see Martin Schäfer, *Maximilian II.: König von Bayern* (Munich: W. Heyne, 1989).

The Bavarian crown now passed to eighteen-year old Ludwig, who had only recently begun his college education. Later immortalized as the “Mad King” Ludwig II of Bavaria, he would rule for twenty-two years, a period during which central Europe experienced sweeping transformations.²⁸ The kingdom’s ill-fated involvement in the 1866 Austro-Prussian War on the side of the Austrian Empire, and its reluctant alliance with Prussia in 1870 would lead to its incorporation into the German Empire after the defeat of Napoleon III’s France. In fact, it was Ludwig II who reluctantly penned the “Kaiser letter” of 30 November 1870, in which he appealed to his uncle, King Wilhelm of Prussia, to accept the title of German Emperor. In exchange, Bavaria was allowed to retain some vestiges of independence, and Ludwig II received two million marks for his troubles, money which he invested in a series of lavish royal castles.²⁹ Although the kingdom’s sovereignty had been compromised, Bavarian identity appeared to survive as an attachment to regional culture and institutions that persisted in the face of the nationalizing tendencies of the imperial government.

The Bavarian state encouraged particularism in a number of regards. Norbert Mayr has detailed the manner in which the Kingdom of Bavaria engaged in state-building during the nineteenth century, focusing on educational policies and the expansion of the cult of the monarchy as important tools in the creation of a patriotism that survived as post-1871 particularism.³⁰ Regina Bendix has arrived at a similar conclusion by

²⁸ Countless books have been dedicated to the popular subject of Ludwig II. A more recent example is Christopher McIntosh, *Ludwig II of Bavaria: The Swan King* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1997).

²⁹ For a recent reevaluation of Ludwig II and the *Kaiserbrief*, see Christof Botzenhart, *Die Regierungstätigkeit König Ludwig II. von Bayern: “ein Schattenkönig ohne Macht will ich nicht sein”* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2004), 185-196.

³⁰ Norbert Joseph Mayr, "Particularism in Bavaria: State Policy and the Public Sentiment, 1806-1906" (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1988), 96-187. Thomas Mergel has similarly classified modern Bavaria as a product of the nineteenth century, created by “means of dynastic pageantry, standardization of secondary socialization (schools, the military, etc.), and federalist self-

examining the role of regional folk costumes at the wedding of Maximilian II, a cultural display designed to “solidify the message of a strong, rich, and old nation.” Although this particular initiative was a case of invented traditions, similar policies eventually helped to institutionalize a “national sentiment” that survived German unification.³¹ Siegfried Weichlein has insisted that the Bavarian government was “fairly successful” in creating allegiance to the dynasty and state, in spite of the fact that the region was itself divided into older, regional units like Swabia and Franconia.³² In his more recent monograph, Weichlein concentrates on Bavaria and Saxony after German unification, arguing that the construction of a national infrastructure in the form of railways, postal service, legal statutes, and education contributed to a regional consciousness in both states.³³

Scholars have generally taken Bavarian particularism for granted, and even demonstrated how a sense of Bavarian, regional identity could co-exist with German nationalism. In 1979, Allen Mitchell characterized particularism as a historical subject “that will not disappear,” and directed our attention to the persistence of Bavarian political particularism after unification, describing how the region pursued its own independent foreign policy and system of taxation, the latter actually bringing Bavaria into “an informal alliance with Berlin.”³⁴ Werner Blessing has explained how the governments of Prince Regent Luitpold and Ludwig III deliberately used dynastic

imaging.” Thomas Mergel, “Mapping Milieus Regionally: On the Spatial Rootedness of Collective Identities in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Saxony in German History*, 92.

³¹ Regina Bendix, “Moral Integrity in Costumed Identity: Negotiating ‘National Costume’ in 19th-Century Bavaria,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 111, no. 440 (Spring 1998): 133-145.

³² Siegfried Weichlein, “Saxons into Germans: The Progress of the National Idea in Saxony after 1866,” in *Saxony in German History*, 166.

³³ Weichlein, *Nation und Region*.

³⁴ Allen Mitchell, “A Real Foreign Country: Bavarian Particularism in Imperial Germany, 1870-1918,” *Francia* 7 (1979): 587-596.

celebrations as a successful means of “drilling political loyalty” into the populace. Since the 1880s, the German imperial cult actually grew in popularity alongside the Bavarian cult of monarchy, with the two often overlapping in the same public spectacle, and reinforcing one another in the creation of political loyalty in both the smaller and greater fatherland.³⁵ Katharine Kennedy has argued that after 1871, history lessons in Bavarian elementary school classrooms minimized Prussia’s role in the German Empire while glorifying Bavarian contributions to both medieval and recent German history. Regional loyalty was therefore consistent with nationalism, and could not be dismissed as narrow provincialism.³⁶ These articles foreshadowed the work of Abigail Green, who maintains that German nationalism and state-building relied on the cultivation of particularist identities in the “Third Germany.”³⁷

But how representative was Bavaria? Abigail Green points to the “highly distinctive” nature of the Bavarian experience, arguing that the state’s size, political significance, and predominantly Catholic population made it “atypical and far less representative of the Third Germany” than Hanover, Saxony, or Württemberg.³⁸ Bendix and Mayr have promoted this exceptionalist reading by characterizing Bavaria as the region with the “the strongest separate ‘national’ identification” in Germany, where the differences between Bavarians, Swabians, and Franconians quickly faded away.³⁹ Other scholars have questioned the notion of a unified Bavaria. Manfred Hanisch, for example, has argued that the Bavarian state was unsuccessful in its attempts to create a national

³⁵ Werner K. Blessing, “The Cult of Monarchy, Political Loyalty, and the Workers’ Movement in Imperial Germany,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 13, no. 2 (April 1978): 357-375.

³⁶ Katharine D. Kennedy, “Regionalism and Nationalism in South German History Lessons, 1871-1914,” *German Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (February 1989): 11-33.

³⁷ Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth Century Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁹ Bendix, “Moral Integrity in Costumed Identity,” 142-143; Mayr, “Particularism in Bavaria,” 10.

identity during the reign of Maximilian II because the population was not a community united by history.⁴⁰ Ute Planert has also commented on the fragmented nature of Bavarian identity, explaining how Franconia's incorporation into the Bavarian state at the beginning of the nineteenth century actually produced a new Franconian identity that defined itself in opposition to the Catholic south.⁴¹

While acknowledging its size, political significance, and reputation for particularism, I hesitate to "exceptionalize" Bavarian identity. James Retallack warns: "Both in the past and in the study of the past, exceptionalism too often hardens into a myth that powerfully influences the way local and regional histories are conceptualized and narrated in the present."⁴² The idea of Bavarian exceptionalism has hardened into a myth, making it into such an obvious case of regional particularism that it does not require examination. The time has come to investigate the constructed nature of Bavaria itself. What was really exceptional about Bavaria, especially in light of the myth of exceptionalism, was not its unity, but rather, its fragmented nature. In a sense, this actually normalizes Bavaria, as German states like Prussia and Baden were internally divided as well, but lacked comparable reputations of particularism.

Despite the existence of regional and sub-regional loyalties, the Bavarian tourism industry generally avoided the topic of collective identity during the long nineteenth century. Instead, the tourism industry focused on diversity, and more specifically, Bavaria's diversity of attractions, from its great cities to its rustic villages, from its

⁴⁰ Manfred Hanisch, *"Für Furst und Vaterland": Legitimationsstiftung in Bayern zwischen Revolution von 1848 und deutscher Einheit* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1991).

⁴¹ Ute Planert, "From Collaboration to Resistance: Politics, Experience, and Memory of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars in Southern Germany," *Central European History* 39, no. 4 (December 2006): 689, 692.

⁴² James Retallack, "Introduction: Locating Saxony in the Landscape of German Regional History," in *Saxony in German History*, 17.

crystal-clear lakes to its mountain heights. Before the First World War, destinations like “Franconian Switzerland” and Bad Reichenhall promised something more universal than Bavarian particularism or even German nationalism, granting access to timeless landscapes with healing properties. The marketing shifted after 1914, when Bavarian cities like Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Munich were re-imagined as symbols of the German nation, available to both domestic and international visitors. In many of these locations, there was nothing distinctly “Bavarian” to be found. But the marketing of all of them did promote visions of grounded modernity, transforming tourism into the quest for authenticity and stability within a rapidly changing world. This phenomenon was not unique to Bavaria, as Caitlin Murdock and others have suggested, but Bavaria provides numerous examples of this dynamic, allowing for rewarding comparisons. By investigating the marketing of these attractions, I also shed light on topics that transcend the boundaries of the former Wittelsbach kingdom, including romanticism, class consciousness, modern medicine, industrialization, nationalism, and fascism.

Modernity and Tourism

In spite of their extensive use in scholarly debate, concepts like “modernity,” “modernization,” and “modernism” are usually vague and poorly defined. As a result, it is important to delineate the terms of our discussion before we proceed. Detlev Peukert provides us with an excellent definition of “modernity” in his masterful work on the Weimar Republic, worth quoting at length:

Let us [...] take the term ‘modernity’ to refer to the form of fully fledged industrialized society that has been with us from the turn of the century until the present day. In an economic sense, modernity is characterized by highly rationalized industrial production, complex technological infrastructures and a

substantial degree of bureaucratized administrative and service activity; food production is carried out by an increasingly small, but productive, agricultural sector. Socially speaking, its typical features include the division of labor, wage and salary discipline, an urbanized environment, extensive educational opportunities and a demand for skills and training... In intellectual terms, modernity marks the triumph of western rationality, whether in social planning, the expansion of the sciences or the self-replicating dynamism of technology, although the optimism is accompanied by skeptical doubts from social thinkers and social critics.⁴³

Modernity therefore refers to the post-traditional society that emerged in Europe over the course of the long nineteenth century. It was characterized by “explosive upheavals in every dimension of personal, social and political life,” changes that uprooted large portions of society both literally and figuratively.⁴⁴ Historians have traditionally used the term “modernization” to describe these changes. Phrased differently, modernity is the culmination of modernization. A number of independent developments are associated with modernization, among them industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of the nation-state (which did not necessarily occur at the expense of the region, as indicated earlier). Modernity therefore refers to a condition, and modernization signifies a process. The latter resulted in a rapid transition from a pre-modern, largely agrarian society into a “society in which every kind of social or political identity was suddenly disrupted and replaced by the anonymity and facelessness of modern life.”⁴⁵ Modernism, on the other hand, was essentially a coping mechanism. In the now classic *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, Marshall Berman defined modernism as “any attempt by modern men and women to become subjects as well as objects of modernization, to get a grip on the modern world

⁴³ Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, trans. Richard Deveson (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992), 81-82.

⁴⁴ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988), 17.

⁴⁵ Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockmann. “Introduction: Weimar Today,” in *Dancing on the Volcano: Essays on the Culture of the Weimar Republic*, ed. Thomas W. Kniesche and Stephen Brockmann (Columbia, SC: Camden, 1994), 7.

and make themselves at home in it.”⁴⁶ Modernism could not be reduced to avant-garde movements; broadly defined, it was a means of responding to the disorienting experience of modernity by experimenting with alternative possibilities.

The scholarly debate surrounding modernity has become even more complicated in recent decades. Beginning in the 1980s, a new generation of scholars turned their attention to the subject of “postmodernism.” The shift from modernism to postmodernism should not be understood in terms of a new conception of the problem of modernity, but rather a new attitude towards the response. Modernism is about creative experimentation, and this is typically accompanied by a sense that experiments can have positive effects. Postmodernism, in its more extreme versions, reduces creative experimentation to a will to subversion, exposing discourses of progress and reform as pipe dreams, or mere covers for the expansion of bureaucratic control.⁴⁷ More recently, scholars have deconstructed the notion of modernity, acknowledging the multiplicity of “modernities,” instead of evaluating the success of a single model. Dipesh Chakrabarty, for example, has discussed the alleged “inadequacy and indispensability” of Western models of political modernity, an ideal that has impacted the manner in which non-Western societies have conceptualized historical time. His solution, “provincializing Europe,” entails a massive reevaluation of history itself by acknowledging the plural and contradictory elements of the past that do not fit into the European timetable for progress. Chakrabarty explains: “To attempt to provincialize this ‘Europe’ is to see the modern as

⁴⁶ Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air*, 5.

⁴⁷ For the original definition of postmodernism, see Jean François Lyotard, *La Condition Postmoderne: Rapport sur le Savoir* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1979). For the post-structuralist engagement with postmodernism, consider the work of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, or Richard Rorty. For a neo-Marxist critique of both modernism and post-modernism, see Frederic Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991).

inevitably contested...”⁴⁸ He encourages historians to view transitions to modernity as “translational processes,” each unique, and not to be measured against developments that have occurred elsewhere.

In 1984, Jeffrey Herf made the provocative claim: “There is no such thing as modernity in general. There are only national societies, each of which becomes modern in its own fashion.”⁴⁹ Generations of historians have concerned themselves with the question of how Germany did or did not become modern. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many historians pointed to a uniquely positive German path, exemplified by a strong statist tradition, a powerful and efficient civil service, and the dominance of German culture. After the First World War, scholars like Otto Hintze and Ernst Troeltsch began to question this positive version of the “special path” thesis, while the Second World War and the Holocaust made a triumphant account of German history nearly impossible. After 1945, the important question was no longer what made Germany exceptional, but why, in contrast to the other developed countries of the West, did Germany gravitate toward its own brand of fascism during the crisis-ridden interwar period?⁵⁰

A direct answer to this question was the explicitly negative version of the “special path,” or *Sonderweg*, thesis. With 1961’s *Griff nach der Weltmacht* (later translated as *Germany’s Aims in the First World War*), Fritz Fischer indicated that nineteenth-century German society modernized both economically and industrially, but failed to advance

⁴⁸ Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 46.

⁴⁹ Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 1.

⁵⁰ For a synopsis of these older arguments, see Jürgen Kocka, “German History Before Hitler: The Debate about the German *Sonderweg*,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 23, no. 1 (January 1988): 3-6.

politically.⁵¹ In the 1970s, Hans Ulrich-Wehler of Bielefeld University established the socio-economic dimensions of the German *Sonderweg* with his provocative monograph, *The German Empire, 1871-1918*. Like Fischer, he proposed a narrative of contradictions, describing the *Kaiserreich* as a unique mixture of pre-industrial institutions, power relations, and elitist culture with successful capitalist industrialization and socio-economic modernization. This became the heart of the Bielefeld *Sonderweg* thesis: economic modernization combined with inadequate political and social modernization contributed to the particular weaknesses of Weimar democracy, and thus paved the way to the Third Reich.⁵² Fritz Stern contributed to the debate by revealing how rapid industrialization worried German intellectuals, leading them to routinely criticize urban life, commerce, liberalism, materialism, and “Western” reason in general. The “politics of cultural despair,” argued Stern, contributed to Hitler’s triumph.⁵³

By the 1980s, the *Sonderweg* thesis was beginning to attract critics. Thomas Nipperdey stressed contingency throughout his volumes of *German History*, calling attention to the dynamic, pluralistic, and genuinely progressive qualities of Imperial German society, as well as a general discontent with modernity that characterized the period.⁵⁴ Detlev Peukert attacked the *Sonderweg* thesis from another angle by characterizing the Weimar period as a “crisis of classical modernity,” and not just a “brief

⁵¹ Fritz Fischer, *Germany's Aims in the First World War* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967).

⁵² Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918*, trans. Kim Traynor (Dover, NH: Berg Publishers, 1985).

⁵³ Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961). For a similar argument, see George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964).

⁵⁴ Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918, Erster Band: Arbeitswelt und Bürgergeist* (München: C.H. Beck, 1990), 815-816.

democratic intermezzo,” to borrow Chris Lorenz’s phrase.⁵⁵ According to Peukert, scholars who have reduced modern German history to a single trajectory that diverged from a normal path have overlooked the achievements of the Weimar Republic, which witnessed heightened modernization and the flourishing of cultural modernism. He also argues that the issues that produced National Socialism were not unique to Germany, and could be attributed to modern industrial society at large.⁵⁶ The most pointed criticism of the *Sonderweg* argument originated with David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, who systematically attacked the Bielefeld thesis with *The Peculiarities of German History*.⁵⁷ Their major criticism of the *Sonderweg* was that it presupposed the existence of a “normal” route to modernity. Such logic ran the risk of normalizing and even glorifying the national histories of countries like Britain or France. Blackbourn declares: “All national histories are peculiar, but some appear to be more peculiar than others.”⁵⁸ Germany’s experience was unique, but it had not followed the “incorrect” path to modernity, nor was it predestined for fascism. The more recent regional studies discussed above have helped to refute the notion of the *Sonderweg* by demonstrating that there were various paths to modernity within Germany itself.

Although historians continue to disagree about the nature of German modernity, most agree that the period after 1871 was one of both major breakthroughs and “extraordinary complications.” Wehler explains: “[s]ocio-economic upheavals of profound significance coincided with the diverse ramifications at home and abroad of the

⁵⁵ Chris Lorenz, “Beyond Good and Evil? The German Empire of 1871 and Modern German Historiography,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 30, no. 4 (October 1995): 730.

⁵⁶ Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*.

⁵⁷ David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York: Oxford University, 1984).

⁵⁸ David Blackbourn, “The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie: Reappraising German History in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Peculiarities of German History*, 286.

appearance of a new political structure in Central Europe,” a constellation of problems which, in his view, pushed the country down its special path.⁵⁹ Other scholars agree on the disruptive nature of German modernization without necessarily agreeing on its outcome. Modris Eksteins depicts Germany as a society that made the transition from an agrarian and feudal conglomeration of states into a modern, industrial nation in roughly three generations, with some regions experiencing the transformation in even less time. While the discourse of positivism may have justified the outlook of elites, it did not reflect the “turbulent reality” that most Germans now faced.⁶⁰ For many Germans, modernity represented a mixed bag of progress and loss, promise and despair. Consequently, many appeared reluctant to embrace it wholeheartedly.

In his inventory of the “assumptions and prejudices” of the German people, Gordon Craig identifies “an inconsistent attitude toward modernity which, through most of the modern period, has expressed itself in the eager adoption of technical and economic innovation and a simultaneous reprobation of its social and moral effects...”⁶¹ While this ambiguous attitude toward modernity was not unique to Germany, it was certainly more pronounced. Jeffrey Herf has attempted to explain this “cultural paradox of German modernity” by addressing the work of several interwar German intellectuals who applauded modern technology while simultaneously rejecting Enlightenment reason. This “reactionary modernism” reconciled romanticism and rationalism, pointing “to the outlines of a beautiful new order replacing the formless chaos due to capitalism in a

⁵⁹ Wehler, *The German Empire*, 9.

⁶⁰ Modris Eksteins, “History and Degeneration,” in *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, ed. J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander L. Gilman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 11.

⁶¹ Gordon A. Craig, *The Germans* (New York: Meridian, 1982), 11.

united, technologically advanced nation.”⁶² Identifying a similar balancing act, Thomas Rohkrämer has argued that German environmentalists during the Imperial and Weimar periods were part of a more general reform movement that sought to achieve “another modernity,” one that was environmentally sustainable without completely rejecting technological civilization.⁶³ Alon Confino has contributed to this debate by demonstrating how the members of the Württemberg *Heimat* movement sought a balance between the protection of regional traditions and history on one hand, and support for ongoing modernization and the rewards that it promised on the other. Confino shows how “symbols of modernity,” such as factories, smokestacks, and locomotives, were prevalent in the idealized images of the local *Heimat*, a utopia that rejected the notion of deindustrialization while also avoiding “the negative consequences of modernity.”⁶⁴ The work of these scholars makes it clear that it is not always helpful to think in terms of “modern” and “anti-modern.” As Adelheid von Saldern notes: “Usually we face blends and amalgams that are specific to particular times and social systems and must be thoroughly studied in their own right...”⁶⁵

Tourism in Bavaria represented one solution to the many “challenges of modernity,” but it was also an expression of modernity. Scholars have not always been so willing to acknowledge the broader significance of tourism. In the past, it was

⁶² Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*, 1-2.

⁶³ Thomas Rohkrämer, *Eine andere Moderne? Zivilisationskritik, Natur und Technik in Deutschland, 1880-1930* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1999). For a similar argument, see William Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home: Cultural Politics and Environmental Reform in the German Heimatschutz Movement, 1904-1918* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997). For Rohkrämer’s engagement with Herf’s concept of “reactionary modernism,” see Thomas Rohkrämer, “Antimodernism, Reactionary Modernism and National Socialism: Technocratic Tendencies in Germany, 1890-1945,” *Contemporary European History* 8, no. 1 (March 1999): 29-50.

⁶⁴ Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 121, 183.

⁶⁵ Adelheid von Saldern, *The Challenges of Modernity: German Social and Cultural Studies, 1890-1960*, trans. Bruce Little (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 3.

commonplace to dismiss tourism as an exercise in conformity, mediocrity, and superficiality. For example, literary scholar Paul Fussell once wrote: “Tourism soothes you by comfort and familiarity and shields you from the shocks of novelty and oddity. It confirms your prior view of the world instead of shaking it up. Tourism requires that you see conventional things, and that you see them in a conventional way.”⁶⁶ Another group of scholars have fought against such “damning allegations” of tourism by portraying the tourist as a “mythic figure” that shapes the manner in which “nations represent culture and acculturation to themselves.”⁶⁷

Dean MacCannell has described the tourist as “one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general,” contending that “[o]ur first apprehension of modern civilization... emerges in the mind of the tourist.”⁶⁸ Far from unadventurous, tourism is in fact a means of overcoming the dreary monotony of modern life. “For moderns,” writes MacCannell, “reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles.”⁶⁹ Tourism provides access to these supposedly more authentic worlds, allowing travelers to transcend modern life, while simultaneously making more sense of it. MacCannell’s insistence on tourism as a “search for authenticity” has attracted some criticism, most notably from sociologist John Urry, who has argued that tourists favor the “extraordinary” over the “authentic,” some even taking pleasure in “the inauthenticity of the normal tourist experience.”⁷⁰ However, Urry appears to conflate authenticity with everyday life, or the mundane

⁶⁶ Paul Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel* (New York: Norton, 1987), 649.

⁶⁷ James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 4.

⁶⁸ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁰ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 12.

routines and sights that tourists often seek to escape. Authenticity can also represent an idealized world that tourists may have never actually seen, but have been trained to recognize. As a “component of the modern condition,” tourism is in fact a modernism in its own right.⁷¹

How did tourism help to make sense of the disorienting experience of modernity? Examples of tourism in Bavaria alone include touring the medieval town of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, visiting the Ludwig I-commissioned Walhalla outside of Regensburg, attending the centuries-old Passion Play of Oberammergau, or even consuming a pair of white sausages before noon in a Munich beer hall. All of these instances of tourism can be organized under categories representing their ultimate objective: *thoughtful leisureliness* and *sights worth seeing*. The first phrase comes from a 1906 English-language guidebook on Munich, and is used to explain the typical mentality of Munich’s residents, who reputedly “hate to do anything rashly.”⁷² I also find this phrase useful for referring to a certain frame of mind on vacation wherein one “tries to get away from it all,” but does so within a framework of social expectations. Rest and recuperation may be the immediate objective, and distance from everyday life is imperative, but the ultimate objective is to prepare for re-entry. In other words, it is not just about getting away, but returning to everyday life with a new viewpoint.

The second phrase is my translation of *Sehenswürdigkeiten*, a German term that suggests much more than the English word “sights.” “Sights worth seeing” implies judgment, even a hierarchy of tourist attractions. Some sights are more worthy than

⁷¹ Anne E. Gorusch and Diane P. Koenker, “Introduction,” in *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism*, ed. Anne E. Gorusch and Diane P. Koenker (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 14.

⁷² StadtAM, Bürgermeister und Rat, 1126/3: “Münchener Fremdenverkehrsverein: Propaganda, 1899-1922.”

others, occupying a more prominent position on the map as a result of their place within wider discourses concerning nature, history, and modernity. Tourism can revolve around the impulse to visit these sights and digest meaning, a sort of leisurely education, or tourism can revolve around the rejuvenation of body, mind, and soul, a sort of educated leisure. Both forms allow for a temporary respite from modern life, even though the “modern” is never entirely absent, and is often central to the tourist experience.

Recent research has illustrated how nineteenth-century tourism helped to reconnect visitors with a pre-industrial past. Katherine Grenier Haldane has shown how nineteenth-century tourists viewed Scotland as a country that was still connected to the past, embodying “virtues the modern world appeared to have discarded.” This fascination with Scotland as a tourist attraction revealed collective anxiety over industrialization, urbanization, and political transition, as well as a deep-rooted nostalgia for a simpler past.⁷³ In the terms of the present analysis, Scottish heritage tourism helped to ground modern Great Britain, but grounded modernity was about more than nostalgia. Jill Steward has examined similar issues in her work on tourism in the late Austrian Empire. Before the First World War, Austrian tourist materials appealed to the modern conception of the “picturesque” by emphasizing the scenery and traditional culture of the Austrian Alps. Steward argues that this was a “general reaction against the unpleasant aspects of modern urban life,” in addition to being “expressive of a nostalgic interest in, and a regret, for ways of life that were fast disappearing.”⁷⁴ Both Grenier and Steward

⁷³ Katherine Haldane Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland, 1770-1914: Creating Caledonia* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 1-3, 216.

⁷⁴ Jill Steward, “Tourism in the Late Imperial Austria: The Development of Tourist Cultures and Their Associated Images of Place,” in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, ed. Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 122.

confirm that nineteenth-century tourism often revolved around romanticized symbols of pre-modern life, but they are less interested in how modernity manifested itself in the marketing of these romantic retreats. In a more recent article, Patrick Young has addressed the connections between tourism and the preservation of regional culture in France. Focusing on the modern performance of the “pardon,” a medieval and distinctively Breton custom, Young demonstrates that tourism “could help identify and make available what was most original, most well-preserved, and most evocative of a region’s enduring essence.”⁷⁵ Tourism became a means of framing local authenticity, and Brittany became a symbol for the deep roots and cultural diversity of the French nation, even though the region was not explicitly “modern.”⁷⁶

Historians of modern Germany have also begun to pay attention to the correlations between tourism and national identity, with a number of important studies appearing in the last decade. Hasso Spode has provided an invaluable overview of leisure travel in Germany from the Romantic era until the Cold War, in which he posits that a certain “taste for travel,” or *Reiselust*, has become a pronounced, albeit not entirely unique, feature of the German character.⁷⁷ Rudy Koshar has offered an extensive treatment of German travel guidebooks, from the trend-setting Baedeker series, to Fodor’s comprehensive *Germany 1953*. By analyzing tourism as “a form of leisure that

⁷⁵ Patrick Young, “Of Pardons, Loss, and Longing: The Tourist’s Pursuit of Originality in Brittany, 1890-1935,” *French Historical Studies* 30, no. 2 (2007): 279.

⁷⁶ In the end, Young casts doubt on the authentic nature of these cultural displays. Similarly, Regina Bendix has focused on the Swiss region of Interlaken to demonstrate that “local color” and tradition were often embellished for the sake of an “interested tourist audience.” Regina Bendix, “Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 102, no. 404 (April 1989): 131-146.

⁷⁷ Hasso Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden: Eine Einführung in die Tourismusgeschichte* (Erfurt: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2003). For another overview of the history of tourism with Germany in the leading role, see Rüdiger Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

potentially allows the individual make sense of an existential fact of modern life: the consciousness of displacement,” Koshar reveals how particular travel cultures facilitated both the evolution of national identity and the transition to modernity.⁷⁸ In her article on the Saxon tourism industry between German unification and the Second World War, Caitlin Murdock shows how the promoters of regional tourism initially defined Saxony with three themes: “the interplay of nature and industry in their landscapes; the diversity of those landscapes; and proximity to and interactions with Bohemia.”⁷⁹ During the interwar period, Saxon tourist destinations became symbols of German regional diversity, while southern Saxony was re-imagined as a bulwark against Slavic civilization.⁸⁰ The works of Koshar and Murdock have confirmed that the German tourism industry engaged with the imagery of modernization while also cultivating regional and national identities.

In spite of the region’s contemporary status as a veritable tourist Mecca, the literature on the history of Bavarian tourism is far from extensive. Among the few publications is a 1992 article by Helen Waddy Lepovitz, in which she discusses the origins of Bavarian tourism, arguing that the regional tourist culture was neither imported from abroad, nor did it “trickle down” from the aristocracy. Instead, she maintains that Bavarian tourism materialized over the course of the nineteenth century as result of the constant flow of German pilgrims, patients, and painters. However, Lepovitz’s emphasis on the singularity of the Bavarian tourist culture prevents us from considering the region’s place in the larger history of tourism. Furthermore, she confines her analysis to

⁷⁸ Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 8.

⁷⁹ Caitlin Murdock, “Tourist Landscapes and Regional Identities in Saxony, 1878-1938,” *Central European History* 40, no. 4 (December 2007): 589.

⁸⁰ For more about the construction of Saxon identity in the borderlands, see Caitlin Murdock, *Changing Places: Society, Culture, and Territory in the Saxon-Bohemian Borderlands, 1870-1946* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

sites within Upper Bavaria, including Oberammergau and Murnau, offering a limited view of the tourist landscape.⁸¹ In a more recent work, Joshua Hagen addresses the growth of tourism in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, a picturesque medieval town in Middle Franconia. He argues that both local preservation efforts and the marketing of the town as a tourist destination turned Rothenburg into “a symbol of rootedness, community, and continuity with a bygone era... perhaps even the preeminent, symbol of romantic and medieval Germany.”⁸² Hagen’s analysis of the relationship between tourism, memory, and imagining community is valuable, but his concentration on Rothenburg ob der Tauber does not allow for a broader investigation of the balancing of traditional and modern elements that was so common in tourist publications throughout Bavaria.

Findings and Organization

My dissertation promises an extensive overview of Bavarian tourism, as well as a careful reading of the language used to market its diversity of attractions. The case studies of my dissertation are not chosen exclusively from “Old Bavaria,” or *Altbayern*, but also from Swabia and Franconia, regions that were first incorporated into Bavaria at the beginning of the nineteenth century. My time period, spanning from the nineteenth century to the postwar period, allows me to address the evolution of tourism over the course of at least four distinct eras in modern German history.

In spite of this geographical diversity and a relatively long time frame, I can offer several broader conclusions. It is my central argument that the regional tourism industry

⁸¹ Helen Waddy Lepovitz, “Pilgrims, Patients, and Painters: The Formation of a Tourist Culture in Bavaria,” *Historical Reflections/ Reflexions Historiques* 18, no. 1 (1992): 121-145.

⁸² Joshua Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism: The Jewel of the German Past* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 1.

consistently endorsed a vision of grounded modernity, combatting the “consciousness of displacement” by inviting contemporary society to become reacquainted with nature, tradition, and history. At the end of the nineteenth century, a trip to rural Bavaria was often advertised as a romantic flight from modern reality, during which guests could, ironically, anticipate modern accommodations and conveniences. Similarly, a trip to the spa allowed the tourist to reconnect with the natural environment in a cosmopolitan environment with modern facilities. Bavaria therefore remained timeless, and yet decidedly of this time, or modern. The region was likewise marketed as quaint and rustic, but also as sophisticated and cosmopolitan. In order to attract visitors of various nationalities, and sometimes even faiths, the destination had to be equally foreign *and* familiar. This cosmopolitan status became an important indication of modernity. During the Third Reich, the regional tourism industry advertised Bavaria as quintessentially German, but this was a product available to nearly all classes, creeds, and nationalities, with Jews representing an obvious and portentous exception. Furthermore, the popularity of Bavarian cities was not based on their historical record alone, but also on their contemporary relevance. Munich and Nuremberg triumphed as tourist attractions during the Third Reich because of their symbolic role within a new nation-state selectively grounded in German history and culture. These cities provided insight into the German past and present, as well as hints of future greatness.

Each of my major chapters explores the language of grounded modernity and the process of grounding modernity in a different tourist locale during a distinct period of modern German history. After an introductory section (Chapter I) providing a historical overview of German tourism until the Second World War, my dissertation proceeds both

chronologically and thematically. Chapters II and III are set predominantly during the long nineteenth century and focus on the tourist destinations of “Franconian Switzerland” and Bad Reichenhall, which were largely defined by their natural surroundings. Chapters IV and V address the tourist cultures of Augsburg, Munich, and Nuremberg during the interwar period (1919-1939), paying special attention to how the marketing of each city became increasingly nationalized in the wake of the First World War and the rise of National Socialism. The challenge of modernity was different in each of these locales, leading to unique articulations of the ideal balancing between tradition and progress, change and continuity. Although 1939 offers a logical ending point for my story, I also offer an epilogue that deals with the collapse of Bavarian tourism during the Second World War, as well as its unexpected recovery and unprecedented growth during the American occupation. Each of these major chapters reveals how Bavarian tourism grounded modern society, in addition to shedding light on the growth of the regional tourism industry and its relationship with external developments.

With Chapter II, “A Romantic Respite: Nineteenth-Century Tourism in ‘Franconian Switzerland,’” I discuss both changing conceptions of nature and the development of middle-class leisure travel during the nineteenth century. Employing the secluded region of Franconian Switzerland as the prototypical tourist destination visited by the German educated middle classes, I demonstrate how nineteenth-century tourism was predicated on a new appreciation of the natural environment fueled by romanticism and urbanization. While middle-class travelers sought a romantic respite in the mountainous landscape of Franconian Switzerland, they were not always willing to leave

the city behind, and could anticipate modern accommodations at the local inn, as well as telegraph machines and beer imported from Munich and Nuremberg.

With Chapter III, “The Reichenhall Cure: Nature, Modernity, and Cosmopolitanism in the Bavarian Alps,” I examine spa tourism after the turn of the century. The regional tourism industry successfully recast the provincial town of Bad Reichenhall as an ideal urban space rooted in its natural surroundings and frequented by an international clientele, marketing a grounded modernity with a cosmopolitan flair. In many regards, a stay in the spa was sold as an antidote to modern civilization, an experience that allowed guests to transcend their everyday lives and the horizons of the German nation. After 1914, the repercussions of total war undermined this carefully-cultivated image. Converted into an inexpensive sick bay for German soldiers, Bad Reichenhall was cut off from its international clientele and most of its domestic visitors during the First World War, when the language of nationalism abruptly replaced the language of cosmopolitanism.

In Chapter IV, “The City of the German Renaissance: Augsburg Tourism between Past and Present,” I recount the efforts of the local tourism industry to market the historical city of Augsburg to visitors. I reveal how the Augsburg Tourism Association, with the occasional support of the local municipal government, placed greater emphasis on the more modern dimensions of the city over the course of the 1920s. Their goal was not only to ground modernity, but also to modernize the city’s historical ground, drawing connections between past and present. Marketing was part of this program, but the local tourism association was also responsible for refurbishing parts of the historical city and using new technology to reframe old attractions. In the end, they succeeded in promoting

a more progressive and “German” vision of city. This selective vision of Augsburg ultimately diverted attention from its true civic identity, that of a politically-charged and economically unstable city of workers.

In Chapter V, “The Sights of Brown Bavaria: The Nazified Tourist Culture of Munich and Nuremberg,” I tackle the subject of Nazi tourism in Bavaria’s two largest cities, arguing that the traditional tourist culture was thoroughly “Nazified” during this period, and largely without coercion. The local tourism industry of both cities transformed the sights associated with Hitler and the National Socialist movement, such as the Temples of Honor and the Party Rally Grounds, into the defining features of each city’s contemporary identity. Munich and Nuremberg became marketable symbols of the New Germany, on display for both domestic and international visitors. At the same time, older marketing themes never completely disappeared, and new attractions were promoted against the backdrop of the local and larger German past. In this manner, local communities put their own stamp on the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, a people’s community united by history, culture, and less obviously, race.

Throughout these chapters, my source base consists primarily of examples of so-called “tourist propaganda,” a category including guidebooks, brochures, maps, postcards, and posters. Although I am aware of the negative connotation of the term “propaganda,” as well as the fact that propaganda is usually associated with government agencies, I insist that the term provides us with a useful way of thinking about these documents. While some of these sources were intended for tourists who were already in Bavaria, others were designed to convince potential vacationers that Bavaria was worthy of a visit. The tourism industry defined all of these materials as propaganda because they

were designed to influence the opinion of visitors, before and after the trip. Guidebooks, for example, were not only “formulas for travel,” indicating what “ought to be seen,” but also “distillations of the objects and routes of the tourist’s cultural labor, and of the possibilities and diversity of experience.”⁸³ In other words, guidebooks helped to pre-determine the practices and expectations of tourists, ultimately standardizing the experience of travel. Another form of tourist propaganda helped to standardize the memory of travel. Postcards, a product of the tourism industry, established the lasting images of a particular destination by showcasing a “specific element of reality” designed to find resonance.⁸⁴ In the interest of concentrating on the self-representation of Bavaria, I have tried to limit my analysis to material produced within the region, although I do occasionally cite other German publications. These sources help to situate Bavarian tourism within larger discourses concerning modernity and identity.

I supplement my analysis of tourist propaganda with a number of other primary sources. The files of various local and regional tourism clubs and associations provide a behind-the-scenes glimpse into the operation of the tourism industry, and specifically, the decision-making process behind the tourist propaganda. Articles from Bavarian newspapers allow for similar insight, in addition to confirming the significance that tourism held for local communities. Statistics recording the number of visitors and overnight stays, typically assembled by local tourism associations and printed in local newspapers, help to substantiate Bavaria’s growing popularity as a tourist destination. Although my principal objective with this project is the analysis of discourse, I am also

⁸³ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 9. See also Rudy Koshar, “‘What Ought to Be Seen’: Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (July 1998): 323-340.

⁸⁴ Helmut Beer, *Grüße aus Nürnberg 3, Nürnberg in Ansichtskarten um 1900- “Lebendige Altstadt”* (Nürnberg: W. Tümmels, 1994), 12-13.

obliged to address the impact of these ideas. With this goal in mind, I turn to a number of contemporaneous travel reports written by both German and foreign visitors. The objective here is to ascertain how well printed visions of grounded modernity actually corresponded with the sentiments of real tourists.

The tourists who visited Bavaria between the Battle of Waterloo and the Second World War lived in a period of rapid social, economic, and political change. Whether departing from New York or London, Mainz or Munich, these travelers carried various modernities with them, a form of baggage that influenced their expectations and determined their desires. The more pressing challenge of my dissertation, therefore, is not only to showcase *where* people traveled and *what* they chose to see, but to determine *why* they traveled, and what their chosen destinations represented. The cultural landscapes and historical cityscapes of Bavaria provided temporary access to the antecedents and foundations of the modern world. By pointing visitors to the past, tourism illuminated the present, and produced milestones to the future.

Chapter I

In Pursuit of Salvation, Cultivation, and Recreation: A Brief History of German Travel

First pioneered by the middle classes of Western Europe during the nineteenth century, tourism has become a global phenomenon. In 2000, the tourism industry was the largest in the world, having earned an estimated 3.6 trillion dollars annually, or roughly 10.6% of the gross global product. The World Travel and Tourism Council, an industry lobby group, speculated that the tourism industry provided one in ten jobs globally, employing up to 255 million people.⁸⁵ Tourist organizations have predicted that by the year 2020, 1.6 billion of the world's 7.8 billion will travel internationally.⁸⁶

Considering this rapid growth, it comes as no surprise that leisure travel has attracted the attention of geographers, economists, and sociologists for decades. And yet, these scholars often fail to acknowledge that the "tourism industry" is not a monolithic entity, but rather a set of processes that evolve over time in relation to the particular societies in which they are embedded.⁸⁷ Conversely, historians have only recently begun to give tourism the attention it deserves, demonstrating that the subject can "expand our optic into the grand narratives of modern history: class formation, nation building, economic development, and the emergence of consumer culture."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, "Introduction," in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, ed. Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 1.

⁸⁶ Löfgren, *On Holiday*, 6. For more figures on the growth of the tourism industry, see Steven Wearing, Deborah Stevenson, and Tamara Young, *Tourist Cultures: Identity, Place and the Traveller* (London: Sage, 2010), 3.

⁸⁷ Andrea Leonardi and Hans Heiss, "Einleitung" in *Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum 18.-20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Andrea Leonardi and Hans Heiss (Innsbruck: Studien, 2003), 17.

⁸⁸ Baranowski and Furlough, "Introduction," 21. Still, the historical study of tourism is far from a *tabula rasa*, and can be traced back to the 1947 publication of John A.R. Pimlott's *Englishman's Holiday: A Social History*. Hasso Spode, "Tourismusgeschichte als Forschungsgegenstand, Bilanz und Ausblick" in

The following chapter engages with this work in order to provide a historical overview of tourism in Germany, from its pre-modern roots to the Second World War. This exposition sets the stage for the case studies of subsequent chapters, in addition to introducing a number of themes that play a role throughout the dissertation, including the complicated issues of class and culture, the nationalist implications of leisure travel, the dialectic between domestic and international tourism, and the expansion of the tourism industry itself. The chapter begins with a brief history of European travel before the nineteenth century, identifying religious pilgrimages, spa visits, and the Grand Tour as important precursors to modern tourism. After considering new attitudes towards leisure travel in the nineteenth century, I highlight three developments that established the basis of the modern tourism industry: the expansion of the railway, the creation of the package tour, and the invention of the tourist guidebook.

Having addressed the historical roots of tourism in Europe in general, I then focus more directly on Germany. I begin with middle-class leisure travel in the nineteenth century, arguing that tourism was an important feature of a shared culture founded on the concept of “personal cultivation,” or *Bildung*. Next, I detail the origins of modern mass tourism during the 1920s, when travel first became a viable option to a large percentage of the German population. While more and more workers were guaranteed annual paid vacations, the tourism industry expanded to accommodate a new clientele with specific expectations. Finally, I tackle the subject of tourism in the Third Reich, describing both institutional changes and the emergence of unique tourist cultures after 1933. The subjects of the Second World War and postwar tourism are reserved for the epilogue.

Tourismus und Entwicklung im Alpenraum 18.-20. Jahrhundert, 83-84. See also John A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1947).

From Travails to Tourism

In his influential “Theory of Tourism,” Hans Magnus Enzensberger writes: “Travel is one of the most ancient and common aspects of human life.”⁸⁹ While many scholars insist that tourism is an essentially modern phenomenon, travel clearly is not, yet people have not always traveled for the reasons that now motivate many of us to regularly take a trip. Before the advent of tourism, most travelers were involuntarily displaced by war, hunger, or poverty. These itinerant groups could hardly be classified as pleasure-seekers. In fact, the word “journey” was most often associated with the departure of a military force, just as the word “travel” derived from the French term for “tribulation” and “agony.”⁹⁰

Travel during the medieval and early modern periods was predominantly utilitarian (and in many cases, still is). Even those that relocated by choice often did so as a result of professional obligations or perceived religious duty. In a world without permanent academic institutions, both professors and students frequently wandered from town to town in search of fellow intellectuals.⁹¹ Meanwhile, young men training for certain trades, such as carpentry or metal-working, were often expected to travel extensively in order to gain experience as journeymen. Just like the itinerant intellectuals, journeymen also moved from town to town, working in numerous workshops before acquiring the title of “master.” Strictly regulated by the crafts guilds, this social practice also served the function of limiting unemployment among certain professions. The so-called *Walz* was an especially cherished tradition in the German-

⁸⁹ Hans Magnus Enzensberger, “A Theory of Tourism,” trans. Gerd Gemünden and Kenn Johnson, *New German Critique*, no. 68 (Spring-Summer 1996): 122.

⁹⁰ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 6.

⁹¹ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, 23.

speaking lands of central Europe, where it was a mandatory rite of passage for craftsmen from the late medieval period through the nineteenth century.⁹²

While a sense of professional obligation compelled intellectuals and aspiring craftsmen to leave home, another category of travel was founded on more divine motivation. Pilgrimages, or the practice of traveling to religious shrines, had a long tradition in Europe, even though the practice was neither an exclusively Christian nor an exclusively European phenomenon. Sociologist Lutz Kaelber argues: “Religiously motivated travel to sacred sites is perhaps the oldest and most prevalent type of travel in human history.”⁹³ In Europe, the tradition could be linked to pre-Roman retreats to sacred locales allegedly possessing curative or divinatory properties. Beginning in the fourth century C.E., the acquisition of cherished relics, linked either to a Christian saint or Christ himself, raised the profile of certain pilgrimage sites, with Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Canterbury, and Cologne occupying the upper ranks of European shrines. The reputation of other pilgrimage sites rested upon reported miracles, including apparitions of the Virgin Mary or consecrated Eucharist wafers which resisted destruction by fire. Although the pilgrimage never became a mandatory feature of the practice of Christianity (as was the case with Islam), it became a common form of devotion during the medieval period, and the figure of the pilgrim took on a wider cultural significance, and was satirized in the works of Chaucer and Dante.⁹⁴

⁹² Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 38-39; Rainer S. Elkar, “Auf der Walz – Handwerkerreisen,” in *Reisekultur: Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*, ed. Hermann Bausinger, Klaus Beyrer, and Gottfried Korff (Munich: Oscar Beck, 1991), 57-61.

⁹³ Lutz Kaelber, “Paradigms of Travel: From Medieval Pilgrimage to the Postmodern Virtual Tour,” in *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*, ed. Dallen J. Timothy and Daniel H. Olsen (New York: Routledge, 2006), 49.

⁹⁴ Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), xi-xv, 4, 24-29.

Actual pilgrims tended to travel in groups and represented a surprising cross-section of medieval society that included both sexes, as well as members of the nobility, clergy, and merchant class. They embarked on these trips for a variety of reasons, among them penance, the cure of physical ailments, the desire to witness miracles, and the acquisition of indulgences.⁹⁵ However, by the late medieval period, not everyone who embarked upon a pilgrimage was motivated by these interests alone. In an era when travel was limited to a very small portion of the overall population, the pilgrimage became a means of socializing and breaking from one's daily routine. For these reasons, scholars have correctly identified the pilgrimage as form of "proto-tourism," or a precursor to modern leisure travel.⁹⁶ The commercialization of the social practice definitely foreshadowed the future development of tourism. The opening of inns along important pilgrimage routes established the foundations of the hospitality industry, while the production and sale of "pilgrimage badges" was an early example of the souvenir business. Licensed shipmasters in Venice even offered a "pre-modern version of the package tour," arranging transportation and lodging for the more wealthy pilgrims.⁹⁷ The pilgrimage may have been an ostensibly religious matter, but it also had economic potential. Although the Protestant Reformation contributed to the decreasing significance of the practice, pilgrimages remained a common form of European travel well into the modern period, with Lourdes in particular still ranking as one of France's most popular destinations.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Ibid., 78-114.

⁹⁶ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 40-42.

⁹⁷ Kaelber, "Paradigms of Travel," 51; Klaus Herber, "Unterwegs zu heiligen Stätten – Pilgerfahrten," in *Reisekultur: Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*, 24.

⁹⁸ For more on pilgrimage tourism in nineteenth-century Lourdes, see Suzanne K. Kaufman, "Selling Lourdes: Pilgrimage, Tourism, and the Mass-Marketing of the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France," in *Being Elsewhere*, 63-88. For more on the combination of religious and commercial elements in

The religious pilgrimage was closely related to another form of proto-tourism: visits to natural springs and spas. The notion of “taking the waters” as a means of rejuvenation can be traced back to Classical Antiquity, when the Ancient Greeks and Romans constructed public bathing facilities near mineral springs. Typically located within the city forum, baths were popular gathering places where citizens could not only soak in warm and cold waters, but also eat, drink, and be merry.⁹⁹ The popularity of taking the waters diminished with the decline of the Roman Empire, as bathing facilities across Europe fell into disrepair and disrepute. During the Middle Ages, the Christian Church associated the practice with Roman depravity and the spread of disease, and often took efforts to eradicate the tradition. In spite of this, some Europeans continued to frequent mineral springs, which were now viewed in a somewhat different light. For a new generation of visitors, spring water promised both physical *and* spiritual rejuvenation, possessing sacred qualities and the ability to cure diseases and improve fertility.¹⁰⁰ Mineral springs became religious shrines, and were often located near monasteries and convents. These religious institutions provided one of the few sources of health care available outside of medieval towns, and the use of mineral waters for both bathing and drinking became popular remedies. The pursuit of the cure became

nineteenth-century Austrian tourism, see Alison Frank, “The Pleasant and the Useful: Pilgrimage and Tourism in Habsburg Mariazell,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 40 (2009): 157-182.

⁹⁹ Margarita Dritsas, “Water, Culture and Leisure: From Spas to Beach Tourism in Greece during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in *Water, Leisure and Culture: European Historical Perspectives*, ed. Susan C. Anderson and Bruce H. Tabb (New York: Berg, 2002), 194-195; Klaus Peter Goethert, “Badekultur, Badeorte, Bäderreisen in den gallischen Provinzen,” in *Badeorte und Bäderreisen in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 12.

¹⁰⁰ Susan C. Anderson, “Introduction: The Pleasure of Taking the Waters,” in *Water, Leisure and Culture*, 2.

synonymous with religious practice, and elements of the Christian faith developed new connections with water.¹⁰¹

While some mineral springs acquired religious connections, an urban bathing culture reemerged. As early as the thirteenth century, town-dwellers began to acknowledge the benefits of bathing. However, since not every person could afford a private bath, and little could be done with the remnants of Roman facilities in places like Wiesbaden, wealthy landowners opened public bathhouses in towns near thermal springs, such as Ems on the River Lahn. Within these facilities, guests could enjoy the services of a resident surgeon, as well as the pleasures of hot water and steam baths.¹⁰² In the meantime, another distinct bathing culture emerged in the countryside. The appearance of the so-called natural baths, or *Wildbäder*, coincided with the fifteenth-century discovery that the waters of saline and sulfuric springs also had restorative properties. In order to take advantage of this natural resource, entrepreneurs established bathing facilities and lodging outside of the safety of city walls, forcing guests to spend time in close proximity to the uncultivated natural environment. These natural baths became fashionable destinations in the Late Middle Ages, providing both physical rejuvenation and amusement for a clientele that can be accurately described as proto-tourists. The fact

¹⁰¹ In German-speaking lands, the fact that the word *Heil* implied both holiness and healing further confirms the connections between medieval religious pilgrimages and a resurgent bathing culture. Helen Waddy Lepovitz notes that particular saints were believed to have “called forth” holy springs, while the water at some shrines reportedly flowed from the breasts of the Virgin Mary, or even from the five wounds of Jesus, as was the case in Nüchterbrunn bei Osterwarngau. Lepovitz, “Pilgrims, Patients, and Painters,” 123-125, 131-133.

¹⁰² Matthias Bitz, *Badewesen in Südwestdeutschland 1550 bis 1840: Zum Wandel von Gesellschaft und Architektur* (Idstein: Schulz-Kirchner, 1989), 38-41; Hermann Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Bad Ems: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Badereise von 1830 bis 1914* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999), 11-12, 17.

that political and religious authorities still linked urban bathing houses to the spread of disease and sin only contributed to the popularity of this novel travel culture.¹⁰³

Another form of travel more exclusively associated with the early modern period is the Grand Tour. The Grand Tour was basically an educational rite of passage, “a sort of mobile finishing school” dominated by upper-class Englishmen during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰⁴ Its roots could be traced to the Elizabethan Age, when English nobles began sending their sons to the continent as a means of “training a self-selecting court élite in international affairs and cosmopolitan culture.”¹⁰⁵ Lasting anywhere from several months to several years, this extended tour of Europe followed a fairly standardized itinerary, including Paris, Florence, Venice, and Rome, with some variations including Hanover, Dresden, and Vienna, and in some exceptional cases, St. Petersburg.¹⁰⁶ The Grand Tour consisted of a number of “educational experiences,” including language and fencing classes, trips to galleries, visits to court, and even liaisons with women. It was predicated on a new devotion to systematic empiricism, or the idea that knowledge must be derived from first-hand experience. Literary scholar James Buzard explains: “Merely reading about conditions elsewhere was not enough. Those who *could* travel, should – though of course precious few actually could.”¹⁰⁷ By touring the cities of Italy in particular, the “heart of the Grand Tour,” the aspiring nobleman

¹⁰³ Bitz, *Badewesen in Südwestdeutschland*, 42-46; Birgit Studt, “Die Badenfahrt. Ein neues Muster der Badpraxis und Badegeselligkeit im deutschen Spätmittelalter,” in *Badeorte und Bäderreisen in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, 33-38.

¹⁰⁴ Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750-1915* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1997), 3.

¹⁰⁵ Michael G. Brennan, ed, *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)*, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 2004), 16.

¹⁰⁶ Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (Dover, NH: Croom Helm, 1985), 10-15, 30-31.

¹⁰⁷ James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840),” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Ted Youngs (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37.

could see locations immortalized by Latin texts, establishing a connection between ancient and modern empires. In addition to providing this “pseudo-historical legitimization,” the Grand Tour cultivated aristocratic camaraderie and a continent-wide class consciousness.¹⁰⁸

The Grand Tour, or *Kavaliersreise*, was an equally important tradition for the German aristocracy, who saw it as a mandatory rite of passage into the “professional world of the nobility.” Like its British counterpart, the German Tour featured the destinations of Paris, Rome, and Florence, but it also prioritized visits to the economic centers of London and Amsterdam. In general, the German variety tended to be a more explicitly educational affair. Accompanied by a “mentor” who doubled as both a tutor and tour guide, the young German nobleman visited some of the most well-known academies of Europe. There, he studied numerous subjects, among them law, history, mathematics, architecture, and military strategy.¹⁰⁹ Outside of the academies, edification remained the objective, and the list of sights worth seeing was pre-determined by their perceived educational value. Alongside museums and historical buildings, mines and sites of industry were also highly recommended attractions. When the touring nobleman did manage to leave civilization behind for the countryside, it was only to observe and inventory flora and fauna. Again, the goal of this travel was not pleasure or reflection, but the acquisition of knowledge.¹¹⁰ If modern leisure travel promises escape from everyday life, then the Grand Tour was designed to prepare the young European

¹⁰⁸ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 120. This early modern form of travel also spawned its own souvenir trade. In Naples, shopkeepers sold samples of hardened Vesuvian lava to curious travelers. John Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1996), 137.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Freller, *Adlige auf Tour: Die Erfindung der Bildungsreise* (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2007), 7-10; Winfried Siebers, “Ungleiche Lehrfahrten – Kavalier und Gelehrte,” in *Reisekultur: Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*, 48-49.

¹¹⁰ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 10-11.

nobleman for the “complicated situations and rituals” of daily life at court.¹¹¹ It was a rehearsal, not a respite. Still, it was an important precursor to nineteenth-century tourism in that it popularized the idea of travel as a vehicle of edification, and an activity that confirmed and constructed class identity.

These lines of continuity between early modern travel and tourism have led some scholars to conflate the two phenomena. For example, in his masterly reconstruction of the lives of two sixteenth-century Swiss professionals, historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie at one point refers to a group of people passing through Paris as “tourists.”¹¹² Is this designation permissible? Paul Fussell makes an important distinction between older and modern forms of travel, arguing: “To constitute real travel, movement from one place to another should manifest some impulse of non-utilitarian pleasure.”¹¹³ Clearly, the guidebook-wielding tourists of contemporary Paris have little in common with the wandering collective discussed by Le Roy Ladurie. The latter certainly traveled, but they were not tourists, or “travelers,” if we accept Fussell’s distinction. Even if they were not fleeing persecution or famine, it is doubtful that their motivations were non-utilitarian. Similarly, both the religious pilgrimage and the Grand Tour had elements in common with modern leisure travel, but in both cases, there were also crucial differences. Compelled by faith or regret, the pilgrim was rarely a pleasure-seeker. Compelled by social conventions and educational requirements, the young nobleman could not always consider the Grand Tour a vacation.

¹¹¹ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 45.

¹¹² Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *The Beggar and the Professor: A Sixteenth Century Family Saga*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 265.

¹¹³ Fussell, *The Norton Book of Travel*, 22.

The dawn of modern leisure travel, or tourism, coincided with the end of travel as the obligation of the faithful or the exclusive right of the privileged. The Napoleonic Wars marked the end of the older era of travel, best represented by the Grand Tour. Over twenty years of warfare on the European continent disrupted travel on a practical level, while the ramifications of revolution and reform ultimately shattered the cultural hegemony of the European nobility (even though the aristocracy continued to travel, and even participated in the middle-class culture of *Bildung*, discussed below).¹¹⁴ After Waterloo, steady economic growth in Western Europe ensured that larger segments of the population had the means to travel.¹¹⁵ The word “tourist” first appeared in an English dictionary in the late eighteenth century, but the tourist only became a common sight during the late nineteenth century, when leisure travel became a cherished pastime of the urban middle classes.¹¹⁶ As Mark Twain noted in *A Tramp Abroad*: “Seventy or eighty years ago Napoleon was the only man in Europe who could really be called a traveler... but now everybody goes everywhere.”¹¹⁷ Twain may be exaggerating here, but a new form of leisure travel was clearly on the rise after 1815. Enzensberger insists that this development overlapped with the growth of industrial civilization, pointing to the fact that the English were responsible for pioneering the practice of tourism.¹¹⁸

As a by-product of industrialization, tourism was founded upon the promise of distance from the familiar urban environment and the workplace. John Urry argues that

¹¹⁴ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 16-17.

¹¹⁵ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, 62.

¹¹⁶ Leonardi and Heiss, “Einleitung,” 17.

¹¹⁷ Mark Twain, *A Tramp Abroad* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 345. While Twain claims that “everybody” traveled at the time, it should be emphasized that the type of tourist that he lampoons is decidedly bourgeois. Consider the following declaration: “Without a courier, travel hasn’t a ray of pleasure in it, anywhere; but with him it is a continuous and unruffled delight.” *Ibid.*, 351.

¹¹⁸ Enzensberger, “A Theory of Tourism,” 124-126. James Buzard similarly defines tourism as “a phenomenon of determinate historical origin in the modern industrializing and democratizing nations of northern Europe and, later, America.” Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 4.

tourism only came into existence as a counterweight to “regulated and organized work,” and he defines the activity as “one manifestation of how work and leisure are organized as separate and regulated spheres of social practice in ‘modern’ societies.”¹¹⁹ Dean MacCannell similarly claims that tourism helps to nullify labor’s disenchanting effects on modern society, allowing man to seek “authenticity” outside of his daily existence.¹²⁰ Although both Urry and MacCannell focus on twentieth-century mass tourism, their conclusions apply to middle-class leisure travel in the nineteenth century. Travel only became tourism when the affluent middle classes adopted the activity as a means of respite from their professional obligations and urban existence. Taking a trip became a highly personal experience, constituting a “ameliorative vacation,” and promising “a time or imaginary space out of ordinary life for the free realization of our otherwise thwarted potential.”¹²¹ However, this touristic escape was neither permanent nor compulsory; unlike most early modern travelers, tourists relocated by choice.¹²²

Another feature of tourism that distinguished it from earlier forms of travel was its institutional nature. Three developments in particular created the basis of the modern tourism industry: the expansion of the railway, the creation of the package tour, and the invention of the tourist guidebook. Of these three, the railway played perhaps the greatest role in revolutionizing travel. The railway was a direct product of industrialization, and Britain was the first country to embrace this new form of transportation. Nearly twenty years after the inaugural operation of a steam locomotive

¹¹⁹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2-3.

¹²⁰ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 37.

¹²¹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 102-103.

¹²² Taina Syrjämaa, “Tourism as a Typical Cultural Phenomenon of Urban Consumer Society,” in *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure since the Enlightenment*, ed. Peter Borsay, Gunther Hirschfelder, and Ruth E. Mohrmann (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 177.

outside of Leeds, the first inter-city passenger line opened in 1830, connecting the growing industrial centers of Manchester and Liverpool, and cutting the travel time in half.¹²³ Five years later, the first German rail line was opened in northern Bavaria, linking the cities of Nuremberg and Fürth. Soon enough, the major urban centers of central Europe were connected by a growing network of tracks, “leaving in the shadow all those possible destinations and sights which were not near the railway.”¹²⁴ Previously daunting distances were dramatically shortened. The trip from Cologne to Berlin, for instance, which had once required an entire week in a horse-drawn carriage, now only lasted fourteen hours.¹²⁵ By the late nineteenth century, the destination, and not the trip, became the focal point of travel. The new experience of rail travel also created what historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch has labeled “panoramic perception,” a unique mode of apprehending the environment as it flew by the window. Instead of concentrating on objects in the foreground, passengers were forced to grasp urban, industrial, and rural scenes as components of a larger, “aesthetically pleasing” landscape.¹²⁶ The railway journey ensured that travel was no longer an arduous “travail,” just as it promoted new visions of the environment.¹²⁷

While the expansion of the railway expedited the process of traveling in the nineteenth century, the creation of the package tour standardized the experience. The English preacher Thomas Cook pioneered this innovation in 1841 when he chartered a train to transport 570 members of Leicester’s “Anti-Alcohol Association” to a meeting in

¹²³ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, 96.

¹²⁴ Syrjämaa, “Tourism as a Typical Cultural Phenomenon,” 185.

¹²⁵ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 58.

¹²⁶ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Berg, 1986), 59-64.

¹²⁷ Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism*, 254.

neighboring Loughborough. Four years later, Cook organized a pleasure trip to the seashore at Liverpool. This was followed by package tours to Scotland, which was quickly becoming a popular tourist destination among the English middle classes.¹²⁸ Having enjoyed success in Britain, the preacher-turned-entrepreneur set his sights on the continent. In 1855 he organized a tour to the French capital, hoping to capitalize on the Paris Exhibition. During the following decade, Cook expanded into Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, transporting customers to tourist attractions, booking rooms, and supplying valuable information. By the end of the 1870s, the Thomas Cook Company had sixty locations throughout Europe, as well as offices in the United States, Australia, India, and the Middle East.¹²⁹ Enzensberger observes: “The innovation of the guided tour had completed the production methods of the tourism industry. Mass production had begun, and there was no holding it back.”¹³⁰ Leisure travel had become an industry.

Like the package tour, the tourist guidebook also standardized the process of travel, making it more predictable and routine. As a loosely-defined genre, travel literature dates back to the writings of Herodotus, but works designed specifically to “guide” travelers are a relatively recent invention. The first, real tourist guidebooks did not appear until the early nineteenth century. These modern publications were recognizable by their concise nature and manageable size, a noticeable improvement over earlier tomes like Ludwig Wilhelm Gilbert’s three-volume *Handbook for Travelers*

¹²⁸ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours*, 135-137. For more on the growth of tourism in Scotland, see Grenier, *Tourism and Identity in Scotland*, 49-92.

¹²⁹ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours*, 142, 159.

¹³⁰ Enzensberger, “A Theory of Tourism,” 131. It should be noted that the package tour was not really adopted by the German tourism industry until the turn of the century. See Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 63-64.

through Germany, published in 1791.¹³¹ The archetypal tourist guidebook was issued in 1836 by the British John Murray publishing empire. *A Hand-Book for Travellers on the Continent*, based on John Murray III's own notes made during his tour of Europe, launched an entire series of popular guidebooks, recognizable by their trademark red covers.¹³² These compact guides were designed to direct tourists to the most important sights, identifying the best travel routes, and in general, allowing the traveler to be independent of the services of on-site guides. Historian Jan Palmowski contends that these guides “professionalized travel for the middle classes, and rationalized – and in this way directed – essential components of the tourist experience: the anticipation, perception, and memory of travel.”¹³³

In Germany, the “red books” of John Murray served as a model for Karl Baedeker, whose name, like that of Thomas Cook, would soon become synonymous with travel itself. Baedeker's career began in 1827, when he opened a small bookstore in Koblenz, selling city maps, Rhine panoramas, and travelogues. After purchasing the Röhling publishing firm in 1832, Baedeker took an interest in revising the late J.A. Klein's travel guide on the Rhine. In order to ensure the accuracy of the new edition, Baedeker traveled extensively, taking notes on hotels, restaurants, transportation routes, and tourist sights. Published in 1839, the updated version of the Rhineland guidebook was the first in a long series of internationally-renowned tourist guides.¹³⁴ These

¹³¹ Ulrich Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen am Beispiel des Rheins* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang Verlag, 1995), 61.

¹³² This initial guidebook, which covered Holland, Belgium, Prussia and the other northern German states, was followed in 1837 with *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Southern Germany*, which included Bavaria, Austria, and the Danube all the way to the Black Sea. Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, 70.

¹³³ Jan Palmowski, “Travels with Baedeker – The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England,” in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (New York: Berg, 2002), 105-106.

¹³⁴ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 23.

publications contained all the hallmarks of the Murray handbooks, including a red cover, a table of contents, detailed descriptions of routes, up-to-date information on prices and schedules, and an index.¹³⁵ Baedeker, however, was the first to employ a system of rating attractions and accommodations with stars, a practice later adopted by the Murray series.¹³⁶ Several other features of these guidebooks ultimately distinguished them from their English competition, including their high-quality maps and affordable price.¹³⁷ Baedeker guides were also more streamlined, omitting even the brief commentary that had characterized the Murray handbooks. As a result, the Baedeker guides appeared to be “almost completely objective and therefore completely reliable.”¹³⁸ This proved to be a popular formula, and within several decades the Baedeker firm was publishing guidebooks in German, English, and French.¹³⁹ Baedeker’s success helped to establish the genre of the tourist guidebook, and publishing houses across Germany would soon follow his example, producing a deluge of “tourist guides,” “guidebooks,” and “handbooks” during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Middle-Class Tourism in Nineteenth-Century Germany

Having addressed the larger history of travel on the European continent, it is now time to consider nineteenth-century German tourism in greater detail. The word “tourist” first appeared in a German dictionary in 1834, defined as synonym for “traveler,” or

¹³⁵ Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 63-64.

¹³⁶ Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours*, 72.

¹³⁷ Palmowski, “Travels with Baedeker,” 120.

¹³⁸ Koshar, “Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” 330.

¹³⁹ A French translation of Baedeker’s guidebook on the Rhine appeared in 1846, followed by an English translation in 1861. Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours*, 73.

“*Reisende*.”¹⁴⁰ Although the English are rightfully credited with pioneering the practice of tourism, it has been suggested that there existed an almost intrinsic “taste for travel,” or “*Reiselust*,” among the German people.¹⁴¹ Hasso Spode claims that by the end of the eighteenth century “[t]his taste for travel was long since a component of German identity.”¹⁴² David Blackbourn has similarly identified a certain “mania for travel” among the enlightened German public during this period, noting that courses on the subject were even offered at the University of Göttingen.¹⁴³

In spite of poor travel conditions and the lingering threat of bandits, educated Germans traveled like never before on the eve of the French Revolution. Inspired by the Enlightenment, these men toured primarily for the sake of education, and were eager to view architecture, inspect minerals and botanical specimens, and “examine collections of every imaginable kind.” They also traveled for the sake of conversation, trading ideas with fellow intellectuals in the learned societies and reading clubs surfacing around the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁴⁴ This *Reiselust* was even reflected in such literary works as Ludwig Tieck’s *Franz Sternbald’s Wanderings* (1798), a romantic novel set in medieval times, and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Italian Journey*, based on a diary kept during his travels in Italy between 1786 and 1788. Nevertheless, most travelers during this period had little in common with modern tourists. On the eve of the long nineteenth century, as many as one German in ten could be classified as itinerant. This mobile segment of the population included peddlers, gypsies, prostitutes, actors, pilgrims,

¹⁴⁰ Jakob Heinrich Kaltschmidt, *Kurzgefaßtes vollständiges stamm- und sinnverwandschaftliches Gesamt-Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Leipzig: Karl Tauchnitz, 1834), 978.

¹⁴¹ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 26.

¹⁴² Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 6-7. “Die ‘Reiselust’ war schon weit länger ein Bestandteil der deutschen Identität...”

¹⁴³ David Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature: Water, Landscape, and the Making of Modern Germany* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2006), 24.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

shepherds, and journeymen; in other words, people in search of sustenance, professional opportunities, and, both literally and figuratively, “greener pastures.”¹⁴⁵ After the disruption of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the touring intellectuals and itinerant plebeians were joined by a new type of traveler: the middle-class tourist.

To broach the topic of the nineteenth-century German middle classes is to engage with a vast body of literature. Over the past fifty years, historical debate has shifted from a pre-occupation with the “feudalization of the German bourgeoisie” (Max Weber), to more nuanced discussions of cultural *Bürgerlichkeit*, or the condition of being a *Bürger*, during what is now commonly referred to as the “bourgeois nineteenth century.” In the 1960s and 1970s, scholars emphasized the weak and supposedly “un-bourgeois” nature of the German middle classes, citing their aversion to liberalism and their tendency to emulate the culture and politics of the agrarian elite as evidence of Germany’s divergence from an idealized “West,” the familiar *Sonderweg* argument.¹⁴⁶ This school of thought was challenged by British historians Geoff Eley and David Blackbourn, who asserted that a successful bourgeois revolution had indeed taken place in late nineteenth-century Germany, although it had little in common with the political uprisings carried out by the mythical middle classes of England and France. Eley and Blackbourn overturned the notion of a weak German *Bürgertum* by revealing middle-class dominance in the spheres of law, local government, voluntary associations, and the capitalist mode of production.¹⁴⁷ Their work signalled a sea change in the scholarship on nineteenth-century Germany, and Blackbourn’s discussion of the “silent bourgeois revolution” in

¹⁴⁵ Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature*, 54-55.

¹⁴⁶ See Ralf Dahrendorf, *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland* (Munich: R. Piper, 1968); Wehler, *The German Empire*.

¹⁴⁷ The influential *Mythen der deutscher Geschichtsschreibung* was translated, revised, and expanded for English publication in 1984. See Blackbourn and Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History*.

particular, with its stress on the importance of public parks, galleries, and even restaurants in delineating middle-class identity, foreshadowed the impending shift towards cultural history.¹⁴⁸

In recent decades, many historians of nineteenth-century Germany have turned their attention from the lower classes to the now vindicated *Bürgertum*, a term that I prefer over “bourgeoisie” as the latter carries misleading economic connotations. Two larger scholarly projects, the first coordinated by Jürgen Kocka at the University of Bielefeld, and the second directed by Lothar Gall at the University of Frankfurt, have pioneered the intensive analysis of nineteenth-century *Bürgerlichkeit*.¹⁴⁹ While Gall and his students have defined the German *Bürgertum* primarily as municipal citizens united by their political interests and participation in civic and voluntary associations during the early nineteenth century, Kocka and company have overlooked the economic middle classes in favor of the educated, upper middle classes, or *Bildungsbürgertum*, defining the latter largely through a shared culture, or *bürgerliche Kultur*. Although the Bielefeld project was initially influenced by the social sciences and motivated by the attempts of Jürgen Kocka and his former colleague Hans-Ulrich Wehler to account for the weakness of German liberalism as a corollary of the weakness of the German middle classes, the project’s growing preoccupation with a dynamic middle-class culture ultimately called into question at least one of the assumptions of the *Sonderweg* thesis: the tendency of the *Bürgertum* to mimic the aristocracy. By way of a systematic comparison with the middle

¹⁴⁸ See Blackbourn, “The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie,” in *The Peculiarities of German History*, 199-205.

¹⁴⁹ Important works representing these two projects include, but are not limited to Jürgen Kocka, ed. *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987); Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Berlin: Siedler, 1989). For a helpful summary of the literature addressing the nineteenth-century *Bürgertum*, see Jonathan Sperber, “Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World,” *Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 2 (June 1997): 271-297.

classes of Europe and North America, the Bielefeld project has shed light on the distinctive everyday life, *mentalités*, and self-perception of an influential portion of the German population. Kocka has more recently argued that this segment of the population constituted neither a unified class nor a social rank, and was only identifiable through its “external delimitations and shared culture.”¹⁵⁰ Of course, this definition is not without its own shortcomings, among them the fact that many elements of this culture were not shared by all the members of the self-defined *Bürgertum*, while other elements could not be indefinitely monopolized.¹⁵¹ This has not dissuaded scholars in the last twenty years from shedding light on a shared German *bürgerliche Kultur*, and the ways in which it could confirm identity on various levels.

If the German *Bürgertum* is to be defined by a shared culture, then *Bildung* was the definitive feature of this culture. Once synonymous with education, or *Erziehung*, the definition of *Bildung* expanded at the end of the eighteenth century, when it became associated with the concept of “personal cultivation,” or the elevation and transformation of the individual through culture and intellectual activity. In the context of the late Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the nascent Romantic Movement, German intellectuals infused secularized religious and philosophical notions with neo-humanism to produce a new ideology, a program for “self perfection through self-cultivation and refinement that was tantamount to virtue if not salvation itself.”¹⁵² The Prussian education reformer Wilhelm von Humboldt was instrumental in articulating this new

¹⁵⁰ Jürgen Kocka, *Das lange 19. Jahrhundert. Arbeit, Nation und bürgerliche Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001), 117-119. “Außenabgrenzung und gemeinsame Kultur”

¹⁵¹ Jürgen Kocka, “Bürgertum und Bürgerlichkeit als Probleme der deutschen Geschichte von späten 18. zum frühen 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, 44-45.

¹⁵² David Sorkin, “Wilhelm von Humboldt: The Theory and Practice of Self-Formation (*Bildung*), 1791-1810,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar. 1983): 66.

ideal. In *The Limits of State Action*, written between 1791 and 1792, he asserted: “The true end of man, not that which his transient wishes suggest to him, but that which eternal immutable reason prescribes, is the highest possible development of his powers into a well-proportioned whole. For culture of this kind freedom is the first and indispensable condition.”¹⁵³ This quotation suggests that *Bildung* was not only about the elevation of the individual; it also had political implications. This becomes even clearer when we consider the attitudes of early romantics, who maintained that *Bildung*, denoting both education *and* personal growth, provided the only foundation for a successful state. By creating “responsible, enlightened, and virtuous citizens,” *Bildung* would create a better society.¹⁵⁴

Distinctly German and grounded in religious and romantic notions of “inner growth,” *Bildung* became the nation’s “secular social ideal” during the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁵ It allowed the German middle classes to distance themselves from the aristocracy and the allegedly excessively rational French bourgeoisie. *Bildung* was institutionalized in the *Gymnasium*, the state-administered secondary school that was the gateway to university education, but it was also widely available throughout the lives of the upper middle classes in the form of literature, theatre, and museum visits.¹⁵⁶ Thomas Nipperdey astutely summarizes the relationship between culture and *Bildung*:

Culture is not *Bildung*, but *Bildung* is a part of culture. Its presupposition is free time, and taking this time seriously through the pursuit of goals that are not ostentatious. This combination of culture and *Bildung* is the domain of the educated middle classes, but it extends throughout the entire *Bürgertum*, if only

¹⁵³ Quoted in W.H. Bruford, *The German Tradition of Self-Cultivation: ‘Bildung’ from Humboldt to Thomas Mann* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 16.

¹⁵⁴ Frederic C. Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative: The Concept of Early German Romanticism* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 88-91.

¹⁵⁵ Sorkin, “The Theory and Practice of Self-Formation,” 66.

¹⁵⁶ Sperber, “Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft,” 276.

for reasons of prestige. Music and theatre, Schiller festivals, etc. are consequently important, and culture becomes a status symbol.¹⁵⁷

For the German *Bürgertum*, the pursuit of *Bildung* justified their leisure habits as cultural endeavors, and served as a means of distinguishing themselves from other segments of society. Pierre Bourdieu has influentially argued that social identity is often established via practices and class-specific perceptions of those practices that simultaneously emphasize and normalize social differences.¹⁵⁸ Tourism was one such practice, distinguishing the *Bürgertum* from the working classes who did not have the material means to travel, and the upper classes who preferred an entirely different style of travel.

As Philipp Prein has shown in his recent monograph, travel occupied an important place in the lives of the educated middle classes, even if men and women did not travel as extensively in every phase of their lives. As children, boys and girls often spent a few weeks each summer in the countryside with their mother, nursemaid, and occasionally their father. Leaving their sisters behind, adolescent boys later participated in extended hikes with friends, teachers, and their fathers. Higher education brought further travel opportunities for the young man, with the conclusion of studies often being celebrated with a continental tour. With marriage, parenthood, and a career, middle-class men were less likely to travel, but did occasionally vacation in the countryside for several days during the summer. By middle age, the same men had usually established their professional reputation as doctors, lawyers, and professors, and could afford to travel

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Nipperdey, "Kommentar: „Bürgerlich“ als Kultur," in *Bürger und Bürgerlichkeit im 19. Jahrhundert*, 147. "Kultur ist nicht Bildung, aber Bildung ist ein Teil der Kultur. Sie setzt Freizeit, das Ernstnehmen der in der freien Zeit verfolgten Ziele nicht herrschaftlichen Charakter voraus. Diese Kombination von Kultur und Bildung ist Domäne des Bildungsbürgertums, aber sie breitet sich ins ganze Bürgertum aus, sei es auch nur aus Prestige Gründen. Musik und Theater, Schillerfeiern etc. sind dafür wichtig, Kultur wird ein Statussymbol."

¹⁵⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1984), 68, 170-175.

more frequently. However, with the onset of old age and declining health, travel options became limited once again, with nearby health resorts and provincial getaways becoming the preferred destinations.¹⁵⁹

In each of these cases, travel was an opportunity for members of the *Bürgertum* to step away from their everyday lives. For children and their mothers, this meant traveling outside of the familiar world of the schoolhouse and the home. For young adults, this meant exposure to worlds which they had only read about during their studies. For the male heads of the household, this meant a break from their gainful employment and professional responsibilities. Travel may have allowed for a change of pace and a break from the norm, but it could not exactly be defined as “non-utilitarian.” In fact, the very notion of non-utilitarian leisure was at odds with the middle-class work ethic. Historian Warren Breckman maintains that the German *Bildungsbürgertum* subscribed to a “gospel of labor,” implying that productive work and achievement were highly valued, while idleness was seen as “the worst vice.”¹⁶⁰ For many members of the educated middle classes of Germany, properly-conducted “leisure time” could not be reduced to the polar opposite of productive labor, and was instead understood as an intermediary state between work and idleness. Prein explains: “In a sense, leisure time was certainly not work, but it was still respectable.”¹⁶¹ The *Bürgertum*’s propensity for travel cannot entirely be explained by the modern impulse to “simply get away from it all.” Tourism provided distance from everyday life, but it did not free travelers from social

¹⁵⁹ Philipp Prein, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert: Freizeit, Kommunikation und soziale Grenzen* (Münster: Lit, 2005), 47-48.

¹⁶⁰ Warren G. Breckman, “Disciplining Consumption: The Debate about Luxury in Wilhelmine Germany, 1890-1914,” *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (Spring 1991): 490.

¹⁶¹ Prein, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert*, 102. “Freizeit war zwar in gewisser Weise auch Nicht-Arbeit, aber immer noch in einer respektablen Form.”

expectations. Travel went hand-in-hand with *Bildung*; visiting historically significant sights, appreciating natural environments, and interacting with strangers were all forms of personal cultivation entailing the collection of knowledge, experiences, and emotions.¹⁶² Ulrike Pretzel rightly concludes: “After all, traveling cost money, so the objective of the trip had to be justifiably important.”¹⁶³ There had to be a point to it all.

The active pursuit of personal cultivation is what initially distinguished tourism from the early modern varieties of travel discussed above, but during the early nineteenth century, the *Bürgertum* tended to simply appropriate older forms of travel. The German Grand Tour, for instance, was re-imagined as the middle-class *Bildungsreise*.¹⁶⁴ Although an extensive tour of Europe’s urban and cultural centers remained the defining feature of the trip, emphasis in the nineteenth century shifted from the observation of academic, administrative, and economic systems, to the appreciation of “historical monuments, aesthetic spectacles, and the folklore of foreign regions.” The trip still constituted a rite of passage for young men, but these middle-class travelers began to distinguish themselves from the aristocracy by traveling for shorter periods of time, and actively pursuing individualized *Bildung* instead of the routine acquisition of knowledge.¹⁶⁵ The re-imagined continental tour also encouraged a growing national consciousness among the German *Bürgertum*. Traveling over the Alps or beyond the Rhine allowed the young tourist to observe the political and cultural differences that

¹⁶² Ibid., 117-118, 256.

¹⁶³ Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 57. “Das Reisen kostete aber Geld, also mußte der Zweck einer Reise dementsprechend wichtig sein.”

¹⁶⁴ Paul Bernard, *The Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 66.

¹⁶⁵ Freller, *Die Erfindung der Bildungsreise*, 14; Prein, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert*, 27, 88.

made each country unique, and they allegedly returned with a greater appreciation for German institutions, as well as a clearer sense of German cultural identity.¹⁶⁶

The German *Bürgertum* also adopted the practice of visiting spas. These destinations had experienced a major renaissance during the eighteenth century, when towns located near mineral springs truly became spas, a term no longer limited to individual bathing facilities. In contrast to the relatively egalitarian bathing institutions of the Middle Ages, eighteenth-century spas were unequivocally aristocratic, standing in for the traditional summer residences of the European elite. In these temporary centers of upper-class culture, the significance of the waters and their curative properties was largely overshadowed by a new dedication to pleasure and the self-conscious exhibition of the aristocratic lifestyle.¹⁶⁷ Gambling, dancing, and target-shooting all became common forms of entertainment in spas, while bathing itself declined in popularity.¹⁶⁸ German spas also became centers of communication, uniting the upper classes of diverse lands. The social transformation was mirrored by an architectural transformation, and fashionable spa towns like Bad Pyrmont became synonymous with their baroque facilities, including theatres, ballrooms, and casinos.¹⁶⁹ These structures demarcated a

¹⁶⁶ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 49.

¹⁶⁷ Monika Steinhauser, "Das europäische Modebad des 19. Jahrhunderts: Baden-Baden – Eine Residenz des Glücks," in *Die deutsche Stadt im 19. Jahrhundert: Stadtplanung und Baugestaltung im industriellen Zeitalter*, ed. Ludwig Grote (Munich: Prestel, 1974), 96; David Blackburn, "Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-Century Europe," in *Water, Leisure and Culture*, 16.

¹⁶⁸ Burkhard Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft. Kultur und Geschichte der Kurstädte, 1700-1900* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1992), 44-45.

¹⁶⁹ Reinhold Kühnert, "Badereisen im 18. Jahrhundert – Sozialleben zur Zeit der Aufklärung," *Journal für Geschichte* 1 (1987): 17-18. For more on communication as the motivation behind the spa visit, see Reinhold Kühnert, *Urbanität auf dem Lande: Badereisen nach Pyrmont im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 214-249. For more on the role that public investment played in the architectural transformation of German spas, see William Bacon, "The Rise of the German and the Demise of the English Spa Industry: A Critical Analysis of Business Success and Failure," *Leisure Studies* 16 (1997): 173-187.

“cultural space” that was the elusive domain of the upper classes.¹⁷⁰

German spas experienced further change with the influx of middle-class visitors during the nineteenth century. The very presence of this new demographic threatened the elite character of the self-contained world of the spa. The resorts had previously enjoyed a reputation as the exclusive domain of royalty and nobility, with the lower classes cast as servants, and the middle classes playing the part of the respectfully fawning audience. These roles were no longer certain after the number of middle-class visitors began to grow.¹⁷¹ Spas remained centers of elite culture throughout the nineteenth century, but this was a new elite. A “mixed exclusivity” became more common, as the traditional elite were forced to share the facilities with the ascendant *Bürgertum*. The concentrated social environment and daily rituals of spa life guaranteed integration and communication across class barriers. A new hybrid elite culture shared by members of both the upper and wealthy middle classes was subsequently born.¹⁷² The latter group may have justified the visit to the spa as a necessary form of personal cultivation, but once there, they engaged in the same activities enjoyed by the elite clientele, including dancing, gambling, and extended strolling. A “fiction of equality” temporarily emancipated the middle classes from their professional lives and the hierarchical class structure of the real world.¹⁷³ The spa thus became a popular destination for a growing contingent of the

¹⁷⁰ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 21-39. For more on the architecture of German spa towns, see Rolf Bothe, ed., *Kurstädte in Deutschland: Zur Geschichte einer Baugattung* (Berlin: Fröhlich & Kaufmann, 1984); Petra Simon and Margit Behren, *Badekur und Kurbad: Bauten in deutschen Bädern 1780-1920* (Munich: Diederichs, 1988).

¹⁷¹ Heikki Lempa, “The Spa: Emotional Economy and Social Classes in Nineteenth-Century Pyrmont,” *Central European History* 35, no. 1 (2002): 41.

¹⁷² Alexa Geisthövel, “Promenadenmischungen, Raum und Kommunikation in Hydropolen, 1830-1880,” in *Ortsgespräche: Raum und Kommunikation im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alexander C.T. Geppert, Uffa Jensen, and Jörn Weinhold (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2005), 207-209.

¹⁷³ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 465, 227.

wealthy middle classes eager to “be seen” rubbing shoulders with the European elite.¹⁷⁴ At the same time, an international clientele was central to the marketing of many German spas. The industry sought to promote international tourism while also convincing domestic tourists that they did not have to travel far to reach first-class, cosmopolitan resorts. This dialectic between domestic and international tourism would play an even greater role in debates during the interwar period, as we see in Chapters IV and V.

While the German aristocracy and wealthy middle classes “took the waters” in the fashionable spa towns of central Europe, others members of the *Bürgertum* traveled to more provincial destinations in search of rest and relaxation. For example, the climatic health resort, or *Luftkurort*, was a place where fresh air was marketed as a viable remedy.¹⁷⁵ In such locations, the *Bürgertum* sought *Bildung*, enjoying natural scenery and mingling with both locals and fellow travelers, but they also sought recovery, or *Erholung*. The two objectives were not necessarily opposed to one another, with *Erholung* providing the ideal mental and physical conditions for personal cultivation, and *Bildung* validating the social practice in the first place. The middle classes were therefore easily justified in spending their leisure time “recovering” in the company of family and friends, either through outdoor activity or goal-oriented therapy.¹⁷⁶

Similar rationale compelled members of the middle classes to plan summer vacations in the German countryside away from designated health resorts. The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the growing popularity of the so-called

¹⁷⁴ Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: C.H. Beck, 1983), 139; Wolfgang Kaschuba, “German Bürgerlichkeit After 1800: Culture as a Symbolic Praxis,” in *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell (Providence: Berg, 1993), 416.

¹⁷⁵ Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918, Erster Band*, 177.

¹⁷⁶ Prein, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert*, 102.

Sommerfrische, a new form of tourism that quickly became “a feature of the middle-class lifestyle.”¹⁷⁷ Although this vague marketing term is often translated as “summer resort,” I prefer the phrase “summer get-away,” as it distinguishes this category of tourist destination from the health resorts discussed above. A large part of the appeal of the *Sommerfrische* was its relative lack of tourist infrastructure. Hotels, for example, were uncommon and visitors often rented rooms from locals. Similarly, the destination’s principal attraction was its lack of attractions. The summer get-away was exactly that: a rural town or village near an urban center where the families of civil servants, clerks, and small businessmen would spend a number of weeks during the summer.

The *Sommerfrische* represents a noteworthy chapter in the larger development of German tourism for a number of reasons. First, in contrast to the *Bildungsreise* or the extended stay in a health resort, the “summer get-away” was a feasible travel option for the entire family, including women and children. In fact, female visitors often outnumbered men in these locales, as fathers could typically only escape their professional obligations for several days at a time. Second, the *Sommerfrische* helped to make the “vacation” an annual feature in the lives of middle-class families. Although recreational offerings were usually limited to children’s festivals, bowling, and hiking, pleasure was the ostensible goal of these vacations, suggesting that in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the concept of “travel as education” was slowly being eclipsed by the desire for *Erholung*.¹⁷⁸ Third, the “summer get-away” would become the symbolic antithesis to the modern city, and an extended stay in the countryside allowed the middle-

¹⁷⁷ Silke Götsch, “Sommerfrische: Zur Etablierung einer Gegenwelt am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 98, no.1 (2002): 9.

¹⁷⁸ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 97-99; Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 93-97.

class traveler to leisurely re-connect with the rustic culture and inhabitants of their German *Heimat*.¹⁷⁹ This new variety of tourism also provided an agreeable proximity to the natural environment, which was now understood as a panacea for the ills of urban civilization.¹⁸⁰

From the foothills of the Alps to the shorelines of the Baltic and North Seas, Germany was a country brimming with natural sightseeing possibilities. However, before the tourism industry boomed in the nineteenth century, a fundamental transformation occurred in the perception of the natural environment. For centuries, nature had been understood as the bane of mankind's existence, and a reminder of the limits of civilization. Spode writes: "In the beginning, states the Bible, the earth was 'desolate and empty.' Since primeval times, the sea and the mountains, the desert and the forest have represented this terrible, prehistoric vastness and disorder."¹⁸¹ This conception of nature as irrational and dangerous tended to keep visitors away from the sights that now attract so many tourists. The negative attitudes were also linked to the practical difficulties of traveling through mountainous regions or over tempestuous seas, an often tedious and dangerous undertaking in the early modern period.¹⁸² Consequently, the natural environment "rarely formed the main object of a journey."¹⁸³ Beginning in the late eighteenth century, romantic writers and artists began to re-conceptualize mountains, beaches, and rivers as venues of sublime beauty, embodying a "wholeness

¹⁷⁹ For more on *Heimat* tourism in the *Kaiserreich*, see Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, 59-107; Confino, *The Nation as a Local Metaphor*, 99-207.

¹⁸⁰ Götsch, "Sommerfrische: Zur Etablierung einer Gegenwelt am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts," 10-11.

¹⁸¹ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 13. "Am Anfang- sagt die Bibel- war die Erde 'wüst und leer'. Das Meer und die Berge, die Wüste und der Wald repräsentieren seit Urzeiten diese schreckliche, vormenschliche Weite und Unordnung."

¹⁸² Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours*, 21.

¹⁸³ Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism*, 122.

supposedly lacking in commercial society.”¹⁸⁴ Christof Mauch explains: “From their perspective, the benefits of nature were not to be found in cultivation or exploitation of natural resources but in the beauty of nature, in its non-material and spiritual values... Nature was glorified because of the emotional sensations it created.”¹⁸⁵

In Germany, the most striking manifestation of this mental shift was a newfound appreciation for the mountains and seashores, settings which provided the “starkest contrast” with cities and rural landscapes being “leveled and confined” in the name of progress.¹⁸⁶ While the “discovery” of natural attractions like the Alps can be traced to the eighteenth century, it was the romantics’ rehabilitation of nature and the disenchantment wrought by urbanization that encouraged thousands of nineteenth-century tourists to follow scientists, poets, and painters into “the wild.”¹⁸⁷ Compared to the idealized German countryside, the Alps and Baltic and North Sea coastlines appeared even more “untouched,” allowing for real detachment from the outside world. Such locations also possessed a sublime beauty, a “delicious terror” that poets and philosophers associated with moral and political virtue.¹⁸⁸ Furthermore, the air and water of these locations supposedly possessed curative properties, and seawater in particular was linked to the prevention of multiple illnesses and debilities.¹⁸⁹ Swimming and mountain-climbing became popular means of *Erholung*, in addition to being seen as pleasurable activities. This was an important development in the larger story of tourism: physical activity

¹⁸⁴ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 24.

¹⁸⁵ Christof Mauch, “Introduction: Nature and Nation in Transatlantic Perspective,” in *Nature in German History*, ed. Christof Mauch (New York: Berghahn, 2004), 5.

¹⁸⁶ Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature*, 71.

¹⁸⁷ Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 9, 24-25; Mary L. Barker, “Traditional Landscape and Mass Tourism in the Alps,” *Geographical Review* 72, no. 4 (October 1982): 396.

¹⁸⁸ Edward Dickinson, “Altitude and Whiteness: Germanizing the Alps and Alpinizing the Germans, 1875-1935,” *German Studies Review* 33, no. 3 (October 2010): 581.

¹⁸⁹ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 17-19.

became a regular feature of the vacation, thereby expanding the expectations of the middle-class tourist.¹⁹⁰ These activities were also decidedly non-aristocratic, solidifying a middle-class culture based not only on status symbols, but on leisure patterns as well.¹⁹¹

Alongside the Alps and the northern beaches, the Rhine River also became a popular tourist destination during the nineteenth century. The romantic poets Friedrich Schlegel, Clemens Brentano, and Ludwig Achim von Arnim toured the Rhine in 1802, recording their impressions and collecting local legends and songs for a reading public interested in re-connecting with a “national past.”¹⁹² After the Napoleonic Wars, the Rhine became a symbol of German identity, with authors like Ernst Moritz Arndt characterizing it as the “crucible of German nationhood.”¹⁹³ Thus, romanticization occurred in tandem with nationalization, and the Rhine became the quintessential German tourist destination during the nineteenth century, popular among both domestic and international tourists. The portion of the river between Mainz and Cologne, often referred to as the Rhine Gorge or the Middle Rhine, was the primary attraction. More so than any other German destination, the Middle Rhine offered the complete package: evidence of nature’s infinite power and scope in the river itself; dark forests, rolling mountains, and stark cliffs along its banks; scenes of pastoral life in the terraced vineyards and rural communities in its vicinity; and picturesque reminders of the medieval past in the numerous ruins adorning its course. The Middle Rhine boasted attractions both timeless and historical, made accessible with the help of the organized

¹⁹⁰ Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 77.

¹⁹¹ Peter H. Hansen, “Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain,” *Journal of British Studies* 34, no. 3 (July 1995): 309. In this article, Hansen makes it clear that the connection between middle-class identity and leisure patterns was not unique to Germany.

¹⁹² Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 28-29.

¹⁹³ Thomas Lekan, “A ‘Noble Prospect’: Tourism, *Heimat*, and Conservation on the Rhine, 1880-1914,” *The Journal of Modern History* 81, no. 4 (December 2009): 832.

tour and steamship travel. These modern innovations brought a deluge of visitors to this tourist destination, and after 1871, the Rhine became an integral part of the German *Bildungsreise*.¹⁹⁴ Guidebooks still used poetic language to describe the Middle Rhine, but the environment that had been “idealized and transfigured” by romantic authors at the turn of the century had become a marketable reality that could now only be labeled as “romantic.”¹⁹⁵ Once a sanctuary from the modern world of commodities, it had become a commodity itself, streamlined and practical.¹⁹⁶

Nineteenth-century tourism in natural settings exemplified several important trends: the romanticization and commodification of nature; the significance of travel as a marker of middle-class identity, and the increasingly common balancing of personal cultivation, physical revitalization, and recreation in the vacation experience. By emphasizing the importance of this variety of leisure travel, I do not mean to insinuate that the German tourism industry relied exclusively on natural attractions during the decades before the First World War. On the contrary, cities like Berlin, Dresden, and Munich had reputations as tourist hubs long before the mass tourism of the twentieth century, even if many of them had been overlooked by the Grand Tourists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Moreover, these cities were not only tourist attractions in their own right, but also centers of an expanding tourism industry. Munich, for example, served as the headquarters for several organizations that supported regional tourism, including the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the

¹⁹⁴ Lekan, “Tourism, *Heimat*, and Conservation on the Rhine,” 834, 844.

¹⁹⁵ Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 36-38. For a recent account of nineteenth-century tourism on the Middle Rhine, see Thilo Nowack, “Rhein, Romantik, Reisen. Der Ausflugs- und Erholungsreiseverkehr im Mittelrheintal im Kontext gesellschaftlichen Wandels (1890 bis 1970)” (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 2006), 12-51.

¹⁹⁶ Enzensberger, “A Theory of Tourism,” 129.

Bavarian Highlands (founded in 1869), the State Association for the Expansion of Bavarian Tourism (founded in 1890), and the State Tourism Council of Bavaria (founded in 1910). The third organization, subsidized by the royal government, actively promoted Bavarian attractions not only to tourists, but also to locals. In 1912, they passed a resolution to have oversized posters of Bavarian tourist attractions displayed in train stations throughout the region, encouraging residents to share the “tourist gaze” with their out-of-town visitors. Later that year, the same organization decided that Munich primary school teachers should instruct students on how to interact with tourists, not only in order to encourage future visits, but also to convey the importance of regional tourism.¹⁹⁷ The outbreak of the First World War prevented the implementation of these plans, but their very existence confirms that tourism was becoming a big business, with undeniably high stakes.

The Origins of Mass Tourism

The Great War of 1914-1918 was a turning point in the broader history of tourism on several levels. It devastated the tourism industry of countless destinations, as the commitment to “total war” led to a marked decrease in consumption in general, and leisure travel in particular. Although some spa towns managed to stay in business as a result of the influx of wounded soldiers, most tourist locales witnessed the disappearance not only of their clientele, but of their male labor force. On the other hand, the experience of the war itself dramatically expanded the realm of possibilities as far as travel was concerned. The sheer scale of the conflict led to the deployment of millions of

¹⁹⁷ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 12: “Landesfremdenverkehrsrat, Bayerischer: Berichte, 1911-1920.”

soldiers, ensuring that “[p]easants and workers from all over Europe who had never traveled much beyond their home regions now found themselves mobilized into entirely new environments.”¹⁹⁸ For these members of the lower classes, the experiences of traveling to the front, viewing unfamiliar landscapes, and encountering foreign cultures produced a new desire to experience the extraordinary. German soldiers in particular were especially interested in touring new lands, traveling throughout the occupied areas of war-torn Belgium, France, and the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires.¹⁹⁹ These wartime experiences foreshadowed a new stage in the evolution of leisure travel: modern mass tourism.

Modern mass tourism represented the culmination of several trends discussed in the previous section, among them the commercialization and streamlining of the travel experience. Historian Christine Keitz has identified four additional features of this twentieth-century phenomenon. First, modern mass tourism was ostensibly egalitarian and transcended social barriers. What was once the obligation of the aristocracy and later the privilege of the middle classes effectively became a viable option for the largest demographic of industrial society: the workers. Second, modern mass tourism was easily and routinely planned, something guaranteed by travel bureaus offering all-inclusive, package vacations in the spirit of Thomas Cook. Third, modern mass tourism was a direct product of socio-economic change, most obviously, the promise of paid vacation days. Fourth, modern mass tourism relied on the existence of a “mass tourism

¹⁹⁸ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 67.

¹⁹⁹ David W. Lloyd, *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia, and Canada, 1919-1939* (New York: Berg, 1998), 23. In addition to instilling in the common man a new taste for travel, the Great War also helped to create a new category of sights worth seeing, namely, the battlefields of the Western Front. The “killing fields” actually drew visitors during the course of the war, and it was reported that non-combatants were visiting battlefields in search of mementos as early as 1914. This is an excellent example of “dark tourism.”

infrastructure” revolving around the transportation and hospitality industries. Simply stated, sights worth seeing and locales worth visiting could not be enjoyed unless the means existed to relocate and accommodate those who were eager to tour.²⁰⁰

Although Hasso Spode has maintained that mass tourism did not emerge in Germany until after the Nazi seizure of power, Keitz traces its origins to the 1920s.²⁰¹ A number of structural pre-conditions paved the way for its development, including the rationalization of labor, the increased amount of leisure time enjoyed by German workers, and the period of relative economic stability between the “disruption and immiseration” of the hyperinflation of 1922-23, and the Great Depression of 1930-1933.²⁰² Although some large-scale industries had begun the process of restructuring during the First World War, the immediate postwar period did not witness widespread rationalization. After 1924, the stabilization of the German currency and the renegotiation of reparations “made industrial restructuring not only politically possible, but also economically essential.”²⁰³ Adoption of assembly-line manufacturing techniques led to an “intensification of the labor process,” and numerous official holidays were sacrificed in the process. In exchange, the eight-hour work day became standard practice, giving laborers an unprecedented amount of daily free time. Furthermore, many employers sought to ensure prolonged productivity by granting their employees annual,

²⁰⁰ Christine Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild: Die Entstehung des modernen Massentourismus in Deutschland* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1997), 13-15.

²⁰¹ Hasso Spode, “Fordism, Mass Tourism and the Third Reich: The ‘Strength through Joy’ Seaside Resort as an Index Fossil,” *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 1 (Autumn 2004): 132-134.

²⁰² Eric Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2007), 167.

²⁰³ Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 131-132.

paid vacation days, even though no nation-wide legislation mandated this policy.²⁰⁴ This did not become common practice in Western Europe until the 1930s, when the annual vacation became a form of “long overdue compensation for increasing strain” on industrial workers.²⁰⁵

Still, paid vacation days did not necessarily guarantee a trip elsewhere, and most Germans lacked the financial means to travel during the early years of the Weimar Republic.²⁰⁶ It was not until the economy stabilized in the mid-1920s that leisure travel became a real prospect for a broader spectrum of the population. With job stability and money to spend, office workers and retail employees, members of the so-called “salaried masses,” adopted the practice of leisure travel.²⁰⁷ At the same time, the expansion of the German welfare state coincided with the broadening of the expectations of government employees. For this demographic, an annual vacation would acquire the status of an entitlement, just as the popular rhetoric of egalitarianism and democracy compelled other segments of the population to expect similar opportunities.²⁰⁸ By the second half of the 1920s, the middle-class multitude that had monopolized tourism since the late nineteenth century was replaced by a new spectrum of German society, including civil servants, salaried employees, and a growing number of industrial laborers.

²⁰⁴ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 24, 29, 33; Jürgen Reulecke, “Vom blauen Montag zum Arbeiterurlaub: Vorgeschichte und Entstehung des Erholungsurlaubs für Arbeiter vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg,” *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 16 (1976): 205.

²⁰⁵ Kaspar Maase, *Grenzenloses Vergnügen: Der Aufstieg der Massenkultur, 1850-1970* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1997), 189.

²⁰⁶ Gerald D. Feldman, “Welcome to Germany? The ‘Fremdenplage’ in the Weimar Inflation,” in *Geschichte als Aufgabe. Festschrift für Otto Büsch*, ed. Wilhelm Treue (Berlin: Colloquium, 1988), 637.

²⁰⁷ For more on this growing demographic of German society, see Siegfried Kracauer, *The Salaried Masses: Duty and Distraction in Weimar German*, trans. Quinton Hoare (New York: Verso, 1998).

²⁰⁸ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 29, 32.

All of this corresponded with a mental shift concerning leisure travel and what it represented. During the 1920s, tourism became part of a rapidly developing “mass culture,” taking its place alongside cinema, radio, and spectator sports as standard features of the modern way of life.²⁰⁹ As an activity no longer defined by class, tourism also represented the leveling of social inequality. According to historian Gary Cross, the paid vacation would eventually become a “symbol of social solidarity to be realized in leisure beyond the control of the market and the state.”²¹⁰ Not only did leisure travel open up new worlds to those in the position to afford them, it also promised deliverance from the hustle and bustle of the city, the office, the factory, and even the home, if only for a matter of days at a time. In the midst of ongoing industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization, tourism allowed wider segments of society to escape the monotony of daily existence.²¹¹ As a popular form of leisure, tourism became an “independent site of meaning,” and not just a “realm for the reproduction of labor power.”²¹² In a 1925 essay entitled “Travel and Dance,” Siegfried Kracauer argued that leisure travel allowed people to escape the “deadeningly familiar,” “spatio-temporal” limits of their daily affairs, reminding themselves that there was, simply put, something more to life. He characterized travel as a means of emancipation and transcendence, possessing an almost spiritual character as it replaced the experience of the “here and now” with tangible evidence of “the Beyond.” Kracauer explained:

As travelers, they distance themselves from their habitual location; going to an exotic place is their sole remaining means of showing that they have outgrown the

²⁰⁹ Eberhard Kolb, *The Weimar Republic*, 2nd ed., trans. P.S. Falla and R.J. Park (New York: Routledge, 2005), 95-98.

²¹⁰ Gary Cross, *Time and Money: The Making of Consumer Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993), 8.

²¹¹ Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 3-4.

²¹² Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar, “Régimes of Consumer Culture: New Narratives in Twentieth-Century German History,” *German History* 19, no. 2 (June 2001): 139.

regions of the Here that enslave them. They experience supra-spatial *endlessness* by traveling in an endless geographic space and, specifically, through travel as such. Such travel is the sort that above all and most of the time has no particular destination; its meaning is exhausted in the mere fact of changing locations.²¹³

The passion for travel evident during the Weimar Republic was noteworthy not in the details of how or where one traveled, but simply in the fact that one could travel at all, and remove one's self from a "habitual location."²¹⁴ Travel was not just an indication of modernity, it was a therapy.

Various statistics corroborate the growth of modern mass tourism during the Weimar era. At the turn of the century, less than 1% of the entire German work force enjoyed an annual vacation, even though some civil servants and office employees had been granted annual vacation leave during the late nineteenth century.²¹⁵ By 1914, 10% of German manual laborers had a legal claim to vacation days, compared to the over 60% of white-collar workers who enjoyed similar rewards.²¹⁶ These numbers would increase significantly by 1928, when it was reported that 95.3% of the entire work force now had a right to vacation guaranteed by their employers.²¹⁷ This was a larger percentage than in France and England, even though German workers generally received fewer vacation days.²¹⁸ Two-thirds were ensured a paid vacation of three days or less, while only 12% of workers could anticipate a vacation of twelve days or more.²¹⁹ It should be emphasized, however, that many workers were financially incapable of taking advantage

²¹³ Siegfried Kracauer, "Travel and Dance," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), 66, 70-71. Siegfried Kracauer was a regular columnist for the *Frankfurter Zeitung* during the Weimar era.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

²¹⁵ Reulecke, "Vom blauen Montag zum Arbeiterurlaub," 221-226.

²¹⁶ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 33-34.

²¹⁷ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 101.

²¹⁸ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen "Reiseweltmeister" wurden*, 110.

²¹⁹ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 71.

of their newly-guaranteed vacation time.²²⁰ In spite of this fact, the number of overnight stays by domestic tourists in western Germany rose by approximately 40% between 1924 and 1929, climbing from 233 million to 322 million.²²¹ Meanwhile, the number of overnight stays in German youth hostels skyrocketed from 60,000 in 1919, to over 4,000,000 in 1932, confirming the popularity of this affordable vacation option.²²² Alongside the growing number of youth hostels, the number of so-called “vacation homes” catering to the limited financial means of German workers rose to 300 by the end of the Weimar Republic, with over 25,000 beds available at reasonable rates.²²³ A 1931 report issued by the Munich Chamber of Industry and Commerce announced the arrival of a “new type of tourist,” noting that laborers had joined office workers, senior citizens, and members of the middle classes in their search for reasonably-priced activities and affordable accommodations.²²⁴

Tourism served a new function after the First World War: it strengthened the national economy while simultaneously keeping the individual worker placated and refreshed. And yet, it was not just workers who were traveling more often, but also adolescents and women. Detlev Peukert has identified young people as “the pioneers of modern tourism,” as this group helped to popularize weekend excursions and extended hikes into the countryside.²²⁵ On the other hand, many tourist destinations during the 1920s announced that women now constituted the majority of their clientele. Many

²²⁰ Becher, *Geschichte des modernen Lebensstils*, 219. Keitz points out that approximately 10% of the working class was able to differentiate themselves from their proletarian brethren by rubbing shoulders with white collar workers and civil servants on vacation, while roughly two thirds did not earn enough to even consider traveling. Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 41.

²²¹ Günter Menges, *Wachstum und Konjunktur des deutschen Fremdenverkehrs 1913 bis 1956* (Frankfurt am Main: Kommissionsverlag Waldemar Kramer, 1959), 23.

²²² Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 73.

²²³ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 108.

²²⁴ StadtAA, 25, 105: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, VII. Band, 1931.”

²²⁵ Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*, 176.

women had worked outside of the home during the First World War, becoming accustomed to a certain degree of independence and mobility that the tourism industry could profitably exploit.²²⁶ In a period during which the Comedian Harmonists famously extolled the virtues of “*Wochenend und Sonnenschein*,” more Germans were traveling more frequently, but they were also traveling less expensively than the wealthy travelers that had preceded them.²²⁷ According to calculations by the contemporaneous economist Artur Bormann, the domestic tourist spent, on average, 10 marks per day, with the 80-90% of travelers comprising the so-called “middle classes” averaging 7-8 marks per day. This is significantly less than the 20 marks per day spent by domestic tourists in Bavaria in 1914, a figure cited by Maximilian Krauss, the General Director of the National Railway Office for German Travel.²²⁸

The growth and diversification of the transportation industry ensured that the new class of tourists would require less time and money to enjoy a vacation. The railway had been instrumental in the early expansion of tourism, but the nearly eighty-year, uninterrupted expansion of the German rail network came to an abrupt halt at the beginning of the Weimar Republic, producing an opening for new forms of transportation.²²⁹ The invention of the internal combustion engine led to serious competition for the railway, in addition to heralding the demise of the private coach. The 1920s were the age of the motor bus, a new form of transportation that was relatively flexible compared to the railway. Soon enough, previously isolated vacation destinations

²²⁶ Syrjämaa, “Tourism as a Typical Cultural Phenomenon,” 181.

²²⁷ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 112, 105.

²²⁸ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 44-45. See also Maximilian Krauss, “Die Grundlagen des Fremdenverkehrs in München und im Bayerischen Hochland,” in *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Fremdenverkehr: Werkstatterinnerungen und Grundlagen* (München: Gerber, 1929).

²²⁹ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 78.

were made accessible by bus lines catering specifically to tourists, one example being the popular *Luft Hansa* “Spa Service.” The nation-wide network of private and post bus lines grew exponentially between 1913 and 1928, expanding from 3,000 to 56,000 kilometers. Meanwhile, more wealthy tourists could access new locales with their own motor vehicles, and automobiles and motorcycles became a common sight in resort areas.²³⁰ These developments would force the newly-founded German National Railway, or *Reichsbahn*, to re-evaluate its pricing system as well as the condition of the trains themselves.²³¹ In order to compete with the tourist bus lines in particular, the National Railway began offering package deals, which accommodated vacationers by including sight-seeing tours, meals, and even overnight accommodations within the ticket price. This initiative proved to be a great success, and in 1927, the German Railway triumphantly announced that 835,000 customers had traveled with these special tourism trains, or *Sonderzüge*.²³²

Another important feature of modern mass tourism in the Weimar Republic was the creation of literally hundreds of local tourism associations, as well as several important national organizations. Although many popular destinations, like Bad Reichenhall and Munich, had been represented by a local organization long before 1918, the decade after the First World War witnessed the emergence of local tourism

²³⁰ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 106. Rudy Koshar notes that Germany witnessed the first “spurt in car production” between 1924 and 1929, when the number of motor vehicles doubled. Rudy Koshar, “Germans at the Wheel: Cars and Leisure Travel in Interwar Germany,” in *Histories of Leisure*, 216. See also Confino and Koshar, “Régimes of Consumer Culture,” 156.

²³¹ For more on the financial troubles of the German National Railway Company, see Alfred C. Mierzejewski, “The German National Railway Company, 1924-1932: Between Private and Public Enterprise.” *The Business History Review* 67, no. 3 (Autumn 1993): 406-438.

²³² Many German tourists preferred to maintain some degree of independence while on vacation, and the bicycle remained a preferred means of transportation for those making brief excursions to nearby destinations. Bicycles became even more popular after the German economy collapsed again in 1929. Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 25-26, 78-86.

associations and offices across the nation. By the beginning of 1928, the number of private tourism associations (*Vereine*) in Germany numbered approximately 700. These organizations often assumed the responsibilities of the “Beautification Societies” of earlier decades, in addition to overseeing the creation and quality of the local tourism infrastructure, as well as the production and distribution of tourist propaganda. Before the First World War, these local associations were loosely organized into the Federation of German Travel Associations (BDV), an organization that provided a forum for local tourism associations to meet and discuss common issues and international marketing. In 1918, the BDV was joined by the Central European Travel Bureau (MER), whose shareholders eventually included the German National Railway, various state governments, and the shipping lines of Hapag, based in Hamburg, and Norddeutsche Lloyd, based in Bremen. As the only organization permitted to sell German train tickets at their original prices outside of train stations, the MER enjoyed great success. By the end of the 1920s, it operated offices in four major cities and kiosks around the nation, selling inexpensive package tours to popular German getaways.²³³ In the intervening time, another organization was established with the explicit goal of attracting foreign tourists to Germany. Founded in 1920, the Reich Central Office for German Tourism Promotion (RDV) saw it as their “cultural duty” to reestablish communication between foreigners and Germans, and thereby improve their nation’s image after the First World War. Subsidized by the German National Railway after 1928, the RDV had offices in twelve different countries and distributed propaganda around the world.²³⁴

²³³ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 114-115.

²³⁴ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 59-61.

This new corporate interest in tourism was linked to an expanded appreciation of its earning potential. After the war, governments at the local, state, and national levels looked at tourism differently, recognizing it as a vital and independent sector of the German economy.²³⁵ In destinations like Rothenburg ob der Tauber, tourism associations claimed that leisure travel would help to “reacquaint Germans with their cultural roots,” while also injecting the local economy with “desperately needed cash.”²³⁶ International tourism in particular was viewed as an important means of achieving a favorable balance of credit while the national economy was heavily burdened by reparation payments and the foreign occupation of the Ruhr.²³⁷ The currency brought to Germany by foreign visitors became one of the nation’s most important imports, and the primary objective behind the cultivation of international tourism.²³⁸ Citizens of the United States became one of the target audiences of RDV marketing, which employed the straightforward slogan: “Germany wants to see You!”²³⁹ A series of brochures published by the BDV also featured texts in English and French, confirming the significance attached to foreign travel by the national tourism industry. Nevertheless, American travel to Germany, which grew briefly after 1918, declined again in the early 1920s, when inflation “caused havoc with exchange rates.”²⁴⁰ In the meantime, visitors from bordering countries descended upon Germany, eager to take advantage of the beneficial exchange rate not only by traveling for less, but also by purchasing consumer goods at shockingly low

²³⁵ Ibid., 57.

²³⁶ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 150.

²³⁷ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 107.

²³⁸ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 55.

²³⁹ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 117-118.

²⁴⁰ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 75.

prices. This “plague of foreigners” drained local resources and ultimately led to the further destabilization of the German Mark.²⁴¹

While the German tourism industry pursued both foreign tourists and their currency, the issue of Germans traveling to foreign destinations became a subject of debate among local and state tourism organizations and the national government. Just as international tourists were enthusiastically encouraged to visit Germany, nationals themselves were urged to “See Germany First.”²⁴² These marketing campaigns were motivated by similar financial concerns; one was aimed at acquiring foreign currency in order to re-invigorate the national economy, while the other sought to keep German currency within the country. Spending a vacation within one’s own nation was characterized as a “duty to the fatherland,” a common marketing strategy with roots in the prewar period.²⁴³ In Germany, the national government even went so far as to impose relatively high fees on citizens who decided to spend their vacation abroad, a measure that sparked protests in 1924 and 1931.²⁴⁴ During this volatile period, domestic tourism had the potential to do more than bolster the economy; it could also enhance loyalty to the nation-state by forging a connection between citizens and the land itself. The creation

²⁴¹ Although some local communities insisted on excessive surcharges and fees as a means of compensation, others were more concerned about alienating the foreigners that constituted the majority of their clientele. Once the currency crisis abated, the issue resolved itself, but not before some tourist locales had significantly damaged their image through their poor treatment of foreign tourists. Feldman, “The ‘Fremdenplage’ in the Weimar Inflation,” 636-649. See also Bernd Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 46.

²⁴² For example, an advertisement in a 1920 issue of *Deutscher Verkehr: Zeitschrift für Förderung und Aufbau des Fremdenverkehrswesens* compelled Germans to “Visit the Rhineland! The most beautiful travel destination of the fatherland, and in the process help strengthen the beleaguered German people!” StadtAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 32: “Bund deutscher Verkehrsvereine und Reichszentrale für deutsche Verkehrswerbung, 1913-1931.”

²⁴³ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 107; Orvar Löfgren, “Know Your Country: A Comparative Perspective on Tourism and Nation Building in Sweden,” in *Being Elsewhere*, 137. For more on the manner in which the tourism industry of Imperial Austria marketed travel as a duty to the fatherland, see Pieter M. Judson, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), 141-176.

²⁴⁴ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 67.

of profit therefore went hand-in-hand with the creation of the “consumer-citizen,” exposed to “authoritative representations of ‘ourselves,’ ‘our landscape,’ and ‘our cultural ways and traditions’.”²⁴⁵

If Germans demonstrated an unquenchable taste for travel during the peak years of the Weimar Republic, then the worldwide Great Depression forced many to consider a diet. Between 1929 and 1933, the number of overnight stays in Germany fell 29%, reaching a figure below that of the prewar years.²⁴⁶ However, this statistic does not necessarily imply that less people were traveling, but that many were traveling for less time. As the result of dramatically reduced incomes, some vacation options were no longer feasible, but this did not mean people abandoned the annual ritual of the vacation altogether. In general, the German tourist sought out shorter and cheaper alternatives, and the travel industry responded to these demands. For example, starting in 1932, the National Railway began offering 50% reduced fares to *Sommerfrischen* outside urban centers, a program so popular that it was continued until 1938.²⁴⁷ Tourism had become a feature and symbol of modern life that society would not quickly abandon.

Tourism in the Swastika’s Shadow

The expansion of mass tourism continued during the Nazi period, when leisure travel acquired even more explicitly nationalist overtones. Shortly after the so-called “seizure of power” in 1933, the National Socialist dictatorship commenced with an extensive

²⁴⁵ Baranowski and Furlough, “Introduction,” 7-8. Spode notes that the German-Austrian *Alpenverein* changed its statutes in 1924 to reflect such nationalist sensibilities. One of its new objectives was “the advancement of national sensibilities and love of the fatherland through the national sections.” Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 109.

²⁴⁶ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen “Reiseweltmeister” wurden*, 105.

²⁴⁷ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 118-119.

mobilization of German society in the name of nation and race. All other forms of allegiance, including class, religion, and region, were to be relegated by a new devotion to the people's community (*Volkgemeinschaft*), and the regime itself. However, before the regime could transform attitudes and values, they first had to transform institutions. In the early months of 1933, the new government embarked upon an ambitious "co-ordination," or *Gleichschaltung*, of all local organizations, purging members, reorganizing executive committees, fusing groups together, and abolishing others altogether. Autonomous *Vereine*, a dominant feature of German social life since the nineteenth century, were no more, and tourism associations were not spared. On June 23, 1933, Hitler signed legislation creating the Reich Committee for Tourism, a move applauded by representatives of the nation's travel industry. The co-ordination of German tourism under the direction of Josef Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda streamlined the industry, in addition to turning leisure travel into a political and ideological matter. Afterwards, local tourism associations were forced to carry out "Aryanization" by expelling their Jewish members and employees. They were also obliged to join newly-formed state tourism associations, or *Landesverkehrsverbände*. These associations were managed by the individual state governments, but supervised by the Reich Committee for Tourism.²⁴⁸

Centralization of the tourism industry continued on March 23, 1936, when the Law for the Reich Tourism Association modified the legal status of the national tourism organization and awarded it greater control over its members. This legislation also established the legal definition of "tourism communities," which were forced to join the

²⁴⁸ Kristin Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany: Tourism in the Third Reich* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 16-20.

regional state tourism associations.²⁴⁹ The Reich Tourism Association was now, in effect, a “corporate body of public law,” situated atop a chain of command that went all the way down to the local tourism communities. The national organization selected the chairmen of the regional associations, authorized their annual budgets, and reviewed copies of official souvenirs, guidebooks, brochures, and posters. However, the pre-existing local tourism industry rarely received specific orders on what to publish, and retained control over the language employed to sell its sights to potential visitors. Guidelines on correct content and formatting were issued in 1936, but the instructions only applied to state tourism publications, and tended to focus almost exclusively on questions of style, in addition to displaying concern over “exaggerated epithets and allusions to foreign destinations.”²⁵⁰

In spite of this relative independence in the realm of tourist propaganda, the ambitious *Gleichschaltung* of the tourism industry confirms that the National Socialist dictatorship took an unprecedented interest in leisure travel. In the wake of the Great Depression, there was an obvious economic advantage to a healthy tourism industry, but several other factors played a role here as well. One issue was concern over Germany’s damaged international reputation after World War I. Tourism would become one of the Third Reich’s most effective means of publicizing the new Germany, especially during the *Olympia-Jahr* 1936. International tourists were to be presented with a revitalized and

²⁴⁹ A “tourism community” was defined as any locale in which the annual figure of overnight stays was greater than 25% of the population.

²⁵⁰ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 21-24, 45, 85. In fact, there appears to have been some pressure on the local tourism industry of Franconian Switzerland to change their century-old moniker. In an August 1938 communiqué to the State Tourism Association of Nuremberg and Northern Bavaria, the Bavarian Minister of Economics, Ludwig Siebert, acknowledged that “foreign” labels for German landscapes were undesirable, but that this particular label had obvious geographic and economic significance. Furthermore, changing the name, especially in the middle of the season, would hardly be in the interests of the local tourism industry, or the local government. StAN, Regierung von Mittelfranken (Abgabe 1978), 3699: “Landesfremdenverkehrsrat, 1933-1952.”

hospitable nation, and a 1938 memo from Goebbels confirmed that “the accommodation of foreigners was of the utmost significance for international propaganda.”²⁵¹ The tourists of Great Britain were a primary target of this initiative, as the National Socialist dictatorship attempted to win the “support and advocacy” of those British visitors who sought “a quiet and idyllic country in which to spend their holidays.”²⁵² A 1935 communiqué from Germany’s embassy in London stressed just how important it was that these visitors were treated well in order to instill in them a “predilection for Germany.”²⁵³

Foreigners aside, the National Socialist dictatorship was also intent upon displaying an image of a prosperous and amiable Germany to the German populace itself. Domestic travelers were invited to reacquaint themselves with their fatherland, an activity that would help bolster patriotism. Propaganda once again compelled Germans to “See Germany First,” while the new ideological significance of tourism implied that every member of the *Volksgemeinschaft* should enjoy the “right to travel for leisure purposes.”²⁵⁴ The automobile would be an important feature in this new “land of the

²⁵¹ StAN, Regierung von Mittelfranken (Abgabe 1978), 3699. The memo also stressed that these visitors, unless they expressed interest, should not be inundated with information about the National Socialist Movement.

²⁵² Angela Schwarz, “British Visitors to National Socialist Germany: In a Familiar or in a Foreign Country?” *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, no. 3 (July 1993): 487-488. Schwarz offers an interesting survey of British travelogues of the Nazi period, concluding that the Third Reich almost always appealed to British travelers on some level, in spite of partial or absolute rejection of Nazi rhetoric and policy. See also Angela Schwarz, *Die Reise ins Dritte Reich: Britische Augenzeugen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland (1933-39)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

²⁵³ StAA, NSDAP Gau Schwaben, 1/47: “Abschriften von einer Führerrede über den englischen Reiseverkehr nach Deutschland und über die Erzeugungsschlacht der Deutscher Landwirtschaft (Goebbels), 1931-1935.” The national tourism industry targeted American tourists as well, and an article in an April 1934 issue of *The Chicago Tribune* announced that the German Railway Administration was offering a 60% fare reduction for Americans traveling between May 1 and October 31. *The Chicago Tribune* (Chicago), 15 April 1934.

²⁵⁴ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 116. Fascist nations were not the only ones to actively encourage mass tourism after the Great Depression. The national governments of both France and the United States endorsed paid vacations as a means of rejuvenating the economy, and pacifying the potentially hostile work force. See Ellen Furlough, “Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, no.2 (April 1998): 247-

Germans” envisioned by the Führer. Early in 1933, Hitler proclaimed his “vision of a nation on wheels in which a vast network of modern highways enabled Germans to drive affordable vehicles not for commuting to work but for vacations and weekend outings.”²⁵⁵ Just as the railroad had served as a symbol of modernity and an instrument of national unification in the previous century, the automobile was set to play the same role in the twentieth century.²⁵⁶ A quantitative expansion in vacation time was also designed to improve the quality of the German workers’ life, theoretically increasing production, and creating a greater sense of working class solidarity, as long as it was in line with Nazi objectives.²⁵⁷ Christine Keitz argues that the National Socialist dictatorship pragmatically employed travel as an incentive to draw elements of the German working class away from their socialist inclinations.²⁵⁸

With many of these goals in mind, the German Labor Front (DAF) founded its own leisure agency in 1933. The “Strength through Joy” program, or *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF), offered discounted leisure activities and vacations to lower class Germans, even if many workers could never hope to afford them. Initially referred to as “After Work,” “Strength through Joy” was modeled after the Italian *Dopolavoro* program and was essentially an elaborate diversion technique, designed to compensate workers for the loss

260; Michael Berkowitz, “A ‘New Deal’ for Leisure: Making Mass Tourism during the Great Depression,” in *Being Elsewhere*, 185-212.

²⁵⁵ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 117.

²⁵⁶ Anthony McElligott, *The German Urban Experience, 1900-1945* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 166. For more on the origins of the *Autobahn* during the Nazi period, see Thomas Zeller, *Driving Germany: The Landscape of the German Autobahn, 1930-1970*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 47-78.

²⁵⁷ Hasso Spode, “Arbeiterurlaub im Dritten Reich,” in *Angst, Belohnung, Zucht und Ordnung: Herrschaftsmechanismen im Nationalsozialismus*, eds. Carole Sachse, Tilla Siegel, Hasso Spode, and Wolfgang Spohn (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982), 286-287.

²⁵⁸ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 215-223.

of their unions, insufficient wage increases, and “the increasing regimentation of life.”²⁵⁹ This was accomplished with reasonably-priced concerts, day-trips, and package vacations to the German countryside and historic locales like Rothenburg ob der Tauber.²⁶⁰ The program quickly became the largest travel agency in Germany, prominently represented by its massive cruise ships which carried thousands of working class Germans to Italy, Portugal, Yugoslavia, and Norway.²⁶¹ Domestic group vacations were the program’s “crowning effort,” helping to convince the public that the new regime could substantially enhance the quality of their lives, while also manufacturing support for the regime and preparing the populace for the work ahead.²⁶² Shelley Baranowski writes: “Strength through Joy tourism, in fact, became attractive because it offered opportunities for pleasure and self-realization similar to those advertised by promoters of commercial leisure. Its willingness to allow popular desires to seduce it enhanced its popularity, and that of the regime that sponsored it.”²⁶³ Such efforts ultimately contributed to the “taming” of the German working classes.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, 2nd Ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 61, 69-70. For more on the Italian *Dopolavoro* program, see Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

²⁶⁰ Rothenburg ob der Tauber was designated as the primary KdF destination in Franconia in early 1935. See Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 188-222.

²⁶¹ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 123.

²⁶² Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 190; Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 121-124. Even foreign visitors appeared convinced of the success of “Strength through Joy.” Writing in 1940, American journalist Lothrop Stoddard claimed: “There seems to be no doubt that *Kraft durch Freude* is generally popular and that it is prized as the outstanding benefit which the industrial masses have gained from the Nazi regime.” Lothrop Stoddard, *Into the Darkness: Nazi Germany Today* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1940), 138.

²⁶³ At the same time, KdF tourism was also a product of the regime’s attempt to find a third path between socialism and Fordism, and the party envisioned it as a “modest and disciplined form of consumption in accord with its ethic of self-sacrifice and common purpose.” Shelly Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy: Consumerism and Mass Tourism in the Third Reich* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 6, 147.

²⁶⁴ For more on the “taming” of German workers, see Tim Mason, “Die Bändigung der Arbeiterklasse im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland,” in *Angst, Belohnung, Zucht und Ordnung*, 11-53.

Another objective behind the “Strength through Joy” program was the integration of Germany’s various “tribes” into a racially-pure *Volksgemeinschaft*. The central planning of KdF excursions revealed a “solidarist agenda,” as tour groups were often sent from one region to another in the hopes of eradicating “the local and religious particularism that undermined ‘community.’”²⁶⁵ By forcing the culturally diverse citizens of the Third Reich to socialize with one another, state-sponsored travel would foster unity. A 1940 official publication on “Strength through Joy” tourism praised the manner in which the program brought together people from different parts of Germany, allowing them to forge connections and “draw comparisons with friends.”²⁶⁶ In spite of such optimism, this was not always what happened during KdF excursions. The goal of dismantling regional particularism often failed as a result of the tourists’ unwillingness to interact with their hosts or fellow travelers from other parts of the Reich, and the “different German tribes” often “remained segregated.”²⁶⁷

An arguable success, the “Strength through Joy” program has more or less monopolized the attention of scholars addressing tourism in Nazi Germany, overshadowing the fact that “individual or familial travel” remained the norm throughout the period.²⁶⁸ Kristin Semmens points out that even at its peak, KdF tourism “accounted for only 10.2% of the total number of overnight stays by Germans in Germany.”²⁶⁹ In her groundbreaking work on tourism during the Third Reich, Semmens argues that KdF tourism coexisted with two other distinct varieties of tourism, defined as the “normal

²⁶⁵ Baranowski, *Strength Through Joy*, 120.

²⁶⁶ Werner Kahl, *Der deutsche Arbeiter reist!* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag, 1940), 16. “Tausenderlei kommt zusammen, der ungewohnte Dialekt... andere Sitten. Hier finden die Urlauber Beziehungen und können Vergleiche zu Bekanntem ziehen.”

²⁶⁷ Spode, “Arbeiterurlaub im Dritten Reich,” 311.

²⁶⁸ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 125.

²⁶⁹ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 4.

tourist culture” and the “Nazi tourist culture.”²⁷⁰ While the former was merely a continuation of pre-1933 commercial tourism, the latter was a direct product of the rise of National Socialism. Important sites for the history of the movement, such as the Temples of Honor in Munich or the Reich Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg, became popular tourist attractions, contributing to “a public memory of Nazism.” Surrounded by a “certain politicized discourse,” the sites were often incorporated into important mass events during the Nazi festival calendar.²⁷¹ The popularity of these new sights serves as further testament to the impact that National Socialism had on German tourism.

By the 1930s, tourism had truly become a mass phenomenon. No longer limited to the aristocracy and middle classes, it was now available to the multitudes as a means of transcending their everyday lives and (re)acquainting themselves with the foundations of the modern German nation. However, a desire to locate the roots of modern society was not at all unique to the interwar period. The middle-class tourists of the long nineteenth century pursued similar objectives, inspired by romantic understandings of *Bildung* and the re-mystified natural environment. We can now turn to these issues in more detail, using the case-study of “Franconian Switzerland” to offer new insight into the early development of tourism in Bavaria, Germany, and Europe at large.

²⁷⁰ Koshar argues that the greatest impact that the Third Reich had on the “normal tourist culture” was to draw tourists off the “beaten path,” visiting parts of the homeland previously unknown. Currency restrictions helped encourage this tendency. Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 126.

²⁷¹ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 42-43.

Chapter II

A Romantic Respite: Landscape Tourism in “Franconian Switzerland”

“Franconian Switzerland is a wonderfully charming mountain landscape; with its magnificent treks, secluded spaces, and idyllic spots of an exceptional nature, it occupies a portion of Upper and Middle Franconia, and is rightfully deserving of the name derived from common parlance.”²⁷²

Friedrich Ende’s *Practical Guide through Franconian Switzerland* (1894)

“Secluded,” “idyllic,” and “wonderfully charming”... these were the words commonly used to describe the region known as “Franconian Switzerland,” or “*die Fränkische Schweiz*,” to tourists during the nineteenth century. Nestled between the cities of Erlangen, Bamberg, and Bayreuth, this mountainous area was often overlooked on the political maps of the Kingdom of Bavaria after 1815, but it was one of the birthplaces of the state’s tourism industry, becoming an established attraction before the dawn of modern transportation or package tours. In fact, by the time of German unification in 1871, poets and travel writers had been extolling the virtues of the region for close to eighty years. How did Franconian Switzerland become such an attractive destination in the eyes of so many?

Even with its medieval ruins and rustic mills that evoked a pre-modern past, Franconian Switzerland represented an isolated landscape that seemed relatively untouched by its few human inhabitants. This was a place where time had effectively stood still, a sanctuary where the traveler was safe from the noise, traffic, and stress of

²⁷² Friedrich Ende, *Praktischer Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz (mit ausführlicher Orientierungs-Karte)* (Nuremberg: Selbstverlag von Friedr. Ende and Erh. Kolb, 1894), 1. “Ein wunderbar reizendes Gebirgsländchen ist die Fränkische Schweiz, welche mit ihren herrlichen Partien, lauschigen Plätzen und Idyllen sonder Art einen Theil Ober- Franken und Mittelfrankens einnimmt, und verdient deshalb mit Recht seinen dem Volksmunde entstammenden Namen.”

urban life. Nineteenth-century modernization, entailing the interrelated processes of industrialization and urbanization, contributed to a growing distance between modern society and the natural environment. It led mankind to seek respite from civilization in unspoiled nature, just as it generated the technology that made such an escape possible. Tourism was therefore both an indication of modernity *and* a therapy for it. Its practitioners were treated to the best of both worlds: distance coupled with convenience, and a foreign landscape furnished with some of the familiar features of the city. Nature may have been the primary attraction in places like Franconian Switzerland, but visitors could also anticipate modern accommodations at the local inn, as well as telegraph machines and beer imported from Munich and Nuremberg.

This chapter provides insight into nineteenth-century tourism by introducing the story of Franconian Switzerland to both historians of modern Germany, and scholars of leisure travel. I begin with a topic that was addressed briefly in the previous chapter: the discovery of the natural environment by nineteenth-century tourists. Here I identify romanticism and urbanization as the catalysts behind the rehabilitation of nature. Romanticism, which would have an impact on tourism for decades to come, endorsed a new understanding of *Bildung* that demanded a re-mystification of the natural environment. Later, urbanization helped to transform the countryside into the idyllic antithesis of the modern city. Both contributed to the creation of a new category of tourist destinations: cultural landscapes that were increasingly commercialized and streamlined for tourist consumption.

Franconian Switzerland is an ideal example of this type of tourist destination. After detailing its discovery by scientists and poets at the end of the eighteenth century, I

examine a number of contemporaneous publications that called attention to the region, focusing pre-dominantly on guidebooks issued between 1885 and 1900, a period defined by increased marketing and the expansion of the German railway into the region. Utilizing a limited source base, I demonstrate just how revealing these examples of tourist propaganda can be; their straightforward prose and detailed itineraries simultaneously reflected and shaped the experiences of individual tourists, travelers who sought refuge from modern civilization, but were not always willing to forfeit modern conveniences. In other words, these guidebooks showcase the face, practices, and expectations of the middle-class tourist in the late nineteenth century. Their emphasis on the natural landscape of Franconian Switzerland also reflected widespread misgivings over urbanization, as well the lingering impact of romanticism, which was increasingly commodified for tourist consumption.

Middle-class travelers sought a romantic respite in Franconian Switzerland, but they also desired a vacation that was rationalized and action-packed, and therefore worthy of their valuable time and money. Late nineteenth-century guidebooks catered to these desires by guaranteeing a standardized and unforgettable tourist experience, a blending of distance and comfort that temporarily brought a fast-paced modernity back to ground. I refer to this type of leisure travel as “landscape tourism” because the landscape was the defining feature of a vacation in Franconian Switzerland. This does not, however, preclude the fact that landscape tourism coexisted and even overlapped with other forms of leisure travel (scientific, medical, historical) discussed later in this chapter and the ones that follow.

Romanticism, Urbanization, and the Return to Nature

It has often been suggested that the German people have a unique relationship with the natural environment. In his ethnographic work, *Germania*, Roman historian Tacitus identified a virtuous existence in the forest as one of the defining characteristics of the racially-pure Germanic tribes. During the early modern period, central European scholars and landscape painters glorified the “authentically native” German wilderness, even as thousands of trees fell victim to deforestation.²⁷³ In his 1797 novella, *The Fair Eckbert*, Ludwig Tieck coined the term *Waldeinsamkeit* to express the pseudo-spiritual connection between the German people and the “untamed wilderness” which had allegedly existed for centuries.²⁷⁴ Recently, historians have begun to document the manner in which both the German natural environment and attitudes toward it changed dramatically during the modern period.²⁷⁵ While David Blackbourn has identified some of the ways in which the Germans set out to “conquer” nature during the last three centuries, William Rollins and Thomas Lekan have examined the origins of the German environmental movement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, demonstrating that middle-class activists worked towards a “better modernity” by protecting the environment and mobilizing it as a unifying symbol for society.²⁷⁶

In the chapter that follows, I illuminate another way in which Germans mobilized nature over the course of the long nineteenth century. In regions like Franconian

²⁷³ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 81-100.

²⁷⁴ Eric Schwartz, “Waldeinsamkeit: Subjective Ambivalence in German Romanticism,” *International Journal of the Humanities* 5, no. 4 (November 2007): 208.

²⁷⁵ Examples of recent historical work on the German natural environment includes Mark Cioc, *The Rhine: An Eco-Biography, 1815-2000* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002); Hans-Werner Frohn and Friedmann Schmoll, eds., *Natur und Staat: Staatlicher Naturschutz in Deutschland 1906-2006* (Münster: Landwirtschaftsverlag, 2006); Mauch, *Nature in German History*.

²⁷⁶ Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature*; Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home*, 33; Thomas Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature: Landscape Preservation and German Identity, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Switzerland, nature was not strictly an adversary to be conquered; it was also a commodity to be consumed, traversed, and even enjoyed. The deployment of nature as *Bildung*, recreation, and even remedy served an important function in modern Germany. It helped to span the gap between wilderness and civilization, contributing, in the words of Thomas Lekan and Thomas Zeller, to “a modern culture that remained rooted to the soil.”²⁷⁷ However, it should be stressed that the so-called natural environment often bore the marks of civilization, and was rarely “authentic.” Blackbourn explains: “[T]here was no true wilderness in Germany; there were only historical landscapes that had been more or less intensively used by humans for their own changing purposes.”²⁷⁸ These landscapes were also products of the mind, “constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock,” as Simon Schama has claimed.²⁷⁹ In other words, humans mobilized landscapes both physically and discursively for a number of ends, ranging from the creation of shipping lanes to the construction of the regional *Heimat*. The study of the German “natural” environment therefore requires attention not only to the land itself, but also to cultivated cultural landscapes. Nineteenth-century tourism in Germany revolved around such settings, from the Luneburg Heath to the Harz Mountains, from the Middle Rhine to Franconian Switzerland. Visiting these destinations was a means of “turning to nature,” but like other examples of this phenomenon, this practice was neither

²⁷⁷ Thomas Lekan and Thomas Zeller, “Introduction: The Landscape of German Environmental History,” in *Germany’s Nature: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental History*, ed. Thomas Lekan and Thomas Zeller (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 4.

²⁷⁸ Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature*, 187. Hansjörg Küster identifies an example of such a “constructed landscape” in a recent piece about the Luneburg Heath, which became Germany’s first nature preserve. See Hansjörg Küster, “Die Entdeckung der Lüneburger Heide als ‘schöne Natur’,” *Themenportal Europäische Geschichte* (2010), <http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2010/Article=429> (accessed 20 October 2010).

²⁷⁹ Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, 61.

anti-modern nor irrational.²⁸⁰ Instead, landscape tourism was a manifestation of modernity itself, fueled by romanticism and urbanization.

German romanticism was a complex literary, artistic, philosophical, and ultimately political movement. It set the stage for what historian Richard Hölzl has referred to as the “democratization of nature,” a shift in perceptions that prefigured both tourism and the organized environmentalism of the early twentieth century.²⁸¹ The core principles of German romanticism, including imagination, introspection, and revelation, were articulated in several important literary works during the final years of the eighteenth century, most notably *Heartfelt Effusions of an Art-Loving Friar*, published anonymously by Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder in 1796.²⁸² The movement was an ideological sibling of the Enlightenment, but it evolved against the backdrop of the French Revolution, which had helped to produce a modern society defined by materialism, egoism, and utilitarianism. The solution promoted by Tieck, Wackenroder, and colleagues like Friedrich Schlegel, Friedrich Schleiermacher, and Friedrich von Hardenberg was *Bildung*, implying both the education of the public, and “the development of all human and individual powers into a whole.” Whether described as personal cultivation, self-realization, or inner growth, *Bildung* was the “fundamental ethical ideal” of German romanticism, and the key to social and political reform that would re-establish a sense of community. It entailed cultivating not only reason, but also

²⁸⁰ For a recent work on “naturism,” or the manner in which Germans “turned to nature” during the early twentieth century, see John Alexander Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany: Hiking, Nudism, and Conservation, 1900-1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007).

²⁸¹ Richard Hölzl, “Nature Preservation in the Age of Classical Modernity: The Landesauschuss für Naturpflege and the Bund Naturschutz in Bavaria, 1905-1933,” *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C.*, Supplement 3: “From *Heimat* to *Umwelt*: New Perspectives on German Environmental History” (2006): 31.

²⁸² For a recent account of the early German Romantics, their work, and their interpersonal connections, see Theodore Ziolkowski, *Vorboten der Moderne: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Frühromantik* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2006).

sensibility, sensitivity, and love.²⁸³ In pursuit of this holistic ideal, a generation of young intellectuals and artists turned their attention to all that was intrinsically organic and time-honored in Germany, glorifying isolated landscapes and medieval ruins. These new sources of inspiration revealed “a heritage rich in mysticism and faith,” diverging from the Enlightenment and its preoccupation with reason.²⁸⁴

The revolutionary ideas of the German romantics quickly spread beyond the intellectual circles of Berlin and Jena. Although romanticism was essentially a literary movement with a visual arts element, its impact was also evident in the disciplines of music, science, and history. For example, the so-called romantic scientists of the nineteenth century were in favor of a shift away from idealism and reason, insisting that faith, feeling, and dreams could help one comprehend nature. Romanticism also renewed interest in historical research, which was no longer dismissed as mere “Enlightenment pragmatism,” but instead understood as a means of helping humanity “find sense in the past and ... a niche for themselves and their existence in the flow of universal development.”²⁸⁵ Nevertheless, while German romanticism often directed attention to an idealized past, its original objective was preserving modernity, not fleeing from it entirely. Frederick Beiser, one of the leading scholars on nineteenth-century German philosophy, asserts: “The romantics’ aim was to *reunify* man with himself, nature, and others, so that he would once again feel at home in the world.”²⁸⁶ Rediscovering the natural environment and a simpler way of life was the route to true freedom, that most

²⁸³ Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative*, 25-27, 49.

²⁸⁴ Marsha Morton, “German Romanticism: The Search for ‘A Quiet Place’,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 28, no. 1 (2002), 9.

²⁸⁵ Dietrich von Engelhardt, “Romanticism in Germany,” in *Romanticism in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 109, 112, 115-116.

²⁸⁶ Beiser, *The Romantic Imperative*, 102.

modern of goals, and not just the theoretical independence championed by the *philosophes*, or the liberty delivered by French armies.

Early romantics championed a synthesis between nature and society in the spirit of the Ancient Greeks, arguing that this reorientation would counteract the materialism, egoism, and utilitarianism of modern life. They also expressed concern that the natural environment had been reduced to a “subject of scientific investigation... a mere machine, obeying laws with strict necessity and regularity.”²⁸⁷ While the movement itself may have predated widespread urbanization by roughly half a century, the romantics were the first to recognize the dangers of “rationalization, economic self-interest, and a purely instrumental view of nature.”²⁸⁸ In general, they advocated a rediscovery of nature’s beauty and mystery. In his seminal *Crisis of the German Ideology*, George Mosse explained this new perception of nature:

For the romantics, nature was not cold and mechanical, but alive and spontaneous. It was indeed filled with a life force which corresponded to the emotions of man. The human soul could be in rapport with nature since it too was endowed with a soul. Every individual could therefore find an inner correspondence with nature, a correspondence which he shared with his Volk.²⁸⁹

Although Mosse’s conclusions on the intellectual origins of the Third Reich have been contested, his treatment of the romantic re-conceptualization of nature still holds true. The romantics transformed the natural environment into a spiritual domain and an idealistic embodiment of a better world; a venue for solace and personal cultivation where one could overcome feelings of alienation. Artists like Caspar David Friedrich used their work to promote a new faith in *Waldeinsamkeit*, glorifying the spiritual and

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 52.

²⁸⁸ Max Blechman, “The Revolutionary Dream of Early Romanticism,” in *Revolutionary Romanticism*, ed. Max Blechman (San Francisco: City Light Books, 1999), 3.

²⁸⁹ Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology*, 15.

redemptive qualities of nature.²⁹⁰ Such visions helped to rehabilitate nature in the eyes of many, and romanticism became a decisive factor behind nineteenth-century tourism, in Germany and elsewhere.²⁹¹ Hans Magnus Enzensberger has traced the roots of modern tourism to the Romantic Movement, arguing that authors like Tieck and Wackenroder “transfigured freedom and removed it into the realm of the imagination, until it coagulated into a distant image of a nature far from all civilization, into a folkloric and monumental image of history.”²⁹² These “images” would influence the choices of tourists well into the twentieth century.

If romanticism rehabilitated the natural environment, then urbanization guaranteed its veneration. Environmental historians like William Rollins have identified the capitalist-urban lifestyle as “the proximate cause for a new, countervailing turn to nature.”²⁹³ Yet, at the end of the eighteenth century, Germany was still predominantly rural. In 1815, only Berlin and Hamburg could register more than 100,000 residents. This changed during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the growth of rural populations more or less stopped while urban populations swelled. Urbanization proceeded the most rapidly in the Rhineland, the Ruhr, and Saxony, but cities grew throughout the future German Empire, a process stimulated by the constant influx of rural migrants.²⁹⁴ In 1850 there were six German cities with a population of over 100,000 residents. By 1870, there were eleven.²⁹⁵ Populations in Bavarian cities skyrocketed

²⁹⁰ Morton, “German Romanticism,” 12.

²⁹¹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 19.

²⁹² Enzensberger, “A Theory of Tourism,” 125.

²⁹³ Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home*, 33.

²⁹⁴ James Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley, 1821-1914* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1997), 1-2.

²⁹⁵ David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 199.

during the late nineteenth century as well, rising by over 200% in Munich and Nuremberg between 1875 and 1910.²⁹⁶

These statistics reflect the rapid growth of German cities during the long nineteenth century, but the term urbanization also referred to “fundamental changes of urban life styles” involving social structures, communications, human relations, and living conditions.²⁹⁷ As centers of politics, culture, and industry, cities signified progress on several levels, but they were not necessarily pleasant places in which to live. Nineteenth-century cities were synonymous with pollution and disease, and even affluent middle-class residents were not entirely immune from the drawbacks of urban life. The *Bürgertum* inhaled air pollution created by the burning of coal, just as they were forced to reckon with the manure that covered city streets before the dawn of trams and subways. Meanwhile, new standards of cleanliness fueled a growing fear of sewage gas and the general filth associated with the living conditions of working families.²⁹⁸ Epidemics produced by crowded living conditions and contaminated water frequently devastated urban populations throughout the nineteenth century.²⁹⁹

In addition to these physical risks, the modern city also had an impact on the behavior of its inhabitants. Moralists charged urban life with the degradation of the lower classes, who were turning away from religion and embracing crime as a means of

²⁹⁶ Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918, Erster Band*, 35-37.

²⁹⁷ This was known as the process of *Urbanisierung*, as opposed to *Verstädterung*, which only implied quantitative growth. Klaus Tenfelde, “Urbanization and the Spread of an Urban Culture in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,” in *Towards an Urban Nation: Germany since 1780*, ed. Friedrich Lenger (New York: Berg, 2002), 24.

²⁹⁸ Andrew Lees and Lynn Hollen Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe, 1750-1914* (New York: Cambridge University, 2007), 60-62.

²⁹⁹ For an excellent account of Hamburg’s 1892 cholera outbreak in particular, and nineteenth-century urban conditions and medical theory in general, see Richard Evans, *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

survival.³⁰⁰ Journalists linked the modern city to a variety of social problems, ranging from alcoholism and prostitution, to the breakdown of the family and the specter of social unrest. As early as the mid-century, the urban way of life in general was identified as a corruptive force, and the city became a scapegoat for modern society.³⁰¹ One of the earliest and most influential anti-urban writers was the Bavarian journalist (and press advisor to Maximilian II) Wilhelm August Riehl, who associated urbanization with “the loss of national character, the growth of social, psychological, and political instability, and numerous cultural ills.”³⁰² Like a later generation of German romantics, Riehl advocated flight from the cities and a return to nature. In 1854’s *Land and People* (*Land und Leute*), Riehl glorified the “organic” character of the German peasantry, and depicted the natural environment, or *Land*, as the basis of German socio-political identity, the last refuge of medieval virtue, and the antidote to modern materialism and disenchantment.³⁰³

Numerous authors echoed the ideas of Riehl in the following decades, denouncing the physically and spiritually detrimental effects of the city, and idealizing the rural Volk and the “unspoiled” and “pure” countryside. Literary scholar Raymond Williams has argued that the countryside acquired a new significance during this period, becoming a symbol of “peace, innocence, and simple virtue” that stood in increasingly stark contrast to the modern metropolis.³⁰⁴ This new view of nature was undeniably linked to the

³⁰⁰ Lees and Lees, *Cities and the Making of Modern Europe*, 147. See also Eric A. Johnson, *Urbanization and Crime: Germany 1871-1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

³⁰¹ Jürgen Reulecke, *Geschichte der Urbanisierung in Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 139-146.

³⁰² Andrew Lees, “Critics of Urban Society in Germany, 1854-1914,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40, no. 1 (January-March 1979): 62-64.

³⁰³ Riehl also directly compared the German landscape to that of other countries, underscoring the exceptional diversity of the former, which was covered with mountains, valleys, fields, and forests. See Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozial-Politik*, vol. I, *Land und Leute*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: J.G. Cotta, 1861), 43-59, 83-122.

³⁰⁴ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 1.

denigration of the modern city, but it was also a product of the growing distance between the urban world and the natural environment. The rapid urbanization of the late nineteenth century fueled “nostalgia for a lost rural paradise,” but this rural paradise could only be idealized now that it was no longer “oppressively close.”³⁰⁵ In short, the natural environment became attractive because it no longer held mankind captive, and instead promised a host of benefits. By the end of the century, a range of middle-class visitors were turning to nature in search of “an authenticity that could not be found in the barrenness of urban life.”³⁰⁶

Just as romanticism and urbanization contributed to a “back to nature” mentality that fueled tourism, tourism itself produced anxieties about the German natural environment. In 1880, music professor Ernst Rudorff wrote an article condemning a proposed funicular railway up the Drachenfels Mountain outside of Bonn, one of the tourist highlights on the Middle Rhine. Rudorff, the founder of the German Homeland Protection (*Heimatschutz*) movement, indicted the German people for standing by while their “untouched” landscapes were spoiled by entrepreneurs and technocrats determined to bend nature to their will. He lashed out against the modern figure of the “tourist” in particular, describing his primary characteristic as an obsession with seeking out “every possible beauty and singularity” for the sake of personal amusement. The tourist may “celebrate nature,” wrote Rudorff, “but he celebrates it just as he prostitutes it.”³⁰⁷ This article was the symbolic first strike in the German conservation movement, even though

³⁰⁵ Bernard, *The Rush to the Alps*, 14, 64-65.

³⁰⁶ Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature*, 23.

³⁰⁷ Ernst Rudorff, “Ueber das Verhältniss des modernen Lebens zur Natur,” *Preussische Jahrbücher* 45 (1880): 261-276. “Man feiert die Natur, aber man feiert sie, indem man sie prostituiert.”

the attempt to stop the construction of the railway itself was ultimately unsuccessful.³⁰⁸ The funicular was completed in 1883, presenting tourists with an impressive view in a fraction of the time once required to climb the summit. In the process, the tourism industry had irrevocably changed the very landscape that it immortalized. In other settings, local communities attempted to protect natural landscapes for the sake of tourism. This was the case in 1905 when residents of the Upper Bavarian town of Bad Tölz protested plans for a hydroelectric plant on the nearby Walchensee Lake, citing concerns over detrimental effects on the local tourism industry.³⁰⁹

While urbanization and romanticism compelled members of the educated middle classes to turn their vacations into quests for authenticity and self realization in undisturbed, natural settings, the realities of travel during the late nineteenth century did not necessarily facilitate this goal. With only a limited amount of vacation days per year, the majority of middle-class tourists could not be too meticulous or reflective when it came to enjoying the natural environment, and many did indeed appear obsessed with consuming as much as possible in a short space of time. Guidebooks encouraged this behavior by supplying only the most basic information, as well as action-packed, day-by-day itineraries, practically ensuring that the tourist received his or her share of history, culture, and nature. These guidebooks also saved time by arming the tourist with the necessary emotional vocabulary, indicating the proper responses to the most important sights and vistas. Unlike their romantic role models, middle-class tourists had little time for the ideals of imagination, introspection, and revelation.³¹⁰ Their choice of destinations was certainly informed by romanticism, even if their style of travel allowed

³⁰⁸ Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature*, 184.

³⁰⁹ Hölzl, "Nature Preservation in the Age of Classical Modernity," 36-37.

³¹⁰ Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 59-60.

for few transcendental moments. Even so, tourists believed that they were enjoying a romantic respite in nature because that was what the reliable guidebook promised. Nineteenth-century guidebooks covering Franconian Switzerland shed light on this dynamic, in addition to granting insight into the relationship between tourist propaganda and middle-class travel. However, before discussing these themes in greater detail, we must first turn to the discovery of Franconian Switzerland.

The Discovery of the Tourist Idyll

Although largely overlooked by eighteenth-century Grand Tourists, Bavaria became a popular destination during the nineteenth century. An early star of the regional tourism industry was the area eventually known as Franconian Switzerland, located in the heart of the Franconian Jura, one of Germany's central mountain ranges, or *Mittelgebirge*. The Franks first settled this region around the River Wiesent in the early eighth century, with various branches of prominent noble families exercising control over small, autonomous territories. Many of these loosely-defined political entities were absorbed into the Diocese of Bamberg in 1007. Eventually transformed into a principality, the area ruled from Bamberg continued to grow at the expense of smaller territorial units over the next four centuries, with the threat of military encroachment necessitating new fortifications throughout the region, among them, the fortresses of Gößweinstein and Pottenstein. The mountainous region east of Bamberg was the site of regular warfare during the early modern period, with the German Peasants' War proving especially destructive by leaving sixty-one of the region's fortresses in ruins. One hundred years later, twenty-five more

fortresses were destroyed during the Thirty Years War. In 1796, the region was ravaged yet again by the occupying French Army.³¹¹

For centuries, soldiers were among the only visitors to this secluded area between the cities of Erlangen, Bamberg, and Bayreuth, commonly referred to as “the land in the mountains,” or “*das Land auf dem Gebirg*.” Its residents were poor farmers tilling a rocky and unrewarding soil, and even the local nobility struggled to make ends meet. Two major roads crossed portions of the region, while other thoroughfares were poorly maintained and dangerous. Untamed rivers and steep inclines ensured that travel along local routes could only be accomplished with the help of local guides, an occupation that ensured some meager income for impoverished nobles. All of this began to change in 1774, when the minister and aspiring natural scientist Johann Friedrich Esper published his *Detailed Report* on the caves near Muggendorf, a small village on the Wiesent.³¹² The wooded peaks of the Franconian Jura contained literally hundreds of caves, some of them stretching nearly 500 meters into the earth. After several years of intensive research in the caves near Muggendorf, Esper produced a dense guidebook that detailed a remarkable variety of rock formations and prehistoric life-forms, including the newly-discovered “cave bear,” or *Ursus spelaeus*. Written during the final decades of the Enlightenment and quickly translated into French, this publication inaugurated an era of scientific exploration in Franconia. Soon, hundreds of legitimate and amateur scientists flocked to secluded destinations like the Zoolithen Cave (*Zoolithenhöhle*) and

³¹¹ Gustave Voit, Brigitte Kaulich, and Walter Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz: Eine Landschaft wird entdeckt* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1992), 11-20. For a similar overview of regional history, see Anton Sterzl and Emil Bauer, *Fränkische Schweiz: Gesichter und Kräfte einer Landschaft* (Bamberg: St. Otto Verlag, 1969), 8-20.

³¹² See Johann Friedrich Esper, *Ausführliche Nachricht von neuentdeckten Zoolithen unbekannter vierfüssiger Thiere und denen sie enthaltenden, so wie verschiedenen andern denkwürdigen Grüften der Obergebürgischen Lande der Marggraffthums Bayreuth* (Nürnberg: G.W. Knorrs Erben, 1774).

Rosenmüller Cave (*Rosenmüllershöhle*), eager to make their own discoveries, or at least to walk away with their own prehistoric souvenirs.³¹³

The caves and the crowds they attracted were only the first chapter in the larger discovery of the destination eventually known as Franconian Switzerland. The amateur scientists were quickly followed by the romantics, who were enthralled with the region's rolling mountains and medieval ruins. In June 1793, a young Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder embarked upon an eleven day tour of the region around Bayreuth. Berliners by birth, the two law students were eager to explore the territory recently annexed by Prussia in 1791, and their subsequent travel reports foreshadowed their trademark infatuation with medieval history and the natural environment. Departing from Erlangen, the two began by stopping in Ebermannstadt and Streitberg, two small towns along the banks of the Wiesent. While both commented on the hospitality of Ebermannstadt's inhabitants, they wrote even more glowingly of the landscape around Streitberg, with Tieck proclaiming in a letter: "Oh, nature is truly inexhaustible in its beauty! Here is genuine pleasure, for a picturesque terrain purifies men..."³¹⁴ Tieck and Wackenroder were especially enamored with the ruins of the Neideck fortress, standing atop a precipice outside of Streitberg. Wackenroder described their ascent to the sight: "We carried ourselves over the broken rocks and through the thick woods that cover the slopes of the mountain, and admired the vast rubble. I have never seen greater or more

³¹³ Voit, Kaulich, and Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz*, 30-32, 182-189.

³¹⁴ Ludwig Tieck and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, *Die Pfingstreise von 1793 durch die Fränkische Schweiz, den Frankenwald and das Fichtelgebirge* (Helmbrechts: Wilhelm Saalfrank, 1970), 16. "Oh, die Natur ist doch an Schönheit unerschöpflich! Hier nur ist der wahre Genuß, eine schöne Gegend veredelt den Menschen..."

beautiful ruins.”³¹⁵ Standing within the remains of the medieval fortress, both men took time to admire the views of the mountainous landscape around them, peering through the windows of the castle as if they were admiring paintings on the wall. Ten days later, Tieck and Wackenroder stopped in “the land in the mountains” once again, this time visiting the caves around Muggendorf. Unlike Tieck, who did not register much enthusiasm for this particular attraction, Wackenroder acknowledged the scientific significance of these discoveries, marveling at the spectacular rock formations and prehistoric fossils, and even citing the work of Esper.³¹⁶

The travel reports of Tieck and Wackenroder showed a reverence towards historical sites that was increasingly common in early nineteenth-century Germany. Historian Susan Crane has used the phrase “historical sublime” to describe the sentiment that historical objects inspired in educated, middle-class visitors. More than just a place to stop during a hike, medieval ruins were symbols of a past slipping into fragmented obscurity, as well as physical reservoirs of historical consciousness itself. In a secularized world, both historical monuments and timeless natural settings provided transient sources of divine inspiration, evoking “a realm of that which might be inspiring, and at the same time that which was potentially terrifying, arousing fears of the unknown and the all-powerful.”³¹⁷ Tieck and Wackenroder had encountered “the sublime” in Franconia, and they were compelled to reproduce the sentiment, and impart it to others. Although their travel reports were initially intended for family and friends alone, their

³¹⁵ Ibid., 17, 44-45. “Wir drängten uns durch die Felsenstücke und die dichte Waldung, die die Abhänge des Berges einnimmt, hinauf und bewunderten die großen Trümmer. Ich habe nicht größere und schönere Ruinien gesehen.”

³¹⁶ Ibid., 40, 60-61.

³¹⁷ Susan Crane, *Collecting and Historical Consciousness in Early Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 18, 24-27, 44-45.

discovery sparked the imagination of their literary contemporaries, many of whom were quick to follow in their footsteps. In 1797, Karl Ludwig von Knebel, a Weimar clerk and friend of Goethe, traveled through the valley of the Wiesent to Muggendorf. In a letter to his sister, he wrote glowingly of the mountainous landscape, praising its pristine natural surroundings and registering his awe of the ruins around Streitberg. A year later, a young Ernst Moritz Arndt stopped in Muggendorf during his extensive tour of central Europe, and was equally impressed by the remains of the Neideck, which he characterized as the “greatest and most romantic ruins” located on German soil. In 1798, author Jean Paul traveled to the region, journeying through the mountains from “one paradise to another.”³¹⁸ In subsequent years, Arndt and Paul were followed by lesser-known travelers, many of whom were equally enthusiastic about publishing their impressions of this previously unknown corner of central Europe.

Just as the poets had followed the scientists, the painters now followed the poets. And like the authors they followed, these artists were captivated by the romantic landscapes of the region around Muggendorf. Early publications on the region included copper etchings and lithographs of the natural landscape, helping to establish the region’s status as “picturesque.” Esper’s 1774 volume, for example, contained fourteen etchings of the terrain along the Wiesent. During the early nineteenth century, Munich artist Domenico Quaglio completed several drawings of the region’s medieval ruins that were reproduced in tourist publications. Even more influential in creating the visual iconography of Franconian Switzerland was German painter Ludwig Richter, who traveled to the region in 1837. Richter was commissioned by a Leipzig publisher to produce pictures for a multi-volume series entitled *The Picturesque and Romantic*

³¹⁸ Quoted in Voit, Kaulich, and Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz*, 36, 40.

Germany (Das malerische und romantische Deutschland).³¹⁹ His five engravings of Franconian Switzerland, considered to be among the greatest works of the late romantic period, helped to reinforce an image of the region as a secluded and idyllic retreat, where smiling peasants toiled in the midst of towering ruins and rolling mountains.³²⁰

The region certainly had its admirers, but it still lacked a marketable name in the early nineteenth century. Although the area was widely referred to as the “Muggendorfer Mountains” for decades to come, Esper foreshadowed future developments in 1774 when he commented: “The entire landscape looks Swiss.”³²¹ Over thirty years later Johann Christian Fick went a step further in his *Historical, Topographical, and Statistical Description of Erlangen and its Environs*. In reference to the mountainous region surrounding the Wiesent River, a land with “unrestrained natural beauty,” Fick pioneered the label “Franconian Switzerland,” a designation that was buried one hundred pages into the text.³²² Why Switzerland? The Alpine nation was the original romantic destination, a site of supposed spiritual transcendence glorified by authors like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Lord Byron. It became continental Europe’s foremost travel destination during the early nineteenth century, and it established the criteria by which other destinations would be judged.³²³ The very name of Switzerland became synonymous with tourism, and “*die Schweiz*” was pragmatically adopted as a label for German regions characterized by their mountain landscapes. The first was “Saxon Switzerland” outside of Dresden, which

³¹⁹ This series included titles on the Harz Mountains, Saxony, and Swabia, as well as the travelogue on Franconia. See Gustav von Heeringen, *Wanderungen durch Franken* (Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1839).

³²⁰ Voit, Kaulich, and Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz.*, 47-51.

³²¹ Esper, *Ausführliche Nachricht von neuentdeckten Zoolithen*, 7. “Die ganze Landschaft sieht schweizerwisch aus.”

³²² Johann Christian Fick, *Historisch-topographisch-statistische Beschreibung von Erlangen und dessen Gegend mit Anweisungen und Regeln für Studirende* (Erlangen: J.J. Palm, 1812), 109.

³²³ For the standard account of Swiss tourism, see Bernard, *The Rush to the Alps*. For a brief overview, see Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours*, 196-219.

actually received its name from two Swiss visitors, painter Anton Graff and pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, who traveled through the region during the 1770s. In the nineteenth century, this landscape of rocky precipices, valleys, and caves became a popular destination for German painters, attracting both Caspar David Friedrich and Ludwig Richter.³²⁴ The discovery of Saxon Switzerland was followed by the discoveries of Franconian Switzerland in northern Bavaria, “Kroppach Switzerland” in the Taunus Mountains, “Holstein Switzerland” between Kiel and Lübeck, and even “Hersbruck Switzerland,” also located in Franconia.³²⁵

In 1812, Johannes Christian Fick became the first author to use the label “Franconian Switzerland” in reference to the Muggendorfer Mountains, but later travel writers would incorporate *die Schweiz* into the titles of their works. The first to do so was local poet Jakob Reiselsberger, author of the 1820 publication, *Little Switzerland, or Invitation to Travel in Streitberg, Muggendorf, Weischenfeld, and their Environs*. In the preface of this self-published work, Reiselsberger justified his use of the label by insisting that the natural environment of the Franconian region, now part of Bavaria, also featured “many sublimely beautiful and admirable curiosities,” but that they were available in a “reduced degree.”³²⁶ In other words, a vacation there would be more practical than a trip to the real Switzerland. The “Invitation” itself consisted of an extended poem praising the virtues of the mountainous region. Many of the features

³²⁴ Hansjörg Küster, *Schöne Aussichten. Kleine Geschichte der Landschaft* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2009), 82; Sterzl and Bauer, *Fränkische Schweiz*, 29.

³²⁵ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 18; Prein, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert*, 145-146. Ironically, just as “Switzerland” became a label for pastoral landscapes across Germany, the real Switzerland began to complicate its rustic image by catering to more wealthy travelers with luxury hotels and casinos. Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours*, 200-202.

³²⁶ Jakob Reiselsberger, *Die Kleine Schweiz, oder Einladung zur Reise nach Streiberg, Muggendorf, Weischenfeld und deren Umgebungen* (Weischenfeld: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1820), 1. “Einladung in die kleine Schweiz; und zwar deshalb, weil die Natur viele erhabene schöne und Bewunderungswürdige Seltenheiten hier in einem mindern Grade aufstellt, als in der großen Schweiz.”

highlighted by future guidebooks are recognizable in Reiselsberger's rhyming couplets, including the colorful medieval past exemplified in ruins, the mysterious character of the prehistoric caves, the hospitality of the local population, and even the quality of local food, most notably the trout that filled the Wiesent. However, the dominant theme employed by this publication, and practically all that followed, was the abundance of natural attractions in the region. From its unique plant life and stalactites, to its river valleys and mountains, Franconian Switzerland was advertised as a place where one could breathe easily, and enjoy the spectacles of nature. Reiselsberger began the poem with a simple request:

Leave the town behind, visit the open fields,
Come to Little Switzerland,
For every friend of nature
It provides an appeal so refreshing.³²⁷

The first two lines of this stanza recurred as a motif throughout the extended poem, confirming that such natural landscapes were being viewed as the symbolic antithesis to the urban environment as early as 1820. Indeed, Reiselsberger's work did more than launch the Swiss label, it established the marketing formulas used for decades to come.

Reiselsberger's invitation was echoed by Joseph Heller, a Bamberg historian and travel writer who published the first "tourist handbook" on Franconian Switzerland in 1829. Simply entitled *Muggendorf and its Environs, or Franconian Switzerland*, this work abandoned the poetics of Reiselsberger in favor of the practical prose of Murray and Baedeker, even a few years before their respective debuts. Heller's handbook was directed at middle-class hikers, or *Wanderer*. He supplied these visitors with an overview of travel routes, a series of practical tips, an alphabetical inventory of sights, a

³²⁷ Ibid., 1. "Verlaßt die Stadt, besucht die Flur, / Kommt in die kleine Schweiz, / Für jeden Freund der Natur / Hat solche frischen Reiz."

map, and two illustrations. Like Reiselsberger, Heller insisted that Franconian Switzerland boasted all that the real Switzerland possessed in abundance, but here it was available “on a condensed scale, and therefore more pleasant to behold, as it was possible to look across it and grasp it as a single image.”³²⁸ Furthermore, if the Swiss Alps were the quintessential “sublime” landscape, possessing a sort of terrifying beauty, then the rolling mountains of Franconian Switzerland were more of a “pastoral” landscape, idyllic and peaceful, and therefore less intimidating to potential visitors. This “romantic land” contained a diversity of attractions, leading Heller to guarantee: “Nature offers at least something for everyone.”³²⁹ Naturalists would find every mountain and every rock of the utmost significance, just as they would marvel at the “monuments of antiquity” found in the region’s caves. Meanwhile, “friends of history and romanticism” would be impressed with the fortresses of Streitberg, Neideck, and Gößweinstein, whose bloody histories would yield a new appreciation for the “peace of contemporary times.” Those in search of a rural retreat would be charmed by the region’s “picturesque villages, partially hidden under trees,” and the customs of the “simple and hard-working” people.³³⁰ In other words, Heller endorsed both the landscape and the community that it supported.

The vision of Franconian Switzerland promoted by Reiselsberger and Heller was intrinsically nostalgic, idealizing the natural and pastoral character of the region as an antidote to modern life. The timeless landscape, the prehistoric caves, and the medieval ruins were the defining attractions of the region, but a more modern feature was added

³²⁸ Joseph Heller, *Muggendorf und seine Umgebungen oder die fränkische Schweiz: Ein Handbuch* (Bamberg: J.C. Dresch, 1829), V. “Was die Schweiz in Großen giebt, findet man hier in verjüngtem Maßstabe, und oft für das Auge angenehmer, indem man es überschauen und als ein Bild auffassen kann..”

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, VIII. “Für jeden bietet Natur wenigstens etwas dar.”

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, VI-X.

halfway through the century. In 1841, the village of Streitberg established the foundations of a modern health resort with the opening of a “whey cure facility” (*Molkekuranstalt*), a simple establishment where visitors could drink the nutrient-filled dairy by-product. In 1852, Dr. Theodor Weber opened a modest inn in the village, and began marketing “fresh mountain air” as a natural remedy. Weber was also responsible for a network of walkways passing through the rocky alcoves and deposits of prehistoric shells surrounding the village. The primary walkway, the *Dr.-Weber-Kurpromenade*, was the first of its kind in Franconian Switzerland, leading both tourists and patients to an overlook with views of the Wiesent river valley, the surrounding mountains, and the Streitberg and Neideck fortress ruins.³³¹ Equipped with this new infrastructure, the village acquired a reputation as a climatic health resort, or *Luftkurort*, celebrated for “the purity of its air and the beauty of its surroundings.” It was also a place where the urban middle classes could distinguish themselves from aristocratic travelers by dressing simply and mingling with peasants.³³² A vacation there provided a reprieve from the city, but it also allowed middle-class tourists to return reinvigorated, with clean air in their lungs and new insight into the attractive simplicity of rural life. Still, health-related tourism in the region was not nearly as profitable as it proved to be in Bad Reichenhall, the subject of the next chapter. In Franconian Switzerland, the phenomenon was confined to the villages of Muggendorf and Streitberg, and only played a supporting role in tourist publications.

Streitberg’s early transformation into a *Luftkurort* added a new dimension to the tourist experience, suggesting that Franconian Switzerland did not have to rely

³³¹ Voit, Kauflich, and Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz*, 355.

³³² Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 88-89.

exclusively on landscape tourism. Interestingly enough, some travel writers refused to support this new direction. In 1858's *Illustrated Visitors' Guide to Franconian Switzerland and the Fichtel Mountains*, Philipp von Körber claimed that Streitberg had once been an "idyllic village," but had since been transformed into "a health resort, occupied by fashionable society from April through October." He reported that "the innkeepers and locals have quickly learned to raise the prices of provisions and accommodations to the level anticipated by those in the popular spas."³³³ According to Körber, Streitberg's new status as a *Kurort* was corrupting the character of the rural Volk, and leading visitors to overlook the real attractions of Franconian Switzerland, which were to be found outside of the village.

No surprise, then, that Körber's 1858 guidebook was directed primarily at hikers and nature enthusiasts. This source affords an invaluable glimpse into mid-century landscape tourism in Franconian Switzerland, a physical undertaking that was available to all those who had the energy, time, and money. Körber began his guide with a scientific overview of the region, covering its geological composition and its flora and fauna, past and present. He then moved on to more practical tips for hikers, recommending routes and particular attractions. At the time, Franconian Switzerland was a region that could only be enjoyed on foot, and many of the most rewarding spots were only accessible via arduous paths. Körber did not directly discourage "delicate women and older people" from participating in these excursions, but he did recommend that they familiarize themselves with their options and ultimately choose more moderate hikes. He

³³³ Philipp von Körber, *Illustrierter Fremdenführer durch die fränkische Schweiz und das Fichtelgebirg, Bamberg, Bayreuth, Erlangen und Coburg* (Bamberg: Verlag der Buchner'schen Buchhandlung, 1858), 23. "Jetzt ist es ein Kurort, hat vom April bis zum Oktober eine fashionable Gesellschaft und die Gastwirthe und Landleute haben schnell gelernt, wie man die Preise für Lebensmittel und Wohnungen auf die in beliebten Bäder gebräuchliche Höhe hinaufschraubt."

also encouraged visitors to employ the services of an experienced guide, not only to ensure that they take relatively straightforward and safe routes, but also in order to carry “some refreshments and the hand luggage of the travelers.”³³⁴ In a literal sense, this was travel off the beaten path, but it was also an “adventure tourism” for beginners; here was a chance to tour a compact, romantic landscape that was already charted and appraised.

The various features that attracted German tourists to Franconian Switzerland also attracted international tourists. In his 1839 travelogue, German writer Gustav von Heeringen noted that English and French researchers were increasingly common among the visitors descending upon the region’s caves.³³⁵ In 1852, Englishman Charles Taylor published an account of his “historical tour” of Franconia. He devoted two of seventeen chapters to the mountainous region around Muggendorf, which he praised for its scientific wonders and its “picturesque and beautiful scenery.” Like so many other travelers of the early nineteenth century, Taylor was interested primarily in the region’s extensive caves, and reported that they were filled with stalactites and the bones of pre-historical beasts. He also noted the plethora of living species in the region, including rare specimens of insects and plants. “To all those who pursue Nature in all or any of these, her varied and delightful paths,” claimed Taylor, “this region will yield an abundant store of enjoyment.”³³⁶ Fellow Englishman Sir John Forbes traveled through Franconian Switzerland in 1855, and was likewise impressed by the “picturesque” and “placid beauty” of the Wiesent valley. However, the aristocratic traveler was disappointed with both the Rosenmüller Cave and the Gößweinstein Castle, the latter supposedly “devoid of

³³⁴ Körber, *Illustrierter Fremdenführer durch die fränkische Schweiz und das Fichtelgebirg, Bamberg, Bayreuth, Erlangen und Coburg*, 1, 20-22.

³³⁵ Heeringen, *Wanderungen durch Franken*, 175.

³³⁶ Charles Taylor, *A Historical Tour in Franconia, in the Summer of 1852* (London: Longman & Co., 1852), 151, 160.

beauty.” Forbes also described local accommodations as “sufficient, though rude,” indicating that the local tourism industry still had room for improvement if it wanted to appeal to a more refined, cosmopolitan crowd.³³⁷

In 1861, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* published a piece on Franconian Switzerland by the American writer Bayard Taylor, who was already well-known for his travel accounts of Africa and Asia.³³⁸ Taylor had traveled to Germany in pursuit of restitution and “moderate daily exercise,” and having already visited the landscapes of Saxony, Thuringia, and the Black Forest, he set out for Franconian Switzerland, and specifically the drinking-, bathing-, and walking-cures of Streitberg. Although he was less than impressed with the local *Kurhaus*, which was reportedly filled with “sallow, peevish, irritable, unhappy persons, in whose faces one could see vinegar as well as whey,” the American tourist was moved by the surrounding landscape. His accounts of hikes through the region correspond well with the romantic idealization of the countryside that was so prevalent in Germany. For example, he recounted his walk between Streitberg and Muggendorf as follows:

The dew lay thick on the meadows, and the peasants were everywhere at work shaking out the hay, so that air was sweet with grass-odors. Above me on either side, the immense gray horns and towers of rock rose out of the steep fir-woods, clearly, yet not too sharply defined against the warm blue sky. The Wiesent, swift and beryl-green, winding in many curves through the hay-fields, made a cheerful music in his bed.³³⁹

In this passage, the author drew upon both sublime and pastoral conceptions of nature, juxtaposing the diligent but inconsequential human population with the gigantic rock

³³⁷ John Forbes, *Sight-Seeing in Germany and the Tyrol in the Autumn of 1855* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., Cornhill, 1856), 315-318.

³³⁸ This piece was later reprinted in collections of Taylor’s work as “A Walk through the Franconian Switzerland.” See Bayard Taylor, *At Home and Abroad: A Sketchbook of Life, Scenery, and Men* (New York: G.N. Putnam, 1862), 286-318.

³³⁹ Bayard Taylor, “The Franconian Switzerland,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, January 1862, 147.

forms that disrupted the otherwise rolling mountain landscape. In addition to these sights, Taylor was also enamored with the standard attractions of Franconian Switzerland, including the ruins of the Neideck fortress, the castle of Gößweinstein, which appeared “as if hung in the sky,” and the isolated village of Pottenstein, portrayed as “wonderfully picturesque.” Foreshadowing the direction of future guidebooks, he supplied little information on the background of these sites, concluding that Franconian Switzerland was “less interesting in a historical point of view than on the account of its remarkable scenery and its curious deposits of fossil remains.” The author may have had “little fancy for subterranean travels,” but he was struck by the abundance of fossils discovered in the region’s caves, demonstrating an enthusiasm for natural science that was clearly not unique to Germany. His appreciation for these findings was colored by a vague romanticism, and he was equally fascinated by the inability of scientists to explain the sheer quantity of pre-historic remnants, remarking: “There is some grand mystery of Creation hidden in this sparry sepulcher of pre-adamite beasts.”³⁴⁰ The travel report of this American tourist, recounted in a popular illustrated magazine, confirms that Franconian Switzerland could function as a romantic respite for non-Germans as well, especially for those fleeing a war-torn country, either literally or in their imaginations.

Just a few years after this article appeared, Franconian Switzerland also found itself at the heart of a war-torn country. In 1866, the Kingdom of Bavaria sided with the Austrian Empire in its losing effort against Prussia in what amounted to the German version of the Civil War, with several skirmishes taking place in Franconia itself. Four years after the defeat of the Habsburg Empire and its allies, Bavaria joined the northern German states in their campaign against Napoleon III’s France in 1870. With the

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 146-150.

subsequent unification of the German Empire, Bavaria was integrated into the new federalist system. Unification certainly had an impact on the nascent tourism industry, with the disappearance of boundaries across the empire eliminating one of the greatest impediments to travel. Meanwhile, some guidebook publishers began to endorse a unified German identity. Rudy Koshar has argued that guidebooks published by the Baedeker firm consistently presented an image of the German nation as “an advanced, prospering community anchored by an impressive cultural tradition and enabled by modern technologies that allowed the individual to get around as never before.”³⁴¹

Grieben’s 1876 guidebook on *The Fichtel Mountains and Franconian Switzerland* reflected this trend, only without the emphasis on modernity evident in the Baedeker guides. Based in Berlin, Grieben’s “Travel Library” had successfully appropriated the Murray and Baedeker model for tourist handbooks, but had targeted a broader clientele by including a greater number of illustrations in their publications.³⁴² Although illustrations certainly played a role in the 1876 guidebook on rural Franconia, what is more interesting is the language used to characterize the region as not only romantic, but “German.” In the introduction to the section on Franconian Switzerland, the author proclaimed: “Among the many beautiful parts of Germany which definitely merit a visit, Franconian Switzerland ... does not rank last.”³⁴³ The region was praised as an “idyll,” a landscape of “nobly-formed mountains and rolling hills” reminiscent of the wood-cuts of Albrecht Dürer, one of the artist heroes of Tieck and Wackenroder’s *Heartfelt Effusions*

³⁴¹ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 64.

³⁴² Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 65.

³⁴³ Grieben’s Reise-Bibliothek (Firm), *Das Fichtelgebirge und die Fränkische Schweiz. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Bamberg und Bayreuth*, 5th ed. (Berlin: Verlag von Alber Goldschmidt, 1876), 95. “Unter den vielen schönen Gegenden Deutschlands, welche einen Besuch hinreichend lohnen, nimmt die *Fränkische Schweiz*, früher auch wohl Nürnberger Schweiz genannt, nicht den letzten Platz ein.”

of an Art-Loving Friar. While its ruined fortresses were linked with the “magic of romanticism,” its “fantastic” caves were identified as among the “natural wonders of Germany.” The conclusion of the guidebook established this nationalized line of marketing even further:

Whoever has at one time picked up his hiking staff in order to behold the natural wonders of our German Fatherland, should direct his course to the Fichtel Mountains, and to Franconian Switzerland. He will return home delighted and refreshed, armed with the conviction that we possess precious pearls in our German *Heimat*, treasures that are insufficiently known, classified, and praised.³⁴⁴

For over seventy years poets and travel writers had advertised Franconian Switzerland as romantic and idyllic; the Grieben’s guidebook complicated the argument by adding “German” to the equation, describing the trip as a patriotic duty. This is especially noteworthy because it was the only publication that appeared to have done so. Local publications typically avoided such jingoism, and the tourism industry seemed reluctant to engage with these broader identities. Franconian Switzerland may have been one of birthplaces of the Bavarian tourism industry, but its marketing did little to construct a Bavarian regional identity. To employ the language of Thomas Lekan out of context, this was “a natural world outside the flux of history,” with timeless attractions that transcended both region and nation.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Ibid., 95-96, 126-127, 131. “Wer einmal den Wanderstab ergriffen hat, um in unserem deutschen Vaterlande die Wunder der Natur zu schauen, der lenke seine Schritte auch in das Fichtelgebirge, in die Fränkische Schweiz. Erfreut und erfrischt wird er heimkehren und die Ueberzeugung gewonnen haben, dass wir in unserer deutschen Heimath edle Perle besitzen, welche viel zu wenig gekannt, genannt und gelobt sind.”

³⁴⁵ Lekan, *Imagining the Nation in Nature*, 72.

Simplicity, Distance, and Modern Conveniences

Regional historian Gustave Voit has defined Franconian Switzerland as a “child of poetry,” a landscape “discovered by the researchers of caves, roamed and praised by romantics.”³⁴⁶ By the final decades of the nineteenth century, these were no longer the region’s only visitors. Economic growth, increased wages, and legislation guaranteeing paid vacations for civil servants all contributed to an increase in middle-class tourism after 1870.³⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the steady increase in tourists did little to improve economic conditions in Franconian Switzerland, and the region remained rather poor until the First World War. Although villages like Muggendorf, Streitberg, Gößweinstein, and Pottenstein gained a reputation for their comfortable inns and large numbers of guests, the short tourist season effectively limited the amount of capital to be earned. Franconian Switzerland was a summer get-away; between October and May the inns were largely empty, and the hospitality industry was forced to rely on the occasional traveling artisan or farmer, who tended to be more frugal than the standard, middle-class tourist.³⁴⁸

Between May and October, though, Franconian Switzerland received a regular stream of tourists, both male and female. An 1871 issue of the American religious magazine, *The Ladies’ Repository*, introduced Franconian Switzerland to middle-class women, describing the region as a picturesque district that was “geographically as unlike Switzerland as it is possible... to be.” The author also noted that the destination was popular among German tourists, but aside from the occasional geologist or day-tripper,

³⁴⁶ Voit, Kauflich, and Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz*, 58. “Entdeckt von Höhlenforscher, erwandert und gepriesen von Romantikern... wurde die *Fränkische Schweiz* nun auch ein Kind der Poesie.”

³⁴⁷ Götsch, “Sommerfrische: Zur Etablierung einer Gegenwelt am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts,” 8.

³⁴⁸ Sterzl and Bauer, *Fränkische Schweiz*, 31.

there were “few foreigners.”³⁴⁹ However, the destination’s inclusion in various English-language travelogues since the early nineteenth century suggests that American and British tourists were no strangers to Franconian Switzerland.³⁵⁰ One 1887 travelogue is especially illuminating. The author, R. Milner Barry, was a wealthy English woman who traveled across Franconian Switzerland with two female companions after making a pilgrimage to nearby Bayreuth.³⁵¹ Barry was a typical nineteenth-century British tourist; she organized much of her vacation with the Thomas Cook Company beforehand, and carried her guidebook with her wherever she traveled. She was genteel, but she was also interested in an “authentic” tourist experience, and was determined to mingle with natives and improve her German. What is unique about Milner’s account is that she perpetuates romantic clichés about Franconian Switzerland while simultaneously offering candid commentary on the quality of accommodations and the behavior of the local population. Her first-hand account actually corresponds well with the work of local travel writers, who reached out to middle class tourists by promoting the region as a romantic respite that was both accessible and unforgettable.

Like earlier publications, guidebooks published in Franconia between 1885 and 1900 employed the motifs of natural beauty, pastoral simplicity, and medieval mystery. What made them distinct was a new emphasis on practicality and efficiency, reflecting the changing nature of leisure travel during the late nineteenth century. The primary

³⁴⁹ T.D. Ansted, “From Alsace to the Hartz,” *The Ladies’ Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature and Religion*, January–June 1871, 21-22.

³⁵⁰ In addition to previously cited travelogues by Charles Taylor and John Forbes, see Edmund Spencer, *Sketches of Germany and the Germans, With a Glance at Poland, Hungary, and Switzerland in 1834, 1835, and 1836*, Vol. 1 (London: Whitaker & Co., 1836), 301-309; Henry John Whitting, *Pictures of Nuremberg and Rambles in the Hills and Valleys of Franconia* (London: R. Bentley, 1850), 191-193.

³⁵¹ Barry described herself as an “unprotected woman desirous of hearing Wagner’s operas performed to perfection in Bayreuth.” R. Milner Barry, *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland* (London: S. Sonnenschein, Lowrey & Co., 1887), 2.

objective of these publications was not to muse or indoctrinate, but to accommodate, equipping visitors with information that was “necessary and worth-knowing.” This was done so in a “quick and clear” manner, as guaranteed by an 1891 guidebook published by the Bläsing University Bookstore of Erlangen.³⁵² As most of these examples of tourist propaganda focused exclusively on Franconian Switzerland, a tourist region renowned for its compact size, these guides were much briefer than the larger Baedeker, Grieben, or Meyer handbooks. Alternately labeled as “small,” “practical,” and sometimes “complete” guides, or *Führer*, they were organized concisely and logically, concentrating more on functional knowledge rather than descriptive exposition. For example, Friedrich Ende’s 1895 *Complete Guide through the Entire Franconian Switzerland*, only sixty-four pages long, began with a short introduction (“Brief Notes Instead of a Long Preface”), followed by an alphabetical list of tours through the region, and a concentrated description of each route. The publication then concluded with advertisements for local accommodations, an index of destinations and attractions, and a detailed map identifying various sights worth seeing, including castles, mills, caves, and specific panoramas.³⁵³

These guidebooks were first and foremost a resource for travelers who had already decided where to vacation. They did not generate tourism; they simplified its practice, and shaped impressions of the destination. Armed with their trustworthy guide, the individual tourist would not be met with surprises, nor would he or she be inconvenienced with decision-making, as all the important accommodations and

³⁵² *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, sowie Wegweiser durch das Schwabachtal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sogenannte Herbrucker Schweiz* (Erlangen: Th. Bläsings Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1891), “Vorwort.”

³⁵³ Friedrich Ende, *Vollständiger Führer durch die ganze Fränkische Schweiz und Teile der Oberpfalz* (Nürnberg: Selbstverlag von Friedrich Ende, 1895).

attractions were already classified and pre-evaluated.³⁵⁴ Most guidebooks on Franconian Switzerland offered explicit recommendations for travelers. An 1895 Bläsing guidebook identified the top ten sights worth seeing, or “sehenswerteste Partien,” including Streitberg and the ruins, Muggendorf and the caves, the fortress and pilgrimage church of Gößweinstein, the Tüchersfeld Valley, the village of Pottenstein, and the Rabenstein and Rabeneck Castles.³⁵⁵ These publications also recognized that most nineteenth-century tourists were not representatives of the “leisure class,” and their time and money remained limited. Literary theorist James Buzard has observed that nineteenth-century tourists differed from the privileged travelers of the past in that they “were in neither the position nor the humor to squander their resources.”³⁵⁶ Consequently, guidebooks not only provided accurate information on prices, but also took time restraints into account. Tourist guidebooks rarely recommended more than five days of hiking in the region, unlike earlier publications.³⁵⁷ The Bläsing guide recommended three days in Franconian Switzerland, but in case of emergency, most tourists could “at least briefly acquaint themselves with the highlights” in one and a half days.³⁵⁸ An 1887 guidebook advised travelers with a single day in the region to head straight for Muggendorf, visiting the Rosenmüller Cave first, and then the Neideck ruins outside of Streitberg on the return trip.³⁵⁹ The authors of these guidebooks assumed that tourists were determined to make

³⁵⁴ Pretzel, *Die Literaturform Reiseführer*, 16, 76-79.

³⁵⁵ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung* (Erlangen: Th. Bläsings Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1895), 7-8.

³⁵⁶ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 48.

³⁵⁷ Heeringen, *Wanderungen durch Franken*, 175; Taylor, *A Historical Tour in Franconia*, 160.

³⁵⁸ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 7-8. “Was die Touristen anlangt, so werden sich die meisten mit 1-3 Tagen begnügen müssen, Zur Not reichen auch 1 ½ - 2 Tage für solche hin, die nicht zu häufig einkehren und frühzeitig aufstehen wollen, um wenigstens die Hauptpunkte flüchtig kennen zu lernen...”

³⁵⁹ *Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, Mit Wegweiser durch das Schwabachthal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sog. Hersbrucker Schweiz* (Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1887), 1.

the most of their time away from work and home. Anton Schuster's *Small Guide through Franconian Switzerland*, published in 1891, worked under the assumption that tourists would take one of the morning trains to Forchheim, on the western fringe of Franconian Switzerland, either leaving Nuremberg at 5:00, or Bamberg at 4:22.³⁶⁰

Why were middle-class tourists in such a rush to behold the various attractions of Franconian Switzerland? Guidebooks covering the region published between 1885 and 1900 were unanimous in designating the mountainous region as “romantic,” thus appealing to modern society’s growing desire for solace and respite in natural settings.³⁶¹ Although some scholars have claimed that romanticism was only influential in Germany for roughly forty years, from 1797 through the 1830s, the concept itself clearly retained cultural significance.³⁶² However, when these guidebooks employed the term “romantic,” it suggested a somewhat simpler understanding of the word that did not reflect the ideological sophistication of turn-of-the century intellectuals. Art historian Marsha Morton points out that the term “romantic” was first used in the seventeenth century, and became a popular tag for “natural vistas, especially those that evoked distance from everyday reality, and whose scenery was wild, fantastic, and luxuriant or, alternatively, mysterious, gloomy, solitary, and stamped with the remains of past cultures.”³⁶³ This was the definition of romanticism evoked by late nineteenth-century guidebooks covering Franconian Switzerland. Authors used the term to characterize the landscape, villages, and medieval architecture of the region as idyllic, secluded, and

³⁶⁰ Anton Schuster, *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz* (Bamberg: Reindl, 1891), 1.

³⁶¹ For example, Anton Schuster employed the word “romantic,” or some form thereof, at least four times in the first five pages of his short guidebook. Schuster uses the term to refer to a canyon, a castle, and most interestingly, the general character of the village of Pottenstein, which reportedly left a “lasting impression on account of its diverse rock formations and its romanticism.” *Ibid.*, 1-5.

³⁶² Engelhardt, “Romanticism in Germany,” 109.

³⁶³ Morton, “German Romanticism,” 11.

evocative of a bygone era that became more attractive in the shadow of industrialization and urbanization. This was a simplified romanticism, colored by vague notions of *Bildung* and spiritual redemption, but ultimately more focused on achieving distance from the modern city. This preoccupation with distance from the urban environment should come as no surprise when we consider the fact that the vast majority of tourists in the nineteenth century were city-dwellers.³⁶⁴

Among the many features of Franconian Switzerland identified as “romantic,” it was the natural landscape that received the most attention and praise from late nineteenth-century guidebooks. Most guidebook authors identified their audience as “friends of beautiful nature,” easily enchanted with the region’s “beautiful wooded valleys, its clear mountain water, and the numerous caves with their stunning stalactites and stalagmites, and the fossils of pre-historic animals.”³⁶⁵ The definitive qualities of this environment were not only its beauty, but its purity and peacefulness, even more remarkable in juxtaposition to the filth and noise of the modern city. In its 1890 guide, the Leo Woerl Firm identified “simplicity and idyllic charm” as the signature traits of the entire landscape.³⁶⁶ In 1890’s *Romanticism of Franconian Switzerland*, Adam Koch-Neuses described the region as “a little piece of earthly paradise” that managed to remain

³⁶⁴ Syrjämaa, “Tourism as a Typical Cultural Phenomenon,” 180, 182.

³⁶⁵ *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, sowie Wegweiser durch das Schwabachtal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sogenannte Herbrucker Schweiz; Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachtal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 5.

³⁶⁶ Leo Woerl (Firm), *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz* (Würzburg: Verlag von Leo Woerl, 1890), 45-46. Interesting to note that the Woerl guidebook on Upper Franconia also covered Franconian Switzerland, using the same text and illustrations used by the 1890 guide to Middle Franconia. See Leo Woerl (Firm), *Führer durch Oberfranken* (Würzburg: Verlag von Leo Woerl, 1891), 72-85.

sheltered from the “rational and practical achievements” of modern civilization.³⁶⁷ An 1889 guidebook published by Andreas Deichert paints an even more striking picture:

Whenever long shadows stretch out from the wooded slopes of the mountains in the east, whenever the stunning rock formations stand before the splendor of the sunset, whenever we see the pure water of the river winding between beautiful meadows and the diligently-cultivated fields of the peasant, then the region gives us a vision of peace and rural tranquility, and we begin to enjoy the pleasant feeling of distance from the consuming life of crowded cities.³⁶⁸

Franconian Switzerland was cast as an idyllic retreat and a refuge from urban life, but it was not exactly a “wilderness.” This environment was neither natural nor timeless, consisting of “items of nature” as well as “human artifacts.”³⁶⁹ The region’s mountains and forests, for instance, were dotted with medieval ruins and rustic mills, which served as reminders of a romanticized past and a simpler way of life. All of these elements were understood as part of nature, “an alternative milieu that did not fundamentally challenge the necessity of cities.”³⁷⁰ This environment existed in a careful balance with the modern world, providing a reprieve from urban life, but not a complete escape from civilization itself. More importantly, the landscape of Franconian Switzerland produced the illusion of “stillness,” defined by James Buzard as the appearance of peace and solitude, and

³⁶⁷ Adam Koch-Neuses, *Die Romantik der Fränkischen Schweiz* (Forchheim: F.A. Streit, 1890), 3.

³⁶⁸ *Die Fränkische Schweiz und die Kur-Anstalt zur Streitberg: Ein treuer Führer für Reisende und ärztlicher Rathgeber für Kurgäste nebst Naturgeschichte der Fränkischen Schweiz* (Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1889), 6. “Wenn ab den laubigen Abhängen der Berge im Osten die dunklen Schatten höher rücken, wenn die phantastischen Felsengestalten im Schmucke des Abendrothes daraus hervorragen, wenn wir das klare Wasser des Flusses zwischen den schönen Wiesengründen und den fleissig bestellten Feldern des Landmanns dahin schlängeln sehen, so gibt uns die Gegend ein Bild des Friedens, ein Bild der ländlichen Ruhe, und wir geniessen nun erst das wohltuende Gefühl der Abschiedenheit aus dem auftreibenden Leben bevölkerter Städte.”

³⁶⁹ Eeva Jokinen and Soile Veijola, “Mountains and Landscapes: Towards Embodied Visualities,” in *Visual Culture and Tourism*, ed. David Crouch and Nina Lübbren (New York: Berg, 2003), 259.

³⁷⁰ Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials*, 77.

having “*kept still*, out of history, suspended as if waiting for the visitor to make use of it.”³⁷¹

While “human artifacts” remained a prominent feature of the Franconian Switzerland landscape, contemporary human inhabitants themselves were limited to a secondary and often decorative role. Although earlier guidebook writers like Joseph Heller had called attention to the customs of the “simple and hard-working” natives, most guidebook writers of the late nineteenth century overlooked the local population. In the passage from the 1889 guidebook quoted above, the tourist’s attention was called to “diligently-cultivated fields,” while the peasant responsible for this work was nowhere to be found.³⁷² Another guidebook mentioned Charlemagne and the medieval artist Veit Stoß in a brief paragraph on the town of Forchheim, but then avoided reference to human beings throughout the remainder of the text.³⁷³ These guidebooks were more preoccupied with the natural wonders of the tourist region, a common phenomenon in late nineteenth-century tourist propaganda.³⁷⁴ When the local inhabitants did appear, they were either cast as hospitable hosts or as idyllic representations of rural life, not unlike those featured in the well-known engravings by Ludwig Richter. Woerl’s 1890 guidebook portrayed the region’s inhabitants as “friendly and obliging, and not to mention hospitable,” listing them among the destination’s greatest amenities, alongside an agreeable climate and fresh air. The same guidebook also featured a full-page picture of the landscape around

³⁷¹ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 177-179.

³⁷² *Die Fränkische Schweiz und die Kur-Anstalt zur Streitberg*, 6.

³⁷³ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 13.

³⁷⁴ Jan Palmowski notes that nineteenth-century Murray guidebooks offered extensive information on flora and fauna, but relatively little commentary on the inhabitants of tourist destinations, a fact that “speaks volumes about the growing Victorian appreciation of the countryside over urban life.” Jan Palmowski, “Travels with Baedeker – The Guidebook and the Middle Classes in Victorian and Edwardian England,” in *Histories of Leisure*, 121.

Gößweinstein, with a number of peasant children playing in the foreground.³⁷⁵ In this case, the human inhabitants of the region were incorporated into the natural landscape itself, becoming part of the holistic representation of the romanticized region.³⁷⁶ These were not real people, but symbols of an alternate way of life. At this point, there was little ethnographic interest in the appreciating the distinctive characteristics of the different German tribes.

In contrast to the guidebooks, first-person travelogues usually afforded more attention to the human inhabitants of Franconian Switzerland, although the authors inevitably reduced the locals to caricatures. In his 1890 travelogue on the region, Koch-Neuses devoted a brief section to the rural Volk, who were described as being firmly attached to the natural environment, as well as their “traditional customs and festivals,” which appealed to the “romantic longing for the good, old days and the blissfully simple and innocent era of the past.”³⁷⁷ Koch-Neuses depicted the local population in terms of simplicity and authenticity, portraying them as the veritable antithesis of modern, urban society. In her 1887 travelogue, English tourist R. Milner Barry offered a somewhat more candid account of the local residents. She praised their honesty and hospitality, and observed that the inhabitants of Pottenstein in particular seemed to take “a pride and pleasure in the lovely and romantic scenery which surrounds them.” In a subsequent passage Barry recounted her conversation with a local, adolescent girl who lacked comparable enthusiasm for the “romantic scenery.” Asking the girl where a certain road led, Barry received this uncommitted response: “Nowhere in particular... but there is a rock called the Pfaffenstein near, and a great many strangers go up to see the view, which

³⁷⁵ Woerl, *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz*, 45-46.

³⁷⁶ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 188.

³⁷⁷ Koch-Neuses, *Die Romantik der Fränkischen Schweiz*, 23.

they say is very grand.”³⁷⁸ While tourist publications displayed little interest in authentic natives, this native displayed little interest in the tourist landscape itself.

For late nineteenth-century tourists, the most popular method of enjoying the landscape of Franconian Switzerland was hiking, which was still a relatively recent phenomenon. At the end of the early modern period, traveling by foot had a rather unglamorous reputation, being understood primarily as a burden by those professional and social groups who were regularly on the move. For these *Wanderer*, the natural environment was a hazardous domain of obstacles, not a reservoir of “simplicity and idyllic charm.” Wolfgang Kaschuba asserts: “They sought paths through nature, not into it.”³⁷⁹ Recreational walking, or hiking, only became an established practice during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, after the ideologues of the late Enlightenment and romantic periods rehabilitated the natural environment. This new pastime was also linked to the urban annexation of the countryside as an important social space not only for leisure, but also personal cultivation, or *Bildung*. Hiking ultimately became an important means of creating a sense of community among the *Bürgertum*, and historian Denise Phillips insists that excursions into the natural landscape outside of the city helped to “define what it meant to be ‘cultivated’ (*gebildet*) and as such played a central role in the production of a new middle-class selfhood.”³⁸⁰ The practice became a celebrated vehicle of “empirical edification and self-cultivation,” distinguishing the

³⁷⁸ Barry, *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland*, 117, 126.

³⁷⁹ Wolfgang Kaschuba, “Die Fußreise – Von der Arbeitswanderung zur bürgerlichen Bildungswesen,” in *Reisekultur: Von der Pilgerfahrt zum modernen Tourismus*, 165-166. “Sie ... suchten Wege durch die Natur, nicht in sie.” For a broader overview of the subject, see Rebecca Solnit, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking* (New York: Viking, 2000).

³⁸⁰ Denise Phillips, “Friends of Nature: Urban Sociability and Regional Natural History in Dresden, 1800-1850,” *Osiris* 18 (2003): 45-46.

middle classes from the aristocracy, who preferred to travel by coach.³⁸¹ Most importantly, as Thomas Lekan has observed, hiking was a “popular way to experience the landscape on a budget.”³⁸²

Hiking was not only the most popular and economical method for enjoying the natural landscape of Franconian Switzerland at the end of the nineteenth century; it was practically the only one. Due to the conditions of local roads, and the remote location of many of the attractions, traveling by coach was not always a practical option, especially for those tourists who were intent upon beholding every recommendation made by their guidebook. An 1887 guidebook noted that a horse-drawn omnibus was the preferable way of reaching Streitberg, but that upon arrival, the hiking commenced. Although this publication included several recommendations for visitors traveling by coach, it was clear that this form of transportation was only helpful in conveying the tourists to centralized locations. Consequently, this *Wegweiser* functioned essentially as a sort of pathfinder, offering concise descriptions of hiking routes, and indicating clearly what sights and natural wonders should be enjoyed along the way.³⁸³ Another guidebook stressed that certain hiking routes were not to be missed during a vacation in the region. One in particular, the nine kilometer road from Muggendorf to Behringersmühle, was marked with an asterisk and characterized as “indisputably the scenically most beautiful stretch in Franconian Switzerland.”³⁸⁴ According to such publications, there was no better way to experience the natural wonders of Franconian Switzerland than to leisurely hike through

³⁸¹ Kaschuba, “Die Fußreise,” 170. For more on recreational walking and the bourgeoisie, see Heikki Lempa, *Beyond the Gymnasium: Educating the Middle-Class Bodies in Classical Germany* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007), 163-193.

³⁸² Lekan, “Tourism, *Heimat*, and Conservation on the Rhine,” 839.

³⁸³ *Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, Mit Wegweiser durch das Schwabachthal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sog. Hersbrucker Schweiz*, 1-3.

³⁸⁴ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 20.

the very heart of the region. Like other forms of leisure travel, one of the defining characteristics of this variety of tourism was movement itself, and the middle-class vacationers consumed kilometers as well as landscapes.

Movement aside, hiking in the Franconian Switzerland was ultimately a means of arriving at spots where the tourist could enjoy views of the mountainous landscape. Unlike subsequent publications produced by the German and Austrian Alpine Association, guidebooks covering Franconian Switzerland did not stress “the physically regenerative influence of strenuous exertion in the mountains.”³⁸⁵ The merit of a particular trek had little to do with physical activity, but rested instead with the quality of the views encountered along the way. For example, an 1889 guidebook described the route from Muggendorf to Gößweinstein as a series of “picturesque views,” during which one could “joyfully survey... the lovely charms of nature.” The same guidebook advised travelers to slow their pace between Gößweinstein and Pottenstein so that they would not fail to enjoy the panoramas of this “romantic landscape.”³⁸⁶ Friedrich Ende’s 1894 guidebook praised the “wild and romantic” scenery around the village of Pottenstein, which did not possess any specific tourist attractions other than “an impressive view” of the “grotesque rock formations” that surrounded the community.³⁸⁷ R. Milner Barry was likewise impressed by the landscape outside of Pottenstein, which she characterized as “some of the wildest and most remarkable scenery of the Fränkische Schweiz.”³⁸⁸

Many views in Franconian Switzerland were defined by their proximity to medieval ruins. An 1891 guidebook promoted the views from Streitberg, where the river

³⁸⁵ Dickinson, “Germanizing the Alps and Alpinizing the Germans,” 583.

³⁸⁶ *Die Fränkische Schweiz und die Kur-Anstalt zur Streitberg*, 38, 41-42.

³⁸⁷ Ende, *Praktischer Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz*, 13-14.

³⁸⁸ Barry, *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland*, 108.

valley between the mountains began to narrow and take on “a more romantic form.” On one side of the Wiesent, the fortress of Streitberg cast its shadow over the village from its location on a rocky precipice. Just across the river, the ruins of Neideck fortress stood atop a steep cliff-side.³⁸⁹ Like the region’s rural inhabitants, the ruins were incorporated into the larger mountainous landscape, existing as pleasant reminders of a bygone era that neither detracted from the splendor of nature, nor threatened the idealized image of the Middle Ages popularized by the romantics. Admittedly, these sites had been a popular subject of travel writers since the late eighteenth century. However, what was unique about the late nineteenth-century guidebooks was the lack of historical exposition. Commentary on the castles and ruins was brief, and often transitioned into a description of the views that could be achieved from their elevated positions. For example, the 1890 Woerl guidebook advised travelers to take the 45-minute path from Muggendorf up to the Neideck ruins, which were distinguished only as “extensive and imposing.” The mountain-top ruins did, however, promise “nice views in all directions.”³⁹⁰ It was not imperative that the tourist actually follow in the footsteps of the romantics by touring the medieval fortresses themselves.

First appreciated by romantic poets and painters, the landscape of Franconian Switzerland was effectively “a cultural construction, nature set aside for

³⁸⁹ *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, sowie Wegweiser durch das Schwabachtal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sogenannte Herbrucker Schweiz*, 9.

³⁹⁰ The medieval history of Neideck was subsequently encapsulated in three sentences: “Die Burg war einst Besitztum derer von Schlüsselberg. Auf ihr kam der letzte seines Geschlechtes, Konrad, am 8. Mai 1347 ums Leben. Er wurde von den Belagerern, den Nürnbergern und Bambergern, durch eine Wurfmaschine getötet.” The same guide dedicated only one sentence to the history of the fortress above Pottenstein, noting only its aristocratic owners, and the fact that it had been sacked during both the Peasants’ War, as well as the Thirty Years War. Woerl, *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz*, 57, 49.

contemplation.”³⁹¹ In a sense, this appreciation for the natural environment was a distinctly modern phenomenon linked to urbanization. The land itself could only become a marketable commodity when it was removed from the realm of the ordinary. “[A]s the intimate tie between land and its users was severed with the development of capitalism,” writes scholar Steven Bourassa, “the idea of the landscape arose. In other words, it became possible to distance oneself from the land so that it could be viewed as landscape.”³⁹² Distance was the key to the nineteenth-century idealization of natural landscapes, and it was also the definitive feature of most of the views endorsed in guidebooks on Franconian Switzerland. For instance, in discussing the best views of the region’s medieval ruins, Barry proclaimed: “All these castles require to be seen from a distance, as it is only thus one can realize the height of the rocks on which they stand.”³⁹³

In other cases, it was not just distance from the landscape itself that was stressed, but distance from civilization. For instance, the fortress of Gößweinstein was supposedly most striking when it suddenly appeared on the horizon after the tourist rounded a bend following the Wiesent from Muggendorf. Upon arriving in the village of Gößweinstein itself, the visitor was typically not invited to tour the fortress or even the renowned pilgrimage church, but instead compelled to climb the nearby “*Wagnershöhe*” and enjoy the “magnificent view” of the Wiesent, Püttlach, and Eschbach river valleys, as well as a “gorgeous panorama” of the Upper Pfalz, the Fichtel Mountains, and the cities of Bayreuth and Kulmbach in the distance.³⁹⁴ Such distance allowed the tourist to consume

³⁹¹ Cara Aitchison, Nicole E. Macleod, and Stephen J. Shaw, *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 72.

³⁹² Stephen C. Bourassa, *The Aesthetics of Landscape* (London: Belhaven Press, 1991), 3-4.

³⁹³ Barry, *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland*, 136.

³⁹⁴ Ende, *Praktischer Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz*, 16-17. Even local communities acknowledged that attractive panoramas were central to the tourist experience in Franconian Switzerland. In 1891, the official organ of the “State Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Bavaria” reported that

several sights simultaneously, thereby conserving time.³⁹⁵ It allowed the tourist to master the larger landscape, achieving a sensory conquest of nature.

Enjoying views of the mountainous landscape was the primary justification for hiking in Franconian Switzerland, but it was not the only one. Hiking was also a means of observing nature up close, and appreciating it on a scientific as well as an aesthetic level. Romanticism may have shaped the dominant perceptions of the tourist region, but the new enthusiasm for natural science that was so characteristic of the latter half of the nineteenth century shaped the behavior of many visitors. In central Europe, the empirical observation of “local nature” actually dated back to the early modern period, and by the time of the Enlightenment, natural history was understood as part of the larger discipline of *Vaterlandskunde*, a distinct form of cultural geography. The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of civic natural history societies across German-speaking lands. These organizations consisted primarily of educated middle-class city-dwellers who dedicated much of their free time to observing and collecting plant and animal life in the nearby countryside.³⁹⁶ Like the garden movement of the late nineteenth century, this practice provided access to nature, but it did so as part of a distinctly urban culture.³⁹⁷ This amounted to a very unique form of tourism, leading Denise Phillips to comment:

“Out in the countryside, natural history prompted different patterns of attention in

the local beautification society of Gößweinstein had established a new overlook known as the “*Fischersruhe*.” This new spot was accessible via a “comfortable ascent,” and supposedly afforded a “superb view” of the region. See StAB, Regierung von Oberfranken, 1978: “Fremdenwesen, Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, Nordbayerischer Verkehrsverein, 1891-1920.” “Thätigkeit bayer. Verschönerungs- und Kur-Vereine,” *Bayerisch Land und Volk: Offizielles Organ des Landesverbandes zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern* 2, no. 2 (1891/92). This report was included in an insert, without page numbers.

³⁹⁵ Burkhard Fuhs describes a similar privileging of certain views in nineteenth-century guidebooks on Wiesbaden. See Burkhard Fuhs, *Mondaene Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft. Kultur und Geschichte der Kurstaedte, 1700-1900* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1992), 444-445.

³⁹⁶ Phillips, “Friends of Nature,” 44-45.

³⁹⁷ Tomomi Hotaka, “Contact with Nature as Urban Culture in the Modern Age: The Gardening Movement in the Second Imperial Age in Germany,” in *New Directions in Urban History*, 127-146.

travelers than did scenic views or ruins, typically drawing them toward discrete objects within a landscape.”³⁹⁸

An appreciation for natural science was not at all at odds with romanticism, and the latter certainly contributed to both the idealization and historicization of nature.³⁹⁹ While a certain “culture of progress” led many Germans to idealize the natural landscape and the obscure medieval past, it also drew thousands of amateur natural scientists into the countryside, “on the lookout for living species as well as fossils.”⁴⁰⁰ In any case, it was a devotion to *Bildung* that led travelers to take an active interest in the flora and fauna, past and present, of regions like Franconian Switzerland. Guidebooks may have committed more space to praising particular views, but they accommodated “friends of natural history” as well, supplying overviews of “geognostically significant points,” sinkholes, springs, and the extensive plant and animal life of the “lovely, romantic region.”⁴⁰¹ Guidebooks also directed this category of visitor to the unique fossilized remains found in Franconian Switzerland. Some of these samples, including ammonites and prehistoric clams, could easily be observed and catalogued during hikes through the mountainous landscape. Others could be viewed in private collections, like the one assembled by Limmer am Markt of Muggendorf, advertised in Ende’s 1895 guidebook.⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸ Phillips, “Friends of Nature,” 47.

³⁹⁹ Engelhardt, “Romanticism in Germany,” 112, 115.

⁴⁰⁰ Blackbourn, *The Conquest of Nature*, 178, 181.

⁴⁰¹ For example, see the section entitled “Natural History of Franconian Switzerland” in *Die Fränkische Schweiz und die Kur-Anstalt zur Streitberg*, 73-122. Tourists could also rely on more extensive, scientific catalogues. For example, see August Friedrich Schwarz, *Phanerogamen und Gefässkryptogramen. Flora der Umgegend von Nürnberg-Erlangen und des angrenzenden Teiles des Fränkischen Jura um Freistadt, Neumarkt, Hersbruck, Muggendorf, Hollfeld* (Nuremberg, 1892).

⁴⁰² Ende, *Vollständiger Führer durch die ganze Fränkische Schweiz*, 12.

Both “friends of nature” and “friends of natural science” were treated to a host of attractions during their stay in Franconian Switzerland, but some of the most spectacular attractions were contained within the mountains themselves. Johann Friedrich Esper’s 1774 work was responsible for directing the attention of the scientific community to this secluded region of Franconia, but nearly a century of touring, observing, and plundering ensured that the larger caves of Franconian Switzerland no longer contained the “hundreds of cart-loads of bony remains” once observed by tourists like Charles Taylor.⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, even visitors who were primarily interested in the larger romantic landscape were advised to include at least one cave in their tourist itinerary, and guidebooks persisted in advertising these natural wonders as one of the defining features of the region, and among the most important caverns in Germany and the world at large. The 1890 Leo Woerl guidebook described the caves of Franconian Switzerland as “internationally-renowned,” and highly recommended the Rosenmüller Cave. The text insisted that “no tourist should miss out” on this particular attraction, which required little time to visit, and even boasted a worthy view of the Wiesent valley from its entrance, demonstrating once again that landscape tourism could overlap with other forms of leisure travel.⁴⁰⁴ Another guidebook called attention to the caves near the castles of Rabenstein and Rabeneck, especially the Ludwig’s Cave (*Ludwigshöhle*) and the Sophien Cave (*Sophienhöhle*). The latter was defined as “by far the largest and most beautiful cave in Franconian Switzerland, and one of the most important caves for stalactites and

⁴⁰³ Taylor, *A Historical Tour in Franconia*, 154; Voit, Kauflich, and Rüfer, *Vom Land im Gebirg zur Fränkischen Schweiz*, 175-202.

⁴⁰⁴ Woerl, *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz*, 46, 52-53. “Kein Tourist sollte den Besuch dieser für kurze Partie fast einzig möglichen Höhle versäumen, da der Zeitwand ein sehr geringer ist und sich schon die Aussicht von der Höhle herab in das Thal lohnt.”

stalagmites in Germany in general.”⁴⁰⁵ In addition to these rock formations, admired by both romanticism-prone tourists and amateur naturalists, Franconian Switzerland’s caves still contained some fossils, a feature which secured their place among the most interesting caves “in the entire world.”⁴⁰⁶ The authors of guidebooks joined natural scientists in speculating as to how so many animals, including species of bears, lions, hyenas, and wolverines, ended up in these subterranean chambers, a mystery that fueled the imagination of the educated middle classes.⁴⁰⁷

Descriptions of the caves generally highlighted their enigmatic and “pre-historical” qualities, reflecting romantic notions of natural history, as well as an interest in scientific empiricism, albeit abbreviated for tourist consumption. However, visiting many of the larger caves required more than enthusiasm, and guidebooks recommended warm clothing as well as the services of a local guide. In Muggendorf, the residence of the local guide to the Rosenmüller Cave was clearly marked with a sign for tourists.⁴⁰⁸ In addition to an escort, some caves also required that visitors bring their own light along with them, while others were illuminated by more progressive means. By 1890, the interior of the Rosenmüller Cave was lit up by “Bengal light,” first used for photography in 1854, while individual sections of the Sophien Cave could be lit by burning strips of magnesium, a service that cost half of a Mark, but came highly recommended by Ende’s 1895 guidebook.⁴⁰⁹ Franconian Switzerland’s numerous caves represented a

⁴⁰⁵ *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, sowie Wegweiser durch das Schwabachtal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sogenannte Herbrucker Schweiz*, 13. “... **Sophienhöhle**, der weitaus grössten und schönsten Höhle der fränkischen Schweiz und einer der bedeutendsten Tropfsteinhöhlen Deutschlands überhaupt.”

⁴⁰⁶ Ende, *Praktischer Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz*, 1.

⁴⁰⁷ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 7.

⁴⁰⁸ Ende, *Praktischer Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz*, 17.

⁴⁰⁹ Woerl, *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz*, 52-53; Ende, *Vollständiger Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz*, 16.

subterranean world of mystery that had existed long before the dawn of the modern times. Paradoxically, it was modern attitudes towards nature and science that filled these caves with tourists, just as modern techniques literally illuminated this pre-modern realm, helping to “stage” it as a spectacle for anyone so inclined to see.

Tourism in Franconian Switzerland promised distance from modern civilization, but it was also a distinctly modern activity. Eager to vacation in a region evocative of a bygone era, the *Bürgerturn* also anticipated modern standards of cleanliness, comfort, and convenience at local accommodations.⁴¹⁰ This is one of the central paradoxes of nineteenth-century tourism identified by Hans Magnus Enzensberger: “The destination has to be both: accessible and inaccessible, distant from civilization and yet comfortable.”⁴¹¹ Guidebooks through Franconian Switzerland catered to this predisposition, including advertisements from inns and restaurants promising *gemütlich* and *bürgerlich* accommodations, as well as some of the modern conveniences of the city.⁴¹² Local inns like the “Gasthof zur Terrasse” in Pinzberg pointed to a list of inviting features, including: “Beautiful, shaded garden. Lovely view into the Regnitz and Wiesent valleys. Recognized quality kitchen with an extensive selection for every time of the day. Specialty: Fish. Good beer from the Reifschens Brewery of Erlangen. Pure wines. Guest rooms with good beds.”⁴¹³ Johann Distler’s Gasthof in Pottenstein similarly

⁴¹⁰ Patrick Young identifies a similar dynamic within domestic French tourism at the turn of the century. See Patrick Young, “*La Vieille France* as Object of Bourgeois Desire: The Touring Club de France and the French Regions, 1890-1918,” in *Histories of Leisure*, 182-183.

⁴¹¹ Enzensberger, “A Theory of Tourism,” 127.

⁴¹² The terms “*gemütlich*” and “*Gemütlichkeit*,” which appear throughout the dissertation, are somewhat difficult to translate. They can refer to hospitality, friendliness, and coziness, or even a generally pleasant, good-natured, and easy-going nature.

⁴¹³ Schuster, *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz*, 5. “Schöner schattiger Garten. Herrliche Aussicht in das Regnitz- und Wiesenthal. Anerkannt gute Küche zu jeder Tageszeit bei reicher Auswahl. Spezilität: Fische. Gutes Bier aus der Reifschens Brauerei in Erlangen. Reingehaltene Weine. Fremdenzimmer mit guten Betten...”

advertised a large veranda with views and “numerous and friendly guest rooms,” as well as “Munich beer (in bottles),” reaching out to residents of the Bavarian capital and international visitors accustomed to Munich beer.⁴¹⁴ The “Gasthof zur Post” of Ebermannstadt likewise promised beer from Munich’s Augustiner Brewery, while an inn of the same name in Behringersmühle boasted imported beer from both Nuremberg and Bamberg.⁴¹⁵

Every inn presented itself as comfortable and accommodating, but publications often noted that the quality could vary. The 1895 Bläsing guidebook informed visitors that inns in the larger communities tended to be satisfactory, while those in smaller villages left “something to be desired.”⁴¹⁶ R. Milner Barry reported that the local population was always warm and hospitable, but she did not hesitate to complain about the “monstrous eider-downs” in her Pottenstein room, or the “decidedly offensive smell” outside of the inn. She concluded that most inns in the region were “primitive,” “crowded,” and lacking “sufficient elements of comfort for the English traveler.”⁴¹⁷ Attempting to accommodate the demanding tastes of such visitors, several locations in Franconian Switzerland emphasized a somewhat more refined character. Pottenstein’s “Gasthaus zum Goldenen Anker,” for example, marketed itself not only with “lovely views and good beds,” but also a “*bürgerliche* kitchen” and “real service,” indirectly ensuring the satisfaction of its middle-class clientele.⁴¹⁸ In some cases, visitors could

⁴¹⁴ Ende, *Praktischer Führer*, 25.

⁴¹⁵ *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, sowie Wegweiser durch das Schwabachtal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sogenannte Herbrucker Schweiz*. Page numbers are not used for the advertisements at the end of this particular guidebook.

⁴¹⁶ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 12.

⁴¹⁷ Barry, *Bayreuth and Franconian Switzerland*, 121, 111-112, 117-118, 141-142.

⁴¹⁸ Today the term “gutbürgerliche Küche” can be translated roughly as “good home cooking,” but at the end of the century it implied a certain amount of refinement. It is also noteworthy that Friedrich

even receive mail and telegraph messages within the inns themselves, as was the case at Behringersmühle's "Gasthof zur Post."⁴¹⁹ Middle-class visitors may have sought a romantic respite in the Franconian Switzerland, but they were not completely willing to leave their modern life behind. As James Buzard observes: "[T]he tourist appears unable or unwilling to cast off the traces of a modernity which at home is all too much with us, clinging to domestic habits and amenities which destroy the foreignness of foreign places once they are introduced into them."⁴²⁰ Fleeing from modernity, tourists often brought it with them.

As a sanctuary from modernity *and* an explicitly modern travel destination, Franconian Switzerland was ideal for both brief and extended stays, either in a designated health resort, or actively hiking through its "most beautiful valleys."⁴²¹ The region was a venue of *Bildung* as well as *Erholung*, and it managed to attract "tourists, day-trippers, and summer vacationers," categories alternately employed by local guidebooks.⁴²² These categories did not refer to men alone, and guidebooks often marketed Franconian Switzerland as a travel destination for the entire family. Franz Dittmar's 1897 guidebook classified Streitberg as both a *Kurort* and a *Sommerfrische*, noting that the so-called "cure tax" was only five marks for an entire family.⁴²³ In another guidebook, the "Gasthof und Restauration zur Eisenbahn" of Ebermannstadt guaranteed an "excellent stay for families

Ende used the term "bürgerlich" to describe to the *Kurhaus* in Streitberg. Ende, *Vollständiger Führer*, 8, 63.

⁴¹⁹ *Kleiner Führer durch die Fränkische Schweiz, sowie Wegweiser durch das Schwabachtal von Erlangen nach Gräfenberg und die sogenannte Herbrucker Schweiz*. Other guidebooks noted that post offices and telegraph stations were available in both Streitberg and Muggendorf. See Ende, *Praktischer Führer*, 18; Franz Dittmar, *400 Ausflüge in die Umgegend von Nürnberg und Fürth, in das Pegnitztal, in die Altdorfer Gegend, in das Rednitz- und Altmühlgebiet und in die Fränkische Schweiz* (Nürnberg: Tümmel, 1897), 100-101.

⁴²⁰ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 8.

⁴²¹ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgegend*, 7.

⁴²² Ende, *Praktischer Führer*, 1.

⁴²³ Dittmar, *400 Ausflüge in die Umgegend von Nürnberg und Fürth*, 100.

and tourists,” distinguishing between the two varieties of clientele.⁴²⁴ Women were included under both of these designations, validating Philipp Prein’s assertion that middle-class women traveled extensively during the nineteenth century, and not only to rural retreats or the homes of relatives.⁴²⁵ Leo Woerl’s 1890 guidebook, for example, presented some explicit advice for women visiting the Rosenmüller Cave, recommending brushes for those that sought to clean the fringes of their apparel upon leaving the damp caves.⁴²⁶

In Franconian Switzerland, the entire middle-class family could enjoy a vacation from an increasingly industrialized existence. Ironically, these visitors helped to create a new industry that would stimulate the local economy and modify the landscape itself. Consisting of the inter-related sectors of propaganda, hospitality, and transportation, the tourism industry aimed at making the experience of travel more practical, comfortable, and predictable. These were attractive qualities to the middle class traveler with limited time and money. In Franconian Switzerland, there was clearly a hospitality industry in place by 1890, while scientists, poets, and travel writers had celebrated the region in various publications for over a century. In spite of this, some representatives of the tourism industry remained unsatisfied. An article printed in an 1891 issue of *Bavarian Land and Folk*, the official journal of the State Association for the Expansion of Bavarian Tourism, reported that residents of Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Bayreuth, regularly visited Franconian Switzerland, but that “a further increase of tourism was possible as well as desirable.” Suggested targets included the residents of Bavaria’s neighboring states, as well as the “visitors from all lands” that regularly flocked to Nuremberg, a city with a

⁴²⁴ *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung*, 33.

⁴²⁵ Prein, *Bürgerliches Reisen im 19. Jahrhundert*, 255.

⁴²⁶ Woerl, *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz*, 53.

growing reputation as “a focal point of international tourism.”⁴²⁷

The biggest obstacle standing between non-Bavarian tourists and Franconian Switzerland was the region’s relative inaccessibility via modern means of transportation. While the German rail network had expanded to 24,000 miles by 1873, this particular tourist destination remained off the grid.⁴²⁸ Tourist propaganda confirmed this state of affairs, with the 1876 Grieben’s guidebook reporting that Franconian Switzerland did not possess a railway, and it was “unlikely” that they would receive one “in the near future.”⁴²⁹ Visitors could travel by rail to Forchheim, then known as the “gateway to Franconian Switzerland,” but then their options were limited to traveling by foot or by coach. While most guidebook authors praised the virtues of leisurely hiking through the mountainous landscape, others hoped that the region would be spared the “granite gates” and “iron tracks” of modern transportation.⁴³⁰ In spite of these concerns, modernity traversed the boundaries of Franconian Switzerland once again in June 1891, when the local railway line between Forchheim and Ebermannstadt was opened. The new line transported visitors from the former location to the new “gateway to Franconian Switzerland” in roughly one hour, an important breakthrough that was heralded by the Leo Woerl guidebook in 1890, months before the railway was even launched.⁴³¹ The 1891 issue of *Bavarian Land and People* reported that the new railway was greeted with “festive jubilation” by the locals of Franconian Switzerland, and especially the inhabitants of Ebermannstadt. Some more “conservative citizens,” on the other hand,

⁴²⁷ StAB, Regierung von Oberfranken, 1978. “Einige Worte über Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern,” *Bayerisch Land und Volk: Offizielles Organ des Landesverbandes zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern* 2, no. 2 (1891/92): 13.

⁴²⁸ Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 180.

⁴²⁹ Grieben, *Das Fichtelgebirge und die Fränkische Schweiz*, 96.

⁴³⁰ Koch-Neuses, *Die Romantik der Fränkischen Schweiz*, 3.

⁴³¹ Woerl, *Führer durch Mittelfranken, die Hersbrücker und Fränkische Schweiz*, 45.

were reluctant to see the railway extend further into the region, a plan that was already in the works.⁴³² The economic potential of tourism had clearly not swayed everyone.

While the opening of the Forchheim-Ebermannstadt railway line improved the region's accessibility, some members of the local community took additional measures to cultivate tourism. In 1901, the "Franconian Switzerland Association" was founded by August Deppisch, a physician from Pottenstein, and Johannes Tremel, a priest from Volsbach, a village near Bayreuth. This association, or *Verein*, quickly assumed responsibility over the local tourism industry, and publicly declared its goals as: "making visits to Franconian Switzerland possible for strangers, enhancing the experiences of local friends of nature, and providing the current population with the benefits of an enhanced and better-regulated tourism."⁴³³ Echoing the statutes of both local beautification societies and *Heimat-Vereine*, the association was dedicated to improving the physical and spiritual well-being of visitors and local residents alike. These objectives were achieved through a number of actions, including the preservation of "natural wonders," the creation of hiking trails, the improvement of accommodations within the region, the funding of research into local history and geography (*Heimatkunde*), and even the promotion of hiking among the local youth (again, the region's residents apparently did not possess the same enthusiasm for the landscape as

⁴³² StAB, Regierung von Oberfranken, 1978. "Eine Neue Verkehrslinie für die Fränkische Schweiz," *Bayerisch Land und Volk: Offizielles Organ des Landesverbandes zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern* 2, no. 2 (1891/92): 18-19. The railway was not the only new form of transportation that "debuted" in Franconian Switzerland during this period. An 1898 guidebook published by the Bläsing company offered a ten-page section entitled "Tours for Bike-Riders," outlining ten different biking routes through the region. See *Die Fränkische Schweiz, das Schwabachthal und die Gräfenberger Umgebung, Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Radfahrtauren* (Erlangen: Th. Bläsings Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1898).

⁴³³ Quoted in Lilly Schottky, *Geschichte des Fränkische-Schweiz-Vereins, und andere heimatkundliche Beiträge* (Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1989), 99. "... dem Fremden den Besuch der Fränkischen Schweiz erleichtern, den einheimischen Naturfreunden den Aufenthalt verschönern und der ansässigen Bevölkerung die Vorteile eines verstärkten und besser geregelten Fremdenverkehrs verschaffen soll."

the middle-class city-dwellers). These activities reveal a devotion to the *Bildung*-oriented tourism that dominated within the region, a practical commitment to improving the tourism infrastructure itself, and even an interest in encouraging a new appreciation for the landscape among the local populace. This initiative proved popular, and by 1908, the association counted 600 members, a figure that included locals as well as residents of Nuremberg, Bamberg, and Bayreuth.⁴³⁴

* * *

The turn of the century was an important time for the tourism industry of Franconian Switzerland: it witnessed the increased publication of guidebooks, an expansion of the German railway into the region, and finally, the creation of the Franconian Switzerland Association, which worked to instill an appreciation for the natural landscape among locals and visitors alike. Although the majority of this association's records were destroyed in the Second World War, surviving statistics suggest that the popularity of the region grew significantly during the early twentieth century, with the number of visitors skyrocketing during the Weimar era.⁴³⁵ The nature of leisure travel in Germany certainly changed during this period, as larger segments of society were compelled to travel by new forms of propaganda and the allure of the package tour. Yet the underlying justification of tourism remained the flight from everyday life, and in many cases, respite from modern civilization.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., 37-43, 99-101.

⁴³⁵ For example, the number of visitors to spend at least one night in Gößweinstein increased from 9,870 during the 1913-14 season, to 28,590 in 1925-26, and finally 43,425 in 1930-31. See Philip Schwartz, ed., *Bayern im Lichte seiner hundertjährigen Statistik* (München: J. Lindauersche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1933), 75.

This longing for a sanctuary from modern civilization was first evident among the middle-class tourists of the nineteenth century, who pioneered a new style of leisure travel that distinguished them from early modern pilgrims and aristocratic Grand Tourists. For the *Bürgertum*, tourism constituted not only a break from their day-to-day life, but also a means of acquiring culture, developing individual personality, enhancing body and mind, defining their collective identity, and even asserting status. This was not a uniquely German phenomenon, but the lands that became the German Empire did possess a multitude of venues where these goals could be achieved, including the Harz Mountains, the Thuringian Forest, and the various “little Switzerlands.”⁴³⁶ Among them, Franconian Switzerland serves as an excellent example of the tourist destinations celebrated by the educated middle classes. This region in northern Bavaria boasted attractions similar to those in the Alps or the Middle Rhine, including mountains, medieval ruins, and rustic villages. The difference was that it offered these attractions in a more compact and manageable package. Romantic *Bildung* was readily available in Franconian Switzerland, but its acquisition was expedited and rationalized for middle-class tourists who were pressed for time and money.

This chapter has shed light on middle-class tourism in nineteenth-century Germany, but that is only one of its many contributions. The case-study of Franconian Switzerland has highlighted the importance of the *Mittelgebirge* landscapes within the history of German tourism. These were destinations frequented predominantly by domestic travelers, and their popularity confirmed the profitable commodification of natural landscapes, as well as widespread misgivings over urbanization. Furthermore,

⁴³⁶ For example, previously cited works make similar arguments about tourism among the British and French middle classes. See Hansen, “Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain”; Young, “*La Vieille France* as Object of Bourgeois Desire.”

this chapter has demonstrated that the early Bavarian tourism industry did not emerge exclusively in Upper Bavaria, nor did it evolve independently of outside influences, as suggested by Helen Waddy Lepovitz. The ideological predispositions and behavior that shaped landscape tourism within Franconian Switzerland were not indigenous to Bavaria, even if many of its visitors were. Finally, this chapter has shown that tourists did not only import new attitudes and leisure habits into Franconia Switzerland; they were likewise responsible for the partial modernization of the mountainous region, with telegraph machines and the railway following on their heels. Tourism provided a reprieve from modern civilization, but it was also a harbinger of modernity. In the end, tourists helped to change the very nature that they came to venerate.⁴³⁷

In spite of such unforeseen consequences, leisure travel in Franconian Switzerland helped to ground the experience of modernity in late nineteenth-century Germany. Excursions into the relatively natural environment offered an antidote to a hectic, dirty, and stressful urban existence, a cure that enabled the individual to return to everyday life rested and reinvigorated. The activity could not be reduced to pure escapism. I expand upon these themes in the next chapter, in which I examine how tourism transformed the Upper Bavarian community of Reichenhall into a modern and cosmopolitan health resort, where the Alpine landscape was not only a scenic backdrop, but the basis of many of the spa's progressive treatments. Surrounded by nature and cosmopolitan company, guests enjoyed an alternative modernity in which they could temporarily transcend both their everyday lives and the horizons of the German nation.

⁴³⁷ Buzard, *The Beaten Track*, 28.

Chapter III

The Reichenhall Cure: Nature, Modernity, and Cosmopolitanism in the Bavarian Alps

“Positioned between the southern German capitals of Munich and Vienna, Reichenhall combines the picturesque setting of an Alpine summer get-away and Bavarian and Austrian *Gemütlichkeit* with the infrastructure of a first-class health resort. It promises a sojourn that will provide the ill with a wealth of remedies, the convalescent with the quiet and comfortable pleasure of nature, and the summer visitor and tourist with a diversity of pleasurable distractions, to the point that it will be difficult to tackle all of them in the space of a single vacation.”⁴³⁸

Bad Reichenhall: Illustrated Brochure, 1904
(distributed by the Bad Reichenhall Spa Association)

Located on the Alpine frontier between the Kingdom of Bavaria and the Habsburg Empire, Reichenhall was once a secluded town, historically defined by its salt industry. Its reputation began to change in the mid-nineteenth century, after a number of enterprising locals opened “cure facilities,” thereby establishing the foundations of a modern health resort. By the end of the century, the spa town was drawing over ten thousand guests per season. The local community accommodated these visitors with an expanding hospitality industry and a growing number of “pleasurable distractions.” By 1904, the town now known as Bad Reichenhall had become more than a spa: it was a multi-faceted and modern tourist destination that could be enjoyed by a variety of visitors. What was the key to its rapid success, and what can this teach us about turn-of-the-century spa culture and modern German society in general?

⁴³⁸ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (München: Alphons Bruckmann, 1904), 98. “Es zieht Reichenhall, zwischen den beiden süddeutschen Hauptzentralen München und Wien gelegen, den schönen Rahmen einer Gebirgssommerfrische von bayerisch-österreichischer Gemütlichkeit um den Kernpunkt eines erstklassigen Badeortes und bietet einen Saisonaufenthalt, der dem Kranken eine Fülle von Heilmitteln, dem Rekonvaleszenten ruhigen, bequemen Naturgenuß, dem Sommerfrischler und Touristen aber eine Menge von Unterhaltungen bietet, wie er sie bei einem einzigen Ferienaufenthalt kaum wird bewältigen können.”

While the marketing of some German resorts revolved around their international clientele and luxurious accommodations, other resorts relied on the reputation of their medical treatments and natural surroundings. Bad Reichenhall stood out among spas like Baden-Baden and Wiesbaden in that its marketing regularly stressed *all* of these themes. In fact, tourist publications struggled to summarize the destination in a single sentence. Bad Reichenhall was a quiet retreat visited by members of the European royalty and nobility, but it was also “a first-class health resort” surrounded by awe-inspiring natural scenery. Its modern infrastructure and social life made it an oasis of urban culture between Munich and Vienna, while the natural environment itself was the source of the resort’s most popular treatments, and the basis of an identity that transcended both time and national boundaries. Balancing these disparate elements, the local tourism industry did not merely promote Bad Reichenhall, they successfully marketed a new vision of grounded modernity, demonstrating once again that the glorification of “nature” did not always imply an outright rejection of modern civilization.

In order to shed light on the relationship between leisure travel and broader conceptions of nature and modernity, the following chapter details the rise of the tourism industry of Bad Reichenhall. I begin by addressing two developments that transformed the German spa culture during the nineteenth century: the idealization of the natural landscape and the emergence of medicine as a clinical science. These developments helped to draw visitors to Bad Reichenhall, where the notion of “the cure” (*Kur*) had both medical and social implications. After providing an overview of Bad Reichenhall’s transformation into a spa during the latter half of the nineteenth century, I focus on its marketing during the fifteen years before the First World War, when the spa was at the

pinnacle of its success. Working with numerous examples of tourist propaganda, including brochures, guidebooks, postcards, and even medical literature, I demonstrate how the local and regional tourism industry promoted the spa with the interrelated themes of nature, “modernness,” and cosmopolitanism. This combination helped to establish Bad Reichenhall as a progressive health resort, a modish tourist destination, and a relaxing summer get-away. This unique marketing demonstrates how Germans reconciled neo-romantic “back to nature” sentiments with seemingly contradictory attitudes towards technological modernity and urbanity, as well as competing local, national, and cosmopolitan identities.

The tourism industry recast Bad Reichenhall as an ideal urban space rooted in its natural surroundings, marketing an alternative modernity in which guests could temporarily transcend both their everyday lives and the horizons of the German nation. In many regards, a stay in the spa was sold as an antidote to modern civilization, a cure that grounded the disorienting experience of contemporary life. Unfortunately, the repercussions of total war undermined this carefully-cultivated image. Converted into an inexpensive sick bay for German soldiers, Bad Reichenhall was isolated from its international clientele and many of its domestic visitors during the First World War. The language of nationalism abruptly replaced the language of cosmopolitanism, and the once thriving tourism industry was on the verge of collapse by 1918. The success story of the prewar decades had come to an end.

Nature and the Cure in the Nineteenth-Century Spa

In 1838’s *Handbook for Travellers to the Continent*, John Murray reported: “With the Germans an excursion to a watering-place in the summer is essential to existence, and the

necessity of such a visit is confined to no one class in particular, but pervades all...”⁴³⁹

While the pioneer of the modern guidebook overestimated the egalitarian character of German spas, it is true that the clientele of these destinations was becoming more diverse over the course of the nineteenth century. The rise of middle-class tourism forever changed the social dynamic of German spas, leading to the emergence of a hybrid elite culture. At the same time, a growing health consciousness coupled with a new appreciation for the natural environment created unique expectations among the spas’ expanded clientele. Many guests now justified their visit to the spa as a form of physical and mental recovery, a “necessity” in an increasingly hectic and demanding modern world. Recovery was available in many forms. In resorts like Baden-Baden and Wiesbaden, nature became central to the notion of the *Kur*, with local tourism industries transforming the environment into a popular selling point not only for patients, but also for tourists, day-trippers, and sports enthusiasts.

Nature had not always been a defining feature of the spa experience. During the eighteenth century, upper-class spa guests displayed little interest in the natural landscape. Although many resorts included formal French-style gardens, this green space was hardly “natural.” Instead, the heavily-manicured and symmetrical gardens underscored the political power of the elites by symbolizing mankind’s triumph over the natural environment. Nature was made to bow to man, and not the other way around. The self-contained world of the spa therefore represented the heights of civilization, and local authorities maintained an aesthetically-pleasing vision by keeping all vestiges of uncultivated wilderness and rustic culture outside of the town’s limits. This changed

⁴³⁹ John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers to the Continent*, 2d ed. (London: John Murray and Son, 1838), 200.

during the era of urbanization, when middle-class spa guests sought to reconnect with a simpler world neglected in pursuit of progress.⁴⁴⁰ Although the social nucleus of the spa remained within the resort itself, the late nineteenth century witnessed a gradual colonization of the surrounding environs with pathways, benches, and marked vistas.⁴⁴¹ Extended walks and excursions into the countryside became a popular pastime among both middle-class visitors and the international elite, as indicated in Fyodor Dostoyevsky's 1866 short story, "The Gambler." Shortly after her arrival in the fictional spa town of Roulettenberg, the wealthy Aunt Antonida asks her fellow upper-class guests: "What is there to see here?" Their response: the nearby ruins of a castle, and the Schlangenberg, a mountain peak providing a "unique" view.⁴⁴²

Real visitors to German spas were also paying more attention to the natural environment during this period. After visiting Baden-Baden in the mid-1830s, Englishman Edmund Spencer remarked: "The walks and rides in the vicinity are diversified and pleasant; affording more resources to the visitor than the amusements of the town."⁴⁴³ By the latter half of the nineteenth century, excursions into the natural environment had become a standard feature of the German spa experience, just as "nature" became an integral component of the "cure." Tourist propaganda throughout central Europe spoke of the "healing power" of nature, and fresh air in particular was

⁴⁴⁰ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 30-31, 83, 89.

⁴⁴¹ Lempa, "Emotional Economy and Social Classes in Nineteenth-Century Pyrmont," 48.

⁴⁴² Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *The Gambler*, trans. Constance Garnett (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1996), 50. Hikes into the countryside and excursions to nearby vistas and castles also became a popular feature of a stay at Bad Ems. See Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Bad Ems*, 338-350.

⁴⁴³ Edmund Spencer, *Sketches of Germany and the Germans: With a Glance at Poland, Hungary, and Switzerland in 1834, 1835, and 1836*, vol. 2 (London: Whitaker & Co., 1836), 49-50.

promoted as a popular remedy, even playing an important role in the treatment of diseases like tuberculosis, the urban epidemic.⁴⁴⁴

This new dedication to the healing power of nature was just one manifestation of the increased attention to medicine in German spas during the late nineteenth century. The process had begun several decades beforehand, when some watering places began to deliberately market themselves not as “luxury spas,” but as “respectable health resorts.” Incapable of directly competing with internationally-renowned destinations like Bad Ems and Karlsbad, smaller spas targeted a growing demographic that traveled in search of physical cures.⁴⁴⁵ This strategy may have attracted new customers, but it also disappointed those expecting a more traditional spa experience. Visiting the Franconian spa Bad Kissingen in 1842, Mary Shelley wrote: “I am in the midst of my *cur*, and we are all in the midst of a general cure of a regiment of sick people. It is odd enough to seek amusement by being surrounded by the rheumatic, the gouty, the afflicted of all sorts. I do not think I shall be tempted to a German bath again, unless I am seriously ill.”⁴⁴⁶

The medicalization of German spas proceeded more rapidly after gambling was banned in the German Empire in 1872. The casino had been a central institution in spas like Baden-Baden, where Dostoyevsky was inspired to write “The Gambler.” Attracting the middle-class residents of nearby cities as well as members of the wealthy,

⁴⁴⁴ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 440; Jill Steward, “The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture: 1860-1914,” in *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure since the Enlightenment*, ed. Peter Borsay, Gunther Hirschfelder, and Ruth E. Mohrmann (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 93.

⁴⁴⁵ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 65. Many German resorts promoted their simplicity and lack of tourist infrastructure as their primary attractions. The *Luftkurorte* of the Odenwald, for example, provided a peaceful alternative to the luxury and commotion of more well-known spas, even after 1872. See Simone Grün, “Kuren und Erholung im stadtfernen Gebiet,” in *Strukturwandel einer Region: Der Odenwald im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung*, ed. Christof Dipper (Darmstadt: Technische Universität Darmstadt, 2000): 235-239.

⁴⁴⁶ Mary Wollencraft Shelley, *Rambles in Germany and Italy in 1840, 1842, and 1843* (London: Edward Morton, 1844), 184.

international elite, the allure of high stakes helped to distinguish German spas from the health resorts of France, where the practice was forbidden.⁴⁴⁷ Casinos also helped to subsidize the expansion of German spas. During his stay in Baden-Baden, American diplomat Henry Ruggles observed that the “[m]oney lost by the venturesome players has been spent by millions in adorning the town and converting the country far and near into a magnificent park.”⁴⁴⁸ Without the casino, fashionable spas faced not only a minor identity crisis, but a potentially major financial crisis. In response, many local administrations decided to re-market their spas as comfortable but refined health resorts. They strategically invested in elaborate medical facilities and the newest spa technology. The medical benefits of a trip to the spa were underscored once again, and for many visitors, a visit to the spa became a ritualistic experience revolving around health.⁴⁴⁹ While eighteenth-century spa guests periodically took the waters in order to preserve good health, nineteenth-century spa guests deliberately took the waters in order to improve declining health. The visitor in pursuit of physical and mental rejuvenation was joined by the patient in pursuit of a tangible cure.⁴⁵⁰

The increasing medicalization of German spas can be linked to larger changes in the way medicine was practiced, and the manner in which health care was provided. Michel Foucault has argued that nineteenth-century rise of medicine as a clinical science did not necessarily represent the triumph of empiricism, so much as a shift in the

⁴⁴⁷ Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems*, 76-77.

⁴⁴⁸ Henry Ruggles, *Germany Seen Without Spectacles, or Random Sketches of Various Subjects Penned from Different Standpoints in the Empire* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1883), 57.

⁴⁴⁹ Geisthövel, “Promenadenmischungen, Raum und Kommunikation in Hydropolen,” 212. David Mackaman points out that a similar transformation occurred earlier in French spas, which were effectively transformed into modern medical institutions after the Revolution of 1830. See Douglas Mackaman, *Leisure Settings: Bourgeois Culture, Medicine, and the Spa in Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 96-100.

⁴⁵⁰ Blackbourn, “Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-Century Europe,” 10.

structure of knowledge. In other words, the rise of modern medicine and “the birth of the clinic” were founded upon new ways of viewing and discussing the body, as doctors “described what for centuries had remained below the threshold of the visible and the expressible.”⁴⁵¹ With French doctors leading the way, clinical medicine became an observational rather than an experimental science, “learned at the bedside and in the morgue by recording and interpreting facts.”⁴⁵² The “medical gaze” allowed for the systematic classification of symptoms, diseases, and their causes, giving physicians the potential to do more than just ease the suffering of their patients. The cure was more tangible than ever. In Germany, the rise of medicine as a legitimate science during the late nineteenth century coincided with major discoveries that helped to establish the country as “the world’s most powerful scientific culture.”⁴⁵³ State-funded researchers in Berlin identified the bacterial culprits behind pneumonia and tuberculosis, the latter discovered by Robert Koch in 1882.⁴⁵⁴ These discoveries helped to confirm that modern cities were “breeding grounds” for infectious diseases, and tuberculosis in particular became “synonymous with urban conditions.”⁴⁵⁵ German physicians also pioneered new techniques and technology, most notably x-rays, first produced by Wilhelm Röntgen in 1895. Doctors were no longer forced to rely on speculative techniques and natural remedies, and as members of a recently professionalized medical guild, they tended to disparage those practitioners who did.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵¹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M. Sheridan (New York: Routledge, 2003), xii.

⁴⁵² Roy Porter, “Medical Science,” in *The Cambridge History of Medicine*, ed. Roy Porter (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 152-156.

⁴⁵³ Robert Proctor, *The Nazi War on Cancer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 15.

⁴⁵⁴ Reinhard Spree, *Soziale Ungleichheit vor Krankheit und Tod: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Gesundheitsbereichs im Deutschen Kaiserreich* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 107

⁴⁵⁵ McElligott, *The German Urban Experience*, 97, 99.

⁴⁵⁶ In fact, a common German term for “quack” was “*Kurpfuscher*,” or “cure bungler.”

The rise of medicine as a clinical science coincided with vast improvements in public health in Germany, which had implications for the practice of spa medicine. The post-unification period in particular witnessed several important breakthroughs. Between 1876 and 1913, the number of doctors in the German Empire more than doubled, from 14,000 to 34,000, surpassing the overall population increase of roughly 40 to 65 million. This period also witnessed a rapid decline in mortality rates and a sharp increase in life expectancy, advances which can be attributed not only to a greater number of health care providers, but also to improved diets and standards of hygiene, as well as a new health consciousness that led people to see disease as something that was often treatable, if not avoidable altogether.⁴⁵⁷ Another breakthrough occurred in 1884 with Bismarck's national insurance legislation, which effectively "made the medical profession" by guaranteeing government funds for the treatment of illness, disability, and accidents among industrial workers.⁴⁵⁸ After 1900, insurance was extended to almost all trades, increasing the "tangible benefits" for working-class patients, as well as doctors, who "profited from the professional opportunities afforded by the expansion of clientele."⁴⁵⁹ This legislation helped to make spa treatments available to a greater percentage of the population, even if an extended stay at a distant health resort remained unrealistic for most day laborers.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁷ Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918, Erster Band*, 150-157, 165.

⁴⁵⁸ Paul Weindling, *Health, Race, and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism, 1870-1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 20. Echoing Foucault, historian Reinhard Spree has argued that the German's state increasing attention to health and hygiene was a means of "civilizing" and "disciplining" the urban masses. See Spree, *Soziale Ungleichheit vor Krankheit und Tod*, 159.

⁴⁵⁹ Andreas Killen, *Berlin Electropolis: Shock, Nerves, and German Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 82, 88-90.

⁴⁶⁰ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 354.

During the final decades of the long nineteenth century, the German state also took a more active role in supervising the practice of medicine in health resorts. It began to license and regulate spa doctors, who, like general practitioners, now studied at state universities, where spa medicine was treated as a legitimate discipline. This institutional recognition strengthened the reputation of the German spa industry, helping to validate it in the eyes of the scientific community and the general public.⁴⁶¹ The reputation of individual resorts became linked to the competency of the increasingly influential spa doctors.⁴⁶² Still, spa medicine occupied a sort of middle ground, appealing to those in pursuit of legitimate, scientific treatment, as well as those favoring alternative forms of medicine revolving around so-called natural cures. On one hand, scientific research continued to corroborate the therapeutic properties of mineral waters, which had become popular treatments for heart conditions and rheumatism. On the other hand, the healing power of fresh air and sunshine that attracted so many spa guests could not be so easily verified, even though it was a common assumption among members of the popular “life reform movement.”⁴⁶³

The term “life reform” first gained currency during the 1880s, and refers to “a broad spectrum of movements seeking alternative modernities.”⁴⁶⁴ The predominantly middle-class advocates of life reform were generally suspicious of the regular medical profession and developed their own strategies for the achievement of good health,

⁴⁶¹ Bacon, “The Rise of the German and the Demise of the English Spa Industry,” 181-182.

⁴⁶² For more on the role played by spa doctors at Bad Ems, see Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems*, 603-612

⁴⁶³ Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1866-1918, Erster Band*, 162-165.

⁴⁶⁴ On the eve of World War I, the life reform movement had become well-established in Germany, with the German League of Associations for a Natural Lifestyle and Healing claiming 148,000 members and 3.3 million Marks in fixed capital. Kevin Repp, *Reformers, Critics, and the Paths of German Modernity: Anti-Politics and the Search for Alternatives, 1890-1914* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), 266, 269-270.

including vegetarianism, nudism, and therapeutic baths.⁴⁶⁵ This was a direct response to the nineteenth-century transformation of medicine into a clinical science, a development that had led many Germans to reject modern, “mechanistic scientific thinking” in favor of a more holistic and natural approach to medicine.⁴⁶⁶ The German life reform movement was also a response to the larger process of modernization, an orientation that distinguished it from similar movements in Western Europe and America.⁴⁶⁷ Historian Michael Hau writes: “Supporters of the life reform movement were worried not only about the health of individuals but about the healing process (*Gesundung*) of society as a whole. They believed that modernization had alienated human beings from their ‘natural’ living conditions.”⁴⁶⁸ Natural therapies promised both physical and mental rejuvenation, as well as a form of solace in uncertain times. More importantly, they allowed for a sense of agency; whether plagued by genuine ailments or just a general feeling of inadequacy, individuals could take control of their lives by devoting themselves to natural therapies that improved the health of both body and mind.⁴⁶⁹ Although the life reform movement was critical of modern civilization, it was not explicitly anti-modern. Instead of advocating a retreat to an idealized past, they hoped that their ideas would guide modern society to a better future. In other words: the movement was not just about medicine, it was about personal cultivation and the

⁴⁶⁵ For more on vegetarianism, see Eva Barlösius, *Naturgemässe Lebensführung: Zur Geschichte der Lebensreform um die Jahrhundertwende* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1997). For more on nudism, before and after the First World War, see Chad Ross, *Naked Germany: Health, Race, and the Nation* (New York: Berg, 2005); Williams, *Turning to Nature in Germany*, 23-66.

⁴⁶⁶ Anne Harrington, *Reenchanting Science: Holism in German Culture from Wilhelm II to Hitler* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), xv.

⁴⁶⁷ Barlösius, *Naturgemässe Lebensführung*, 14-15.

⁴⁶⁸ Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 1.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

improvement of society at large.⁴⁷⁰ With these goals in mind, many of the movement's followers sought to reconcile modern civilization with nature by seeking "recuperative and alternative treatments in picturesque rural surroundings."⁴⁷¹ Spas like Bad Reichenhall could provide these amenities.

Middle-class Germans traveled to spas in search of general healing, but they also sought treatment for specific ailments. Among these ailments was the uniquely modern complaint of nervousness, or neurasthenia. First identified by the American physician George Miller Beard in the late 1860s, this condition produced the symptoms of fatigue, anxiety, depression, and impotence. Nervousness was a common theme in life reform literature, which described it as "a disorder of weak nerves or nervous irritability," allegedly caused by mental overexertion and overwork, as well as excessive alcohol and sexual indulgence.⁴⁷² Those afflicted with nervousness tried to combat it in a variety of ways; some chose to regenerate their depleted nerves with electrical therapy, others chose to demonstrate their reawakened willpower through gymnastics and body culture.⁴⁷³ These treatments were often available at modern spas, where the symptoms of neurasthenia could be temporarily quelled in a natural and relaxing setting. Thomas Mann acknowledged this function of the spa in his novel *Buddenbrooks*, in which the younger Johann responds to news of his son's nervous condition by reflecting on his own

⁴⁷⁰ Barlösius, *Naturgemässe Lebensführung*, 19, 224, 230.

⁴⁷¹ Steward, "The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture," 96-97.

⁴⁷² Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany*, 15-17.

⁴⁷³ For more on nervousness and electrotherapy, see Killen, *Berlin Electropolis*, 48-80. For more on "training the will" through gymnastics and body culture, see Michael Cowan, *Cult of the Will: Nervousness and German Modernity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 111-170.

experience with nervousness, which he treated with trips to Bad Ems.⁴⁷⁴

With their diverse treatments, picturesque surroundings, and refined sociability, German spas provided both welcome distractions and necessary rejuvenation. They promised respite from professional pressures, but also the possibility of returning to the outside world refreshed and motivated.⁴⁷⁵ Spas like Bad Reichenhall were therefore more than just the newest spin on the age-old tradition of taking the waters; they grounded the experience of modernity, providing an invaluable antidote to the growing pains of industrial society. Furthermore, this was a “cure” that was available to an international clientele, and not just Bavarians or Germans. In general, this was a much more expansive vision of grounded modernity than that promoted in Franconian Switzerland; not only did it reacquaint contemporary society with the natural environment while simultaneously glorifying elements of technological modernity and urbanity, it also united tourists across regional and national boundaries.

The Construction of a *Kurort*

For over one hundred and fifty years now, the Upper Bavarian resort of Bad Reichenhall has offered breathtaking natural surroundings, modern facilities and accommodations, and cosmopolitan company and entertainment.⁴⁷⁶ But the history of the town itself extends centuries into the past, and has always been intertwined with its primary

⁴⁷⁴ Thomas Mann, *Buddenbrooks: Verfall einer Familie*. Vol. I of *Gesammelte Werke in zwölf Bänden* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1960), 172. For an analysis of *Buddenbrooks* as one of the central works of *fin-de-siècle* nervous abulia, see Cowan, *Cult of the Will*, 39-64.

⁴⁷⁵ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 469-470; Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems*, 28.

⁴⁷⁶ In spite of the decline of the spa industry in recent decades, Bad Reichenhall remains a marketable tourist attraction. For example, the town receives five pages of coverage in the 24th edition of *Fodor's Germany*, which states: “The town prospered from a spa in the early 20th century. Lately, it has successfully recycled itself from a somewhat sleepy and stodgy ‘cure town’ to a modern, attractive center of wellness.” *Fodor's Germany*, 24th ed. (New York: Fodor's Travel Publications, 2009), 127.

resource: salt.⁴⁷⁷ The salt industry originated as early as 400 B.C.E., when the area's Celtic inhabitants began employing the local saline springs to produce the so-called "white gold."⁴⁷⁸ The extraction of this valuable commodity continued into Roman times, when the small settlement in the province of Noricum, *Ad Salinas*, became the focal point of salt production in the Alps. During the Middle Ages, the saline wealth of the renamed town of Reichenhall (which literally meant "rich in salt") became a source of contention between the local inhabitants, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Salzburg, located a mere 14 kilometers away.⁴⁷⁹ Reichenhall entered a period of relative stability after the fifteenth century, when Georg "the Rich," Duke of Bavaria, established a state monopoly over salt production, helping to secure the basis of an economic monoculture.⁴⁸⁰

The transformation of the Duchy of Bavaria into a centralized kingdom at the beginning of the nineteenth century brought several important changes to Reichenhall, most notably the further centralization of the salt industry.⁴⁸¹ Now managed by the General Saline Administration in Munich, the salt industry still employed roughly half of the town's population. However, in spite of some improvements in the channeling of brine waters, production had somewhat stagnated. Even though the Bavaria state took

⁴⁷⁷ This was a standard line of argument in early twentieth-century publications intended for Bad Reichenhall's visitors. For an example, see Bruno Alexander, *Bad Reichenhall als klimatischer Kurort* (Munich: Verlag der Ärztlichen Rundschau Otto Gmelin, 1911), 5. This argument is also employed in a more recent work by Reichenhall archivist and historian, Johannes Lang. See Johannes Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall* (Neustadt an der Aisch: Verlag P.H.C.W. Schmidt, 2009), 12.

⁴⁷⁸ For more on the Celtic mining of salt, see Mark Kurlansky, *Salt: A World History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 52-60.

⁴⁷⁹ For a detailed overview of Reichenhall history, see Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*. For a more concise treatment, see Herbert Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 2^d ed. (Munich: Motor + Touristik-Verlag, 1988).

⁴⁸⁰ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 296-300.

⁴⁸¹ Herbert Pfisterer, "Reichenhalls Umbruchjahre im frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Das Heilbad Bad Reichenhall im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Festschrift anlässlich des 100-jährigen Jubiläums der Baderhebung 1890-1990*, ed. Hans-Wolfgang Städtler (Bad Reichenhall: Staatliche Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 1990), 13-15.

measures to establish a monopoly over the salt trade, the regional saline industry began to face new competition from salt-producing towns in Baden and Württemberg.⁴⁸² At this point, several residents considered an alternative source of income. In 1824, a local tailor named Jankowsky developed a unique spinning frame for cotton, which became the focal point of a cottage industry. Fifteen Reichenhallers were soon employed at a small factory, while up to two hundred men and women were able to work at home. This enterprise survived until 1858, when the dominance of mechanized spinning mills ensured that Jankowsky's business could no longer compete.⁴⁸³ This failed attempt at industrialization represented an indigenous effort to overcome Reichenhall's reliance on salt.

Ironically, it was salt that provided the foundations of Reichenhall's new identity as a spa, just as the saline industry itself entered a period of decline. At the end of the eighteenth century, salt water was becoming a commonly prescribed *Kur*. In Germany, this treatment could be taken at seaside resorts along the Baltic and North Sea coastlines, or in specifically-designed saline baths, which were available in the German spa of Bad Pyrmont as early as 1790.⁴⁸⁴ In southeastern Bavaria, the utilization of local saline as a therapeutic remedy actually began in Kirchberg, just across the Saalach River from Reichenhall. A Salzburg physician first documented the medicinal properties of the community's spring waters in 1713. Over one hundred years later, a saline bath was opened, but the modest facility only attracted locals.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² Josef Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land, 1800-1990* (Bad Reichenhall: Sparkasse Berchtesgadener Land, 1991), 63-64; Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 566.

⁴⁸³ Pfisterer, "Reichenhalls Umbruchjahre im frühen 19. Jahrhundert," 18.

⁴⁸⁴ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 576.

⁴⁸⁵ Herbert Pfisterer, "Die Frühe Entwicklung der Kurortmedizin und der Balneotherapie in Reichenhall," *Das Heilbad Bad Reichenhall im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 145-146.

On the other side of the river, two events paved the way for Reichenhall's transformation into "the Queen of German Alpine Baths."⁴⁸⁶ The first occurred during a November evening in 1834, when a massive fire engulfed Reichenhall, producing a glow that could be seen as far away as Regensburg and Passau. The disaster left at least eleven citizens dead, 450 families homeless, and 75% of the town in smoldering ruins. Within days of the fire, the community began receiving donations from citizens across Bavaria, while the residents of nearby Salzburg supplied wagon-loads of groceries, clothing, and household supplies.⁴⁸⁷ The community survived, but they faced the daunting task of rebuilding. Bavarian king Ludwig I allocated a sum of 10,000 gulden for this enterprise, but with the stipulation that the town's medieval streets would be widened and its new buildings would be rationally aligned. Reichenhall's citizens accepted this stipulation, and adopted a more modern style not beholden to the town's historical foundations. Winding alleyways and narrow squares were replaced with open avenues and centrally-located plazas, while the majority of the medieval wall was demolished, and the gothic town hall was relocated and redesigned.⁴⁸⁸ The centerpiece of the new Reichenhall was the Royal Saline Works, which reflected the neo-baroque sensibilities of Ludwig's court architects.⁴⁸⁹ Confronted with disaster, Reichenhall literally emerged from the ashes as one of Bavaria's most modern cities, "newly constructed and crisscrossed with wide

⁴⁸⁶ "The Queen of the German Alpine Baths" became Bad Reichenhall's most common designation, and was employed in various publications issued by the local tourism industry. StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 269: "Bücher, Zeitschriften, Reklame, 1910-1956"; Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (Bad Reichenhall: M. Zugschwerdts Nachf., 1911), 13.

⁴⁸⁷ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 558-563.

⁴⁸⁸ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 288-291, 293.

⁴⁸⁹ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 564-565.

streets and landscaped squares,” as proclaimed by local travel author Adolf Bühler in 1900.⁴⁹⁰

A new foundation had been established, but the new industry that redefined Reichenhall did not emerge until twelve years later when the town’s first spa facility opened its doors. The earliest attempt to launch a spa industry in Reichenhall actually occurred in 1837, when the municipal government appealed to the Bavarian state for financial assistance in the construction of a saline bath. This request was declined on three separate occasions during subsequent years, with the state government repeatedly advising Reichenhall to utilize its own resources.⁴⁹¹ With the saline baths of Rosenheim nearby, the Bavarian government was reluctant to invest in another spa town. Local efforts to establish a spa industry intensified after 1844, when Matthias Mack, a pharmacist recently arrived from Kelheim, was elected mayor. In the decades that followed, Mack and his family would play a crucial role in Reichenhall’s transformation into an international spa. During his first term in office, Mack made the construction of a bathing facility his chief priority, and he mobilized limited resources in pursuit of this goal. He also cultivated a business relationship with two of Reichenhall’s most influential residents, district court judge Wilhelm Freiherr von Pechmann and Royal Saxon tax inspector Ernst Rinck.⁴⁹² In league with Mack, these two men provided much

⁴⁹⁰ Adolf Bühler, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall, Salzburg & Berchtesgaden*, 21st ed. (Bad Reichenhall: H. Bühler, 1900), 9. “...neu erbaut und von breiten Strassen und bepflanzten Plätzen durchschnitten.”

⁴⁹¹ Hubert Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall* (Munich: Verlag des Historischen Vereins von Oberbayern, 1971), 76.

⁴⁹² There was more than just a business connection between Mack and Rinck: Rinck’s daughter married Mack’s son, Ernst.

of the capital necessary for the construction of Reichenhall's first spa facility: the Kuranstalt Axelmannstein.⁴⁹³

Opened to the public on 15 May 1846, the Kuranstalt Axelmannstein was located in the lavish home of the late Kaspar von Reiner, the father-in-law of Rinck and von Pechmann. The Axelmannstein was a saline and whey cure facility, where guests could bathe in one of fifteen, heated salt water baths, and drink beverages produced from mountain herbs and the whey of local goat milk. Before its opening, Rinck had secured a deal with the municipal government, exchanging the right to levy a so-called "cure tax" for the inexpensive supply of salt water for bathing. The natural resource that had been synonymous with the local economy for centuries was now utilized in a completely new fashion, promising tangible benefits for both local residents and out-of-town visitors. Nevertheless, even at its inception, the Reichenhall spa culture could not be reduced to its medical treatments alone. The fact that other Bavarian health resorts like Bad Kissingen and Rosenheim already offered saline baths meant that Reichenhall would have to provide additional attractions.⁴⁹⁴ Alongside its bathing chambers and comfortably-furnished rooms, the Kuranstalt Axelmannstein (or the *Kurhaus*, as it was initially known) contained an elegantly-decorated dining hall and a billiard room, where guests could congregate and socialize. The Axelmannstein could also boast of its own English-style park, where guests could promenade and inhale the salt-infused air. The combined

⁴⁹³ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 580-582.

⁴⁹⁴ Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 116-117. John Towner has argued that spas have traditionally relied on a range of attractions, stating: "Simply being a spring site was never sufficient and most successful spas served pleasure as well as health needs." Towner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism*, 54.

package of treatments and amusement proved popular, and by the end of the first season, Reichenhall's first spa facility had registered ninety-two guests.⁴⁹⁵

Fears that Reichenhall's success was short-lived were quelled after the summer of 1848, when Bavaria's new king, Maximilian II, sojourned in Reichenhall for several months with his family and entourage.⁴⁹⁶ Local historian Johannes Lang has described this single vacation as "the moment when Reichenhall tourism was born."⁴⁹⁷ The king's visit helped to establish the reputation of the new spa, with one hundred sixty-four guests following his example the following season.⁴⁹⁸ Maximilian's visit also encouraged other European royals to visit the Bavarian spa, and during the following decades, members of the Russian, Swedish, Portuguese, Austrian, and Prussian royal families would all vacation in Reichenhall, contributing to the town's growing reputation as a cosmopolitan resort.⁴⁹⁹ Although Reichenhall never played a role in European politics and diplomacy along the lines of Bad Ems or Karlsbad, royal patronage did become an important element of the spa's image, and was proudly promoted by local tourist propaganda.⁵⁰⁰ The presence of such celebrities served as a powerful advertisement for the town, compelling members of the upper-classes to confirm their status by following in the footsteps of the most elite.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁵ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 312-314.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 314-315.

⁴⁹⁷ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 587.

⁴⁹⁸ Herbert Pfisterer, "Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990)," in *Das Heilbad Bad Reichenhall im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 23.

⁴⁹⁹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 7: "Amtsgeschäfte des Badeskommissars, 1861-1937."

⁵⁰⁰ The 1911 "Illustrated Brochure," for example, noted not only that members of various European royal families had sojourned in the Bavarian spa, but that Otto von Bismarck had also "taken the cure" in Bad Reichenhall. Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (Bad Reichenhall: M. Zugschwerdts Nachf., 1911), 5-6.

⁵⁰¹ Kaiser Wilhelm I's visits to Bad Ems had a similar effect, just as Emperor Franz Joseph's patronage of Bad Ischl fueled the alpine resort's popularity. See Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Bad Ems*, 72-74; Steward, "The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture," 110.

By 1855, Reichenhall was attracting 1,000 guests per season. The local community was initially ill-equipped to handle the post-Maximilian increase in visitors.⁵⁰² While the Kuranstalt Axelmannstein struggled to accommodate its patrons, unlucky visitors were forced to seek lodgings outside of the town in nearby Kirchberg and St. Zeno. The municipal government responded in 1850 by encouraging the locals to offer accommodations to guests during the summer season. Soon dozens of citizens posted notices offering single rooms or entire apartments to out-of-town visitors.⁵⁰³ In the years that followed, other enterprising locals would follow the example of Ernst Rinck and try their hand at the cure business itself. The sons of Mathias Mack opened a whey drinking hall in 1857, and an inhalation and respiration facility in 1863. Later known as the Dianabad, this facility was supplemented in 1866 with salt water baths and the town's first pneumatic chambers. The Marienbad opened in 1868, followed shortly thereafter by the Luisenbad and the Maximiliansbad. By 1882, the Ludwigsbad, the Fortunabad, and the Wilhelmsbad had all joined the ranks of Reichenhall's modern spa facilities. In the meantime, publications by prominent German physicians helped to establish the reputation of Reichenhall's treatments and facilities, leading to further expansion.⁵⁰⁴

Spa facilities were only one part of the equation that secured Reichenhall's reputation as an international spa, or *Weltbad*. Shortly after the opening of the *Kurhaus* in 1846, the town's residents began to provide attractions outside of the medical establishments. Members of the community established a lending library in 1853 and a

⁵⁰² Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 76.

⁵⁰³ Pfisterer, "Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990)," 23-24.

⁵⁰⁴ Pfisterer, "Die Frühe Entwicklung der Kurortmedizin und der Balneotherapie in Reichenhall," 148-149, 156-157.

small *Heimat* museum in 1854, where visitors could familiarize themselves with local customs and history. Local entrepreneurs also opened businesses catering to the spa's affluent clientele, including hair salons, tobacco stores, jewelry shops, and banks, while other residents appealed to more active visitors by offering boat and raft rides on the nearby *Thumsee*.⁵⁰⁵ This swift economic reorientation led Munich travelogue writer Ludwig Steub to criticize the Reichenhall natives for their hasty abandonment of the traditional mountain lifestyle in favor of "service and slavery to the spa crowd."⁵⁰⁶

This service to the spa crowd had implications for the town's physical appearance as well. A local Beautification Society, or *Verschönerungsverein*, was founded a mere three weeks after the opening of the Kuranstalt Axelmannstein. This group of middle-class citizens was responsible for improving the sanitary conditions of the town, paving new walkways, planting trees, designating particularly rewarding views with markers, and providing coaches for excursions to nearby scenic locales. These efforts helped to establish the foundations of the Reichenhall tourism industry, suggesting that the spa's success was not a matter of chance, but the direct product of a concerted, local strategy.⁵⁰⁷ The Beautification Society existed in several incarnations through 1908, when it was reorganized as the Spa Association, or *Kurverein*, an association that supported economic growth through the development of tourist infrastructure and the distribution of propaganda.⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁵ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 588, 590.

⁵⁰⁶ Ludwig Steub, *Wanderungen im bayerischen Gebirge* (Munich: G.A. Fleischmann's Buchhandlung, 1862), 42.

⁵⁰⁷ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 584-585.

⁵⁰⁸ Herbert Pfisterer, "140 Jahre im Dienste des Fremdenverkehrs: Aus der Geschichte des Kur- und Verkehrsvereins e.V. Bad Reichenhall," in *Das Heilbad Bad Reichenhall im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 183-185. For the original stated goals and statutes of the Bad Reichenhall Spa Association, see StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 28: "Kurverein Bad Reichenhall, 1908-1937."

Equally important for Reichenhall's transformation into a popular tourist destination was the appointment of a state spa commissioner, or *Badkommissär*, by the Bavarian Ministry of the Interior in 1856. This official was responsible for utilizing cure tax dividends to organize activities for the resort's visitors. A new social life subsequently took shape around the Kuranstalt Axelmannstein and its grounds. The *Kurhaus* hosted "soirées musicales," chamber music concerts, and extravagant balls, while the adjacent park became the scene of festive illuminations and the firework displays of so-called "Italian nights."⁵⁰⁹ The state spa commissioner also signed a contract to secure Reichenhall's own theatre ensemble for the 1858 season, but this form of entertainment only proved popular during episodes of bad weather. Much more popular was the *Kurmusik*, established in 1868 when the spa commissioner reached an agreement with the Munich conductor, Joseph Gungl. Gungl assembled a twenty-one man orchestra which performed open-air concerts for two hours every morning and evening during the summer season, in addition to playing at the weekly balls.⁵¹⁰ Such orchestras were common in nineteenth-century spas, where they provided "diversion and distraction during the long periods of enforced inactivity that made up a large part of the *curistes'* day."⁵¹¹ In spas like Reichenhall, live music also accompanied the post-drinking cure promenade, providing rhythm to therapy, everyday from 6 to 8 o'clock.⁵¹²

While measures taken by the Reichenhall Beautification Society and the spa commissioner contributed to the overall experience of guests, the number of visitors

⁵⁰⁹ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 323-324.

⁵¹⁰ Pfisterer, "Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990)," 25-27.

⁵¹¹ Ian Bradley, *Water Music: Music Making in the Spas of Europe and North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 12.

⁵¹² Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 159; Christoph-Hellmut Mahling, "Residenz des Glücks. 'Konzert – Theater – Unterhaltung im Kurorten des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts,'" in *Badeorte und Bäderreisen in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Matheus (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 89.

remained limited due to the resort's isolated location in the Bavarian Alps. As late as the 1850s, the coach ride from Munich to Reichenhall still required two full days of travel. Although Bavaria was the site of Germany's first railway, it was not until 1860 that a line between Munich and Vienna was opened, decreasing the travel time between the Bavarian capital and Reichenhall to under seven hours. During the following season, Reichenhall registered over 2,000 guests for the first time.⁵¹³ This did not satisfy some representatives of the local tourism industry, who began to demand a separate rail connection for the growing resort.⁵¹⁴ Other residents voiced reservations about the expansion of the railway into Reichenhall, arguing that trains would tarnish the idyllic quality of the resort, and potentially bring more guests than the community could actually accommodate.⁵¹⁵ After extensive debate, Reichenhall received its own station on a line with Freilassing in 1865. The spa town was now indirectly connected with every major city on the continent, a feature that helped to establish its "European reputation."⁵¹⁶ Although some locals continued to protest the railway and its undesirable consequences, the opening of a local train station did offer new possibilities for the growing tourist center and its marketing.⁵¹⁷ An 1893 Beautification Society flyer, printed in German, French, and Russian versions, confirmed the rail connections to the resort, as well as the exceptional views from the train:

It [Reichenhall] is connected through a secondary line to the Munich-Salzburg route, on which 20 trains run daily, while from Reichenhall itself, 12 trains per

⁵¹³ Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 121.

⁵¹⁴ In his 1862 travelogue, Ludwig Steub noted that the Reichenhall community was fixated on acquiring its own rail connection. Steub, *Wanderungen in bayerischen Gebirg*, 42.

⁵¹⁵ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 620-621.

⁵¹⁶ Steub, *Wanderungen im bayerischen Gebirg*, 36; Julius Bernard, *Reisehandbuch für das Königreich Bayern und die angrenzenden Länderstriche, besonders Tyrol und Salzkammergut mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Geschichte, Topographie, Handel und Gewerbe* (Stuttgart: Paul Gauger, 1868), 150.

⁵¹⁷ Pfisterer, "Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990)," 30-32.

day depart along the mountain line to Berchtesgaden, which travels through extremely interesting and wonderful views of the Alpine landscape. The majority of Germany's larger train stations provide direct tickets to Reichenhall.⁵¹⁸

Reichenhall was now accessible to anyone who could afford a ticket, first or second class, German or non-German. Moreover, the resort was even further integrated into its scenic surroundings via the experience of rail travel and panoramic perception.

By the final decade of the nineteenth century, Reichenhall had begun to secure its reputation as an “internationally renowned and frequently visited spa and health resort.”⁵¹⁹ In 1890, Reichenhall officially became a *Bad*, when the government of Prince Regent Luitpold proclaimed that the town would henceforth be known as Bad Reichenhall.⁵²⁰ But Reichenhall's transformation into a modern spa had come with a price. The abolition of the Bavarian state's monopoly over the salt trade in 1868, and the subsequent decline of the local saline industry, had made the town's residents more and more dependent on tourism as a means of income.⁵²¹ The demise of one economic monoculture therefore coincided with the rise of the new one, just as the expansion of the local tourist infrastructure contributed to a municipal debt that had reached 1,300,000 marks by 1896.⁵²² Hoping to achieve financial stability, the local government appealed to Munich to be included in the ranks of the “Royal Baths,” a request that was finally granted in 1899, when Bad Reichenhall became an official Bavarian *Staatsbad*. Its

⁵¹⁸ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 273: “Badeprospekte, 1901-1934.” “Es ist durch eine Zweigbahn mit der München-Salzbürger Bahn verbunden, auf welcher täglich 20 Züge verkehren, während von Reichenhall ab eine höchst interessante, wundervolle Blicke in die Alpenlandschaft bietende Gebirgsbahn nach Berchtesgaden führt, auf welcher täglich 12 Züge den Verkehr vermitteln. Die meisten grösseren Stationen Deutschlands geben direkte Billete bis Reichenhall.”

⁵¹⁹ Caesar Schmidt, *Illustriertes Wanderbuch für Südbayern und Salzkammergut* (Zurich: Verlag von Caesar Schimdt, 1892), 175.

⁵²⁰ Stefan Kantsperger, “Die Entwicklung Reichenhalls zwischen 1890 und 1899: Der Weg vom Bad zum Staatsbad,” in *Das Heilbad Bad Reichenhall im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 60-61.

⁵²¹ Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 65; Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 75.

⁵²² Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 71.

growing financial problems became the concerns of the state, and the Bavarian Ministry of Finances was now represented in decisions relating to local taxes, building projects, and the management of all spa institutions utilizing saline.⁵²³

This new status almost immediately bore fruit in the form of the Royal Cure House, or *Königliche Kurhaus*.⁵²⁴ This impressive neo-baroque structure, a product of government investment, first opened its doors in May 1900.⁵²⁵ Unlike the older spa facilities, this building was explicitly dedicated to recreation, and not in the traditional sense of the word. It contained a large ballroom that could accommodate 1,500 guests, as well as a café-restaurant and various reading, music, billiard, and conversation rooms, all “tastefully-decorated,” according to a local guidebook.⁵²⁶ A memorandum published in Munich proudly detailed the amenities of the 450,000 Mark building, including its electricity and modern plumbing. The publication also identified the lavish facility as the new focal point of all social events in the “marvelous Alpine spa.”⁵²⁷ The social center of Bad Reichenhall subsequently shifted from Kuranstalt Axelmannstein to the modern *Kurhaus*, where members of elite society could indulge in pleasurable distractions, and distinguish themselves from the common *curistes*.⁵²⁸

Even with this expansion in the non-medical infrastructure of the spa, visitors continued to travel to Bad Reichenhall for health-related reasons. For middle-class

⁵²³ Reichenhall’s transformation into a Staatsbad also explains why most relevant archival holdings for the post-1900 period can be found at the Munich State Archive as opposed to the Bad Reichenhall City Archive.

⁵²⁴ Kantsperger, “Die Entwicklung Reichenhalls zwischen 1890 und 1899,” 61-69.

⁵²⁵ Thomas Fühl, “Von Klassizismus bis Neubarock,” in *Kurstädte in Deutschland*, 84.

⁵²⁶ Fritz Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung mit Berchtesgaden und Salzburg* (Bad Reichenhall: M. Zugschwerdts Nachfolger, 1915), 40.

⁵²⁷ *Das Königliche Kurhaus in Bad Reichenhall: Denkschrift zur Feier der Eröffnung* (Munich: Baugeschäft Heilmann & Littman, 1900), 1-2, 25.

⁵²⁸ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 335; Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 638-639.

tourists who struggled to reconcile their work ethic with the very notion of leisure travel, spa medicine offered the ideal justification for an extended vacation.⁵²⁹ In Bad Reichenhall, these visitors had access to a growing number of practicing physicians, a figure that rose from 9 to 31 between 1870 and 1906. Dr. Georg Liebig, an associate of Matthias Mack and the spa's most influential physician during the latter half of the nineteenth century, was the first to catalogue the various medical disorders that could be successfully treated in Bad Reichenhall, among them catarrhal inflammation of the lungs, chronic rheumatic disorders, and various skin infections such as scrofula, a form of tuberculosis.⁵³⁰ By the end of the nineteenth century, the Bavarian spa was also known for the treatment of heart disease, nervous conditions, and gynecological complaints, or *Frauenkrankheiten*, a popular subject in spa medicine literature.⁵³¹ However, it was respiratory disorders that remained Bad Reichenhall's primary specialty, and tourist publications promised relief for those suffering from chronic pneumonia, emphysema, and asthma.⁵³² Tourist propaganda also targeted those in search of more broadly-defined recovery, or *Erholung*, guaranteeing "benefits and relief in a matter of days."⁵³³

In summary, the "Reichenhall cure" was a combination of progressive spa medicine and urbane activities. As Heiki Lempa has observed, German spa guests were often "pressed between dietetic prescriptions of tranquility and rhythm, on one hand, and social incentives to find stimulation and excitement or, at least, avoid boredom, on the

⁵²⁹ Douglas Mackaman makes a similar argument concerning spa medicine in nineteenth-century France. See Mackaman, *Bourgeois Culture, Medicine, and the Spa in Modern France*, 6.

⁵³⁰ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 596-599; Pfisterer, "Die Frühe Entwicklung der Kurortmedizin und der Balneotherapie in Reichenhall," 155-159.

⁵³¹ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 249.

⁵³² An 1890 publication issued by the State Association for the Expansion of Bavarian Tourism claimed that Reichenhall offered a range of treatments for "infected and sick lungs." StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 23: "Landesverein zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, 1890-1896."

⁵³³ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 57.

other.”⁵³⁴ It was the simultaneous pursuit of both recovery and amusement that exemplified the unique seasonal “culture of interaction.”⁵³⁵ The lines between rest and recreation were often blurred, and the personal pursuit of well-being and the collective pursuit of pleasure became intertwined. Medical concerns may have justified many visits, but visitors were treated to much more than therapy. This coexistence of “the pleasant and the useful” was common in nineteenth-century spas, and like its competitors, Bad Reichenhall was ultimately greater than the sum of its treatments.⁵³⁶ On the other hand, not many spas could boast of the natural attractions and modern facilities that Bad Reichenhall provided to its cosmopolitan clientele.

Selling Nature, Modernity, and Cosmopolitanism

In a little over half a century, the Alpine town known for its saline industry had been reborn as Bad Reichenhall, a premier health resort and tourist destination. Its visitors included royalty from various European lands, as well as German celebrities like Otto von Bismarck, author Theodor Storm, and composer Richard Wagner.⁵³⁷ In April 1901, an article in the *Münchener Zeitung* declared: “Reichenhall is the magic word that draws thousands of visitors, 11,000 in the previous year, to the southern Bavarian countryside overflowing with the bountiful attractions of nature.”⁵³⁸ However, fin-de-siècle Bad Reichenhall still faced serious competition not only from international health resorts like

⁵³⁴ Lempa, “Emotional Economy and Social Classes in Nineteenth-Century Pyrmont,” 65.

⁵³⁵ Geissthövel, “Promenadenmischungen, Raum und Kommunikation in Hydropolen,” 203.

⁵³⁶ I borrow this phrase from Alison Frank, who has examined the duality of religious tourism in nineteenth-century Mariazell. Frank, “The Pleasant and the Useful.”

⁵³⁷ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 619-620, 627. Wagner reportedly even considered Reichenhall as the site of his planned *Festspielhaus*.

⁵³⁸ *Münchener Zeitung* (Munich), 4 April 1901. “Reichenhall heisst das Zauberwort, welches all’ die Tausende Menschen – im Vorjahr waren es 11,000 – in das von der Natur mit so verschwenderisch ausgetreuten Reizen umgebene Südbayern führt.”

Vichy and Marienbad, but also from a number of fashionable resorts within the German Empire itself, including Baden-Baden, Wiesbaden, and Bad Kissingen.

Each of these German spas had a particular claim to fame at the beginning of the twentieth century, with their marketing typically revolving around natural beauty and cosmopolitan flair without explicitly endorsing modern facilities and treatments. A local guidebook to Baden-Baden published in 1903 placed emphasis on the resort's picturesque environs, describing them as "one of the most beautiful and lovely spots on the planet, blessed by nature with lavish splendor."⁵³⁹ This Black Forest town, which had always enjoyed a reputation as a place of leisure rather than a therapeutic spa, was also distinguished by its Roman roots, when it was known as *Aquae Mattiacae*.⁵⁴⁰ Conversely, the self-promotion of Wiesbaden focused on the spa's natural environment and its cosmopolitan character. A local guidebook published in 1913 praised the resort's mild climate, its charming scenery and hiking opportunities, and finally, its secluded but vibrant urban character. According to this publication, Wiesbaden promised many of the benefits of city life, but few of its drawbacks.⁵⁴¹ The marketing of the Franconian spa of Bad Kissingen also concentrated on its cosmopolitan clientele and its diverse social offerings. The 1905 Meyer's guidebook, *Southern Germany*, spoke of the Bavarian resort's "elegant amenities," and reported that Russian and English aristocrats constituted a sizable portion of Bad Kissingen's visitors. In addition to a variety of therapeutic

⁵³⁹ Carl Wilhelm Schnars, *Wild's Führer durch Baden-Baden und Umgebung* (Baden-Baden: Verlag der C. WILD'schen Hof-Buchhandlung, 1903), 1. "Unbestritten ist Baden-Baden eines der schönsten und reizendsten Fleckchen Erde, das die Natur mit verschwenderischer Pracht ausgestattet hat."

⁵⁴⁰ Steinhauser, "Das europäische Modebad des 19. Jahrhunderts: Baden-Baden," 100; Schnars, *Wild's Führer durch Baden-Baden und Umgebung*, 2.

⁵⁴¹ *Der Neue Fremdenführer durch Wiesbaden, Langenschwalbach, Schlangenbad und Umgebungen* (Wiesbaden: A. Menne Nachfolger, 1913), 7-8.

treatments, these elite guests could enjoy billiards, concerts, promenades, and refined company in the resort's stylish facilities.⁵⁴²

Compared to these other German health resorts, Bad Reichenhall may have been a latecomer to the spa business, but its appeal was multi-faceted. Its claim to fame could not be reduced to a simple formula, and its marketing stressed nearly all of the elements found in other German spas, but with a greater emphasis on the resort's modern and progressive character. Surrounded by mountains and straddling the border between two empires, Bad Reichenhall was timeless, but contemporary; secluded, but cosmopolitan. Its valuable saline was an attraction, its modern architecture was an attraction, and even the locals themselves were touted as attractions, "natural people" (*Naturmenschen*) who possessed the unique ability to make all varieties of visitors, from the unwell to the international, feel truly at home.⁵⁴³ Tourist propaganda in the early twentieth century refined this balanced marketing, promoting Bad Reichenhall's progressive treatments and medical facilities, while also appealing to luxury-seeking tourists and middle-class day-trippers in pursuit of a peaceful summer get-away. By offering a detailed analysis of the tourist propaganda between the turn of the century and the First World War, I hope to provide a profile of Bad Reichenhall at the pinnacle of its success, an image that stands in sharp contrast to what the spa became after 1914.

In describing the balanced medical and social cure of Bad Reichenhall, local tourist propaganda revolved around three central motifs: nature, modernness, and cosmopolitanism. Perhaps the most prominent of the three was the spa's close

⁵⁴² Meyers Reisebücher (Firma), *Süd-Deutschland* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1905), 82-83.

⁵⁴³ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 242: "Literatur und Pressestimmen, 1884-1908." This claim was made in another 1901 article on Reichenhall, this time in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), 9 June 1901.

relationship with the natural environment. Nature's most direct contribution to Bad Reichenhall was to the cure itself. For example, mountain herbs such as brooklime, watercress, and dandelions were used to produce an "herbal juice," or *Kräutersaft*, a novel treatment popularized by pharmacist Mathias Mack.⁵⁴⁴ Local dairy products were the basis of many popular drinking cures, including whey and kefir, a fermented milk drink. Even more important was the local saline, which could be imbibed in a diluted or concentrated form, while a purgative solution produced from the former was available for both local consumption and exportation.⁵⁴⁵ Saline was also utilized for bathing cures, including diluted saline and carbonic acid baths, which were supposedly beneficial for those suffering from heart conditions and neurasthenia.⁵⁴⁶

Bad Reichenhall's saline springs also made the air itself a valuable remedy, producing an essentially marine climate at an already advantageous, high altitude. The spa enjoyed a reputation as "Germany's largest climatic health resort," where fresh mountain air helped to make the treatment of pulmonary disorders a specialty.⁵⁴⁷ Tourist propaganda described the local air as the spa's "sovereign cure," most effectively administered in the *Gradierhaus*, a 170 meter long, open-ended wooden structure on the north-end of the large park in the middle of the spa, the *Kurgarten*. In this structure, which was expanded in 1909-1910, 400,000 liters of saline were daily pumped onto a densely-stacked pile of twigs, facilitating an accelerated evaporation that simultaneously

⁵⁴⁴ The demand for this product was reportedly so great that Mack kept two mules for hauling the plants out of the nearby mountains. Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 120; Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 600.

⁵⁴⁵ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 62-63.

⁵⁴⁶ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1911), 19.

⁵⁴⁷ Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 5; HAT, Prospekte, D061/09/00-45: *Bayerisches Verkehrsbuch: Bayern Rechts des Rheins* (Munich: Selbstverlag des Vereins zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in München und im bayerischen Hochlande (e.V.), 1904), 79-80.

reduced the temperature and infused the air with beneficial saline particles, small quantities of iodine and bromine, and a considerable amount of ozone.⁵⁴⁸ This simple technique, once used for concentrating the salt solution, was an effective means of harnessing the benefits of Bad Reichenhall's most precious natural commodity, and it was praised by the international and local press. A June 1901 issue of the British tourism publication *The Traveller* declared: "Verily, the idea was a good one, and its practical application at Reichenhall has deservedly done much to give to the place that fame which it now enjoys... providing the atmosphere of mid-Atlantic in an Alpine valley."⁵⁴⁹

Nature had indeed bestowed many gifts upon Bad Reichenhall, investing both water and air with curative properties. Salt aside, the surrounding landscape itself was also reputed to possess therapeutic potential. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, physicians began to speculate that bathing and inhalation treatments were insufficient means of restoring the health of many patients. They started to prescribe hiking, which if conducted properly, could contribute to the strengthening of heart muscles. This was the logic behind Dr. Max Joseph Oertel's "terrain cure," which entailed physical exercise, carefully prescribed walks, and the ascent of progressively steeper mountain trails. The Bad Reichenhall valley proved ideal for the program, as it provided both long, flat stretches, as well as a range of ascents.⁵⁵⁰ In accordance with Oertel's guidelines, a special network of trails was charted through the town's environs in

⁵⁴⁸ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 57, 59. "Die **Luft** ist und bleibt Reichenhalls souveränes Heilmittel." Bad Kissingen was famous for its saline springs as well, and could also boast of a *Gradierhaus*. Meyers Reisebücher, *Süd-Deutschland*, 83.

⁵⁴⁹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 242.

⁵⁵⁰ Alexander, *Bad Reichenhall als klimatischer Kurort*, 8; Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 67. The terrain cure also became popular in many Austrian and Bohemian spas during the late nineteenth century. See Steward, "The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture," 108.

1886, the steepest path providing an incline of 10%.⁵⁵¹ The terrain cure quickly became a popular addition to the resort's growing lists of treatments, helping to blur the lines between Bad Reichenhall and the surrounding landscape.

Historically, a stroll in the spa meant following the carefully-manicured promenades of the town itself; now, the local tourism industry of Bad Reichenhall was inviting both patients and tourists into the uncultivated wilderness that was once kept at a distance. Matthias Mack was the first to lead guests into the mountainous surroundings of Reichenhall, providing educated tourists with information on local flora and fauna, just like the guidebooks discussed in the previous chapter.⁵⁵² By the turn of the twentieth century, the natural environs of the spa were no longer simply a “tamed and decorative” backdrop; they were the site of physical activity that was central to the very notion of the cure.⁵⁵³ Tourist propaganda emphasized that there were over 200 kilometers of trails in the spa town and its environs, while the local section of the German Alpine Association posted large-scale maps of these routes in the *Kurgarten* and at the train station.⁵⁵⁴ In his 1900 guidebook, Adolf Bühler pointed out that the resort's numerous trails not only provided the opportunity to enjoy the scenic landscape, but also constituted an essential component of the larger cure experience, allowing the guest to comfortably exercise out in the open, while methodically increasing the amount of physical exertion.⁵⁵⁵ A 1913 brochure published by the town's leading physicians, entitled “Bad Reichenhall and its Remedies,” proclaimed: “The combination of the terrain cure with carbonic acid baths

⁵⁵¹ Pfisterer, “Die frühe Entwicklung der Kurortmedizin und der Balneotherapie in Reichenhall,” 163.

⁵⁵² Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 600.

⁵⁵³ Geisthövel, “Promenadenmischungen, Raum und Kommunikation in Hydropolen,” 214.

⁵⁵⁴ HAT, Prospekte, D061/09/00-45: *Bayerisches Verkehrsbuch: Bayern Rechts des Rheins*, 80; Friedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 141.

⁵⁵⁵ Bühler, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall, Salzburg & Berchtesgaden*, 14.

and a regular and robust gymnastic program has made Reichenhall one of the most sought after health resorts for those afflicted with various forms and degrees of heart disease.”⁵⁵⁶

In many ways, Bad Reichenhall’s close relationship with the natural environment helped to ground the health resort, offering an important balance to its more modern dimensions. The town may have been a model of contemporary architecture and city-planning, but it was incapable of producing the “powerful and monumental impression” easily achieved by the surrounding “grandiose mountain landscapes.”⁵⁵⁷ A 1904 Spa Association brochure reminded visitors: “One must not remain in his or her room in Reichenhall; out into God’s magnificent and beautiful nature!”⁵⁵⁸ Nature was central to the spa’s identity, from its surrounding mountains and valleys, to the green spaces of the “grand garden city” itself.⁵⁵⁹ Contemporary postcards tended to picture Bad Reichenhall completely dominated by its natural surroundings, with the town engulfed in green and overshadowed by towering mountains.⁵⁶⁰ These views were similar to nineteenth-century images of Franconian Switzerland: nature dwarfed civilization, but did not obscure it altogether. A 1904 guidebook published by the Association for the Promotion of

⁵⁵⁶ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 267: “Bücher, Zeitschriften, Reklame, 1906-1955.” “Durch die Verbindung der Terrainkur mit der Anwendung kohlensaurer Bäder und einer rationellen Widerstands-gymnastik ist für die verschiedenen Formen und Grade der Herzkrankheiten Reichenhall zu einem für diese Erkrankungen geeigneten und viel aufgesuchten Kurort geworden.”

⁵⁵⁷ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 31. “Es ist kein mächtiger, monumentaler Eindruck, keine großartige Stadt-Silhouette, die den Kurgast dahier empfängt. Das hat der Mensch hier der grandiosen Gebirgsnatur überlassen müssen.”

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 91. “In Reichenhall muß man nicht im Zimmer sitzen; hinaus in die herrliche, schöne Gottesnatur!”

⁵⁵⁹ Guidebooks often highlighted Bad Reichenhall’s parks and gardens as one of the town’s distinctive features. See HAT, Sachkatalog, BRU-65/BAYERN-12... D061/09: August Schupp, *Bayerisches Hochland mit Salzburg und angrenzendem Tirol*, 12th ed. (Munich: A. Bruckmann’s Verlag, 1907), 198-199; Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1911), 13.

⁵⁶⁰ Author’s Collection: “BAD REICHENHALL – Blick von der Villa Hessing auf Zwiesel und Staufen.” The origins of this postcard are unknown, but it was dated 28 June 1911.

Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highlands noted that the spa was “pleasantly surrounded by marvelous mountains” providing “a lush perimeter” of “wild beauty.”⁵⁶¹ Historian William Rollins has argued that the natural environment became a source of fascination for early twentieth-century city-dwellers, who began to temporarily leave behind their urban world in pursuit of “compensation and relaxation” in settings like the Bavarian Alps. For these tourists, the natural environment represented a world outside of everyday concerns, a romantic realm that was “somewhere else, someplace more exotic, more exceptional.”⁵⁶²

In Bad Reichenhall, the Alpine landscape became an attraction for both convalescents and tourists alike. A 1911 English-language brochure published by the Spa Association declared:

Bad Reichenhall with its incomparable natural beauties offers a profusion of variety for excursions which no other spa in Germany can equal. For the bathing guests and tourists more than 250 kilometers of carefully kept promenades and forest walks have been laid out which are specially adapted for terrain cures. The roads around Bad Reichenhall for carriages and motor cars are the most beautiful in the Bavarian Highlands.⁵⁶³

Incomparable and unparalleled, the “natural beauties” around Reichenhall represented much more than just another category of cure. Ironically, as the passage suggests, modern technology in the form of the automobile helped provide access to this pre-modern world. A 1908 guidebook on the nearby Chiemgau region also drew a distinction between Bad Reichenhall as a spa resort and as tourist destination, while defining the

⁵⁶¹ HAT, Prospekte, D061/09/00-45: *Bayerisches Verkehrsbuch: Bayern Rechts des Rheins*, 79.

⁵⁶² Rollins, *A Greener Vision of Home*, 73, 167. The guidebooks’ emphasis on the exceptional nature of Bad Reichenhall’s environs suggests that this was exactly the variety of “discriminatory” tourism criticized by the German *Heimatschützer*, the subject of Rollins’ monograph. The predominantly middle-class members of the movement condemned tourists’ obsession with landscapes both exotic and extraordinary, arguing that “real nature” was all around, and every inch of the *Heimat* was important and worthy of admiration. Consequently, the ideal form of tourism advocated by this group was the “unhurried hike in the green surroundings of one’s local Heimat.” *Ibid.*, 242-250.

⁵⁶³ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 269.

town largely through its natural surroundings: “Beautifully situated in the Saalach valley, surrounded by high mountain ranges, picturesque Reichenhall unites all the benefits of nature with which it is so lavishly endowed. Wherever one looks, an inviting delightfulness, the impression of a pleasant but equally magnificent health resort and tourist destination.”⁵⁶⁴

The natural environment of Bad Reichenhall was an integral component of the assemblage of cures, just as nature itself was advertised as a “healthy” component of the tourist experience.⁵⁶⁵ In addition to the hiking trails, the Spa Association’s 1911 brochure advertised a number of sporting activities that could be enjoyed in the open air of the resort. “Carefully-trimmed” courts were open to visitors interested in playing tennis, while an equestrian path along the Saalach came highly recommended to guests who were fond of horseback riding. The publication also noted that local streams were perfect for trout-fishing, just as the nearby forests contained a variety of wild game for hunters.⁵⁶⁶ Once again, nature defined another dimension of the Bad Reichenhall tourist experience, making it part of “a modern culture that remained rooted to the soil.”⁵⁶⁷

The resort managed to draw even more visitors when it started to market itself as a winter travel destination shortly before the First World War. Debate on this issue began

⁵⁶⁴ Hans Scheurer, *Führer durch den Chiemgau* (Prien am Chiemsee: Josef Schlichter, 1908), 160-166. “Lieblich im Saalachtale gelegen, umgeben von hohen Gebirgszügen, vereint das schöne Reichenhall alle Vorzüge der Natur, mit denen es geradezu verschwenderisch ausgestattet ist. Wo man hinschaut, freundliche Lieblichkeit, der Eindruck eines angenehmen und zugleich grossartigen Kur- und Fremdenortes.” Similarly, a 1904 example of the popular Woerl guidebook series insisted that visitors who did not seek medical treatment would be treated to some “marvelous surroundings,” while experienced mountain climbers would have the opportunity to practice their craft in this beautiful locale, referred to as a “piece of paradise.” Leo Woerl, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung* (Leipzig: Woerl’s Reisebücherverlag, 1904), 5-6.

⁵⁶⁵ Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 97.

⁵⁶⁶ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1911), 39. Burkhard Fuhs argues that the increased availability of sporting opportunities in late nineteenth-century spas was directly related to the ban on gambling. Fuhs, *Mondäne Orte einer vornehmen Gesellschaft*, 290-295.

⁵⁶⁷ Lekan and Zeller, “Introduction: The Landscape of German Environmental History,” 4.

in 1904, when the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highlands urged the local tourism industry to consider turning the resort into a venue for winter sports.⁵⁶⁸ Five years later, a locally-distributed brochure entitled “Is Bad Reichenhall Suited to be a Year-Round Tourist Destination?” concisely outlined the changes that would have to be implemented in order to extend the tourist season through the harsh Bavarian winter.⁵⁶⁹ With blueprint in hand, several members of the local community began to make changes that contributed to the ongoing modernization of the Alpine town.⁵⁷⁰ A 1911 publication issued by the Spa Association proudly announced Bad Reichenhall’s new identity as a “pleasant winter destination,” featuring hotels with central heating and several sporting options, including bobsledding, tobogganing, and skiing. The publication also advertised wildlife feeding areas, once again redirecting attention to the spa’s natural surroundings.⁵⁷¹ Bühler’s 1915 guidebook endorsed the resort’s new season, asserting: “During the winter, Reichenhall is not only a recommended spot for those in need of rest and recovery, but also a rich source of stimulus for sports enthusiasts.”⁵⁷²

Although Bad Reichenhall’s special relationship with the natural environment was the central motif of the prewar tourist propaganda, a second group of marketing claims revolved around modernness in various incarnations. In one sense, the town that had burned to the ground in 1834 could not avoid being modern. Rebuilt in line with nineteenth-century tastes, it was a model for city-planning, and guidebooks commonly

⁵⁶⁸ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 24: “Münchener Fremdenverkehrsverein, 1903-1928.”

⁵⁶⁹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 256: “Allgemeiner Charakter des Kurortes, 1890-1936.”

⁵⁷⁰ Pfisterer, “Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990),” 49.

⁵⁷¹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 265: “Bücher, Zeitschriften, Reklame, 1900-1955.”

⁵⁷² Adolf Bühler, *Fremden-Führer durch Bad Reichenhall, Berchtesgaden, Salzburg und Lofer* (Bad Reichenhall: H. Bühler, 1915), 48. “Im Winter ist Reichenhall für erholungs- und ruhebedürftige Menschen ein empfehlenswerter Aufenthalt, sportsfreudigen Gästen eine reiche Quelle der Erfrischung.”

referred to its “modern look.”⁵⁷³ Tourist maps showed a town that was not only dotted with “green” spots, but also crisscrossed with wide avenues and perpendicular intersections.⁵⁷⁴ Other developments around the turn of the century helped to secure Bad Reichenhall’s identity as a modern urban space. An electrical plant opened in Kirchberg in 1890, allowing for the illumination of Reichenhall’s streets, first paved in 1898.⁵⁷⁵ Reichenhall acquired its first telephone in 1892, and its first movie theater in 1898. This was the same year during which the spa town saw its first automobile, a 6-PS-Benzinwagen owned by local physician, Karl von Heinleth. Four years later, a rentable motor vehicle with ten seats was made available to tourists. As was the case with the railway forty years beforehand, some locals protested the dangerous effects that the automobile could have on the community. In order to appease these locals, the government declared in 1905 that spa guests who wished to bring their car with them on vacation would first have to secure their permission.⁵⁷⁶ Overall, the relatively early adoption of these forms of technology can be explained by the local community’s insistence on providing urban amenities to its cosmopolitan visitors. Just like in Franconian Switzerland, Oberammergau, and Rothenburg ob der Tauber, the rise of tourism fueled a unique form of modernization.⁵⁷⁷

⁵⁷³ HAT, Sachkatalog, BRU-65/BAYERN-12... D061/09: Schupp, *Bayerisches Hochland mit Salzburg und angrenzendem Tirol*, 198-199. “Das Ansehen der Stadt ist schon deshalb ein modernes, weil 1834 ein furchtbarer Brand das Sudhaus, fast alle Staats- und öffentlichen Gemeindehäuser und 246 Wohnhäuser vernichtete.”

⁵⁷⁴ Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 38. (author’s collection)

⁵⁷⁵ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 330. Jill Steward notes that the spas of the Austro-Hungarian also experienced modernization during this period, with “electric street lighting, hotel lifts and American plumbing” helping to create an “urban effect.” See Jill Steward, “The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-Century Austria, 1800-1914,” in *Water, Leisure and Culture*, 29.

⁵⁷⁶ Pfisterer, “Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990),” 48-49.

⁵⁷⁷ Helena Waddy, *Oberammergau in the Nazi Era: The Fate of a Catholic Village in Hitler’s Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 27-29; Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 116, 145.

Tourist publications eagerly highlighted the many modern features of the idealized urban space of Bad Reichenhall. A brochure issued by the tourism association of nearby Bayrisch Gmain advertised several modern aspects of the “Queen of Alpine Baths,” from the recently-opened Royal Cure House, to the exquisitely clean asphalt roads, impressively illuminated by electrical light.⁵⁷⁸ The 1904 Woerl guidebook pointed out that Bad Reichenhall now possessed two electrical plants, which supplied most hotels with electrical lighting.⁵⁷⁹ The *Illustrated Brochure* of 1904 directed attention to the town’s waste management program and its new sewage system, created in line with “the most modern principles.”⁵⁸⁰

Another publication issued by the Spa Association in 1912 described the town’s saline works as an impressive example of modern engineering, while also defining the facility as a tourist attraction in itself. The central well house, or *Hauptbrunnhaus*, was noteworthy for its fourteen-meter, iron water-wheels, while the interior of the spring building, or *Quellenbau*, contained three fresh water springs and forty-eight salt water springs, all “fabulously lit” in multi-colored electrical light. The brochure reported that the saline works daily pumped 400,000 liters of salt water to the *Gradierhaus* and the central fountain of the *Kurgarten*.⁵⁸¹ Wiedemann’s guidebook likewise called attention to Germany’s “most beautiful and perfect” saline works, detailing its impressive output

⁵⁷⁸ StadtAM, *Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung*, 117/1: “Fremdenverkehr Oberbayern, vor 1945.”

⁵⁷⁹ Woerl, *Führer durch Bad-Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 11.

⁵⁸⁰ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 46.

⁵⁸¹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 265. “Sie besteht aus dem Hauptbrunnhaus, dem Quellenbau, den Sole-Reservoirgebäuden und den Sudhäusern. Das Hauptbrunnhaus, in dessen einem Flügelbau 2 oberflächliche, eiserne Wasserräder von je 14 m Durchmesser die Pumpvorrichtungen betreiben, wird von der Salinenkapelle überragt. Im Quellenbau, welcher für Besucher in verschiedenfarbigem, elektrischem Licht märchenhaft beleuchtet werden kann, befinden sich, 72 Stufen tief, die dortselbst entspringenden und gefassten 3 Süßwasser- und 48 Solequellen... Die Sole der übrigen Quellen wird mittels eines Pumpwerks auf das Gradierhaus gehoben und dort, sowie in der Solefontaine des k. Kurgartens, in einer Menge von täglich 400 000 Liter zu Inhalationszwecken für die Kurgäste zerstäubt.”

and listing its hours of operations for interested visitors.⁵⁸² The visitors themselves were also fascinated with the local institution. In the Bad Reichenhall section of his 1906 travelogue, American tourist Frank Roy Fraprie focused almost exclusively on the saline works, augmenting his description with facts about the springs, their varying degrees of saltiness, and the engineering involved in their exploitation, including the construction of “an underground canal half a mile long and big enough to float a boat.”⁵⁸³ Like the rustic mills of Franconian Switzerland, the saline works of Bad Reichenhall were a symbol of the local community’s symbiosis with the natural environment. Like the factories of Augsburg discussed in the next chapter, the saline works were also an indication of progress. Simultaneously old and new, this Bad Reichenhall institution was a marketable example of modernity grounded in nature.

Tourist propaganda similarly portrayed Bad Reichenhall’s treatments as unequivocally modern. This emphasis distinguished the resort from nearby Alpine destinations like Berchtesgaden, which tended to rely more on their rustic character and sporting opportunities.⁵⁸⁴ Physician Bruno Alexander portrayed the Bavarian resort’s cure regimen as “truly in tune with the time,” while the 1911 article in *The Traveller* depicted the spa as a “very progressive place,” noting the simple ingenuity of the *Gradierhaus*, as well as the “fine needle-baths, steam and Russian vapor baths, douches, inhalations, gymnastics, massage and last, but not least, pneumatic rooms for treatment

⁵⁸² Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 46-49; A similar emphasis on the modern engineering behind the city’s saline works can be found in the brief entry on Bad Reichenhall in Baedeker’s 1908 guidebook to southern Bavaria and the Tirol. Karl Baedeker, *Südbayern, Tirol, Salzburg, usw.* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1908), 101.

⁵⁸³ Frank Roy Fraprie, *Little Pilgrimages Among Bavarian Inns* (Boston: L.C. Page & Company, 1906), 164.

⁵⁸⁴ Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 127.

by compressed air.”⁵⁸⁵ Inhalation treatments were still a rather novel form of therapy in German spas, having first been made available in Bad Ems in 1855.⁵⁸⁶ In Bad Reichenhall, the hermetically-sealed pneumatic chambers constructed by the Mack family, advertised as “the largest in the world,” became a particularly popular selling point for the spa industry.⁵⁸⁷ Tourist publications explained in detail how the technology functioned, identifying the benefits that these chambers held for both the respiratory and cardiac systems.⁵⁸⁸ Hans Scheurer’s guidebook on the Chiemgau endorsed the “world famous” pneumatic chambers of Bad Reichenhall, as well as the “highly-developed” inhalation therapy and gymnastic regimen available in the spa facilities.⁵⁸⁹ As evidence that this claim to international fame was not drawn from thin air, an article in a 1911 issue of *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* praised the new technology at Bad Reichenhall, declaring: “Patients suffering from asthma and chronic bronchitis claim great relief from daily treatments of this kind of one to two hours’ duration.”⁵⁹⁰ Bühler’s 1915 guidebook claimed that when it came to modern medicine, Bad Reichenhall “did not hold back,” and was the first spa destination to recognize the curative potential of radium-heavy natural spring water.⁵⁹¹ The 1904 *Illustrated Brochure* underscored the novelty of the spa’s electric baths, which allowed patients to subject portions of their

⁵⁸⁵ Alexander, *Bad Reichenhall als klimatischer Ort*, 8; StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 242: “Literatur und Pressestimmen, 1884-1908.”

⁵⁸⁶ Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems*, 47.

⁵⁸⁷ Ernst Platz, *Unser Bayerland*, hrsg. Vom Verein zur Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in München und im bayerischen Hochland (München: Gerber, 1907), 14.

⁵⁸⁸ Alexander, *Bad Reichenhall als klimatischer Ort*, 7. The healing power of Reichenhall’s pneumatic chambers was often linked to the Alpine atmosphere. Other resorts that experimented with pneumatic chambers eventually had to close the facilities due to inconclusive results. Wsocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 120.

⁵⁸⁹ Scheurer, *Führer durch den Chiemgau*, 160-166.

⁵⁹⁰ Horace Packard, “Bad Reichenhall: A Health Resort of Southern Germany,” *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* 165, nr. 1 (September 1911): 488.

⁵⁹¹ Bühler, *Fremden-Führer durch Bad Reichenhall, Berchtesgaden, Salzburg und Lofer*, 16, 19.

bodies to controlled doses of electrical light and elevated temperatures, an allegedly effective treatment for those suffering from rheumatism and nervousness.⁵⁹²

The treatment of nervous conditions became one of Bad Reichenhall's specialties during the early twentieth century.⁵⁹³ Neurasthenia had become something of a mass phenomenon in Imperial Germany. Historian Joachim Radkau characterizes the late *Kaiserreich* as an "age of nervousness," linking the discourse surrounding the subject to the experience of rapid economic growth and industrialization.⁵⁹⁴ In the tradition of Georg Simmel, Andreas Killen associates nervousness more explicitly to the urban lifestyle, or specifically, the "over-stimulation" caused by the speed, technology, and excitement of the modern metropolis.⁵⁹⁵ Noting that the disease eventually afflicted all segments of society, he identifies nervousness as an inevitable consequence of progress, "a product of civilization, located in the nerve centers of the brain."⁵⁹⁶ Michael Cowan identifies the source of nervousness in modern man's inability to resolve a desire for autonomy and self-reliance with the growing realization that he was powerless in the face of larger socio-economic forces. This is what the middle classes feared most about neurasthenia: its status as "the quintessential condition of psychic *passivity*."⁵⁹⁷ Nervousness essentially paralyzed its victims, making them incapable of coping with the

⁵⁹² Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 65. So-called light baths were first made famous by the naturopath Arnold Rikli in the Austro-Hungarian resort of Veldes. See Steward, "The Culture of the Water Cure in Nineteenth-Century Austria," 28.

⁵⁹³ Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 18; Packard, "Bad Reichenhall," 488.

⁵⁹⁴ Joachim Radkau, *Das Zeitalter der Nervosität: Deutschland zwischen Bismarck und Hitler* (Munich: Hanser, 1998). Defining nervousness as both "a cultural construct and a genuine experience of suffering," Radkau also links it to a perceived crisis of masculinity, an argument used to explain the "nervous" actions of Wilhelm II and his inner circle leading up to the First World War. *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵⁹⁵ Georg Simmel linked the urban experience to "an intensification of nervous stimulation" in his 1903 essay, "The Metropolis and Mental Life." See McElligott, *The German Urban Experience*, 22-23.

⁵⁹⁶ Killen, *Berlin Electropolis*, 42-43.

⁵⁹⁷ Cowan, *Cult of the Will*, 8, 30. Author's emphasis.

pressures of the external world. Bad Reichenhall's electric baths promised to rejuvenate those suffering from neurasthenia, "shocking" them out of their powerlessness and passivity. This was a distinctly modern treatment for a distinctly modern ailment.

"Modern," "progressive," and "highly-developed"; these were phrases that defined Bad Reichenhall's cityscape, infrastructure, spa facilities, and treatments. By asserting these qualities within the tourist propaganda of the period, these authors were also indirectly making larger claims about the modernness of not only Bavaria, but Germany at large. Bad Reichenhall in 1900 was a small town, situated on the edge of a provincial region, within a state that had existed for barely three decades. Consequently, claims to be modern could be seen as claims of equality with or even superiority over other regions and nations of Europe. Bad Reichenhall had grown dramatically over the course of eighty years, and its recent ability to compete with well-established resorts like Vichy or Marienbad symbolized the potential of both the German Empire and the Kingdom of Bavaria. Natural resources and impressive landscapes may have established a deeper identity that transcended the present day, but the assertion of modernness implied progress for town, region, and nation alike. Tourist publications corroborated this image by praising the extraordinary features of the Bavarian resort, and explicitly comparing them to those found in other resorts. Wiedemann's 1915 guidebook, for instance, contended that no other spa, in Germany or elsewhere, could compete with Bad Reichenhall's exceptional diversity of medical treatments and facilities.⁵⁹⁸

Although such claims could be construed as declarations of national or regional exceptionalism, overtly patriotic sentiments were virtually nonexistent within the tourist propaganda before the First World War. One reason for this was the fact that Bad

⁵⁹⁸ Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 17.

Reichenhall lay only a few kilometers away from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As a result, tourist propaganda rarely advertised the health resort as exclusively Bavarian or German, and more often than not, incorporated Bad Reichenhall into a larger tourist region that included destinations on both sides of the border. For example, guidebooks on the Austrian Tirol and Salzburg, such as the 1907 Geuther guide to the Salzkammergut, regularly featured information on the Bavarian spa.⁵⁹⁹ Meanwhile, guidebooks published in Bavaria and even Bad Reichenhall itself often covered nearby Austrian tourist attractions, a practice that would continue after the outbreak of the First World War.⁶⁰⁰ These publications confirmed that the Bavarian spa was neither a distinctly German destination, nor a destination visited exclusively by Germans (or German speakers). Even though its inclusion in a unified Alpine tourist region certainly contributed to its international character, it was ultimately the clientele, and not the geography, that secured Bad Reichenhall's cosmopolitan reputation.

Not only did the tourism industry of Bad Reichenhall target an international clientele by issuing publications in English, French, and Russian translations, it used this clientele as part of its marketing strategy.⁶⁰¹ As noted in Chapter I, the European elite had frequented luxury spas since the eighteenth century. By the late nineteenth century, international visitors had become a fixture of many modern spas, even if the majority of

⁵⁹⁹ HAT, Sachkatalog, GEU-207/SALZKAMMERGUT-6... A26: Geuthers Reiseführer (Firm), *Salzkammergut und Salzburg*, 6th ed. (Leipzig: Karl P. Geuthers Reiseführerverlag, 1913), 165.

⁶⁰⁰ The tourism industry had commonly grouped the Alpine sights of Bavaria and Austria-Hungary together in a single publication. For an older example, see Theodor Trautwein, *Das Bairische Hochland mit dem Allgäu, das angrenzende Tirol und Salzburg nebst Salzkammergut*, 6th ed. (Augsburg: Lampart, 1893). Other examples previously cited include Adolf Bühler, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall, Salzburg & Berchtesgaden*, 21st ed. (Bad Reichenhall, 1900); August Schupp, *Bayerisches Hochland mit Salzburg und angrenzendem Tirol*, 12th ed. (Munich, 1907); Fritz Wiedemann, *Führer durch Bad Reichenhall und Umgebung mit Berchtesgaden und Salzburg* (Bad Reichenhall, 1915); Adolf Bühler, *Fremden-Führer durch Bad Reichenhall, Berchtesgaden, Salzburg und Lofer* (Bad Reichenhall, 1915).

⁶⁰¹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 273: "Badesprospekte, 1901-1934." Publications in different languages typically contained the same content as those issued in German, and were common as early as the late nineteenth century.

these “international” guests were in fact European.⁶⁰² This was the case in Bad Reichenhall, where Russian, Hungarian, and even American guests became part of the spa’s larger image.⁶⁰³ A 1907 guidebook entitled *Our Bavarian Land*, published by the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highland, utilized the language of cosmopolitanism in its description of Bad Reichenhall, claiming:

[W]henever the lavish splendor and wealth of the elegant world is displayed among the sounds of the *Kurmusik*, whenever members of the international community go strolling along carefully-groomed paths under tall trees, whenever our ears detect conversation in multiple languages, then we realize anew that we are vacationing in a world spa.⁶⁰⁴

The visible affluence of the international elite and the sound of up to ten different languages mingling became tangible symbols of Bad Reichenhall’s cosmopolitan character.⁶⁰⁵ A 1904 publication described the “colorful and captivating image” of evenings in the Royal Cure House, where international guests possessing “exotic beauty” and “famous names” socialized under the glow of electric light.⁶⁰⁶ An August 1908 article in the *Neues Münchener Tagblatt* echoed this marketing, reporting that “the most beautifully-situated spa destination in Germany” annually served as a “playground” for

⁶⁰² Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems*, 221-223.

⁶⁰³ As several historians have pointed out, late nineteenth-century tourist publications increasingly emphasized the unique national and social diversity found at spas, while the practice of people-watching and celebrity-spotting became a popular feature of “the entire spa experience.” Geisthövel, “Promenadenmischungen, Raum und Kommunikation in Hydropolen,” 206, 226; Lempa, “Emotional Economy and Social Classes in Nineteenth-Century Pyrmont,” 41.

⁶⁰⁴ Platz, *Unser Bayerland*, 14. “Wenn hier oder in Kirchberg unter den Klängen der Kurmusik der üppige Glanz und Reichtum der eleganten Welt sich entfaltet, wenn unter den hohen Bäumen auf wohlgepflegten Pfaden die internationale Gesellschaft lustwandelt, die vielsprachige Unterhaltung an unserem Ohr vorüberauscht, dann kommt es uns zum Bewusstsein, dass wir in einem Weltbad weilen.”

⁶⁰⁵ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 649.

⁶⁰⁶ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 79. “Ein farbenprächtiges, fesselndes Bild, wenn in dem hochgewölbten, gleichfalls in Weiß und Gold gehaltenen Saale alle Nationalitäten, darunter manche exotische Schönheit, mancher Träger eines berühmten Namens, sich Rendezvous geben, um fröhlichen Tänze zu huldigen oder wenigstens durch den Anblick des wechselnden Bildes den Abend angenehm auszufüllen.”

countless guests from all over Europe and numerous exotic locales.⁶⁰⁷ But what did a status as a cosmopolitan resort mean for the town itself? In short, diversity implied independence from local, regional, and national affiliations. With the help of its international clientele, Bad Reichenhall transcended Upper Bavarian and German identities. It was an idyllic destination that now belonged to the world, and yet it was not the only German location to embrace a cosmopolitan identity. As historian Glenn Penny has noted in his work on Leipzig's ethnographic museum, "local interests and cosmopolitan visions continued to play dominant roles in the ways Germans conceived of themselves right into the twentieth century."⁶⁰⁸ In Bad Reichenhall, a "world-famous" status served as evidence of progress and a cornerstone of its modern identity.⁶⁰⁹

Bad Reichenhall's international clientele had become an integral part of its larger image, but this elite international clientele often arrived with certain expectations. Catering to this affluent set, tourist publications encouraged international tourists to settle for nothing less than "excellent" accommodations in Bad Reichenhall. Hans Scheurer's guidebook offered an especially flattering endorsement of the facilities, insisting that guests from all countries would find themselves in a "distinguished, but comfortable" establishment.⁶¹⁰ While some publications stressed the first-class nature of Bad Reichenhall's accommodations, most seemed reluctant to identify the destination exclusively as a luxury spa, or *Luxusbad*, a status that might alienate middle-class tourists with limited means. A 1914 article in a local newspaper warned against characterizing

⁶⁰⁷ *Neues Münchener Tagblatt* (Munich), 25 August 1908. This article also bemoaned the fact that residents of Munich were statistically underrepresented in Bad Reichenhall.

⁶⁰⁸ Glenn Penny, "Fashioning Local Identities in an Age of Nation-Building: Museums, Cosmopolitan Visions, and Intra-German Competition," *German History* 17, no. 4 (1999): 490.

⁶⁰⁹ In his 1908 guidebook on Bad Reichenhall, Scheurer uses the phrase "world famous" three times in six pages, referring to the city itself, the pneumatic chambers, and the local saline springs. Scheurer, *Führer durch den Chiemgau*, 160-166.

⁶¹⁰ Scheurer, *Führer durch den Chiemgau*, 165-166.

the town's facilities as luxurious, emphasizing that these institutions existed first and foremost for "genuinely sick people."⁶¹¹ The 1903 edition of Bühler's *Guide through Reichenhall, Salzburg & Berchtesgaden* addressed another side of the question, advising guests to not equate Bad Reichenhall with the so-called luxury spas because "roaring and exciting pleasures" were simply not to be found, cinema and dancing notwithstanding. Instead, nature was identified as the star attraction, and in the case of rain, there was always the *Kurmusik* or the weekly balls. Bühler endorsed a more balanced image of the spa, asserting: "Reichenhall bears the appearance of an elegant summer get-away, in which one seeks to recover from the strains and damages of social and economic life."⁶¹²

Bad Reichenhall's status as a place of recovery from the ill effects of modern civilization partially justifies the label of a *Sommerfrische*, defined earlier as a rural destination where city-dwellers sought sanctuary during the summer months. Furthermore, it appears that the tourism industry was not alone in using the term. In a letter published in a 1908 edition of the *Wiener Hausfrau-Zeitung*, Bad Reichenhall visitor Irma Garczak offered her thoughts on the spa destination:

I am particularly delighted by this lovely town of villas, and cannot understand why it was so difficult to decide to go on this trip. The guilt also lies with you, honored old friend. You always spoke of a trip to a spa, but it is in fact not a spa, but a *Sommerfrische*, made up of beautiful walkways interspersed with villas, while the 'cure' seems to exist only as a justification for rest between these strolls.⁶¹³

⁶¹¹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 276: "Das Wochenblatt 'Der Untersberg,' 1914." *Der Untersberg: Bad Reichenhaller Wochenblatt* (Bad Reichenhall), 16 May 1914.

⁶¹² StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 266: "Bücher, Zeitschriften, Reklame, 1903-1955." "Reichenhall trägt vielmehr durchaus den Charakter einer eleganten Sommerfrische, in welcher man Erholung von den Anstrengungen und Schädigungen des sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens sucht."

⁶¹³ *Wiener Hausfrau-Zeitung: Organ für hauswirtschaftliche Interessen* (Vienna), 19 July 1908. "Ich bin nämlich ganz entzückt von diesen reizenden Villenort und kann es nicht verstehen, daß ich mich so schwer zu dieser Reise entschlossen habe. Die Schuld liegt aber auch an Ihnen, verehrter alter Freund, Sie sprachen immer von einer Badreise, das ist ja aber eigentlich kein Bad, das ist ja eine Sommerfrische, die aus schönen Spaziergängen besteht, die nur von Villen unterbrochen werden, und die Kur scheint eigentlich nur zum Ausruhen für diese Spaziergänge geschaffen."

In addition to confirming the resort's status as a *Sommerfrische*, this letter suggests that physical activity had become such a prominent feature of the spa experience that guests now looked to medical treatment as a "justification for rest." In many ways, Bad Reichenhall was more than a provincial retreat for local city-dwellers, even though the forms of entertainment offered there were rather different than those found in larger urban centers. For example, locals organized cultural displays for the resort's cosmopolitan visitors, showcasing Upper Bavarian customs and costumes as a means of preserving regional identity *and* pragmatically pleasing guests.⁶¹⁴ In 1912, renowned actor Josef Meth launched the "Reichenhall Country Theater" ("Reichenhaller Bauerntheater"), a group that regularly performed classic folk comedies, dramas, and tragedies.⁶¹⁵ Whether defined as a luxury spa or an elegant yet affordable summer getaway, Bad Reichenhall had no shortage of attractions.

Furthermore, by the beginning of the twentieth century, Bad Reichenhall could even appeal to visitors of different faiths. Although Upper Bavaria was a traditionally Catholic region, the local community worked to ensure that religious identity did not hinder the tourism industry. A local government publication in 1893 declared that it was in the best interests of the tourism industry to propagate a cosmopolitan identity; the nationality and the religious affiliation of the guest should never be an issue. Local hosts were to focus on providing tasteful accommodations at reasonable prices, as a paying customer was a paying customer, regardless of where he or she prayed. The Bad Reichenhall community not only refused to discriminate against non-Catholic guests, they even invited them to continue their religious practices during their extended stays.

⁶¹⁴ Wysocki, *Leben im Berchtesgadener Land*, 163-164.

⁶¹⁵ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 649.

This was certainly the case with Protestant visitors. Although the town contained only two Protestant residents in 1846, the spa was frequented by Prussian and Franconian travelers, and at least one-third of the tourist clientele was Lutheran. With the help of Ernst Rinck and local doctor Adolf Schmid, Protestant guests contributed to the construction of a neo-gothic church in 1881, creating a place where weekly services were offered during the tourist season.⁶¹⁶ Flyers printed by the Beautification Society around the turn of the century confirmed the existence of the Protestant church, providing guests with information on its location and services.”⁶¹⁷

Religious tolerance for the sake of tourism did not make Bad Reichenhall unique. In fact, the construction of churches for foreign guests was fairly common in larger health resorts, even in predominantly Catholic regions.⁶¹⁸ The nearby Austrian resort of Bad Gastein, for example, featured an Orthodox church, an institution that Bad Reichenhall lacked, in spite of a relatively large number of Russian visitors.⁶¹⁹ The Reichenhall tourism industry did, however, cater to its many Jewish guests in several regards. Woerl’s 1904 guidebook publicized two restaurants offering kosher food, as well as weekly religious services in their respective “prayer rooms.”⁶²⁰ The 1904 *Illustrated Brochure* contained separate advertisements for both the *Israelitisches Restaurant Bermann* and the *Israelitisches Hotel und Pension National*, one of the town’s oldest and largest restaurants, founded in 1866.⁶²¹ Bad Reichenhall even possessed a Jewish

⁶¹⁶ Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 72-73; Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 612; StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 8: “Kirchen- und Religionsachen, 1873-1938.”

⁶¹⁷ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 273. “Katholischer und protestanischer **Gottesdienst**, ersterer in zwei Hauptkirchen – letzterer in der 1881 erbauten Pfarrkirche...”

⁶¹⁸ Steinhauser, “Das europäische Modebad des 19. Jahrhunderts,” 106.

⁶¹⁹ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 614.

⁶²⁰ Woerl, *Führer durch Bad-Reichenhall und Umgebung*, 12, 16.

⁶²¹ Kurverein e.V. Bad Reichenhall, *Bad Reichenhall: Illustrierter Badprospekt des Kurortes* (1904), 29, 43.

slaughterhouse, and in 1877, the émigré Jewish community began plans for the construction of a Jewish cemetery.⁶²² Historian Hermann Sommer maintains that Jews were generally welcome in German health resorts during the nineteenth century, and points to the fact that a Jewish inn had been open in Bad Ems since 1800. More recently, Frank Bajohr has argued that there was a significant rise in anti-Semitism in German bathing resorts before 1914, a development which he links to increased social diversity and the perception of Jews as dangerous social climbers. However, this institutionalized anti-Semitism was largely confined to the resorts of Protestant northern Germany, while the experience of persecution made the Catholic proprietors of south German resorts less likely to target a religious minority.⁶²³ In Bad Reichenhall, the Catholic identity of Upper Bavaria's did not preclude the spa's engineered cosmopolitan charm, and on the eve of the First World War, the spa even welcomed several Muslim princes.⁶²⁴

Nature, modernness, cosmopolitanism; the three motifs which dominated the tourist propaganda on Bad Reichenhall were all part of this multi-faceted tourist attraction's larger image. By blending these appeals, the local tourism industry responded to the disorienting experience of modernity with a vision of what could be. While it is difficult to assess the reception of these messages among the tourists themselves, the success of Bad Reichenhall's marketing can be verified on another level. Simply put, tourists voted with their feet, and statistics assembled by the spa commissioner confirm that thousands voted for Bad Reichenhall during the years before

⁶²² Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 614, 618.

⁶²³ Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems*, 328; Frank Bajohr, "*Unser Hotel ist judenfrei*": *Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2003), 11-52. For more on Jewish guests in central European spas, see Miriam Triendl-Zadoff, *Nächstes Jahr in Marienbad. Gegenwelten jüdischer Kulturen der Moderne* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

⁶²⁴ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 618.

the Great War. (Table 3.1) Looking at the number of overnight guests registered by hotels and bed-and-breakfasts, a steady increase in visitors is discernable. While numbers did not rise every year, being somewhat susceptible to international crises, they doubled between 1893 and 1913, and rose by over 35% between 1900 and 1913. It should also be noted that these figures only reflect those guests who stayed overnight, and not the number of “overnight stays” themselves, nor the number of those who stayed for less than a day, visitors known as *Passanten*. Perhaps an even more interesting set of figures, considering the spa’s cosmopolitan image, displays the nationality of Bad Reichenhall’s visitors. In 1904, 2,230 of 12,846 guests traveled from Bavaria and 4,112 traveled from other regions of the German Empire, while 4,760 came from Austria-Hungary, 968 from Russia, and 280 from Romania.⁶²⁵ In total, 6,504 of 12,846 guests, roughly 50%, were not citizens of the German Empire. In 1913, 2,479 of 15,447 guests were Bavarian, and 5,076 were German; 5,799 had traveled from Austria-Hungary, 1,473 from Russia, and 137 from America. The resort registered 7,892 foreign guests during the year before the war; once again, roughly half of those recorded.⁶²⁶ In 1914, the town’s identity as an international spa could not be refuted. This did not prevent some locals from voicing concerns that the tourism industry was relying too heavily on visitors from Eastern and Southern Europe, and should do more to attract tourists from Western Europe.⁶²⁷ The First World War vindicated these concerns, but by this point, it was impossible to change course.

⁶²⁵ Unfortunately, these statistics do not reveal the ethnic background of visitors from Austria-Hungary. However, the large numbers of both Russian and Romanian visitors leads me to speculate that not all of the guests from the Habsburg Empire were German speakers.

⁶²⁶ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 286: “Fremdenverkehr, 1854-1936.” The season, or “year,” ran from April 1 to March 31.

⁶²⁷ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 657.

Table 3.1: Number of Registered Guests in Bad Reichenhall, 1893-1913⁶²⁸

1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899
7,716	7,882	9,101	8,751	9,538	10,257	10,916
1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
11,350	11,223	11,837	12,637	12,846	13,440	14,034
1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913
14,540	13,766	14,543	15,341	16,500	15,921	15,447

Total War and the Nationalized Cure

On the eve of the First World War, the community of Bad Reichenhall could proudly advertise itself as a success story. In a matter of decades, the sleepy saline-town had developed into a modern and cosmopolitan tourist destination, widely renowned as the “Queen of the German Alpine Baths” and “Germany’s largest climatic resort.” However, this success had come with a price. The rapid expansion of the spa and hospitality industries had made the local community dependent on tourism as a source of income. This left them vulnerable when tourism declined as a result of recession or international crisis, a phenomenon first encountered when the number of guests dropped by 55% during the Austro-Prussian War of 1866.⁶²⁹ Four decades later, Fritz Söllner, mayor of Bad Reichenhall from 1900-1926, was forced to admit: “Without the spa, we are a poor mountain town, without trade, without change, without traffic, without a hinterland.”⁶³⁰ In spite of this realization, the municipal government remained fixated on the tourism industry. Their extensive investment in urban infrastructure, including the improvement

⁶²⁸ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 286.

⁶²⁹ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 622, 626.

⁶³⁰ Quoted in Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 644.

of Bad Reichenhall's roadways and sanitation, contributed to a debt that had reached 2,600,000 marks by 1909.⁶³¹ The First World War revealed the depth of these problems, exacerbating the city's financial predicament while the national commitment to total war paralyzed the local tourism industry.

David Blackbourn has identified the First World War as a major turning point for the fashionable spas of central Europe, having both short-term effects and long-term repercussions. During the war itself, men left for the front, while wounded soldiers took the beds once occupied by foreign guests, who now tended to stay at home. After the war, fashionable spas were confronted with the loss of their "social ambience," as the rise of both socialized medicine and mass tourism put the final nail in the coffin of the elite world of the antebellum watering place.⁶³² In Bad Reichenhall, the First World War marked the end of an era. The four-year long conflict did irreparable damage to the local tourism industry, cutting the destination off from its international clientele, just as nationalist jargon was employed to convert the town's modern facilities into cheap sick bays for German soldiers. The medicalization that had gained momentum during the previous century was essentially completed. Ironically, it was the presence of these wounded soldiers that kept the community afloat, a development ominously foreshadowed by the opening of a military convalescence home in 1913.⁶³³ In the meantime, Bad Reichenhall became even more secluded, and like so many other German

⁶³¹ Karl Leinberger, *Der Fremdenverkehr in Bad Reichenhall, seine Grundlagen, seine Entwicklung und seine Wirkungen* (Munich, 1923), 99-100; Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 71.

⁶³² Blackbourn, "Fashionable Spa Towns in Nineteenth-Century Europe," 19.

⁶³³ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 340; StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 836: "Errichtung und Betrieb eines Militär-Erholungsheimes in Bad Reichenhall, 1911-1932."

tourist destinations, ultimately became a quieter place, abandoned by both tourists and a large portion of its male population.⁶³⁴

A dearth of reliable sources makes it difficult to ascertain how the citizens of Bad Reichenhall initially reacted to the outbreak of war. Local historian Herbert Pfisterer claims that the August 1914 declaration of war unleashed an “abundance of national sentiment and an inexplicable outburst of excitement” in Bad Reichenhall.⁶³⁵ This assertion echoes an older historiography that maintained that Germans across the Empire reacted to news of war with unbridled enthusiasm and patriotism, thereby helping to establish the basis of a people’s community, or *Volksgemeinschaft*.⁶³⁶ This simplified reading has been called into question by scholars like Jeffrey Verhey, who have demonstrated that the reaction to war was much more complicated. “War enthusiasm” tended to be confined to urban centers, where rallies and parades were attended almost exclusively by university students and affluent members of the *Bürgertum*. The rest of the nation seemed to respond to the outbreak of war with fear, consternation, and occasionally, panic.⁶³⁷ Focusing on the rural areas of southern Bavaria, Benjamin Ziemann has insisted that news of mobilization was greeted with “despondency and pessimism,” with enthusiasm notably lacking.⁶³⁸

⁶³⁴ For example, the popular destination of Freiburg, located on the edge of the Black Forest in Baden, witnessed a dramatic exodus of visitors in August, largely due to widespread fear of a French invasion through Alsace. This “dramatic contraction of the tourist population” dealt a major blow to the local economy, and specifically the proprietors of various hotel, inns, and restaurants. Roger Chickering, *Great War and Urban Life in Germany: Freiburg, 1914-1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 68-69, 112-113.

⁶³⁵ Pfisterer, *Bad Reichenhall in seiner bayerischen Geschichte*, 341.

⁶³⁶ For example, see George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 70; Modris Eksteins, *The Rites of Spring. The Great War and the Birth of the Modern Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1989), 94.

⁶³⁷ Jeffrey Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914: Militarism, Myth, and Mobilization in Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 38-71.

⁶³⁸ Benjamin Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany, 1914-1923*, trans. Alex Skinner (New York: Berg, 2007), 19.

Although we cannot generalize about the response to war in Bad Reichenhall, one thing is certain: the war's impact on the tourism industry was massive. In the wake of the Balkan Crises of 1912-1913, the tourism industry of Bad Reichenhall was hoping for a peaceful season in 1914. Even after the assassination of Franz Ferdinand on 28 June, and the outrage that it produced among Austrian guests, many locals still hoped that the spa would have a record-setting year. As tensions escalated between Austria-Hungary and Serbia during July, foreign guests began to flee the Bavarian resort by the hundreds. Those that remained desperately tried to stay in touch with family and friends at home, and the local post office struggled to process thousands of telegrams. The reading room of the Royal Cure House, which featured approximately 150 national and international periodicals, was perpetually packed with visitors following the latest news. After the war officially began, many tourists and locals reacted with panic, stocking up on provisions and rushing to the local bank in order to exchange paper currencies for gold coins. Communications via telephone and telegram quickly broke down as a result of overwhelming demand and inadequate manpower. While many panicked, others paraded. On 4 August, a crowd of Bad Reichenhall residents demonstrated their support for the war effort by accompanying the first two hundred local recruits to the local train station.⁶³⁹ Thus began the exodus of the community's young, male work force, leaving women behind to manage the various hotels, bed-and-breakfasts, and bathing facilities.

In spite of the initial pandemonium, in late August Bad Reichenhall could still count among its guests 206 citizens of the Russian Empire, and even 12 Serbians.⁶⁴⁰ However, the government no longer viewed these foreign nationals as "vacationers," but

⁶³⁹ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 661-669.

⁶⁴⁰ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248: "1. Weltkrieg 1914-1918, 1914-1920."

instead as “heteronomous objects of the German bureaucracy,” liable to be interned in special camps for “enemy aliens.”⁶⁴¹ Although the tourism industry took measures to ensure that international guests were accommodated until they could be safely transported home, a climate of suspicion and apprehension quickly took hold. Fear of espionage led to fights between locals and foreigners, increased surveillance of international guests, and the mandate that telephone conversations could only be held in German. Russian guests in particular were treated with open contempt: they were not allowed to receive mail or money transfers, and were forced to rely on massively devalued rubles to pay their hotel and medical bills. Any display of wealth or Russian identity in general aroused hostility among the locals. This new hatred was so profound that the proprietor of the local hotel, the “Russian Court” (*Russische Hof*), promptly changed the name of the Reichenhall institution to the “German Court,” or *Deutsche Hof*. The guests who had until so recently defined the resort were no longer welcome. Before conditions could deteriorate further, the vast majority of Russian guests were transported to neutral Switzerland in mid-August.⁶⁴²

In spite of the departure of foreign guests, local authorities sought to ensure that the town’s tourism industry remained in operation. On 26 August, the state spa commissioner contacted the various spa institutions to confirm their operation during the war. Some replied promptly that they remained fully operational, while others promised to stay open until October and provide their patients with the “entire cure.” Others, like the Dianabad, admitted that they would be forced to close as soon as their last guest left,

⁶⁴¹ Christoph Jahr, “Keine Feriengäste. „Feindstaatenausländer“ im südlichen Bayern während des Ersten Weltkriegs,” in *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Alpenraum. Erfahrung, Deutung, Erinnerung*, ed. Hermann J.W. Kuprian and Oswald Überegger (Innsbruck: Wagner, 2006), 233.

⁶⁴² Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 670-674.

since so many of their male workers had been called to the front. This regrettable turn of events, however, did not stop the last institution from ensuring that its facilities would be made available to convalescing soldiers. Similarly, on 11 September, the Bad Reichenhall Sanatorium announced that it would provide medical treatment and accommodations to recovering army officers for five marks per day (not including beverages). Just over a week later, the Josef Mack Firm, Reichenhall's leading manufacturer of saline by-products and spa paraphernalia, announced that it would provide saline bath tablets at reduced rates to the military hospital in Munich.⁶⁴³

During the early months of the war, charity became a means of uniting the local community in support of both the soldiers and the nation itself.⁶⁴⁴ In spas like Bad Reichenhall, various organizations appealed to the "spirit of 1914" in order to secure accommodations for members of the German military. A December 1914 issue of the local newspaper, *Der Reichenhaller Grenzboten*, announced the imminent return of "thousands and thousands" of German sons, fathers, cousins, and brothers, whose suffering on the battlefield was a direct consequence of their commitment to the "fatherland." An appeal for empathy then transitioned into a demand for unity: "The call of the fatherland falls on those of us in the German health resorts, endowed with invaluable sources of recuperation and rejuvenation in their effervescent medicinal springs, their mild air, their green forests, and sunny heights. It is our duty to assist in the providing of care."⁶⁴⁵ "Love of the fatherland," the "most fundamental and transcendent

⁶⁴³ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248.

⁶⁴⁴ Verhey, *The Spirit of 1914*, 105-106.

⁶⁴⁵ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248. "Auch an uns, in den deutschen Heil- und Kurorten, die mit den köstlichen Schätzen der Genesung und Kräftigung in ihren sprudelnden Heilquellen, ihrer milden Luft, ihren grünen Wäldern und sonnigen Höhen begnadet sind, tritt jetzt der Ruf des Vaterlandes heran. Unser ist die Aufgabe, mitzuhelfen bei der Genesungsfürsorge!"

of civic virtues,” ensured that it was the duty of spa proprietors to provide for their countrymen.⁶⁴⁶ A statement issued by the Central Committee of the German Red Cross in the fall of 1914 compelled members of the German Spa Association to confirm their dedication to the cause by caring for “the heroic sons of our people who willingly sacrificed their blood on the battlefields, and surrendered their health for that of the fatherland.” Similar language was employed by regional organizations. A 1916 communiqué distributed by the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highlands announced the creation of the Organization for Spa Treatment, noting: “The cooperation of the local organizations as well as individuals in the realization of the organization ... is a patriotic duty.”⁶⁴⁷ Participation in this new organization, established to ensure suitable and reasonable accommodations for “cure-worthy” soldiers in Bavarian spa destinations, became representative of a deeper commitment to a collective, national victory.

Jingoist language was only one factor pushing Bad Reichenhall down this road; government policy was another. Although various organizations had compelled the local tourism industry to offer reduced rates to German soldiers, it was not initially mandatory. In fact, in December 1914 the spa commissioner informed the Imperial Ministry of Finance that it was doubtful that Bad Reichenhall’s hotel and spa proprietors would be able to offer reduced rates to all members of the German military, especially since most of these establishments were privately-owned. On the eve of the 1915 season, the

⁶⁴⁶ Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany*, 352. Other German destinations recognized the economic potential of catering to the military. The tourist association of Freiburg, for example, took efforts to attract disabled and retired officers. *Ibid.*, 113.

⁶⁴⁷ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 247: “Fonds zur Errichtung eines Sangerheimes in Bad Reichenhall, 1911-1919.” “Die Mitwirkung der ortlichen Vereine sowie einzelner Personen bei Durchfuhrung der Organisation ... ist eine vaterlandische Pflicht.”

commissioner contacted the management of other German spa resorts in order to ascertain what measures they had taken to accommodate soldiers. The administrations of Bad Homburg and Bad Kreuznach responded that they had suspended the cure tax for convalescing soldiers and officers and reduced prices for treatments by up to 50%, while the management of Bad Ems and Bad Oeynhausen reported that they were offering spa treatments at absolutely no cost. Before Bad Reichenhall could follow these examples, the Bavarian government took the initiative and instituted policy. In April 1915, the Royal Ministry of Finance proclaimed that all members of the German armed forces (as well as the Austro-Hungarian military) were no longer obligated to pay cure taxes, in addition to being entitled to a standard 40% reduction in the price of spa treatments. That June, it was proudly reported that the spa facilities of Bad Reichenhall had followed the government's decree.⁶⁴⁸ A flyer distributed throughout the town confirmed the new policies, announcing that the owners of the spa facilities had agreed on a standard reduced rate of 40% for soldiers, while "combatants are not obliged to pay the cure tax... family members and others enjoy the same privilege, if they are in the company of a sick or wounded soldier there for treatment."⁶⁴⁹ Compelled by both a sense of patriotic duty and the dictates of the state, the Bad Reichenhall community followed a course of action that would ultimately keep the spa industry alive, while significantly limiting the amount of profit earned.

⁶⁴⁸ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 249: "Vergünstigungen für Kriegsteilnehmer des 1. Weltkriegs, 1914-1922."

⁶⁴⁹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248. "Die Kriegsteilnehmer sind von der Entrichtung der Kurtaxe befreit. Familienangehörige und andere Personen genießen die gleiche Vergünstigung, wenn sie sich zum Zwecke der **Pflege** eines erkrankten oder verwundeten Kriegsteilnehmer in dessen Begleitung befinden." A 1915 publication issued by the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highland listed Bad Reichenhall among the many resorts where special rates were available for soldiers. HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/915/VER: *München, Die Kurorte, Sommerfrischen und Gaststätten im Bayerischen Hochland. Kriegsausgabe*, 3rd ed. (München: Verein zur Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in München und im Bayrischen Hochland (e.V.), 1915), 108-111.

Indeed, much of the profit the spa industry was accustomed to earning had disappeared along with most of its clientele in the fall of 1914, when the war dictated the closure of borders across Europe. The Spa Association had anticipated this in September, when they appealed to the Bavarian government for subsidies to complete Bad Reichenhall's transformation into a year-round tourist destination.⁶⁵⁰ In a July 1915 public meeting, Mayor Fritz Söllner confirmed that the town's economic well-being was in serious jeopardy, largely because of its location on the border of the empire. As noted above, a significant percentage of the spa's clientele regularly visited from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and the Balkan states, parts of Europe that were now largely cut off from Germany as a result of official bans on travel and other ramifications of war.⁶⁵¹ Statistics gathered between 1914 and 1918 confirm an initial decrease in visitors followed by a phase of partial recovery. Between 1 April 1914 and 31 March 1915, 11,514 guests were registered in Reichenhall's hotels and bed-and-breakfasts, a noticeable decrease from the previous season's 15,447. During the season of 1915, numbers plummeted to 6,570, rising to a mere 8,726 in 1916, and leveling off at 8,398 in 1917. The year of 1918 witnessed an unexpected rise in visitors, as 10,270 guests were registered. However, as might be expected, most guests during this period were German soldiers suffering from both physical wounds and shattered nerves.⁶⁵² Meanwhile, the number of visitors from Austria-Hungary decreased from 4,140 in 1914, to 928 in 1918. Otherwise, the community hosted a few American tourists each summer, while visitors from England,

⁶⁵⁰ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 674.

⁶⁵¹ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248.

⁶⁵² For more on the Great War's effects on the nerves of German soldiers, and the broader study and treatment of neurasthenia during the war, see Paul Frederick Lerner, *Hysterical Men: War, Psychiatry, and the Politics of Trauma in Germany, 1890-1930* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2003): 40-60.

France, and Belgium were predictably non-existent.⁶⁵³ Guests from other foreign nations numbered only 59 in 1915, 83 in 1916, 38 in 1917, and 73 in 1918.⁶⁵⁴ As the number of guests fluctuated during the course of the war, the face of the clientele shifted dramatically from the prewar norm. The cosmopolitan elite were now replaced by the convalescing, uniformed masses of the German army, who were promised the same amenities as the earlier clientele, including progressive treatments and facilities, as well as “all the comforts of an international spa.”⁶⁵⁵ As early as 1915, the German Spa Association acknowledged the potentially awkward pairing of patrons in many of the nation’s spas by appealing to the patriotic sensibilities of the remaining normal guests:

We appeal to you all, German men and women, who are able to sojourn in peace and comfort in German spas, because your German brothers stand before hardship and death... in order to watch over you. Open your hearts and hands, so that these men can hopefully be privy to the blessing of convalescence among us. God will reward you, for what you have done for your brothers!⁶⁵⁶

Potential tension between new and old clientele in Bad Reichenhall was a minor problem in the larger scheme of things; providing sustenance for guests proved to be a much more serious issue as the war progressed. Although southern Bavaria was a “classical farming region” where agriculture occupied over half of the working population outside of Munich, its urban communities were especially hard hit by food shortages after 1914. Disruptions in the supply of animal feed and artificial fertilizers

⁶⁵³ Surprisingly, the Russian Empire was represented with an impressive three visitors per season in 1916 and 1917. This figure does not include Russian prisoners of war interned in Bad Reichenhall during the war, “visitors” that reportedly enjoyed considerable freedom and were particularly fond of the *Kurmusik*. *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* (Munich), 7 May 1915.

⁶⁵⁴ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 286: “Fremdenverkehr, 1854-1936”; StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 288: “Fremdenverkehr, 1898-1937, 1951.”

⁶⁵⁵ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/915/VER: *München, Die Kurorte, Sommerfrischen und Gaststätten im Bayerischen Hochland. Kriegsausgabe*, 108.

⁶⁵⁶ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 838: “Bäderfürsorge für Kriegsteilnehmer, 1915-1919.” “Wir wenden uns an Euch, Ihr deutschen Männer und Frauen, die Ihr in Frieden und Behagen in den deutschen Bädern weilen durftet, die weil Eure deutschen Brüder in Not und Tod ... für Euch Wache standen, öffnet Herz und Hand, damit auch sie hoffentlich bald der Wohltat einer Genesungskur bei uns teilhaftig werden können. Gott wird Euch lohnen, was Ihr für Eure Brüder tut!”

caused by the Allied blockade, as well as the large-scale requisitioning of draught horses by the German army, caused crop yields to plummet during the war.⁶⁵⁷ The situation worsened during the “turnip winter” of 1916-1917, when harsh weather conditions led to the failure of the potato crop. While residents and visitors in rural communities like Rothenburg ob der Tauber managed to remain relatively well-fed, city-dwellers faced the most severe food crisis in close to a hundred years.⁶⁵⁸ Daily scarcities of basic foodstuffs became an omnipresent reminder of the Great War, and ultimately contributed to the collapse of the German war effort.⁶⁵⁹

In Bad Reichenhall, these widespread shortages became a huge obstacle for the tourism industry on two levels: the local community now had to provide for its remaining guests *and* deal with the repercussions of bad press. For example, the *Dresdner Anzeiger* reported during the summer of 1915 that German visitors to Bavaria should consider having bread shipped to them from home, as local communities were having difficulties procuring sufficient amounts.⁶⁶⁰ In an effort to improve the region’s image, the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highlands posted a notice in newspapers across Germany assuring potential visitors that the supply of bread in Bavaria was regulated along the same lines as it was in other regions of the country.⁶⁶¹ The situation appeared somewhat more serious a year later, when a June 1916 issue of the *Bayerische Staatszeitung* declared: “In Bavaria, the distribution of important food stuffs, most notably meat and butter, is carefully regulated and severely limited in

⁶⁵⁷ Ziemann, *War Experiences in Rural Germany*, 15-16, 166-168.

⁶⁵⁸ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 147.

⁶⁵⁹ Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany*, 217; Thierry Bonzon and Belinda Davis, “Feeding the Cities,” in *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919*, ed. Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 308, 311.

⁶⁶⁰ *Dresdner Anzeiger* (Dresden), 16 June 1915.

⁶⁶¹ HAT, ZSF, 072: “Mitteilungen des Vereins zur Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in München und im bayrischen Hochland (e.V.), 1907-1920.”

every local municipality.” Fresh milk was only obtainable with the appropriate documentation, while hotels were forced to settle for condensed milk. Butter was only available to guests during “meat-less” Tuesdays and Fridays, while the sale of cream was totally forbidden. Meat was only provided to tourists in limited amounts, while watered-down beer (*Dünnbier*) was only obtainable during specific hours at restaurants.⁶⁶² In Bad Reichenhall, the local government took costly measures to provide for both locals and visitors, securing cheap provisions for the former, and expensive imported goods for the latter.⁶⁶³ In spite of these efforts, the shortage of food became more serious as the war continued, and many residents were forced to rely on a rapidly-expanding black market, which established the foundations for postwar criminal activity.⁶⁶⁴ In 1917 locals came up with a provisional solution: transforming the *Kurgarten* into a large-scale vegetable garden that would help feed both Bad Reichenhall and Berchtesgaden.⁶⁶⁵

The rationing of basic staples adversely affected the quality of any visit to Bad Reichenhall, but another government decree would effectively limit the length of the visit itself. In November 1917 the Bavarian Ministry of War announced that beginning in December, spa and winter sport destinations with populations of less than six thousand inhabitants were not permitted to accommodate individual guests for more than one week at a time, unless the guest was a member of the military that had been granted permission for an extended spa visit, or a civilian that was in possession of a doctor’s note. This

⁶⁶² StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248. “In Bayern ist der Verkehr mit den wichtigen Nahrungsmitteln, insbesondere mit Fleisch und Butter, bis in die letzte Landgemeinde genau geregelt und empfindlich eingeschränkt.” *Bayerische Staatszeitung. Kgl. Bayerischer Staatsanzeiger* (Munich), 3 July 1916. For a similar account of strict rationing and its effects on diets, see Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany*, 165-179, 263-275.

⁶⁶³ Leinberger, *Der Fremdenverkehr in Bad Reichenhall*, 100.

⁶⁶⁴ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 678.

⁶⁶⁵ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall 251: “Gemüseanbau im Kurgarten während des 1. Weltkriegs, 1917-1918.”

legislation was a desperate means of preserving precious resources, but it only did further damage to the fragile tourism industry of destinations like Bad Reichenhall.⁶⁶⁶ In the intervening time, the resort became more isolated as a result of the increasing strain on the German railways, the primary means of transportation and communication during the war. Travel that was deemed “unnecessary” was either eliminated altogether, or made less desirable through increased fares. At the same time, fuel shortages ensured that passenger trains were forced to travel more slowly, without internal lighting, and often without heat during the winter months.⁶⁶⁷ These were hardly ideal travel conditions.

Cut off from its international clientele, compelled to cater to guests who were not expected to pay their way, and plagued with shortages of the most essential provisions, the tourism industry of Bad Reichenhall and the entire community that it supported was on the verge of collapse by 1918. While some Germans expressed optimism in the wake of the Russian capitulation and the new offensive on the Western Front, the residents of Bad Reichenhall remained inconsolable. An article in a February 1918 issue of the *Reichenhaller Grenzboten* pronounced: “Today Reichenhall is the poorest and most economically-stunted town in Bavaria.”⁶⁶⁸ That very same month, a massive public meeting took place in Bad Reichenhall’s Hotel Deutscher Kaiser, where nearly one thousand citizens met to discuss the emergency situation, and to draft a statement of grievances. Instead of blaming the war itself, the community targeted the Bavarian government, accusing them of having abandoned the local community since 1914. The committee’s primary complaints were elaborated upon by Bad Reichenhall’s

⁶⁶⁶ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248.

⁶⁶⁷ Chickering, *The Great War and Urban Life in Germany*, 289-290.

⁶⁶⁸ *Reichenhaller Grenzboten: Ttagsblatt für den Kurort Bad Reichenhall/Amtsblatt der Behörden des Grenzbezirks* (Bad Reichenhall), 5 February 1918. “Reichenhall ist heute in Bayern die ärmste und wirtschaftliche tiefstehende Stadt geworden.”

representative to the Munich Chamber of Commerce on 21 February 1918. Karl Schiffman confirmed that the number of international visitors had dropped dramatically since the outbreak of the war, leading the tourism industry to rely on German visitors. Legislation making a physician's note mandatory for an extended stay in a Bavarian spa not only barred entire categories of visitors, it ensured that many Germans were less likely to visit, as genuinely sick individuals tended to trust their own doctors and visit nearby spas. On the subject of insufficient provisions, Schiffman made his case simply: "One cannot live on good air alone." Detailed promises of rations had not been kept, even though spa destinations in northern Germany, like Bad Oynhausen and Bad Kreuznach, could sufficiently provide for their guests, and even turn it into a selling point. Furthermore, while Bad Reichenhall's annual number of visitors plummeted, Bad Kreuznach's figures reportedly rose from 10,000 to 19,000 between 1914 and 1916. Finally, Schiffman scolded the Bavarian government for their inability to maintain regular rail connections to Alpine tourist destinations, noting that during the previous winter, various delays and transfers had turned the trip from Munich to Bad Reichenhall into an 18-24 hour odyssey. The solutions recommended by Schiffman in Munich were simple: eliminate the need for required documentation, guarantee the regular delivery of provisions, and take measures to standardize and expedite rail travel.⁶⁶⁹

While attempts were made by the Chamber of Commerce to improve rail connections between Munich and Bad Reichenhall during the summer of 1918, it appears that the Bavarian government failed to address the other two grievances. The legislation making official documentation a prerequisite to a spa visit was not overturned until after the war, while the Bavarian government received complaints about insufficient

⁶⁶⁹ BW, Industrie- und Handelskammer, 343: "Fremdenverkehr in Bayern, 1917."

provisions in Bad Reichenhall for months to come.⁶⁷⁰ Community leaders declared in May 1919 that a full-scale reopening of spa facilities was unthinkable at that point.⁶⁷¹ The number of visitors to Bad Reichenhall dropped to 7,516 during the 1919 season, the second lowest figure since the outbreak of the war, but surprisingly rose again to 11,675 during the 1920 season, the highest figure since 1914. Over 10,000 of these visitors were German, but the international guests appeared to be returning slowly as well: 646 Austrians, 345 Czechoslovakians, 116 Hungarians, 32 Rumanians, and even 10 Belgians.⁶⁷²

These figures appeared promising, but comparative statistics confirm that the tourism industry of Bad Reichenhall never regained the momentum that had characterized the prewar period. During the season of 1913-1914, Bad Reichenhall could boast of 542,000 overnight stays, far more than two other spa destinations in southern Bavaria, Bad Tölz and Oberstdorf, which only registered 146,000 and 227,000 nights respectively during the same season. However, Bad Reichenhall's numbers dropped dramatically during the following decade, and remained low. Only 445,000 overnight stays were registered during the 1925-1926 season, and only 473,000 during 1930-1931. Bad Tölz, on the other hand, registered a figure of 235,000 during 1925-1926, and 265,000 during 1930-1931. Oberstdorf fared even better, with a recorded 280,000 nights in 1925-1926, and an impressive 483,000 during 1930-1931. While the number of

⁶⁷⁰ The Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highlands reported that rationing continued in southern Bavaria vacation destinations through 1920, and even advocated hanging posters in places like Bad Reichenhall that would inform tourists of the ongoing material shortages. HAT, ZSF, 072.

⁶⁷¹ BW, Industrie- und Handelskammer, 343. Several months earlier, the state spa commissioner had predicted that Bad Reichenhall would not be able to recover anytime soon, and subsequently requested that the resort be allowed to maintain its status as a sick bay for German soldiers, because then at least a portion of the "victimized" community could remain employed. StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 248.

⁶⁷² StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 288.

overnight stays is not synonymous with the number of guests, it is nevertheless striking that business in the spa towns of Bad Tölz and Oberstdorf nearly doubled over the course of seventeen tumultuous years, reflecting both the growth of mass tourism and the decline of the elite tourism associated with destinations like Bad Reichenhall.⁶⁷³ Herbert Pfisterer writes: “After the war, Bad Reichenhall was confronted with a completely different market situation. The world and its political map had changed, and large segments of the former clientele (from the Dual Monarchy, for instance) were lost.”⁶⁷⁴ In 1911, approximately 55% of the spa’s clientele were foreign; in 1925, international guests constituted less than 15%.⁶⁷⁵ Bad Reichenhall could still boast of many of the same attractions that had made it a premier destination in the first place, but the cosmopolitan elite that helped to define the spa were gone forever.

* * *

In the midst of Bad Reichenhall’s glory years, a letter appeared in an August 1906 edition of the *Frankfurter Neueste Nachrichten*. In it, the English phrase “struggle for life” was identified as the motivation that brought so many visitors to Bad Reichenhall. The struggle for life, the quest for the cure, the desire for deliverance from the modern city: pursuits that were by and large fulfilled by the “Queen of the German Alpine Baths,” where patients were not the only visitors in search of something.⁶⁷⁶ And while some

⁶⁷³ Schwartz, *Bayern im Lichte seiner hundertjährigen Statistik*, 75, Tabelle 18.

⁶⁷⁴ Pfisterer, “Eine kleine Geschichte der Kurstadt Reichenhall (1850-1990), 51. “Nach dem Krieg stand Bad Reichenhall vor einer total veränderten Marketsituation. Die Welt und ihre politische Landkarte hatte sich verändert und große Teile des ehemaligen Kundenpotentials (etwa aus der K.u.K. Monarchie) waren verloren.”

⁶⁷⁵ Vogel, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 77.

⁶⁷⁶ *Frankfurter Neueste Nachrichten* (Frankfurt am Main), 2 August 1906.

travelers engaged in pleasurable distractions, and others sought solace, the town itself struggled for life; rebuilding to achieve modernness, re-conceptualizing to attract an international clientele, and even refinancing to ensure further progress. But Bad Reichenhall faced its greatest struggle for life during the First World War, when carefully articulated messages of cosmopolitanism were negated by the demands of the nation, and the medical cure became the primary attraction. Both the town and the tourism industry would survive the war, but the propaganda of the prewar period would lose much of its target audience in the process.

As an international spa, climatic health resort, Alpine vacation destination, and summer get-away, prewar Bad Reichenhall was both exemplary and exceptional. Its development into a popular tourist destination during the nineteenth century can be linked to the widespread glorification of the natural environment and the rise of middle-class tourism in Germany, both consequences of modernization discussed in the previous chapters. Similarly, Bad Reichenhall's status as a *Kurort* reflected a new health consciousness in Imperial Germany, as well as the state-sanctioned rise of medicine. The fact that not all visitors were technically patients confirms that the spa promised both medical and social rewards, and that middle class tourism was becoming more than just a utilitarian exercise built around the concept of *Bildung*. For middle-class Germans and the international elite, Bad Reichenhall was the ultimate modern spa; a peaceful destination that was equally progressive and sophisticated. Carefully balancing the spa's natural surroundings with its modern character and facilities, tourist propaganda established the image of an ideal urban community rooted in nature. Many a visitor may have left behind the hustle and bustle of city life for the secluded community of Bad

Reichenhall, but what they found there was essentially an alternative urban culture, a grounded modernity that allowed them to return to the real world rested and recharged. The cosmopolitan clientele was another modern feature of this alternate urban culture, allowing the resort to transcend regional and national identities and claim parity with the international luxury spas with which it competed.

After 1914, this carefully-balanced image was upset by the implications of total war. National solidarity overshadowed international diversity, and the local community turned to its fellow Germans as their principal clientele. While the Great War may not have tarnished Bad Reichenhall's reputation as a progressive spa with idyllic natural surroundings, it did effectively curb international tourism. This was a serious problem throughout Bavaria after 1918, as the regional and local tourism industries actively targeted fellow Germans in the hopes of revitalizing the economy, while simultaneously trying to repair the nation's damaged reputation by reaching out to foreigners. These issues are addressed in the following chapter, in which I examine the tourism industry of Augsburg during the Weimar Republic. During uncertain political and economic times, the local tourism association, in league with the municipal government, struggled to sell the 2000-year old city as a viable tourist attraction to both domestic and international visitors. The tourist propaganda that they sanctioned attempted a delicate balance between a colorful past and an industrial present, producing a rather different vision of grounded modernity than that found in the Alpine world of Bad Reichenhall.

Chapter IV

The City of the German Renaissance: Augsburg Tourism between Past and Present

“As a result of fortunate circumstances, Augsburg has remained unusually protected from the barbarism of modern times; internally united, today’s city stands as an illustration of the past, and a living example not only of how an old German city appeared, but how a new German city should appear.”⁶⁷⁷

Augsburg Official Guidebook 1924
(Distributed by the Augsburg Tourism Association)

In marketing Augsburg as a sight worth seeing, the local tourism industry traditionally turned to the city’s colorful past, pointing visitors to the well-preserved monuments and museums of Augsburg’s historical center. This began to change during the interwar period, when a visit to the two thousand year-old city was advertised as much more than an antiquarian exercise. Augsburg may have been protected from the “barbarism of modern times,” but it had hardly escaped modernization altogether. As a city of over 100,000 inhabitants and the second most important industrial center in Bavaria, Augsburg was also known as the “German Manchester,” a modern metropolis with a wide range of tourist attractions.

Despite innovations in branding, history remained the foundation of Augsburg’s contemporary identity throughout the interwar period. In the wake of the First World War, the city could provide Germans with historical grounding, replacing the fragmented narrative of the modern nation with a continuum of German history. The story of

⁶⁷⁷ StadtAA, 20, Nr. 585:“ Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, I. Band, 1917-1925.” *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer (Mit einem Stadtplan und 30 Abbildungen)* (Augsburg: Selbstverlag des Fremdenverkehrs-Vereins Augsburg, 1924), 5-6. “In dem Augsburg durch glückliche Umstände von der Barbarei der Neuzeit ungewöhnlich bewahrt blieb, steht die Stadt heute in ihrer inneren Ganzheit nicht nur als Schaubild der Vergangenheit, sondern als lebendiges Vorbild da; ein Vorbild nicht nur dessen, wie eine alte deutsche Stadt aussah, sondern wie eine neue deutsche Stadt aussehen sollte...”

Augsburg represented a *longue durée* of achievement and prominence, stretching from the city's Roman roots, through the Renaissance, and onward toward its modern-day industrialization. In other words, historical Augsburg was synonymous with modern Augsburg, and the city's illustrious past was reflected in and complemented by its living presence. The local tourism industry "sold" Augsburg as a metaphor for the larger German nation, combining historical significance with contemporary relevance in a new spin on grounded modernity. Furthermore, by advertising the city as quintessentially German, the Augsburg tourism industry bypassed local and regional particularism's, providing an accessible vision of the nation to both domestic and foreign visitors, who could be grounded in the German past and immersed in the German present.

However, efforts to market modern Augsburg as a tourist destination were not entirely successful. The city may have had an important place on the economic cartography of the early twentieth century, but it did not figure prominently on the new tourist map of Bavaria. After 1918, the Augsburg Tourism Association was faced with three major obstacles. First, the municipal government's preoccupation with social questions meant that it was not consistent in its patronage of tourism, and often refused to subsidize new marketing initiatives. Second, the German inflation and the Great Depression restricted the amount of public and private capital available for the promotion of tourism, in addition to dissuading many Germans and foreigners from attempting to travel at all. Third, Augsburg suffered from its proximity to the premier tourist destination of Bavaria, Munich, even though the local tourism association eventually developed strategies to profit from this position.

The following chapter addresses all of these issues by focusing on the arduous self-promotion of Augsburg during the Weimar era, demonstrating among other things that the cultivation of a tourist culture was not always a smooth process. In order to establish the context of Augsburg's evolving marketing, I begin by discussing representations of urban modernity in the German tourist propaganda of the 1920s, a period during which travel first became a viable option to a larger percentage of the population. Although the reputation of many German cities rested upon their modern character, other sights tended to direct the tourist's attention to a more remote past, which was now more important than ever. Heritage tourism became a sort of post-traumatic coping strategy, allowing individuals to reconnect with a past that was increasingly out of reach. This was also a potent means of imagining community, directing the attention of both natives and foreigners to the historical roots of the German nation.

In the case of Augsburg, the local tourism industry was intent upon attracting a wider demographic of travelers during the 1920s, and chose to blend heritage tourism with a new emphasis on industrial might and mass culture. Through a careful reading of both tourist propaganda and institutional records, I show that the Augsburg Tourism Association, sometimes in league and sometimes in contention with a coalition government in city hall, placed more emphasis on the "modern" dimensions of the city over the course of the 1920s. Their aim was not only to ground modernity, but also to modernize the city's historical ground, drawing connections between past and present. In the end, they succeeded in promoting a more progressive and "German" vision of city, but this version of grounded modernity, like all others, was selective. The local tourism industry strategically advertised Augsburg as a historically-rooted modern metropolis,

thereby diverting attention from the other Augsburg, a politically-charged and economically unstable city of workers (*Arbeiterstadt*). Their efforts grant insight into the rise of mass tourism discussed in Chapter I, in addition to revealing changing conceptions of history and modernity in interwar Germany.

Marketing Modern Germany

Expanded marketing, alongside an increase in paid vacation days and the diversification of the transportation industry, was a prominent feature of mass tourism during the Weimar era. At a time when tourism was widely associated with both economic vitality and patriotic resolve, marketing made the nationalist overtones of travel explicit. Marketing also helped to demystify the notion of the vacation elsewhere for segments of society that had never had the opportunity to travel. Tourist propaganda no longer spoke to the middle classes alone; it now targeted the masses, promoting tourism as an affordable and central component of modern life.

Marketing became a “common denominator of modern industrial life” in early twentieth-century Germany, with the Munich-based *Werkbund* playing an influential role in the creation of advertising aesthetics. During the Weimar era, advertisement began to be viewed as both a rational science and a powerful form of “national self-promotion.”⁶⁷⁸ The German tourism industry was no exception. Prior to the First World War, the standard genres of tourist propaganda, including brochures, posters, and postcards, tended

⁶⁷⁸ Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 92-93. See also Pamela E. Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan R. Zatlin, “Introduction,” in *Selling Modernity: Advertising in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Pamela E. Swett, S. Jonathan Wiesen, and Jonathan R. Zatlin (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 8. For an analysis of the early years of the *Werkbund*, see Fredric J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

to be one-dimensional, promoting a single attraction or even hotel. After 1918, the tourism industry recognized the limits of its traditional marketing, and acknowledged that propaganda must not just encourage tourism; it must produce tourism. They updated the more traditional forms of tourist propaganda, employing shorter slogans and glossy photography to attract a wider demographic. They also began to utilize the mass media, and by the end of the 1920s, slide shows, neon signs, and radio broadcasts were all being employed to market tourism. Cinema also became a popular means of promoting leisure travel during this period, and short tourism films were commonly screened with feature films.⁶⁷⁹ Tourist propaganda became an everyday sight, available in store windows, train stations, movie theaters, and countless publications.⁶⁸⁰ This meant that tourism itself was “increasingly visually present” in the Weimar Republic, becoming an item of consumption in its own right.⁶⁸¹

While the tourism industry incorporated new techniques and technology into its arsenal, many examples of marketing glorified the experience of modernity. As Eric Weitz has noted, the “center of gravity” in Weimar Germany had shifted from the old world of tradition “to the city with its cacophony of sounds and images, to the factories and mines pounding out the products of an advanced industrial economy, and to the tensions and excitements of ‘mass society’.”⁶⁸² The tourism industry reflected this shift, as travelers turned their attention to the urban centers, which radiated with “the excitement, power and vitality of the new nation-state.”⁶⁸³ Berlin in particular became a symbol for modern Germany at large, and was captured beautifully in Walter Ruttmann’s

⁶⁷⁹ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 95-111.

⁶⁸⁰ Syrjämaa, “Tourism as a Typical Cultural Phenomenon,” 188-189.

⁶⁸¹ Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 117.

⁶⁸² Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy*, 3-4.

⁶⁸³ McElligott, *The German Urban Experience*, 150.

1927 film, *Berlin: Symphony of a Metropolis*. A brochure issued by the Trade-Fair and Tourism Office of the City of Berlin in the late 1920s characterized the city as the center of the German government, as well as “the nerve system of the German economy,” with “the large banks, central offices of the cartels and syndicates, the economic associations, and the labor unions.” Modernity in various incarnations was the dominant theme of this brochure, which featured black-and-white photographs of the West Harbor, the Radio Tower, the Berlin Airport, and the Klingenberg power plant. The brochure’s cover even featured a striking collage of the Brandenburg Gate, the City Hall, the Radio Tower, and a stream of cars.⁶⁸⁴

The marketing of other German cities also took a more modern turn. The reputation of Cologne, for example, was apparently no longer based on its cathedral and art galleries alone. A Weimar-era guidebook on the Rhineland issued by the Reich Central Office for German Tourism Promotion (RDV) described the city, in English, as:

...the venerable Rhenish metropolis, the leading trading city in the Rhineland, the seat of the Fairs of Rhineland and Westphalia, the center of a world-famous industry, the important Rhenish port, where a large new harbor is now in the course of construction, one of the main European railway and airway junctions, the favorite resort of visitors and meeting place of congresses...⁶⁸⁵

As a tourist attraction, Cologne offered evidence of the nation’s cultural achievements, as well as proof of the nation’s contemporary economic significance. Similarly, a 1926 RDV brochure covering the region of Württemberg emphasized the modern features of

⁶⁸⁴ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 267: “Deutsche Verkehrs- (Fremdenverkehrs-) Vereine.” “Hier ist der Kopf des Deutschen Reiches mit seinen Regierungsgewalten, dem Parlament, den Ministerien, dem Reichspräsidenten und den Vertretungen der fremden Mächte. Hier arbeitet das Nervensystem der deutschen Wirtschaft: die Großbanken, die Zentralbüros der Kartelle und Syndikate, der Wirtschaftsverbände und der Arbeitnehmer-Organisationen. Hier ist der Knotenpunkt des europäischen Verkehrs und der Zentralpunkt aller continentalen Luftlinien... Wer Berlin studiert, studiert Europa.” For more on the automobile as a symbol of urban modernity, see McElligott, *The German Urban Experience*, 166.

⁶⁸⁵ HAT, Prospekte, D060/00/-33/RDV/-33/RDV/3/Verkehrsbücher: *Germany, The Rhine* (Berlin: Reichsbahnzentrale für Deutsche Verkehrswerbung, undated), 75.

both Ulm and Stuttgart. Ulm was depicted as “[o]ne of the most important industrial and trading towns in Württemberg,” a center of cement, stone, and lime industries, “seat of the Wieland Brass Works,” and the location of “cotton weaving-mills, iron foundries, turret-clock factories, manufacture of tools and metal goods,” and so forth. The description of Stuttgart, the capital of Württemberg, was somewhat more balanced, in that emphasis on contemporary significance was coupled with praise for the city’s scenic location and cultural offerings. Still, the list of Stuttgart attractions included the following highlights: “Perfect sanitary conditions. Excellent Schools. Technical Academy. Libraries, museums, valuable collections. Six railway stations. Aerodrome in Böblingen.”⁶⁸⁶ Although some of these highlights, such as the exceptional sanitary conditions and schools, were presumably more appealing to potential residents than tourists, it should be noted that this brochure was produced by the RDV, an organization dedicated to attracting foreign tourists to Germany. Even the marketing of the popular tourist destination of Dresden, the so-called “City of the Baroque” and “Florence of the Elbe,” changed noticeably during this period. A guidebook published during the late 1920s defined the cultural center as an “industrial city,” with over 7,900 factories and 172,000 workers engaged in the production of chocolate, cigarettes, machinery, and photography equipment.⁶⁸⁷ This was not the same Dresden that nineteenth-century tourists had admired.

The marketing of German cities in the Weimar Republic reaffirmed the modernity of the nation, manifested in various achievements in industry, transportation, education,

⁶⁸⁶ HAT, Prospekte, D060/00/-33/RDV/-33/RDV/3/Verkehrsbücher: *Germany, Württemberg: Black Forest and the Lake of Constance* (Berlin: Reichsbahnzentrale für Deutsche Verkehrswerbung, 1926). 26, 48.

⁶⁸⁷ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 267.

and even hygiene. These assertions of progress, however, were rarely articulated in overtly nationalist language. Rudy Koshar has argued that the “modernist travel culture” of the Weimar era differed from the prewar “national-liberal travel culture” in that it “appeared to be unconcerned with questions of nationality and nationhood.” Instead, the new travel culture tended to focus on “the emotions of the moment, and their ironic representation, rather than on tradition or the projection of the national community into the future.”⁶⁸⁸ However, by focusing on extreme examples of this new travel culture, Koshar obscures the fact that modernity and tradition could coexist within the Weimar tourist experience. While many tourists amused themselves with urban mass culture, others sought solace in a more reassuring set of national memories, as Koshar himself suggested in his earlier work on historical preservation. These impulses were not necessarily incompatible, and in Augsburg, the tourist could indulge in both.

The question remains: why was history so attractive to many Germans? In the Weimar Republic, the past became a commodity because recent events had created a rupture in the continuum of German history. Peter Fritzsche has argued that it was the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars that first gave Europeans the impression of having experienced an irreversible break with the past. Extensive mobilization, the displacement of civilian populations, unprecedented administrative reform, the dissolution of religious orders, and the public commemoration of both defeat and victory placed “ordinary men and women into the flow of history and made them increasingly aware of the present, taking them away from their remembered pasts.”⁶⁸⁹ A new historical consciousness was subsequently born, a distinctly modern understanding of the

⁶⁸⁸ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 112.

⁶⁸⁹ Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Past: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (New York: Harvard University Press, 2004), 33.

past colored by a melancholic sense of loss, but also characterized by a desire to rediscover “neglected itineraries” and historical “half lives.” Fritzsche writes: “the disconnection of the past and the present facilitated a wide range of new connections with past histories.”⁶⁹⁰ Romanticism was one of them.

The German nation experienced a similar rupture with the past after 1914, when mobilization, combat, mourning, and revolution drew millions of citizens into the relentless flow of history, depositing them in unfamiliar territory. In a recent work, Anton Kaes has discussed this disconnect between past and present, arguing that “the experience of trauma became Weimar’s historical consciousness,” and the “double wound of war and defeat” ensured that there would be no return to the world they once knew.⁶⁹¹ Further political and economic upheaval after the conclusion of the war only heightened this sense of discontinuity and “bewilderment.”⁶⁹² A prevailing mood of disenchantment characterized the period. While the present became synonymous with crisis, the remote past offered potential solace.⁶⁹³ In his earlier work, Rudy Koshar noted that a “new vulnerability characterized national memory” during the Weimar period, when there was a discernible longing for a “mythic sense of national history and national totality.”⁶⁹⁴ For a people “stranded in the present,” tourism became a way to reconnect with the past *and* imagine the modern German nation.

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁹¹ Anton Kaes, *Shell Shock Cinema: Weimar Culture and the Wounds of War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 2.

⁶⁹² Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*, 83.

⁶⁹³ Peter Fritzsche, “Landscape of Danger, Landscape of Design: Crisis and Modernism in Weimar Germany,” in *Dancing on the Volcano*, 30. For more on modernity as crisis, see Detlev Peukert, “Die ‘letzten Menschen’: Beobachtungen zur Kulturkritik im Geschichtsbild Max Webers,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 12 (1986): 425-442.

⁶⁹⁴ Rudy Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 110.

Although a variety of scholars now agree that nationalism is a social construction, no consensus has been reached on the nature of its creation. Benedict Anderson has influentially emphasized the role of print capitalism in building an “imagined community,” while Eric Hobsbawm and his colleagues have shown how nationhood was often “invented” through pseudo-authentic symbols and practices.⁶⁹⁵ Anthony Smith, on the other hand, has argued that modern nationalism, fueled by “rapid social mobilization” and collective identity crises, employs pre-existing ethnic bonds to construct notions of collective identity.⁶⁹⁶ In a more recent work, Smith has distanced himself from the untenable “primordialist” thesis by arguing that modern national identities are mediated not by historical ethnicities, but by older cultural practices and ideological concepts.⁶⁹⁷ While I agree that modern nationalism does not always rely on “imagination” or “invention,” I think it is important to emphasize that the past is inherently flexible and open to potentially contradictory and divisive uses. Moreover, it could influence national identities as well as local, regional, and cosmopolitan visions.

During the interwar period, remote history provided a more appealing set of memories to Germans, obscuring the regrettable, recent past. This was an important task in the eyes of both the domestic tourism industry and many foreign travel writers. In the 1927 publication, *Motor Rambles in Central Europe*, English travel writer Frank Rimington wrote of the “necessity of establishing international goodwill,” and insisted that travel would help the world “to substitute memories of a Germany which was once

⁶⁹⁵ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14.

⁶⁹⁶ Anthony D. Smith, “The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?,” in *Reimagining the Nation*, ed. Marjorie Ringrose and Adam J. Lerner (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993), 13, 20.

⁶⁹⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2008).

congenial – the Germany which gave to the world a Goethe, a Schiller, a Beethoven, a Wagner, a Humboldt, and so many other outstanding benefactors in Literature, in Art, and in Science – in place of a Germany that became so rightfully hateful.”⁶⁹⁸ In the 1930 travelogue, *Come With Me Through Germany*, American author Frank Schoonmaker noted that there were still some unanswered questions about postwar Germany: “Has the Reich still time for the old and the beautiful? Is a new America rising between the Vistula and the Rhine? Did the friendliness, the indefinable *bonhomie* of the German people entirely disappear during four years of war?”⁶⁹⁹ A desire to answer these questions led many travelers to the defeated empire. In search of the “authentic Germany,” Schoonmaker and Rimington even set their sights on Augsburg, the “City of the German Renaissance.”

Augsburg could provide a more appealing set of memories to both international visitors and the disillusioned German people. The city’s two thousand year-old history was one of political prominence, cultural affluence, and international prestige. The cityscape itself provided physical evidence of greatness, and its architecture functioned as “important media in which a sense of the past was configured and communicated.”⁷⁰⁰ In the wake of war and revolution, and in the midst of depression and political upheaval, the historical cityscape provided a “link to the past” and a “constant in a changing world.”⁷⁰¹ However, over the course of the 1920s, the local tourism industry of Augsburg began to market modern vitality alongside historical rootedness. They innovatively cast

⁶⁹⁸ Frank C. Rimington, *Motor Rambles in Central Europe: Some Descriptions and Some Reflections* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 2-3.

⁶⁹⁹ Frank Schoonmaker, *Come With Me Through Germany* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Company, 1930), 4-5.

⁷⁰⁰ Maiken Umbach, “Memory and Historicism: Reading between the Lines of the Built Environment, Germany c. 1900,” *Representations*, no. 88 (Autumn 2004): 28.

⁷⁰¹ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 156; Aitchison, Macleod, and Shaw, *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes*, 141.

contemporary achievements as the extension of earlier glory in ways that reinforced both, while also cultivating a historically-based but distinctly modern national identity.

Trials, Tribulations, and Tourism

Augsburg's illustrious past was clear for all to see. In perpetual contention with the citizens of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, Augsburg's residents claimed that their city was the oldest in the German nation, pointing to a history that stretched nearly two thousand years into the remote past. Originally known as *Augusta Vindelicorum*, Augsburg began as a Roman garrison camp at the convergence of the Rivers Lech and Wertach, founded by the generals Drusus and Tiberius fifteen years before the birth of Christ. When Munich was no more than a settlement of monks along the River Isar, Augsburg had already flourished as a provincial capital and trading post, in addition to having been razed to the ground several times, only to rise again triumphantly.⁷⁰²

As the former capital of Friedrich Barbarossa and an Imperial Free City since 1276, Augsburg reached its prime in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it became a center of international commerce rivaling Venice and Antwerp. Its name became synonymous with the Fugger and Welser banking clans, whose collective wealth transformed Augsburg's cityscape and secured its international reputation during the Renaissance. Augsburg also played a prominent role in the German Reformation, hosting Martin Luther at the Imperial Diet of 1518, and serving as the backdrop for the *Confessio Augustana* of 1530, and the "Peace of Augsburg" of 1555. The former became one of the

⁷⁰² For overviews of Augsburg's extensive history, from the Roman era to the postwar period, see Wolfgang Zorn, *Augsburg: Geschichte einer deutschen Stadt* (Augsburg: Mühlberger, 1972); Gunther Gottlieb et al., eds. *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg: Von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss Verlag, 1984); Bernd Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2005).

most important declarations of the Lutheran faith, while the latter made the legal division of Christendom permanent, technically ending religious strife in the Holy Roman Empire. Afterwards, Augsburg remained divided between Protestant and Catholic citizens, with Lutherans constituting roughly two-thirds of the population.

The Thirty Years War of 1618-1648 inaugurated two centuries of decline for Augsburg, but the city's incorporation into the Kingdom of Bavaria in 1805 heralded an era of rebirth.⁷⁰³ Augsburg became the capital of the Bavarian province of Swabia and Neuburg, and the base of a large garrison. More importantly, the city became one of the most important industrial hubs of southern Germany, powered by the energy of the Lech and Wertach River canals. After the opening of rail connections with Munich and Nuremberg during the 1840s, several large-scale textile and machinery factories arose around the Augsburg's historical center, among them, the Sanderschen Maschinenfabrik, forerunner to the Maschinenfabrik Augsburg-Nürnberg (MAN). Although these factories initially relied on local workers, they eventually drew impoverished residents of rural Bavaria, Württemberg, Austria-Hungary, and Switzerland. Extensive migration complicated the demographic profile of the city, increasing the percentage of Catholic and working-class residents.⁷⁰⁴ By 1910, Augsburg's population had surpassed 100,000, having nearly doubled over the course of four decades.⁷⁰⁵

⁷⁰³ For an account of Augsburg's incorporation into the new Bavarian state, see Rosemarie Dietrich, *Die Integration Augsburgs in den bayerischen Staat (1806-1821)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993).

⁷⁰⁴ Gerhard Hetzer, "Die Industriestadt Augsburg: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Arbeiteropposition," in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit, III: Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt, Teil B*, eds. Martin Broszat, Elke Fröhlich, and Anton Grossman (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1981), 2-8.

⁷⁰⁵ Zorn, *Augsburg*, 251-258. For more on Augsburg's transformation into an industrial center during the nineteenth century, see Peter Fassl, *Konfession, Wirtschaft und Politik: Von der Reichsstadt zur Industriestadt, Augsburg, 1750-1850* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1988); Ilse Fischer, *Industrialisierung, sozialer Konflikt und politische Willensbildung in der Stadtgemeinde. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte Augsburgs 1840-1914* (Augsburg: H. Mühlberger, 1977).

The “German Manchester” now found itself torn between two disparate identities: that of a historical city of monuments, and that of an industrial city of workers. During the late nineteenth century, the latter identity began to have an impact on municipal politics. The influx of rural residents had led to the overcrowding of the city’s working-class suburbs, where death rates were among the highest in the Kingdom of Bavaria. In the interest of improving living conditions and preventing the spread of disease, the Augsburg municipal government, which was dominated by Catholic conservatives but influenced by a powerful minority of middle-class, Protestant liberals, began work on a city-wide sewer system in 1872. After the turn of the century, the construction of an extensive streetcar network and the opening of new rail stations allowed for the further integration of working-class suburbs into the city center. Between 1910 and 1916, many of these former villages were officially incorporated into Augsburg, swelling the population by roughly 40,000. The working-class residents of these suburbs hoped that incorporation into the city of Augsburg would bring about swift improvements in education, infrastructure, and hygienic conditions, but the ensuing world war, revolution, and depression delayed progress. In densely-populated districts like Lechhausen and Oberhausen, infant mortality rates remained high, while tuberculosis and other preventable diseases continued to claim hundreds of victims.⁷⁰⁶

In the meantime, the political climate of the city became more volatile. After the economic crash of the early 1870s, Augsburg’s working-class population began to support the newly-constituted Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany, which changed its name to the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in 1890. In the *Reichstag* election of that year, the SPD garnered 21.8% of the Augsburg vote; in 1912, they

⁷⁰⁶ Hetzer, “Die Industriestadt Augsburg,” 28, 30.

received close to 30%, about the national average. In 1908, the Social Democrats acquired seats on the Augsburg City Council, and their presence would continue to grow as the city absorbed working-class suburbs. The city's organized labor movement, on the other hand, remained handicapped by confessional divides and the fear of reprisals at the hands of employers. Not nearly as active as its counterparts in Munich or Nuremberg, the labor unions would remain relatively docile until 1918.⁷⁰⁷

The modernization of Augsburg also led to a physical transformation of the cityscape, especially in the historic center. In the densely-populated Old City, or *Altstadt*, the municipal government was actively involved in the expansion of old streets and the creation of new ones, as well as the outright elimination of historical fortifications, gates, and alleyways. Meanwhile, a growing appreciation for historic architecture, partially fueled by romanticism, led many locals to protest the destruction of Augsburg's early modern center.⁷⁰⁸ The demolition of a row of historic houses in 1882 led to the creation of middle-class organization dedicated to historical preservation. These men were responsible for the subsequent restoration of the eastern façade of the Augsburg City Hall (*Rathaus*), as well as the renovation of the relatively modern Maximilians-Museum. Founded in 1854 and containing a wealth of historical artifacts, the Maximilians-Museum was just one of several Augsburg institutions built during the latter half of the nineteenth century. A new municipal theater (*Stadttheater*) on the western edge of the *Altstadt*

⁷⁰⁷ Gerhard Hetzer, "Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik 1871-1933," in *Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, 568-569, 573-574; Hetzer, "Die Industriestadt Augsburg," 42; Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 169, 172-174.

⁷⁰⁸ For more on the origins of the historic preservation movement in Germany, see Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 17-73.

opened in 1878, while a large city park (*Stadtgarten*) in southwestern Augsburg opened during the Industrial Exhibition of 1886.⁷⁰⁹

By the dawn of the twentieth century, Augsburg represented a divided metropolitan culture, simultaneously old and new, traditional and progressive. Convinced of Augsburg's exceptional nature, some residents began taking measures to promote municipal tourism at the end of the nineteenth century. This initiative originated with the middle-class associations, or *Bürgervereine*, described by Augsburg historian Gerhard Hetzer as "the real mediators" between the population and the local government before 1918.⁷¹⁰ On 1 December 1891, 141 Augsburg citizens met for the inaugural meeting of the Association for the Improvement of Tourism, the precursor to the Augsburg Tourism Association, or *Verkehrsverein Augsburg* (VVA).⁷¹¹ The stated objectives of this organization reflected the priorities of middle-class city dwellers, and included the expansion and improvement of rail connections to Augsburg, the preservation of municipal buildings, the distribution of tourist propaganda, and all other pursuits that would facilitate the expansion of municipal tourism.⁷¹² The tourism association would finance its activities with a subsidy from the municipal government, in addition to contributions from its members, which included hotels, breweries, and other businesses, as well private citizens interested in introducing their city to potential visitors.⁷¹³ The factory-workers who constituted a huge proportion of Augsburg's population were neither represented by the organization, nor pursued as potential visitors.

⁷⁰⁹ Hetzer, "Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik," 575-576.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 573-574.

⁷¹¹ Günther Grünsteudel, Günther Hagele, and Rudolf Frankenberger, eds., *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, 2d ed. (Augsburg: Perlach Verlag, 1998), 740.

⁷¹² An article celebrating the fifty-year anniversary of the Augsburg Tourism Association, published in a November 1941 issue of the *Neue Augsburg Zeitung*, offered a concise institutional history of the organization. *Neue Augsburg Zeitung* (Augsburg), 29 November 1941.

⁷¹³ StadtAA, 20, 588: "Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, IV. Band, 1928."

Considering the middle-class orientation of the tourism industry during the long nineteenth century, this oversight is not surprising. In Augsburg, however, some workers were traveling before the First World War. Local organizations like the “Friends of Nature,” a group for “socialist hikers and mountain-climbers” founded in 1906, promoted an entirely different variety of tourism than that endorsed by the middle-class VVA.⁷¹⁴

At its inception, the Augsburg tourism industry relied exclusively on the city’s historical attractions. A locally-produced 1900 guidebook called attention to a diversity of sights, among them the *Rathaus*, the Maximilians-Museum, the Fugger Museum, the City Library, the City Archive, and half a dozen places of worship, including the Augsburg Cathedral and the churches of Saint Mortiz, Saint Anna, and the double parish of Saint Ulrich and Saint Afra.⁷¹⁵ History was the common denominator of all of these sights. The gothic cathedral in the northern part of the *Altstadt* rested upon the foundations of the original Roman settlement, and contained the oldest stained-glass windows in the world. The baroque church of Saint Ulrich and Saint Afra dominated the southern part of the city center, and actually consisted of both Catholic and Evangelical churches, a result of the Peace of Augsburg. In the middle of the city stood the famous *Rathaus*, the masterpiece of native son Elias Holl, and the most enduring symbol of the city.⁷¹⁶ With its twin onion-domed towers and its lavish “Golden Hall,” the building was a living reminder of Augsburg’s Renaissance glory.

History was central to the tourist experience of Augsburg, and in places like the City Archive and City Library, often defined as tourist attractions, visitors could engage

⁷¹⁴ Hetzer, “Die Industriestadt Augsburg,” 43.

⁷¹⁵ Fr. König’s Hofbuchhandlung, Hanau, *Führer durch Augsburg: Kurze Beschreibung der Stadt und ihrer Sehenswürdigkeiten* (Augsburg: Math. Rieger’sche Buchhandlung (A. Himmer), 1900), 3.

⁷¹⁶ For a contemporaneous account of Elias Holl and his work, see Hermann Hieber, *Elias Holl, der Meister der deutschen Renaissance* (Munich: R. Piper, 1923).

with the past by handling historical documents. A 1907 guidebook published by the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highland perpetuated this image by praising the historical character of Munich's "sister city," declaring: "Her churches, her artistic fountains, the fresco-adorned Fugger Residence and above all else, the Golden Hall of the *Rathaus*- all of it is a reflection of a radiant past."⁷¹⁷ Even locals appeared enamored with the historical cityscape. In an account of his adolescence in Augsburg, Walter Brecht, the younger brother of playwright Bertolt Brecht, glorified the historical monuments of the *Altstadt*, defining them as the "symbols of the imperial city's power and independence." Echoing the tourist propaganda, Brecht raved about the Golden Hall, "the greatest architectural achievement in German lands since the age of the cathedrals."⁷¹⁸ At the dawn of the twentieth century, Augsburg was becoming even more Janus-faced. While the city itself expanded and looked towards the future, many locals and visitors remained focused on the past. Ironically, this occurred just as the city's economic and demographic growth began to be surpassed by that of Munich and Nuremberg. An inferiority complex, fueled by talk of stagnation and decline, began to take root.⁷¹⁹

Tourism became a means for Augsburg to compete with larger cities like Munich and Nuremberg, but it was not until after the First World War that the Augsburg Tourism

⁷¹⁷ Platz, *Unser Bayerland*, 22-23. "Die Stadt der Fugger und Welser besitzt in ihren Straßen Architekturbilder von hohem Reiz. Ihre Kirchen, ihre kunstvollen Brunnen, das freskengeschmückte Fuggerhaus und vor allem der Goldene Saal des Rathauses – das alles ist das Spiegelbild einer glänzenden Vergangenheit."

⁷¹⁸ Walter Brecht, *Unser Leben in Augsburg, Damals: Erinnerungen*, 2d ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1985), 16-17. "Wir standen oft auf dem Platz, den Blick auf die Wahrzeichen reichsstädtischer Macht und Eigenständigkeit gerichtet... Der Goldene Saal, der im Rathaus die Übereinanderfolge der Säle vom dritten bis zum fünften Stockwerk beanspruchte, galt als das wichtigste Raumkunstwerk des deutschen Frühbarocks, ja als größte Raumschöpfung in deutschen Landen seit den Zeiten der Dome."

⁷¹⁹ Gerhard Hetzer, "Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich," in *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, 118.

Association really became active.⁷²⁰ Augsburg's experience of the First World War was fairly typical: the city was plagued by food shortages throughout the war, and by 1918, it had lost over 3,500 men on the battlefields of the Eastern and Western Fronts. While the Augsburg machinery industry received a temporary boost due to an increased demand for armaments, the textile industry laid off roughly half of its work force during the war.⁷²¹ Consequently, the Augsburg Tourism Association, like similar *Vereine* across Germany, identified tourism as an invaluable resource that had the potential to revitalize the economy after four years of war and privation.⁷²² In August 1918, the VVA began urging the municipal government to finance measures that might revitalize this comatose industry. In spite of appeals to the best interests of "our city," the local government was unwilling to offer much support.⁷²³ During the final summer of the First World War, subsidizing Augsburg tourism was simply not among the priorities of the local government, which was occupied with the more pressing issues of material shortages, economic destabilization, and growing political unrest.

Political unrest was widespread in Germany at the end of 1918, as material shortages and military defeat fed the fires of revolution throughout the exhausted country. The first eruption occurred on 3 November in the Baltic city of Kiel, where the mutiny of several thousand sailors and soldiers "set off a major blaze" across the country. Within

⁷²⁰ This was reported in an article celebrating the fifty-year anniversary of the organization. *Neue Augsburg Zeitung* (Augsburg), 29 November 1941.

⁷²¹ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 174-175.

⁷²² For a similar example, see Murdock, "Tourist Landscapes and Regional Identities in Saxony," 609.

⁷²³ StadtAA, 20, 585: "Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, I. Band, 1917-1925." "Unsere alte Auflage ist leider vergriffen und sind wir gezwungen im Interesse der Stadt einen neuen Führer erscheinen zu lassen. Unerlässlich sind textliche Neuerungen beim Führer, wie wir auch eine allgemeine textliche Umarbeitung unserer Führer für nötig erachten..."

days, revolutionary workers' and soldiers' councils were active throughout Germany.⁷²⁴ In Munich, a peaceful demonstration at the *Theresienwiese* on 7 November gave way to a march on the army barracks in northern Munich, where weapons were seized and soldiers were converted to the cause. The revolutionary forces then occupied a number of government buildings, forcing King Ludwig III and his family to flee the city, thereby ending centuries of Wittelsbach rule. On the following day, Independent Socialist Kurt Eisner appointed himself provisional president of the Bavarian Republic, and created a "revolutionary parliament" with members of the workers' and soldiers' councils, and the socialist and Peasant League constituencies of the now defunct Bavarian parliament.⁷²⁵

While the epicenter of the Bavarian Revolution remained in Munich until its bloody end in May 1919, the industrial city of Augsburg was its second hub. News of the revolution in early November led to declarations of solidarity among Augsburg's proletarian population. On 9 November, a red flag flew outside the Elias Holl *Rathaus*, as newly-constituted workers' and soldiers' councils convened inside. These men were not prepared for the enormous task ahead of them. The chairman of the workers' council, whose 27 members included representatives of the SPD, the labor unions, and individual factories, was local teacher Ernst Niekisch, who had only become politically active after the outbreak of the war. More experienced representatives of both conservative and liberal political parties stated their willingness to cooperate with the new government, but

⁷²⁴ Pierre Broué, *The German Revolution, 1917-1923*, trans. John Archer (Boston: Brill, 2005), 139-143.

⁷²⁵ For more on the Bavarian Revolution and its repercussions, see Allen Mitchell, *Revolution in Bavaria, 1918-1919: The Eisner Regime and the Soviet Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Richard Grunberger, *Red Rising in Bavaria* (London: Barker, 1973); Heinrich Hillmayr, *Roter und weisser Terror in Bayern nach 1918: Erscheinungsformen und Folgen der Gewalttätigkeiten im Verlauf der revolutionären Ereignisse nach dem Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Munich: Nusser, 1974); Martin Geyer, *Verkehrte Welt: Revolution, Inflation und Moderne: München 1914-1924* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 50-129.

were unsuccessful in their attempts to acquire seats on the revolutionary councils. In spite of initial momentum, the new government proved incapable of dealing with deteriorating economic conditions, a growing unemployment rate, and ongoing material shortages.⁷²⁶

Frustrations boiled over in late February, when the assassination of Kurt Eisner in Munich triggered protests, violence, and looting in central Augsburg. For the most part, enraged soldiers and factory-workers targeted government institutions and symbols of wealth and privilege. They stormed the judicial building, destroyed government records, and liberated inmates from the city prison. They also plundered local department stores, and even ransacked the prestigious *Drei Mohren* Hotel, an Augsburg institution endorsed by tourist publications.⁷²⁷ Walter Brecht described these events in his memoirs, recalling how members of the unruly mob destroyed the printing presses of the conservative newspaper, the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung*.⁷²⁸ In addition to the property damage, this unrest resulted in two deaths and numerous injuries, leading the municipal government to declare martial law. Shortly thereafter, the labor unions declared a general strike, bringing the city's industrial output to a standstill. On 3 April, a group of radical council members met to discuss plans for the creation of a soviet republic, alliances between Bavaria and communist Russia and Hungary, and the nationalization of the Bavarian economy. Three days later, the Munich central council approved the Augsburg resolution, and triumphantly proclaimed the birth of the Soviet Republic of Bavaria.⁷²⁹

⁷²⁶ Hetzer, "Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik," 580-582.

⁷²⁷ Merith Niehuss, *Arbeiterschaft in Krieg und Inflation* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 208-209.

⁷²⁸ Brecht, *Unser Leben in Augsburg*, 319-320. Unlike his older brother, Walter Brecht did not sympathize with the revolutionaries. In late April he joined the counter-revolutionary *Freikorps* that had liberated Augsburg from leftist rule.

⁷²⁹ Hetzer, "Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik," 582.

Radicalization hastened the demise of the Bavarian Revolution, alienating the moderates and horrifying the conservatives. Shortly after the proclamation of a soviet republic, Bavaria's democratically-elected premier, SPD politician Johannes Hoffmann, fled to the Franconian town of Bamberg, where he established a government-in-exile and began preparing for a military assault on Munich. Augsburg was now confronted with the imminent collapse of food and coal supplies. On 13 April, the local labor unions voted to reconcile with the Hoffmann government in exchange for Augsburg's neutrality during the offensive against Munich. Seven days later, counter-revolutionary *Freikorps* from Bavaria and Württemberg entered Augsburg in preparation for their assault on Munich. Their objective was to secure transportation lines to the Bavarian capital, but a prevailing climate of suspicion and fear led many Augsburg workers to take up arms. Resistance was concentrated in working-class neighborhoods outside of the *Altstadt*, where fighting lasted for two days, and claimed 44 lives.⁷³⁰ By early May, Augsburg was restored to order, as the distant sound of artillery fire in Munich signaled the final demise of the Bavarian Revolution.⁷³¹

The "Bloody Easter" of 1919 had a lasting influence on Augsburg, ushering in a period of relative tranquility. Fear of future unrest led to the creation of a standing military force designed to suppress rebellions, a precaution that existed until early 1922. Augsburg's organized labor movement, shaken by recent events, shifted its strategy from mass protests to goal-oriented strikes, achieving mixed results in the process. The radicalization and swift suppression of the revolution also encouraged the Augsburg Social Democrats to isolate themselves from both the Independent Socialists and the

⁷³⁰ Ibid., 582-583.

⁷³¹ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 179; Brecht, *Unser Leben in Augsburg*, 323.

Communists.⁷³² This coincided with the extensive restructuring of the municipal government. The “Self-Government Law” of 22 May 1919 created an independent city council chosen by an expanded electorate that now included women. The ensuing elections became a showdown between the socialist factions and the middle-class parties led by the Bavarian *Volkspartei* (BVP). Although the SPD received the largest percentage of the vote in the national and communal elections of 1919, the non-socialist parties still held a collective majority in the city council. This led to a strategic coalition of middle-class parties, who cooperated to elect BVP politician Kaspar Deutschenbaur as Augsburg’s new mayor in 1919.⁷³³ Deutschenbaur served as mayor for ten years, and proved to be a talented politician. He won the respect of colleagues in spite of various ideological conflicts, and developed a productive partnership with his deputy mayor, Friedrich Ackermann, a successful attorney and member of the SPD.⁷³⁴ Indeed, cooperation and compromise characterized the activity of the municipal government throughout the 1920s, allowing them to combat occasional opposition, first from the Independent Socialists in 1920, and then from the Communists in 1923-1924.⁷³⁵

After the summer elections of 1919, the coalition government of Augsburg turned its attention to social issues. As Gerhard Hetzer has noted, the incorporation of the working-class suburbs between 1910 and 1916 meant that the problems and demands of the proletariat were imposed on the predominantly middle-class residents of the city center.⁷³⁶ Consequently, prioritized tasks included the improvement of local roads, the

⁷³² Hetzer, “Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich,” 116-117.

⁷³³ Niehuss, *Arbeiterschaft in Krieg und Inflation*, 200-201.

⁷³⁴ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 179-180. Ackermann also had the dubious distinction of being the last Bavarian ambassador to Austria, a position that he held for several weeks in 1919.

⁷³⁵ Hetzer, “Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik,” 583-584; Niehuss, *Arbeiterschaft in Krieg und Inflation*, 203-206.

⁷³⁶ Hetzer, “Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich,” 118.

expansion of the sewage system, the extension of the municipal gas, electricity, and drinking water networks, and a reduction of the housing shortage through new construction projects. These public work projects were overdue responses to the city's rapid growth, but during the interwar period, they had the additional benefit of combating unemployment, which rose in tandem with depression and inflation.⁷³⁷ Even with this preoccupation with municipal infrastructure, the coalition government (and Ackermann in particular) made token contributions to Augsburg's cultural life, among them the renovation of the City Theater in 1927. Still, during a period of growing economic uncertainty, unemployment, and poverty, even the most pragmatic cultural projects drew protests from the local community, who often had different priorities.⁷³⁸ It therefore comes as no surprise that the middle-class members of the Augsburg Tourism Association had a difficult time convincing the coalition government to dedicate limited funds to the promotion of tourism.

Throughout 1919 and 1920, the municipal government of Augsburg ignored various appeals to expand the marketing of the city. In spite of the recommendations of the local tourism association, they rejected offers to have Augsburg featured in the publication "The European and Maritime Guide," produced by the Transatlantic Company of Zurich, and the guidebook *The Danube from Ulm to Passau*, produced by the German-Austrian Danube Association. In May 1921, the municipal government changed its position on the latter offer, offering the publishers 100 marks instead of the 500 requested, along with the explicit instructions that "the city of Augsburg receive an

⁷³⁷ Niehuss, *Arbeiterschaft in Krieg und Inflation*, 228-229.

⁷³⁸ Hetzer, "Von der Reichsgründung bis zum Ende der Weimarer Republik," 586.

appropriate acknowledgment within the guidebook.”⁷³⁹ This signified a shift in attitudes toward the marketing of municipal tourism, indicating that the Augsburg local government was interested in publicizing the city as a tourist attraction, cost permitting. Even so, some members of the local community demanded that more be done to promote local tourism. During a July 1921 meeting of the Augsburg Tourism Association and the local Association of Hoteliers, many in attendance voiced the concern that tourists were passing over Augsburg because they believed that the city’s limited lodgings were already filled. Members of the tourism association resolved to distribute flyers refuting this misconception in popular Bavarian destinations like Nuremberg, Würzburg, and Oberstdorf, as well as in the trains that regularly passed through Augsburg. The VVA also endorsed the goal of bringing corporate conventions to Augsburg, proposing “an ambitious marketing campaign” for the following year.⁷⁴⁰ By drawing trade fairs, conferences, and corporate meetings to Augsburg, the local tourism association hoped to attract a wider demographic of travelers.

A month later, the city council confirmed its new interest in municipal tourism by inviting representatives of the local tourism industry to a meeting in city hall. During his introductory remarks, Deputy Mayor Ackermann admitted that the local community could do more to promote tourism. One solution that he recommended was the organization of cultural events, such as concerts offered by the local music academies. Additional measures recommended during the meeting included the production of a detailed inventory of local accommodations, and the erection of a placard with tourist

⁷³⁹ StadtAA, 20, 585. “... daß die Stadt Augsburg in dem Führer eine entsprechende Würdigung erfährt.”

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid. A June 1921 issue of the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* similarly recommended that Augsburg advertise itself as an ideal location for trade fairs, conferences, and meetings. *Die München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* (Munich), 29 June 1921.

information at the central train station. Designs for the placard and illustrations for a new guidebook could be solicited from local artists through the organization of a city-wide contest. In order to capitalize on the Passion Play in Oberammergau and the German Trade Fair in Munich, both scheduled for 1922, it was agreed that the “intensive marketing of Augsburg must begin immediately.”⁷⁴¹

The marketing of the “City of the German Renaissance” did intensify after 1920, even though the content of the new propaganda did not change dramatically. For example, a flyer printed by an Augsburg publisher still identified the city’s rich historical legacy and architecture as its primary attractions. One side of the publication featured the standard image of Augsburg: the eastern side of the central square, with the Augustus Fountain in the foreground and the *Rathaus* and Perlach Tower in the background. This image was accompanied by the following text:

50 minutes from Munich, 2 hours from Nuremberg, direct express train connections from all directions. Outstanding cityscape with architectural monuments from all periods – *Rathaus* with Golden Hall – artistic fountains from Augsburg’s prime – Fugger Mansion and *Fuggerei* – various, important museums, galleries – old churches: Cathedral, Saint Ulrich’s, etc. and cloisters – modern industrial city...⁷⁴²

This succinct text accomplished several objectives: it established that Augsburg was easily accessible via modern transportation, it confirmed that the city was filled with numerous reminders of a colorful past, and finally, it hinted at Augsburg’s contemporary relevance, but revealingly, only as an afterthought. The opposite side of the flyer featured another message: “Munich-Augsburg. No one who is in Munich should miss the

⁷⁴¹ *Die Neue Augsburger Zeitung* (Augsburg), 27 August 1921.

⁷⁴² StadtAA, 20, 585. “Fünzig Minuten von München, Zwei Stunden von Nürnberg, Direkte Schnellzugs-Verbindungen nach allen Richtungen. Hervorragende Städtebilder mit Baudenkmalern aus allen Stilperioden – Rathaus mit golden. Saal – Kunstbrunnen aus der Blütezeit Augsburgs – Fuggerhaus u. Fuggerei – Verschied. bed. Museen, Galerien – Alte Kirchen – Alte Kirchen: Dom, Ulrichsmünster etc. u. Klosterkreuzgänge – Mod. Industriestadt...”

opportunity to visit Augsburg – the old, Free Imperial City, which ranks among the German cities most worth seeing.”⁷⁴³ This represented another theme of the tourist propaganda of the interwar period: Augsburg’s proximity to the Bavarian capital, just sixty kilometers away, was both an obstacle to be overcome and a major part of its identity as a travel destination. In a sense, Augsburg had accepted its status as part of Bavaria, although Bavaria was understood strictly as an economic region within which various identities persisted.

Augsburg’s place within this economic region was confirmed by the recognition of the Bavarian tourism industry. In 1922, the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highland invited the Augsburg Tourism Association to join.⁷⁴⁴ That very same year, an Augsburg representative became one of the permanent members of the Bavarian State Council for Tourism, a government-sponsored organization consisting of representatives from the regional tourism associations of southern Bavaria, northern Bavaria, and the Palatinate.⁷⁴⁵ A year later, the association chose Augsburg to host its sixteenth annual meeting, the first time that the group would meet outside of Munich.⁷⁴⁶ Augsburg’s status as a Bavarian tourist destination was also confirmed by its inclusion in the 1922 official guidebook for the Oberammergau Passion

⁷⁴³ Ibid. “München-Augsburg – Es versäume niemand, der in München ist, einen Besuch zu machen in Augsburg – Alte freie Reichsstadt, eine der sehenswertesten Städte Deutschlands...”

⁷⁴⁴ As a result of declining membership and an inability to finance its activities, the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highland was forced to disband in March 1923, only to be replaced two months later by the Tourism Association of Munich and the Bavarian Highland, or *Fremdenverkehrsverein München und Bayerisches Hochland*, which assumed the responsibilities of the previous organization. See StadtAM, Vereine, 1464: “Verein zur Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in München und im bayr. Hochland: Statuten, Zeitungsausschnitte, 1892.”

⁷⁴⁵ StadtAA, 20, 585.

⁷⁴⁶ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 12: “Landesfremdenverkehrsrat, Bayerischer: Berichte, 1911-1920.”

Play, one of the oldest tourist attractions in the region.⁷⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the brief passage in the guidebook was filled with inaccuracies about the city's historical attractions.⁷⁴⁸

One way of establishing a correct template for the marketing of the city was the publication of the *Official Guidebook*. The Augsburg Tourism Association issued a revised and extended edition in 1922, increasing its length from approximately 30 pages to over 90 pages and 30 illustrations.⁷⁴⁹ Priced at twelve marks, the guidebook was divided into the standard sections, including a short introduction containing geographic and demographic information, a brief overview of the city's history, a segment on art history, a detailed inventory of "sights worth seeing," a description of a "Walk around the City," and finally, a number of recommendations for excursions outside of the city, confirming that nature retained its appeal during the interwar period. The short introduction began by commenting on the duality of the contemporary city, asserting: "Augsburg is rich in historical memories, and in modern times it has grown into one of the foremost commerce and industry centers of southern Germany."⁷⁵⁰ Augsburg's modern population of over 160,000 citizens was listed as approximately 75% Catholic and 25% Protestant, with 1,500 "Israelites" also dwelling within the city limits.⁷⁵¹ Aside

⁷⁴⁷ StadtAA, 20, 585. For more on the origins of tourism in Oberammergau, see Lepovitz, "Pilgrims, Patients, and Painters," 126-130.

⁷⁴⁸ An April 1922 edition of the conservative *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* noted that the publication cited a number of incorrect dates and recommended artworks that simply did not exist. *Die München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* (Munich), 25 April 1922.

⁷⁴⁹ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Amtlicher Führer durch die Stadt Augsburg* (Augsburg: Selbstverlag des Verkehrsvereins Augsburg, 1921).

⁷⁵⁰ StadtAA, 20, 585. *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer (Mit Einem Stadplan und 30 Abbildungen)* (Augsburg: Verlag der Augsburger Buchhändler-Bestellenanstalt e.G.m.b.H., 1922), 1. "Augsburg ist reich an geschichtlichen Erinnerungen, in der Neuzeit wuchs es zu einem der ersten Handels- und Industrieplätze des deutschen Südens heran..."

⁷⁵¹ A subsequent paragraph listed the churches in which religious services were regularly conducted, noting that the nineteenth-century synagogue in the Halder-Street was also open to the traveling public. *Ibid.*, 7.

from this brief treatment of contemporary Augsburg, history was the dominant theme of the guidebook, which consistently depicted the city as a microcosm of the larger German nation. For example, the introduction asserted that the city's wealth of museums and collections represented the "larger cultural evolution of Germany," while a list of noteworthy Augsburg buildings and their previous inhabitants contained the artists Hans Holbein the Elder and Younger, Martin Luther, Emperor Maximilian I, Leopold Mozart (father of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart), and economist Friedrich List.⁷⁵² Such passages created a connection between Augsburg's history and a broader German identity, providing "something sufficiently familiar for the tourist to identify with."⁷⁵³ The inclusion of List in particular pointed to nineteenth-century industrial growth as well as to German national identity, as the economist was well-known for his theory of "national economics."

The *Official Guidebook's* brief historical overview made similar connections between Augsburg's past and the history of the German people. For example, the guidebook described the Battle of Lechfeld (955) as a definitive moment in "world history," when a united German army reigned victorious over the invading Huns just south of Augsburg. The overview also dedicated special attention to the Renaissance, when Augsburg became "the transit station of commerce between northern Europe, and Italy and the Levant, thereby dominating world trade." It was during this period that Augsburg's most famous citizens, the Fuggers and Welsers, became internationally renowned as the "princes of European businessmen." While the Fuggers were

⁷⁵² Ibid., 1-10.

⁷⁵³ Cara Aitchison, "Heritage and Nationalism: Gender and the Performance of Power," in *Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge*, ed. David Crouch (New York: Routledge, 1999), 64.

responsible for rescuing Emperors Maximilian I and Karl V from bankruptcy, Bartholomäus Welser armed his own shipping fleet to take Venezuela as “the first German colony.” According to this historical overview, the city reached its zenith at the beginning of the seventeenth century, a period defined by the work of local architect Elias Holl, whose masterpiece, the Augsburg *Rathaus*, was still under construction when the Thirty Years War began. After its occupation by the army of Gustavus Adolphus (who hoped to transform the city into the center of a Swedish-German empire), Augsburg lost its political and economic momentum. It was only after its incorporation into the Kingdom of Bavaria that Augsburg experienced a partial revival, taking a leading role in German commerce and industry. Again, the Augsburg Tourism Association endorsed a distinct Bavarian identity defined by a common economy, and not much more. The history of Augsburg effectively culminated with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and the only information offered about the modern city were statistics on the city’s growing population.⁷⁵⁴ The years of 1914-1919 were conspicuously if not predictably absent.

Other sections of the 1922 guidebook also shied away from modern Augsburg. The section on art history characterized the city as one of Europe’s most important artistic centers since the Middle Ages, but it concluded with a discussion of the work of goldsmith Johann Andreas Thelott, who died in 1734.⁷⁵⁵ Elsewhere, the inventory of sights worth seeing listed the standard historical Augsburg attractions, but largely ignored modern buildings. The Hercules Fountain and the *Fuggerei* each received double

⁷⁵⁴ StadtAA, 20, 585. *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer* (1922), 10-15. “Was heute Augsburg ist, in dem Napoleon III. seine Ausbildung erhielt und wo 1866 der deutsche Bundestag zum ruhmlosen Ende sich versammelte, das ist es nicht durch fürstliche Gunst, sondern aus eigener Kraft geworden.”

⁷⁵⁵ Nevertheless, at its prime, the artistic productivity of Augsburg was so great that it overflowed into neighboring cities. For example, the guidebook notes that the Augsburg architect Wendel Dietrich was responsible for the façade of Munich’s Saint Michael’s church, “that most important example of the German High Renaissance style.” *Ibid.*, 16-17, 21.

asterisks, with the fountain distinguished as “one of the most beautiful in the world,” and the Fugger-commissioned housing settlement praised as “the oldest and even today one of the most admirable attempts to solve the social question.”⁷⁵⁶ While the *Fuggerei* may have been a relevant sight in the context of the economic hardships of the Weimar Republic, it was hardly a “modern” sight. In fact, the only Augsburg attraction constructed within the last century listed in this section of the guidebook was the city park. The guidebook did not mention Augsburg’s factories until the “Walk around the City” section, where it was briefly noted: “In the south stretches the Haunstetter-Street with numerous factories.”⁷⁵⁷

The *Official Guide* offered an extensive vision of how the city was marketed in the early 1920s, demonstrating that history was still viewed as a reliable selling point. Detlev Peukert has argued that “roseate nostalgia” for a pre-modern way of life was a standard response to Weimar Germany’s problematic transition into a fully fledged industrial society.⁷⁵⁸ No surprise, then, that the 1922 *Augsburg Official Guidebook* called little attention to the city’s industrial sectors, and instead directed tourists to the “old Augsburg.” The history recounted in the *Official Guidebook* was simplified for tourist consumption, but it did not necessarily represent a simpler, pre-industrial existence. Instead, Augsburg’s two thousand-year history was a dramatic story of highs and lows,

⁷⁵⁶ StadtAA, 20, 585. *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer* (1922), 33-34, 61-62. “**Der** ****Herkulesbrunnen**, ist ein monumentales Werk der Renaissance und eines der schönsten Brunnendenkmäler der Erde.” “Die Fuggerei ist der älteste und heute noch einer der großartigsten Versuche zur Lösung der sozialen Frage...” The practice of designating especially “stellar attractions” with double asterisks was popularized by the Baedeker guidebook series. See Koshar, “Tourists’ Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe,” 331.

⁷⁵⁷ StadtAA, 20, 585. *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer* (1922), 42-43, 79. “Nach Süden zieht die Haunstetterstraße mit zahlreichen Fabriken...”

⁷⁵⁸ Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*, 11.

struggle and redemption, with the dominant theme that the city always recovered. This was a potentially powerful message in interwar Germany.

This message was tested during the hyperinflation of 1922-1923, when the sudden devaluing of the German currency brought the activity of the Augsburg Tourism Association to a standstill. In the definitive work on the German inflation and its social ramifications, Gerald Feldman maintained that the roots of the hyperinflation can be traced to the financial policies of the First World War. After a brief postwar recovery, the burden of paying for the lost war contributed to a sharp decline in Germany's currency. In 1921, the exchange rate sank to one American dollar for 75 marks. By the summer of 1922, a single dollar was worth over 500 marks. At the height of the hyperinflation in late 1923, the exchange rate had plummeted to over 65 trillion marks to the dollar.⁷⁵⁹ The devaluing of the mark had a discernible effect on conspicuous consumption in Germany, as both wealthy residents and international visitors used highly valued foreign currency to stock up on luxury goods. In Augsburg, this "buying out of Germany" was observable as early as 1921, when a Bavarian official reported that "the throng at various businesses was so large that the owners had to close their doors and let the buyers waiting outside in by groups."⁷⁶⁰ During the two years that followed, both luxury goods and vital supplies became scarce in German cities. In Bavaria, widespread fears that outsiders would consume limited resources bred open animosity and xenophobia, and the residents of Upper Bavaria and Munich in particular acquired a reputation for their poor treatment of foreigners. In Oberammergau, the first post-war performance of the Passion Play in 1922 brought a multitude of foreign tourists to

⁷⁵⁹ Gerald D. Feldman, *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914-1924* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁷⁶⁰ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 389.

southern Bavaria, but it also led to threats of violence and rioting from local miners. Although the performance was uneventful, high prices dissuaded visitors from staying.⁷⁶¹ This did not bode well for Augsburg, a destination featured in the official program.

Hyperinflation temporarily paralyzed the local tourism industry of Augsburg, freezing important sources of funding and limiting the number of visitors. Extensive statistics assembled by the Augsburg Tourism Association confirmed that the number of registered guests declined dramatically during the early 1920s, dropping from 106,179 in 1921, to 70,197 in 1923. (See Table 4.1) These statistics also confirm that Augsburg, like so many other German cities, was visited predominantly by domestic visitors, with foreigners constituting only a small percentage of the overall figure.⁷⁶² Of the 70,197 guests that visited the city in 1923, 37,438, or approximately 53%, came from Bavaria, and 16,781, roughly 24%, came from Prussia. That same year, only 4,487 international guests visited Augsburg, constituting less than 7% of the total amount.⁷⁶³ These were not reassuring statistics for the VVA.

New Directions, Old Habits

In 1923, the Augsburg Tourism Association appointed a new director: Hans Alfred Steib, a civil servant who already presided over the city's press office and statistical bureau. It was during his ten years in office that the first intensive promotion of Augsburg began.⁷⁶⁴ Steib mobilized limited resources to promote the city both domestically and

⁷⁶¹ Feldman, "The 'Fremdenplage' in the Weimar Inflation," 643, 645; Waddy, *Oberammergau in the Nazi Era*, 34-35.

⁷⁶² In German cities during the interwar period, international visitors seldom constituted more than 10% of the total number of tourists. McElligott, *The German Urban Experience*, 151.

⁷⁶³ StadtAA, 20, 588.

⁷⁶⁴ Grünstedel, Hagele, and Frankenberger, eds., *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, 846.

internationally as a historically-rich but equally modern, industrial metropolis. His own attitudes toward his native city were best captured in a 1926 statement: “Augsburg is the assertion of life. Its cityscape represents a will to live, and an appreciation of life and its dictates. It is filled with the spirit of Goethe; decisive, honest, and German.”⁷⁶⁵ Steib’s insistence on the vitality of contemporary Augsburg was reflected in the tourist propaganda of the period, which devoted more attention to the modern dimensions of the city. At the end of the decade, the new director of the VVA was also responsible for several new attractions that literally re-framed Augsburg’s historical architecture. This delicate balancing of old and new identities should be understood as a deliberate strategy designed to secure Augsburg’s reputation as both a tourist sight and a nationalist site.

Although the latter half of the 1920s was characterized by greater economic stability in Germany, the Augsburg Tourism Association continued to face financial obstacles. Funding was a perpetual source of contention between the VVA and the coalition government. Even though the municipal government was theoretically in favor of promoting tourism, the opposing constituencies of city hall had very different ideas about how communal resources should be spent. To illustrate just how unwilling the municipal government could be to compromise with the local tourism association, let us consider the case of the 1925 Munich-Augsburg special train, or *Sonderzug*. The Augsburg Tourism Association had organized this package tour in cooperation with the Oberpollinger department store in Munich, demonstrating an interest in attracting day-trippers. This initiative promised to bring hundreds of Munich residents to Augsburg, drawing the two cities closer together, and introducing a new market to the “City of the

⁷⁶⁵ Quoted in Hetzer, “Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich,” 117-118. “Augsburg ist das Bekenntnis zum Leben. Sein Stadtbild ist Lebenswille, Lebensbewußtsein, Lebensgesetz. Es ist voll von deutschem, gestaltendem, wahrhaft Goetheschem Geist.”

German Renaissance.” In a communiqué to the city council in March 1925, the Augsburg Tourism Association suggested that the municipal government grant the Munich visitors free admission to the city’s various attractions. The city council promptly rejected the idea. This did not prevent the Augsburg Tourism Association from proceeding with their plans, and the first *Sonderzug* containing 750 Munich residents arrived in Augsburg during the first week of April. An article in the *Münchner Neuesten Nachrichten* described the trip as a huge success, noting that over 1,200 people had visited Augsburg’s *Rathaus* that day. As a result of the intervention of the municipal government, we can assume that all of them had to pay.⁷⁶⁶

With or without the support of the municipal government, Hans Alfred Steib and the Augsburg Tourism Association persisted in their efforts to draw tourists to the city. Official publications were the preferred method of promoting tourism, and in 1924, the VVA issued a new edition of the *Official Guidebook*. While much of the information in this publication was reprinted from the 1922 edition, there were some notable changes. For example, the guidebook contained a new “Foreword” by local author Wilhelm Schäfer, who drew connections between Augsburg’s historical and modern identities. While the older section of the city had remained protected from the growing “accumulation of industry,” Schäfer maintained that it was still part of modern Augsburg. He depicted this parallel existence of the “old” and “new” Augsburg as a real achievement, maintaining: “What distinguishes Augsburg from the other cities of Germany is precisely this: its old section does not remain superfluous after the city’s nineteenth-century rise to prominence, instead, the old city of Augsburg is in fact also the

⁷⁶⁶ *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* (Munich), 7 April 1925.

new city of Augsburg.”⁷⁶⁷ As the city’s primary tourist attraction, the historical center was not an anachronism; it was the heart of the modern metropolis.⁷⁶⁸

In addition to the “Foreword,” the 1924 *Official Guidebook* featured new sections on “Sports” and “Industrial Augsburg.” The latter section repeatedly stressed the international reputation of the city’s two leading industries: textiles and metalwork. The textile industry was traced back to the fourteenth century, when Hans Fugger first immigrated to Augsburg to find work as a weaver. This section also acknowledged modern-day unemployment by advising “those who seek work in Augsburg” to apply at the various metalworking factories where “refined tools and machinery” were used to manufacture “products that enjoy an international reputation.”⁷⁶⁹ The most celebrated of these Augsburg products was the Diesel motor, unrivaled in the international shipping business, but Augsburg’s industrial output was not limited to textiles and machinery. The guidebook also identified important brewing, paper, furniture, and aircraft factories. By going into such detail about local industry, this section broke new ground. It even cast factories as potential tourist attractions, announcing that “[t]ours through industrial facilities are arranged by the Tourism Office.”⁷⁷⁰ We have no evidence that tourists actually revealed any interest in visiting the city’s textile or machinery factories, but the fact that the Augsburg Tourism Association even extended the offer suggests that the

⁷⁶⁷ StadtAA, 20, Nr. 585. *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer* (1924), 5. “Was die Stadt Augsburg von anderen Städten Deutschlands auszeichnet, ist wohl dies, das ihr alter Teil nicht als Kern irgend eines im 19. Jahrhundert großmächtig gewordenen Stadtwesens übrig blieb, sondern daß die alte Stadt Augsburg in der Hauptsache auch die neue Stadt Augsburg ist.”

⁷⁶⁸ The *Altstadt* even contained over a third of all of the city’s factories, although the majority of the large-scale factories were located outside of the city center. Hetzer, “Die Industriestadt Augsburg,” 14.

⁷⁶⁹ StadtAA, 20, Nr. 585. *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer* (1924), 39-40. “Wer Augsburg bei der Arbeit aufsucht, empfängt besonders in der Metall-Industrie gewaltige Eindrücke. Durch vieler Köpfe und Hände Arbeit und mit Hilfe raffinierter Werkzeugmaschinen entstehen hier Maschinen und Apparate und sonstige Erzeugnisse, die Weltruf genießen.”

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 40-41, 43. “Führungen durch industrielle Betriebe vermittelt das Verkehrsbüro...”

self-definition of the city had evolved. By 1924, “industrial Augsburg” had become a more prominent feature of the constructed identity of the city.

In 1925, the VVA employed an entirely new means of persuasion in an oversized pamphlet entitled “Beautiful Augsburg.” In addition to the standard list of sights worth seeing, the publication consisted primarily of extensive quotations from well-known German literary figures extolling the virtues of the city. In a passage from Munich resident Thomas Mann, the author praised the overall beauty of Augsburg, its intimacy and “medieval German character,” and the friendliness of its inhabitants, proclaiming: “There may be residents of Augsburg who consider their city’s proximity to the much larger Munich as one of the benefits of their place of residence. I belong to those residents of the capital who regard the proximity to Augsburg as one of Munich’s countless advantages.”⁷⁷¹ In another selection, author and future Nazi supporter Will Vesper used the language of romantic infatuation to capture his feelings about Augsburg:

I will also admit, that I am a little prejudiced and partial, like a lover, because I adore Augsburg; I love its gorgeous, old buildings, above all others the noble masterpieces of Elias Holl, which have left their immortal mark on the spirit and character of the city; I love its magnificent, roaring fountains, that have no equal throughout Germany; I love the exciting blue skies over the rooftops and towers, the thunder of the Lech River... the pristine and small *Fuggerei*, the towering, proud churches and the old gates of the city walls...⁷⁷²

Subsequent passages featured art historian Josef Ponten’s explanation of why Augsburg was “one of the most beautiful cities in Germany,” and novelist Stefan Zweig’s

⁷⁷¹ *Das schöne Augsburg* (Augsburg: Selbstverl. des Verkehrsverein e.V. Augsburg, 1925), 1. “Es wird Augsburger geben, welche die Nähe des großen München als einen Vorzug der Lage ihres Wohnortes preisen. Ich nun gehöre zu den Einwohnern der Hauptstadt, die es einen der – übrigen zahlreichen – Vorzüge Münchens – und nicht ihren geringsten – heißen, das Augsburg so nahe liegt.”

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, 3. “Ich will auch zugeben, daß ich ein wenig voreingenommen und parteiisch bin, wie ein Verliebter, denn ich liebe Augsburg, liebe seine herrlichen alten Bauten, vor allem die edlen Meisterwerke des Elias Holl, der der Stadt seinen Geist und Charakter unauslöschlich aufgeprägt hat, liebe diese herrlichen rauschenden Brunnen, die in Deutschland nicht ihresgleichen haben, liebe den blauen erregten Himmel über den Dächern und Türmen, das Donnern des Lech... die saubere kleine Fuggerei, die hohen stolzen Kirchen und die alten Festungstore...”

recollection of a quiet walk through the city on a Sunday morning, “when only the past was awake.”⁷⁷³ Although these quotations paid little attention to modern Augsburg, this did not mean that the VVA was resorting to old marketing formulas. Instead, this collective endorsement of the “City of the German Renaissance” helped to situate Augsburg within the cultural world of modern Germany. Furthermore, the fact that much of this praise came from members of Munich’s cultural elite made the 1925 publication even stronger in the eyes of the Augsburg Tourism Association. At last, their city was on the cultural radar of the Bavarian capital.

In 1926, the Augsburg Tourism Association decided to exploit their city’s popularity among Munich’s cultural elite in an entirely different fashion. Over the course of several meetings, they developed a plan to convince famous German authors and artists to relocate from Munich to Augsburg, where their very presence would renew the city’s status as a center of the arts.⁷⁷⁴ The VVA identified four targets: the authors Josef Ponten, Hans Carossa, and Thomas Mann, and the painter Willy Praetorius. The city council enthusiastically supported this proposal, and sent an invitation to Praetorius that fall. The artist responded that he would only consider relocating to Augsburg if “a certain degree of sustenance” could be guaranteed. The municipal government was unable to make such promises, and the plan to turn Munich’s resident celebrities into common Bavarian cultural capital was abandoned. Although this particular strategy failed, the idea alone confirms that the Augsburg Tourism Association was ready to test new waters. In a September 1926 communiqué, representatives of the VVA insisted that new tourist propaganda must place greater emphasis on Augsburg’s contributions to the

⁷⁷³ Ibid., 3-4.

⁷⁷⁴ Compared to other cities in southern Germany, Augsburg had a relatively small number of artists, actors, and musicians. Hetzer, “Weimarer Republik und Drittes Reich,” 118.

economy and culture of modern Germany. The monuments of the *Altstadt* were no longer adequate, and the local tourism industry needed to utilize every possible selling point to improve the image of their city.⁷⁷⁵

This interest in updating marketing was evident in another 1926 initiative: the production of a new travel poster for distribution across Germany. Turning to a plan that had been discussed for years, the Augsburg Tourism Association organized a city-wide contest, inviting residents to submit designs for the new advertisement. This contest did not produce the desired results, and the association chose a 1924 design by local artist and college instructor Friedrich Döllgast. His sleek and eye-catching poster featured the simple slogan: “The Old Free Imperial City of Augsburg” (*Die alte freie Reichsstadt Augsburg*). Directly above the slogan were two silhouettes of the Augsburg cityscape: the larger silhouette in the background introduced the more recognizable landmarks of the city, including the *Rathaus* and the Cathedral, while the second silhouette in the foreground pictured a number of nondescript smaller buildings, including church steeples, houses, and several smokestacks. Dominating the left-hand side of the poster was a red eagle, perched upon the official symbol of Augsburg, an upright pine cone atop a Corinthian column.⁷⁷⁶

The decision to use the Döllgast design as both a poster and a postcard was noteworthy in several regards. First, the simple design and limited text reflected new marketing trends. Modernization had produced a more “hectic and fragmentary” urban lifestyle, and consequently, advertisements had to be direct and demand attention.⁷⁷⁷ Second, the inclusion of the single-headed Prussian eagle, and not the two-headed

⁷⁷⁵ StadtAA, 20, 586: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, II. Band, 1926.”

⁷⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷⁷ Syrjämaa, “Tourism as a Typical Cultural Phenomenon,” 192-193.

Habsburg eagle depicted on the Augsburg *Rathaus*, suggested that the local tourism industry was interested in situating Augsburg within the boundaries of the modern nation, and not those of the former Holy Roman Empire. Third, the design of the two Augsburg skylines reflected the VVA's new commitment to balancing the city's historical and modern identities. The silhouettes identified the most important sights of Augsburg by magnifying their size. More significantly, the bottom skyline included three smokestacks, calling attention to Augsburg's industrial alter-ego. The sight of factories in the midst of steeples and medieval gates complicated earlier visions of Augsburg, and stood in stark contrast to the smokestack-less silhouette of the city that appeared in 1921's *Official Guidebook*.⁷⁷⁸

In general, publications both official and unofficial gave increased attention to the modern features of Augsburg during the late 1920s. For example, the 1927 *Official Guidebook* listed two "new" attractions within its list of sights: the large dam on the River Lech (*Lechwehr*), completed in 1912 in the "most modern style," and the Western Cemetery (*Westfriedhof*), first constructed in 1872 and now equipped with "modern facilities."⁷⁷⁹ Among these facilities was the crematorium constructed after the Bavarian government lifted the ban on cremation in 1912. Following decades of protests from both the Catholic and Protestant churches, cremation became more widely accepted during the interwar period when it became a matter of public health, as well as an affordable option for the working classes.⁷⁸⁰ By calling attention to these modern

⁷⁷⁸ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Amtlicher Führer durch die Stadt Augsburg* (1921), 1.

⁷⁷⁹ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg: Amtlicher Führer* (Augsburg: Selbstverlag des Verkehrsvereins Augsburg, 1927), 50-51.

⁷⁸⁰ Simone Ameskamp, "Fanning the Flames: Cremation in Late Imperial and Weimar Germany," in *Between Mass Death and Individual Loss: The Place of the Dead in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Alon Confino, Paul Betts, and Dirk Schumann (New York: Berghahn, 2008), 93-103.

facilities, the 1927 Augsburg guidebook called attention to the progressive character of the city itself.

Other publications publicized modern Augsburg by employing what Rudy Koshar has referred to as the “malleable yet consistent discourse about continuity.”⁷⁸¹ In a 1926 brochure, Fritz Droop argued that the “unison of order and strength” had elevated Augsburg to economic and political preeminence during the Renaissance, while simultaneously bolstering the status of Germany. This powerful force persisted in modern Augsburg, where “the exhaust of the factories’ smokestacks and the noise of a hundred workplaces rise toward the heavens like an oath of resolute action... The spirit of the Fuggers is still awake in this country!”⁷⁸² A 1927 Munich-produced guidebook by Alexander Heilmeyer also connected the historical legacy of Augsburg to its modern-day status as an industrial center, reminding tourists that “alongside this modern, bustling Augsburg, the immortal, ‘eternal Augsburg’ still stands, with its splendor and its monuments.”⁷⁸³ Modernity was grounded, and historical ground was modernized. The 1925 *Trade and Industry Guidebook* issued by the Augsburg Tourism Association emphasized continuity as well, insisting that the “spirit” of Augsburg’s most famous merchants of the past lived on in the modern city.⁷⁸⁴ Remarkably, this spirit persisted in spite of the unstable economic conditions of the 1920s, just as it seemed to exist

⁷⁸¹ Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 11.

⁷⁸² StadtAA, NL Förg, Broschüre *Augsburg die goldene Stadt (Von deutscher Städte Schönheit / Band I)*, hg. von Fritz Droop (Augsburg: Im Bärenmeister-Verlag zu Augsburg, 1926), 5, 15-17. “Der Rauch aus den Schloten der Fabriken und der Lärm aus hundert Werkstätten steigt zum Himmel wie ein Schwur zu willensstarker Tat... Der Geist der Fugger ist noch wach im Land!”

⁷⁸³ Alexander Heilmeyer, *Augsburg und Bayerisch-Schwaben (Bayerische Reisebücher Band IV)* (Munich: Knorr & Hirth, G.m.b.H., 1927), 30-32. “Aber neben diesem modernen, betriebsamen Augsburg steht auch noch das andere das unvergängliche, „ewige Augsburg“ mit seiner Schönheit und seinen Denkmälern, aus deren versteinerten Zügen der Geschichte redet.”

⁷⁸⁴ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Führer durch Augsburgs Industrie und Handel* (Augsburg: Selbstverlag des Verkehrsvereins Augsburg, 1925), 5.

independently of the modern-day factory workers, who, like the peasants of Franconian Switzerland, received little attention in tourist publications. The *Official Guidebook* of 1927, for example, only mentioned the workers once in the five-page section covering “Industrial Augsburg,” identifying “the unionized training of the industrial workforce” alongside “the traditional leadership of management” and “the sympathetic support of the city government” as some of the reasons why Augsburg’s industry was able to overcome the difficulties of recent years.⁷⁸⁵ Workers were just one part of a complex equation; they did not define the city, nor were they invited to view it as tourists.

Insistence on contemporary industrial significance certainly anchored the historical city of Augsburg in the German present, but it did not provide a wide range of sights worth seeing. Consequently, some tourist publications tried to point visitors to modern attractions that were more enjoyable than a factory visit. For example, a guidebook produced by the Tourism Association of Munich and Southern Bavaria in 1926 depicted Augsburg’s cultural offerings as evidence of “modern life.”⁷⁸⁶ The section on the Swabian capital concluded the mandatory historical overview with the following passage:

But in spite of that, Augsburg is a city brimming with modern life. A large and beautiful theater, which offers performances of plays, operas, and operettas, concerts and readings of all kinds, numerous spots of pleasure, extensive parks

⁷⁸⁵ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg: Amtlicher Führer* (1927), 42-43. “Zäher Behauptungswille und die alte Führertradition der Unternehmerschaft, hohes technisches Können und die Leistungsfähigkeit der Angestelltenschaft, vor allem auch die alte Tradition und die hohe gewerkschaftliche Schulung der Augsburger Industrie-Arbeiterschaft, nicht zuletzt die verständnisvolle Förderung der Industrie seitens der Stadtverwaltung haben zusammengewirkt, die Schwierigkeiten der verflochtenen Jahre zu meistern.”

⁷⁸⁶ After a May 1926 meeting, the Tourism Association of Munich and the Bavarian Highland, or the *Fremdenverkehrsverein München und Bayrisches Hochland*, reconstituted itself as the Tourism Association of Munich and Southern Bavaria (Bavarian Alps), or the *Fremdenverkehrsverband München und Südbayern (Bayerische Alpen)*. BWA, Industrie- und Handelskammer für München und Oberbayern (K 001), 39/2: “Fremdenverkehr in Bayern, Juni 1922-1928.”

and gardens ensure that a longer stay in Augsburg will become a source of diverse joy and recuperation.⁷⁸⁷

Such arguments suggested that Augsburg was not just a historical site; it was a vibrant, modern city with cultural institutions that could compete with similar attractions across Bavaria. Although this list revolved around more refined cultural attractions, VVA guidebooks advertised attractions that were more typical of 1920s mass culture, including various football clubs and at least five movie theatres in the city center.⁷⁸⁸ In other words, factories were not the only evidence of modernity available to tourists, and contemporary urban life was likewise sold as an attraction. Ironically, Augsburg also possessed green spaces where visitors could enjoy a respite from the velocity and noise of modern life. By identifying these new attractions, the tourism industry recognized an expanded clientele that did not necessarily practice the *Bildung*-oriented tourism of the nineteenth century. Tourism was now part of a growing mass culture no longer defined by middle-class preoccupation with self-cultivation.

The local tourism industry promoted this revised image of Augsburg throughout Germany. In March 1926, the Augsburg City Council approved 300 marks for an advertisement in an April issue of the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung*, Germany's longest running illustrated newspaper. This advertisement, which appeared next to a detailed travel piece on Augsburg, contained the standard historical tropes along with an endorsement of Augsburg's "modern theater" and "metropolitan entertainment." Such

⁷⁸⁷ *Südbayern (Bayerisches Verkehrsbuch/Band I)*, hrsg. Im Auftrage des Landesfremdenverkehrsrates vom Fremdenverkehrsverein München und Bayer. Alpen E. V. (Munich: Carl Gerber, 1926), 83-84. Bei alledem ist Augsburg eine von modernem Leben erfüllte Stadt. Ein großes und schönes Theater, das Schauspiel-, Opern- und Operettenaufführungen bietet, Konzerte und Vorträge aller Art, zahlreiche Vergnügungsstätten, ausgedehnte Park- und Gartenanlagen machen dem Fremden auch einen längeren Aufenthalt in Augsburg zu einer Quelle der mannigfaltigsten Freude und Erholung...

⁷⁸⁸ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg: Amtlicher Führer* (1927), 53-55. One of the football clubs mentioned was *Ballspiel-Club Augsburg (BCA)*, a forerunner of the modern-day FC Augsburg.

recommendations complicated Augsburg's profile, suggesting that the city was not only industrially vibrant, but culturally vibrant. The brief text concluded with a new slogan: "Whoever wants to know Germany, must know the city of Augsburg."⁷⁸⁹ This slogan was an appropriation of King Ludwig I's claim that anyone who has not seen Munich "did not know Germany."⁷⁹⁰ In both cases, a Bavarian city was re-defined as a German city, but Augsburg's significance was not based on history alone. The article accompanying the advertisement reaffirmed Augsburg's overlapping identities as a historical center, modern metropolis, and industrial hub:

The actual significance of modern Augsburg lies in the areas of industry and commerce. Around the nearly traffic-free, pristinely preserved old city, in which one sees no evidence of industrialization, the principal factories of the textile and machinery industries stand along the banks of the Lech and Wertach... It is a fortunate that in the ancient Roman city of Augsburg the image of an important historical center of art is united with that of a modern metropolis and industrial city.⁷⁹¹

Alongside the advertisement subsidized by the Augsburg Tourism Association, the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* presented its many readers with a balanced vision of Augsburg, a city that was simultaneously old and new, but equally important, German.

In spite of such claims, the tourists who actually visited Augsburg were likely to pass over the modern metropolis in favor of the *Altstadt*. In *Motor Rambles in Central Europe*, Frank Rimington dedicated 14 pages to Augsburg, which he described as "an attractive old city." Unconcerned with Augsburg's "modern suburbs," the author

⁷⁸⁹ *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig), 4 April 1926. "Wer Deutschland kennen will, muss die Stadt AUGSBURG kennen."

⁷⁹⁰ The Nuremberg Tourism Association also used a similar slogan. StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1269: "Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs Bd. 1, 1903-1922."

⁷⁹¹ *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig), 4 April 1926. "Die eigentliche Bedeutung des modernen Augsburgs liegt aber auf dem Gebiete des Handels und der Industrie. Rings um die fast unversehrt erhaltene Altstadt, der man die moderne Großindustriestadt nicht ansieht, baut sich an den Flußläufen von Lech und Wertach die hauptsächlichlichen Werke der Textil- und Maschinenindustrie umfassende Großindustrie auf. In glücklichen Weise vereinigt sich so in der alten Römerstadt Augsburg das Bild einer bedeutenden alten Kunststätte mit dem einer neuzeitlichen Groß- und Industriestadt."

marveled at the “old-time character” of the historical city, paying special attention to the remodeled *Drei Mohren* hotel, the *Rathaus*, and the Renaissance fountains. Although Rimington demonstrated a familiarity with Augsburg’s early modern history, he failed to mention industrial Augsburg and its modern-day inhabitants.⁷⁹² Similarly, Frank Schoonmaker endorsed the “ancient town” of Augsburg in his 1930 travelogue, ranking it among “the most interesting towns of Germany.” Unlike Rimington, Schoonmaker conceded that Augsburg had recently undergone a process of modernization: “Famous once for its fountains, it is famous now for its cloth; known five centuries ago for its splendor, it has become in the last fifty years a provincial metropolis, sparsely scattered with buildings of the Renaissance.” However, instead of glorifying Augsburg’s modern character, he implied that it detracted from the city’s overall charm, and concluded that the nearby city of Ulm was “infinitely more attractive.”⁷⁹³ A year earlier, German author and socialist Max Barthel mentioned Augsburg in one of his travel accounts, but conspicuously did not invite the reader beyond the city’s historical gates. Barthel recounted a trip from Munich to nearby Augsburg to view the collections at the Fugger Museum. Fascinated by the colorful history of Augsburg, the protagonist overlooks both the “misery of the city center” and the factories on the city’s edge.⁷⁹⁴ The traditional tourist view of Augsburg clearly persisted, and was often endorsed by publications like a 1926 North German Lloyd magazine that identified Augsburg, alongside Nuremberg and Rothenburg ob der Tauber, as “towns that stood still.”⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² Rimington, *Motor Rambles in Central Europe*, 47-60.

⁷⁹³ Schoonmaker, *Come With Me Through Germany*, 105-106.

⁷⁹⁴ Max Barthel, *Deutschland: Lichtbilder und Schattenrisse einer Reise* (Berlin: Büchergilde Gutenberg, 1929), 208.

⁷⁹⁵ StadtAA, 20, 586.

Throughout the 1920s, the Augsburg Tourism Association was trapped between the Scylla of the past and the Charybdis of the present; the former had proved incapable of attracting enough tourists, while the latter threatened to negate the one formula that did appear to function on some level. In the end, they chose both. The 1929 edition of the *Augsburg Official Guidebook*, for example, did not revolve around the city's traditional persona, but instead endorsed an amalgamation of municipal identities, which appeared as slogans printed on the top and bottom of each page. Many were reminiscent of older marketing, and pointed to the city's illustrious past: "Augsburg's Unique Cityscape is a Mirror of Two Thousand Years," and "Augsburg, the City of the Romans, *Reichstage*, Renaissance, and Reformation." Other slogans confirmed the city's contemporary economic significance, and even more importantly for the tourist, its accessibility: "The Modern Augsburg: The Industrial Center of Southern Germany – Machinery Factories, Aircraft Works, Textile and Paper Industries," and "Augsburg is a Railway Hub and International Airport."⁷⁹⁶ On the other hand, the author conceded that many seasoned travelers had never visited Augsburg, with many preferring to travel straight on to Munich, an ironic turn of events considering the fact that Augsburg had already achieved international prestige when the founder of Munich, Henry the Lion, was "still in diapers." To add insult to injury, the author of the guidebook also claimed that Munich had only become a great metropolis as a result of its proximity to Augsburg.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁶ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg: Amtlicher Führer, Kleine Ausgabe 1929/30* (Augsburg: Hieronymus Mühlberger, 1929). "Ein Spiegel zweier Jahrtausende ist Augsburgs einzigartiges Stadtbild," "Augsburg, die Künstlerwerkstätte der alten Welt," "Augsburg, die Stadt der Römer, Reichstage, Renaissance, Reformation," "Das moderne Augsburg: Die Industriestadt Süddeutschlands – Maschinenfabriken, Flugzeugwerke, Textil- u. Papierindustrie," "Augsburg ist Eisenbahnknotenpunkt und internationaler Flughafen"

⁷⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-4. "Das sind jene Menschenwanderer, die auf die Frage, ob sie Augsburg kennen, nur die eine Antwort zu geben vermögen: „Nein“, - ich bin geradewegs bis München durchgereist“ – „ich bin gleich schnurgerade heimgefahren“. Warum eigentlich? Viele Leute wollen es nicht glauben, daß als

Just as the Augsburg Tourism Association diversified its marketing messages, it also considered new mediums. In 1928, they discussed the possibility of advertising in an extensive slide show planned to coincide with the “International Congress” in Cologne. This would allow the city of Augsburg to promote itself alongside a number of German cities in the large plaza beside Cologne’s iconic cathedral, one of the nation’s most recognizable tourist attractions. In a memo to the city council, the VVA expressed some reservations about this particular medium of marketing, which they did not anticipate being “really that effective.” Since a large number of cities would be represented, the likelihood that any single city could make much of an impression was slim. This concern, coupled with the fact that the costs of such advertisement were inordinately high, compelled the Augsburg Tourism Association to decline the offer before the municipal government had the chance to do so.⁷⁹⁸ During the latter half of the 1920s, the VVA also considered a number of offers to advertise with film. In August 1927, they received an invitation to contribute to a short film produced by the Universal-Reisebüro entitled “Beautiful Germany.” They were immediately skeptical of the potential of this marketing opportunity, noting that the proposed film would take as its subject “all of Germany,” and could therefore only briefly address the city of Augsburg. Furthermore, the film would only be screened for a short period of time in a limited number of theaters. The Augsburg Tourism Association ultimately decided that the sum of 400 marks was too high for this risky investment.⁷⁹⁹

letzte Schnellzugstation kurz vor München, daß ganz nahe der weißblauen Landeshauptstadt eine andere Stadt sich weitet, die schon längst wahrhaftig und stolz mitten in der Welt stand, als Heinrich der Löwe noch in den Windeln lag und höchst wahrscheinlich noch nicht an die Gründung eines München gedacht hat. Die Erbauung Münchens ist sicherlich nur deshalb so Handgruß-nahe bei Augsburg erfolgt...”

⁷⁹⁸ StadtAA, 20, 588.

⁷⁹⁹ StadtAA, 20, 587: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, III. Band, 1927.” The Augsburg Tourism Association also rejected an opportunity to advertise with a short film at 1930’s International Hygiene

This reluctance to invest in new forms of marketing was conceivably connected to the realization that propaganda was an inadequate means of promoting Augsburg. During an April 1927 meeting of the Augsburg Tourism Association, members resolved to take a more “goal-oriented and devoted” interest in the everyday life of the city. If the promotion of travel to Augsburg was the true objective, then the local tourism association must become involved in all matters relating to the appearance, development, and future of the city, as the “living presence” of the city could produce a far greater effect than the printed word.⁸⁰⁰ Historical preservation was part of this program, but this was a new approach to preservation. Rudy Koshar has argued that Weimar-era preservationists insisted that historical monuments “should be seen not as isolated museum pieces but in their dynamic interactions with a changing society, and that not just famous landmarks but also lesser monuments and entire districts should be grist for the preservationist mill.”⁸⁰¹ In line with this trend, the municipal government was committed to improving the overall appearance of the historical city of Augsburg. An article in a September 1926 issue of the “News Service of the Reich Central Office for German Tourism Promotion” commended the city for its extensive restoration of historical buildings. The piece reported that Augsburg’s premier tourist attraction, the *Rathaus*, was currently covered in scaffolding, allowing for “massive repair and renovation work.” Another Elias Holl masterwork, the Augsburg Armory, was also being renovated, with the sculpture group above its main portal receiving a thorough cleaning. Local craftsmen had also completed restoration work in the Augsburg Cathedral, returning the “oldest stained glass windows

Exhibition in Dresden because they worried that a “city picture” would be somewhat out of place in that context. StadtAA, 34, 277: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, VI. Band, 1930.”

⁸⁰⁰ StadtAA, 20, 587.

⁸⁰¹ Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 114.

in the world” to their original glory. Finally, private buildings throughout the interior of the *Altstadt* were receiving new coats of paint, “in accordance with their character” and Augsburg’s historically “colorful image.”⁸⁰²

By financing preservation work, the municipal government indirectly promoted tourism by enhancing Augsburg’s “living presence,” even though renovations for the sake of visitors were not limited to traditional tourist attractions. In the late 1920s, both the Augsburg Tourism Association and the municipal government took an interest in overhauling the appearance of the central train station.⁸⁰³ As the first “sight” encountered upon arrival in Augsburg, this unattractive building was not popular with tourists. In a 1920 editorial in the *München-Augsburger Abendzeitung*, a visitor from Berlin, Bruno Förster, suggested that the city erect a sign that stated: “This building is one of the few unattractive buildings in the city.”⁸⁰⁴ After years of criticism, the city of Augsburg finally unveiled a new entrance hall to the central train station at the peak of the tourist season in 1926. This did not satisfy the VVA, whose members now urged the city council to turn their attention to the unsightly square in front of the train station.⁸⁰⁵ An article in an April 1927 issue of the left-leaning *Schwäbische Zeitung* proclaimed: “One cannot ambitiously promote the city of Augsburg throughout Germany and around the

⁸⁰² *Deutsche Verkehrsblätter: Nachrichtendienst der Reichszentrale für Deutsche Verkehrswerbung* (Berlin), 21 September 1926.

⁸⁰³ Augsburg’s central train station was one of the oldest in Germany, and had been in operation since the mid-1840s. Zorn, *Augsburg*, 253. For more on train stations as “sites of modernity,” see Alfred Gottwaldt, “Der Bahnhof,” in *Orte der Moderne: Erfahrungswelten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Alexa Geisthövel and Habbo Knoch (New York: Campus, 2005), 17-26.

⁸⁰⁴ StadtAA, 50, 1133: “Erhaltung u. Ausstellung des architektonischen Gesamtbildes der Stadt Augsburg, 1902-1979.” *Die München-Augsburger Abendzeitung* (Munich), 17 December 1920. “Lieber Augsburger, sei mir nicht böse; aber mit deinem Bahnhof legst du Keine Ehre ein. Es hält ja schwer, bei den jetztigen Baupreisen einen neuen anzuschaffen. Aber vielleicht bringst du da ein Schild an mit der Aufschrift: „Dieses Gebäude ist eins von wenigen unschöneren der Stadt.“”

⁸⁰⁵ StadtAA, 50, 1288: “Ausgestaltung des Bahnhofvorplatzes, 1925-1978.”

world and then greet arriving visitors with clouds of dust.”⁸⁰⁶ The municipal government proved responsive, and promptly had the street in front of the train station paved that summer. In spite of these efforts, the general appearance of the square remained a contentious issue. An editorial in an October 1927 issue of the *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten* characterized the city as “the poor cousin of the *Reichsbahn*,” noting that the German Railway had recently set aside 10 million marks for the renovation of the central train station in Düsseldorf, after rejecting Augsburg’s much smaller request of 10,000 marks. While the National Railway did announce the following month that it would oversee the paving of a walkway outside the new entrance hall, efforts to finance the larger reconstruction of the train station square continued into the following decade.⁸⁰⁷

Both the diversification of marketing messages and the improvement of the cityscape itself confirm that the local community of Augsburg was more committed to tourism during the latter half of the 1920s. As a result of more stable economic conditions during this period, the municipal government was even able to enlarge its annual subsidy to the Augsburg Tourism Association by 50%, increasing the sum from 20,000 marks to 30,000.⁸⁰⁸ Still not satisfied with the results, the over 500 members of the Augsburg Tourism Association also worked to engineer new “attractions.” In 1928, a representative of the VVA contacted the Munich office of the General Electricity Company (AEG), inquiring about using spotlights to illuminate historical monuments. Several other German cities had already experimented with festive illumination, a

⁸⁰⁶ *Die Schwäbische Zeitung* (Augsburg), 22 April 1927. “Man kann nicht auf der einen Seite die großzügige Werbung in ganz Deutschland und im Auslande für die Stadt Augsburg durchführen und auf der anderen ankommende Fremde mit Staubwolken begrüßen.”

⁸⁰⁷ *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten* (Augsburg), 28 October 1927. For more on the larger reconstruction of the area around the train station, see Andreas Romer, *Willkommen in der Bahnhofstrasse!: Die Entwicklung der Augsburger Bahnhofstrasse und ihre Bedeutung für die Bürger* (Munich: Hampp, 2006).

⁸⁰⁸ StadtAA, 20, 588.

modern technique that helped to “frame” and “elevate” pre-existing sights, “sacralizing” them in the eyes of tourists.⁸⁰⁹ Always interested in attracting more visitors, the VVA advised the municipal government to organize a “test illumination” of the city’s most reliable symbol, the Elias Holl *Rathaus*. After the obligatory debate, all parties involved decided that it would be more reasonable to illuminate the Church of Saint Ulrich and Saint Afra. Charging a fee of 200 marks, the AEG conducted a test illumination that summer. The event was a great success, and the local press applauded the spectacle of electric light on one of Augsburg’s most recognizable landmarks.⁸¹⁰

Another new Augsburg attraction utilized the double parish of Saint Ulrich and Saint Afra in an entirely different fashion, employing it as a gigantic backdrop instead of casting it directly in the spotlight. In 1928, Hans Alfred Steib helped to plan a series of open-air performances in the double parish’s large courtyard. A VVA flyer of June 1928 announced that a “mystery play” written by Hugo von Hofmannstahl would be performed in the unique venue every Sunday evening in July and August. Staging the play in this square, where one of the most prominent features of the cityscape was literally incorporated into the performance, was designed to bring out locals as well as the “traveling public.”⁸¹¹ Furthermore, this new addition to the city’s list of attractions would help to foster a new municipal identity. With its own annual, cultural event, Augsburg could compete with the other “festival cities” of Bavaria, including Bayreuth, Oberammergau, and Rothenburg ob der Tauber, site of the annual “*Meistertrunk*”

⁸⁰⁹ For more on the process of “sight sacralization,” see MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 44-45.

⁸¹⁰ StadtAA, 20, 588.

⁸¹¹ StAA, Regierung von Schwaben (Kammer des Innern), 18 362: “Fremdenverkehr, 1890-1932.”

performance.⁸¹² The *Official Guidebook* of 1929 confirmed the success of the performances at the church of Saint Ulrich and Saint Afra, which had allegedly established Augsburg's reputation as a "festival city."⁸¹³

Steib hoped to solidify this reputation in 1929 with the construction of a permanent open-air theater at the medieval Red Gate, an idea first suggested by the director of the Munich *Kammerspiele*, Otto Falckenberg. Deputy Mayor Ackermann took a special interest in this project, and helped to secure government support for the construction of the theater. Situated on the southern-most end of the *Altstadt*, this new venue contained 2,000 seats, and transformed a recognizable portion of the cityscape into an impressive stage set. The Open-Air Theater at the Red Gate hosted two performances during August 1929: a Munich *Kammerspiele* production of a play by Austrian writer Max Mell, and the open-air debut of Beethoven's only opera, *Fidelio*.⁸¹⁴ A 1929 publication issued by the RDV described these performances as a "total success," noting that they had consistently sold out.⁸¹⁵ The 1929 *Official Guidebook* announced that more "festival performances" were being planned for 1930 in what was now being referred to as "Germany's largest open-air theater at the historical Red Gate." A brief advertisement for the 1930 program was one of a dozen slogans and short notices that repeated throughout the book, thereby identifying the new open-air theater as one of the city's defining features.⁸¹⁶ Foreign visitors also took note of this new attraction, and an article in a June 1932 issue of *The Chicago Tribune: European Edition* promoted the

⁸¹² For more on the origins of the *Meistertrunk* festival play in nineteenth-century Rothenburg ob der Tauber, see Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 66-79.

⁸¹³ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg: Amtlicher Führer, Kleine Ausgabe 1929/30*, 20.

⁸¹⁴ Zorn, *Augsburg*, 267; Grünsteudel, Hagele, and Frankenberger, eds., *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, 411

⁸¹⁵ StadtAA, 34, 276: "Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, V. Band, 1929."

⁸¹⁶ Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg: Amtlicher Führer, Kleine Ausgabe 1929/30*, 20.

performances at the Red Gate, announcing “Unusually Interesting Program of Music is Offered at Augsburg.”⁸¹⁷

Just as Steib and the Augsburg Tourism Association were overseeing Augsburg’s transformation into a “festival city,” they were also completing preparations for the 400-year anniversary of the *Confessio Augustana* on 22 June 1930. Events planned for that summer, the first of the Great Depression, included a series of musical performances (“From Bach to Beethoven”) held in the Golden Hall of the *Rathaus*, as well as a detailed exhibition on the history of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.⁸¹⁸ The latter was held in the royal chambers of the *Rathaus*, and featured an array of documents and artifacts from the Reformation era.⁸¹⁹ Additional festivities for the actual anniversary included theater performances, concerts, a parade, and an extensive illumination of the *Altstadt*.⁸²⁰ The anniversary of the *Confessio Augustana* ensured that 1930 was an important year for Augsburg tourism, while the summer performance of the Passion Play in nearby Oberammergau ensured that a horde of international tourists were not far away.⁸²¹ The Augsburg Tourism Association initiated an unprecedented marketing campaign. They reported in a March 1930 memo that they had sent out “tens of thousands of advertisements in various languages” and posted “photographs and promotion material in newspapers and magazines around the world.” They also reached out to the local community in this memo, asking citizens to actively promote tourism, while also advising caution against the citizens of Munich, who were reportedly

⁸¹⁷ StadtAA, 34, 303: “Verkehrswerbung im Ausland, I. Band, 1928-1936.”

⁸¹⁸ StadtAA, 34, 276.

⁸¹⁹ Eduard Gebele, *Confessio Augustana 1530-1930: Führer durch die Ausstellung, Rathaus Fürstenzimmer* (Augsburg: Buchdruckerei Hieronymus Mühlberger, 1930), 1-2.

⁸²⁰ The exhibition and the events scheduled for the anniversary were also mentioned in the 1929 *Augsburg Official Guidebook*. See Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *Augsburg Amtlicher Führer, Kleine Ausgabe 1929/1930*,

⁸²¹ StadtAA, 34, 276.

determined to “divert the expected tourist masses from Augsburg.”⁸²² The Augsburg Tourism Association even oversaw the extensive training of local tour guides, who would receive an official license after six to eight weeks of winter courses.⁸²³ Dedicating both time and money to the 400-year anniversary of the *Confessio Augustana*, the local tourism industry prepared itself for the inevitable flood of tourists.

Superficially, the *Confessio Augustana* celebrations were a success, and the well-attended events were covered favorably by the local press. One article in an August 1930 issue of the *Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten* reported on the visit of 500 Americans (including a number of “black ladies”) who were supposedly very vocal about their “astonishment and admiration” for the “City of the German Renaissance.” These American tourists were even officially greeted at the *Rathaus* by the mayor, who made a speech emphasizing the historical connections between America and Germany, the latter now beaten to the ground and “bleeding from a thousand wounds.”⁸²⁴ Later reports indicated that Augsburg was one of the few success stories of the Bavarian tourism industry that year. During an October 1930 meeting of the Tourism Association of Swabia, Hans Alfred Steib, who was also the founder of this regional organization, confirmed that numbers had dropped throughout the region during the previous season. In general, Steib painted a rather dreary picture of German tourism in 1930, arguing that the declining economy, the lack of support in local communities, and the “mechanization of travel” were all factors working against the growth of the industry. In spite of all this,

⁸²² StadtAA, 34, 277.

⁸²³ StadtAA, 50, 1287: “Fremdenführerwesen, 1929-1978.” In anticipation of increased tourism in 1930, the Augsburg City Council began to strictly regulate the tourist guide business, a move endorsed by the Augsburg Tourism Association. Much of this was in response to one particular, self-proclaimed tour guide, Otto Hauser, who propositioned potential tourists in front of the *Rathaus*, and continued to give the city a bad reputation well into World War II.

⁸²⁴ *Augsburg Neueste Nachrichten* (Augsburg), 4 August 1930.

the Augsburg tourism industry had actually registered growth. As a result of “intense efforts,” the figure of overnight visitors in the Swabian capital had increased by 10% during the summer months of 1930, while the amount of English and American visitors grew exponentially.⁸²⁵ Had the time and effort finally paid off?

*Table 4.1: Number of Registered Guests in Augsburg, 1914-1931*⁸²⁶

1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
85,816	59,701	63,426	78,317	108,970	125,175
1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
110,587	106,179	95,594	70,197	80,088	91,439
1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
86,400	89,214	93,821	97,387	103,619	92,938

Statistics assembled by the Augsburg City Statistics Office confirm that the number of visitors Augsburg rose only slightly in 1930. Overnight visitors increased from 97,387 in 1929, to 103,619 in 1930, an increase of roughly 6%. This was a minor improvement from the nearly 4% increase between 1928 and 1929. More impressive was the fact that the number of foreign visitors to Augsburg swelled by approximately 40% in 1930, increasing from 6,341 to 8,891. Efforts to draw international tourists to Augsburg had succeeded, but only temporarily. The overall number would drop in 1931, with only 92,938 guests registered. Still, this figure was larger than that of 1927, and represented a less than 5% decrease from 1929. (Table 4.1) Not bad, but in September 1932 the local press reported that the number of guests had declined even more that summer.⁸²⁷

⁸²⁵ StadtAA, 34, 277.

⁸²⁶ StadtAA, 20, 587; StadtAA, 34, 278: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, VIII. Band, 1932-1933.”

⁸²⁷ Ibid.

The tourism industry had certainly grown during the latter half of the 1920s, with the number of registered guests increasing by over 10% between 1926 and 1929. However, if we compare these statistics with similar data from other Bavarian destinations, Augsburg's triumph appears less impressive. For example, between 1926 and 1929, the number of registered guests in Nuremberg rose from 218,803 to 288,646, an increase of roughly 30%.⁸²⁸ During the same period, the Franconian town of Rothenburg ob der Tauber recorded "especially explosive" growth, with the number of overnight stays increasing by over 100%, from 43,036 to 100,053. In both cases, a more developed tourism industry took advantage of new forms of advertising to promote a city grounded in the medieval past.⁸²⁹ In a 1930 report printed in the *Bayerische Staatszeitung*, the number of overnight stays in Bavarian cities and towns was used to compile a list of the region's most popular tourist destinations. Augsburg ranked #30, falling behind rural retreats like Berchtesgaden and Füssen, and the recovering spa town of Bad Reichenhall.⁸³⁰ Augsburg's status as a tourist attraction seemed as precarious as ever, but the Augsburg Tourism Association remained determined to attract visitors to their city. In 1932, the VVA managed to book ten important meetings for the following year, bringing an estimated 15,000 visitors to Augsburg. They also promised to do all that they could to convince group tours to stop in the "City of the German Renaissance."⁸³¹ However, the continual shortage of both official and private subsidies after 1930 prevented the Augsburg Tourism Association from expanding marketing, and

⁸²⁸ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1292: "Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, sowie Fremdenverkehr überhaupt, 1936-1939, III. Band." *Die Statistik des Fremdenverkehrs (Mitteilungen des Statistischen Amtes der Stadt der Reichspartietage)*, Heft 14 (Nuremberg: Im Auftrage des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt der Reichspartietage Nürnberg, Herausgegeben vom Statistischen Amt, 1938), 14-23.

⁸²⁹ In 1924, the tourist office of Rothenburg even commissioned a short film entitled *In Rothenburg's Magical Realm*. Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 152, 154.

⁸³⁰ *Bayerische Staatszeitung* (Munich), 12 January 1931.

⁸³¹ *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (Munich), 24 February 1933.

they were forced to turn down numerous offers to advertise nationally and internationally.⁸³²

Things began to change after the Nazi seizure of power in January 1933. The National Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (NSDAP) had acquired a small foothold in Augsburg as early as 1921, and again in 1925, but the local Nazi contingent did not represent a real threat until after 1928. In the wake of the Great Depression, resurgent unemployment, and the collapse of liberal political parties, the popularity of the NSDAP increased rapidly. Between 1930 and 1933, the number of Nazi party members in Augsburg grew from approximately 600 to 1,500, with workers constituting roughly one-third of this overall figure.⁸³³ In the communal election of March 1933, 32.3% of the Augsburg electorate voted for the NSDAP, significantly less than the national average of 43.9%.⁸³⁴ The Catholic identity and socialist leanings of many Augsburg residents may have had something to do with the relatively weak performance of the Nazi party in Bavaria's third largest city, but recent research has suggested that Augsburg was not that different from other German cities, in that it also had the crucial mix of Protestant and middle-class elements that endorsed the rise of National Socialism.⁸³⁵ Once in power, the Nazis subjected the "City of the German Renaissance" to an extensive "co-ordination," or *Gleichschaltung*. On 9 March, over thirteen years after the November Revolution, a red flag flew from the *Rathaus* once again, but this one bore the unmistakable mark of the swastika. Inside, the Nazi *Gauleiter* of Swabia, Karl Wahl, presided over the systematic

⁸³² StadtAA, 34, 303. One 1932 offer from the Rudolf Mosse publishing house would have allowed Augsburg to advertise itself in major newspapers in Holland, Sweden, Denmark, England, North America, and South America.

⁸³³ Hetzer, "Die Industriestadt Augsburg," 67-68.

⁸³⁴ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 181-182.

⁸³⁵ Patrick Kehl, "Der Aufstieg der NSDAP in Augsburg – eine Wahlanalyse," in *Nationalsozialismus in Bayerisch-Schwaben*, ed. Andreas Wirsching (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2004), 57-88.

dismantling of the democratically-elected city council, which was unceremoniously replaced with Nazi party members. Dr. Otto Bohl, the BVP's successor to Kaspar Deutschenbaur, was forced to step down as mayor, making way first for Edmund Stoeckle, and then for Josef Mayr, who would serve as Augsburg's mayor from 1934 until 1945. The city's longtime second mayor, Friedrich Ackermann, was not only dismissed, but briefly incarcerated along with several influential socialists, communists, and trade union representatives. That very same month, the first Augsburg Jews were detained and sent to concentration camps, many arriving in nearby Dachau.⁸³⁶

The Nazi seizure of power in 1933 also led to the limited *Gleichschaltung* of the Bavarian tourism industry. Beforehand, the wider interests of the industry were addressed by the Bavarian State Council for Tourism, which reported to the state government, and had included an Augsburg representative since 1922. In 1933, State Minister Hermann Esser, a Bavarian native and Hitler's tourism kingpin, assumed leadership over the State Council and the three regional tourism associations that it represented: Southern Bavaria, Northern Bavaria, and the Palatinate. Early in 1933, Esser organized a general tour of the region for forty representatives of the international press. The tour cast Bavaria as a picturesque symbol of German virtue and hospitality, and stopped at the popular destinations of Bayreuth, Nuremberg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Ansbach, Munich, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Füssen, and Lindau. This line-up offered a carefully-balanced vision of modern Germany, from the pageantry of Richard Wagner in Bayreuth, to the medieval charm of Rothenburg; from the political history and

⁸³⁶ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 182-183; Grünsteudel, Hagele, and Frankenberger, eds., *Augsburger Stadtlexicon*, 222.

urban flair of Munich, to the clean air and inspiring vistas of Garmisch-Partenkirchen.⁸³⁷ One Bavarian attraction notably not featured in this line-up was Augsburg. Similarly, a 1933 poster issued by the new Bavarian State Council for Tourism failed to mention the city among its inventory of regional attractions.⁸³⁸

In spite of this apparent lack of interest in the city as a tourist attraction, the Augsburg Tourism Association continued with business as usual under the leadership of Ludwig Wegele, the former curator of Augsburg's natural history museum. Meanwhile, the local government demonstrated a renewed interest in the city's image in several regards, most obviously by creating the Municipal Travel and Marketing Office (*Städtisches Verkehrs- und Werbeamt*) in 1935. This organization assumed many of the responsibilities of the VVA, but was ultimately more concentrated on "internal advertising" designed to familiarize locals with the remarkable past and present of Augsburg, while simultaneously instilling in them an appreciation for the economic significance of tourism.⁸³⁹ Propaganda was no longer limited to tourists, and "Be Proud to be a Citizen of Augsburg!" became a common slogan designed to liberate the city from its inferiority complex.⁸⁴⁰ The municipal government also remained dedicated to improving the image of the city in a literal sense, organizing contests to see which local

⁸³⁷ StadtAA, 34, 278. Reported in the May 1933 issue of *München und Südbayern: Offizielles Organ des Verkehrsverbandes München und Südbayern e.V. (Bayerische und Allgäuer Alpen)*.

⁸³⁸ StadtAA, 34, 278. Among the attractions that were advertised on this poster were the cities of Munich, Nuremberg, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and Dinkelsbühl, the spa towns of Kissingen, Tölz, and Reichenhall, and the "over 300 alpine lakes" between Lindau and Berchtesgaden.

⁸³⁹ This was reported in a 1938 publication issued by the municipal government. *Fünf Jahre Aufbau der Stadt Augsburg: Ein Rechenschaftsbericht über die Jahre 1933-1937, Textband* (Augsburg: Herausgegeben vom Oberbürgermeister der Gauhauptstadt Augsburg, 1938), 213-215.

⁸⁴⁰ Bernhard Gotto, *Nationalsozialistische Kommunalpolitik: Administrative Normalität und Systemstabilisierung durch die Augsburger Stadtverwaltung, 1933-1945* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 263-264.

residents could have the most beautifully-decorated home during the tourism season.⁸⁴¹ At the same time, Augsburg's new mayor, Josef Mayr, was determined to improve the status of the city by supporting the "work of the Führer." In Bayreuth, Trier, and Hamburg, local governments had already exploited their cultural and industrial capital to improve their standing within the Third Reich. Mayr, a former member of the *Freikorps* and a Nazi supporter since 1922, followed their example by ensuring that every Augsburg community project, "at least propagandistically," fell in line with the larger goals of National Socialism. This was not just a matter of attracting financial support to the city; it was about connecting the fates of the city and the Reich, and increasing the visibility of Augsburg as both a tourist sight and nationalist site.⁸⁴² This goal was not new, but its ideological underpinning was.

The Augsburg Zoo, which opened on 16 June 1937, was designed to accomplish these objectives. While Munich and Nuremberg had opened their own zoological parks in 1911 and 1912 respectively, a local lobby group in Augsburg had been unsuccessful in its attempts to create a similar institution in Bavaria's third largest city. After 1933, they finally received the support of the municipal government, which assumed financial responsibility for the construction of a zoological park on 18 hectares of land in the *Siebentischwald*, a large forest south of Augsburg. This zoo was qualitatively different than those that had preceded it. Historian Bernhard Gotto argues: "As Augsburg could not compete with Munich, Stuttgart, and Nuremberg, but nevertheless sought to solidify its status as a metropolis, the municipal government decided to give the new zoo a

⁸⁴¹ *Fünf Jahre Aufbau der Stadt Augsburg*, 217.

⁸⁴² Gotto, *Nationalsozialistische Kommunalpolitik*, 261-264. Mayr also pledged support for the *Autobahn* project, hoping to make Augsburg an important intersection on the north-south and east-west highways. The city was included on the Stuttgart-Munich stretch, but not on the Berlin-Munich Stretch.

modern look.” In this case, “modern” meant overtly nationalist. In “The Park of the German Animal World” (*Park der Deutschen Tierwelt*), locals and visitors would have the chance to see indigenous German animals in a relatively undisturbed natural setting. In that sense, it was a tribute to the biological past of the nation, and a monument to *Waldeinsamkeit*, loosely defined. The presence of rare and endangered species such as elk, lynx, and bison proved to be a popular draw, and the Augsburg Zoo welcomed approximately 100,000 visitors during its first nine months.⁸⁴³ Subsequent plans for a “German plant garden” and an “old Swabian farmhouse” confirm that the zoo was designed to idealize the pre-modern history of Germany.⁸⁴⁴ A 1941 brochure edited by Mayr praised the success of the zoo’s first four years, insisting that the “first German animal park” had accomplished a huge cultural project: it had recreated a natural world once common in “Greater Germany,” an expanded concept in light of recent military actions.⁸⁴⁵ Defined as a true “homeland zoo” (*Heimattiergarten*), the Augsburg zoo reacquainted the nation with its roots, and transformed nature from a “cruel alternative to community life” into a safe and informative place to spend a Sunday afternoon.⁸⁴⁶ Moreover, it added a modern attraction to Augsburg’s inventory of sights, which had remained relatively static since 1930.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴³ *Fünf Jahre Aufbau der Stadt Augsburg*, 217.

⁸⁴⁴ Gotto, *Nationalsozialistische Kommunalpolitik*, 261-264. “Weil Augsburg nicht mit München, Stuttgart und Nürnberg konkurrieren konnte, aber dennoch seiner Stellung als Großstadt Nachdruck verleihen wollte, legte sich die Stadtverwaltung für ihren neuen Zoo ein zeitgemäßes Etikett zu.”

⁸⁴⁵ StadtAA NL Förg, Broschüre „Der Augsburger Tiergarten und seine Ausgestaltung zum Deutschen Naturkundepark“, hg. vom Oberbürgermeister der Gauhauptstadt Augsburg (Augsburg, 1941), 3-5, 9.

⁸⁴⁶ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 80.

⁸⁴⁷ A 1936 publication issued by the Augsburg Tourism Association still referred visitors to the same highlights featured in 1929’s *Official Guidebook*, including the well-preserved *Altstadt*, the textile and aircraft factories, and the “open-air theater” at the Red Gate. See Verkehrsverein Augsburg, *3 Tage in Augsburg/Augsburg: Ein Bilderheft von der Größe deutschen Bürgertums* (Augsburg, 1936).

* * *

With the opening of the Augsburg Zoo, the local tourism association finally had an attraction that could link the modern city to the German nation, and attract visitors. That very same year, the opening of a Mozart Museum in the birthplace of the composer's father directed attention back to the historical roots of the city, and its prominent place in the cultural development of the nation. The city remained caught between past and present, searching for the ideal balance between historical significance and contemporary relevance. While the municipal government claimed that its "extensive efforts" had fueled the growth of the tourism industry and established the foundations for the city's transformation into a "great tourist city," many tourists and locals remained unconvinced that Augsburg was a relevant sight within modern Germany.⁸⁴⁸

This was just one of many issues that hindered the Augsburg Tourism Association during the interwar period; another was the city's proximity to Munich. While Augsburg offered history in abundance, tourists came to Munich to visit churches, palaces, and royal gardens, to observe masterpieces in the *Pinakotheken*, to tour the technological collections of the *Deutsches Museum*, to mingle with avant-garde in Schwabing, or to attend a gala performance at the State Opera House. In fact, aside from an obscure history of Roman settlement and Dark Ages tribulation, Augsburg could not offer anything that its sister city did not already exhibit on some level. Munich even had its share of factories, a feature occasionally advertised by the local tourism industry.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁸ *Fünf Jahre Aufbau der Stadt Augsburg*, 221.

⁸⁴⁹ A publication issued by the Tourism Association of Munich and the Bavarian Highland in the mid 1920s identified the city's brewing, furniture, leather glove, locomotive, aircraft, and automobile

Living in the shadow of the premier tourist destination of Bavaria proved to be a major obstacle, but the Augsburg Tourism Association attempted to profit from this proximity in various ways: by appealing to the visitors and citizens of Munich directly, by linking the capital's recent affluence to Augsburg's rich history, and by trying to poach cultural celebrities from one of Europe's most important artistic centers.

The objective of attracting visitors to Augsburg was no easy task during the Weimar era, when the unstable German economy wreaked havoc on the tourism industry. The postwar recession, rampant inflation, and the Great Depression severely limited the amount of money available for leisure travel, while material shortages and occasional civil unrest dissuaded international tourists from traveling to Germany. In Augsburg, the coalition municipal government was preoccupied with improving the city's infrastructure, and was inconsistent in its promotion of leisure travel. If propaganda was the key to producing tourism, then Augsburg's tourism industry could never really capitalize. The local tourism association advertised almost exclusively with printed materials, while marketing with the new mediums of slide-shows, radio, and film was rarely subsidized. Handicapped by modern economic crises, the tourism industry could not modernize the means of self-promotion.

Attempts to modernize the messages of self-promotion were more successful, and the Augsburg Tourism Association did develop a more progressive and "German" image of the Bavarian city. Augsburg's industrial output played an increasingly prominent role in tourist publications, which began to identify specific industries and factories in the mid 1920s. This was, for the most part, an industrial city without workers, and the factories

industries, referring to the city as both an artistic hub and "an outstanding industrial center." StadtAM, Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung, 116/1: "Fremdenverkehr München, bis 1945."

functioned better as icons of progress than as actual tourist attractions. Tourist propaganda also devoted more attention to the city's modern-day culture, and after 1929, the Open-Air Theater at the Red Gate became a standard selling point. Historical Augsburg continued to play a more prominent role in the promotion of tourism, but in many ways, the historical ground of the city became more modernized, as contemporary attractions were linked to symbols of the past.

To be sure, this was a different rendering of grounded modernity than those on display in Franconian Switzerland and Bad Reichenhall, where modern amenities, technology, and medicine were the dominant icons of progress. Augsburg's tourist propaganda highlighted many of these features earlier, but it was only after the First World War that it began to focus on the city's contemporary identity. Thus, the Augsburg Tourism Association developed its own version of grounded modernity, allowing visitors to come into contact with the German past while immersing themselves in the German present. Still, the success of this new direction remains debatable. The tourism industries of Munich and Nuremberg, on the other hand, developed much more profitable versions of grounded modernity after 1933, when their political and cultural significance in the Third Reich was indisputable. While Augsburg struggled to attract visitors, Munich and Nuremberg became living examples for the nation and the world.

Chapter V

The Sights of Brown Bavaria: The Nazified Tourist Culture of Munich and Nuremberg

“Munich, as the center of German tourism and an international travel destination, has summer after summer surpassed other German cities with its high volume of visitors, an accolade which carries the obligation of offering something exceptional during the peak season, as every German should experience their trip to Munich as more than a visit to a picturesque city or beautiful country; it should be an experience to be in the ‘Capital of the Movement.’ This experience should have an even more powerful effect on the foreigner, because it is in Munich that the spirit of the New Germany visibly advances...”⁸⁵⁰

Munich’s Festival Summer 1935

(distributed by the Munich Tourism Association)

“Atop the Imperial Fortress, one can look out over the old city to the urban sprawl of modern Nuremberg and the grounds of the Reich Party Rallies... a space that, once completed, will possess no rivals. This harmonious juxtaposition of the long-ago and the contemporary, of the spirit and culture of past centuries, and the spirit, culture, and powerful resurgence of the present, can only be found in one place in Germany, and every visitor will return from Nuremberg with unforgettable impressions.”⁸⁵¹

Nuremberg: Brief Guidebook, 1939

(distributed by the Nuremberg Tourism Association)

⁸⁵⁰ StadtAM, Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung, 116/1: “Fremdenverkehr München bis 1945”.

“München als Mittelpunkt des deutschen Fremdenverkehrs und als Weltreiseziel hat Sommer für Sommer von allen Städten Deutschlands die höchste Fremdenziffer; ein Vorzug, der auch die Pflicht in sich birgt, in der Hochsaison des Fremdenverkehrs etwas besonderes zu bieten, denn eine Reise nach München muß für jeden Deutschen mehr sein, als eine Fahrt in eine sehenswerte Stadt oder in ein schönes Land; es soll für ihn ein Erlebnis bedeuten, in der Hauptstadt der Bewegung zu sein. Noch stärker muß dieses Erlebnis auf den Ausländer einwirken, dem in München der Geist des neuen Deutschland sichtbar entgegentritt...”

⁸⁵¹ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268: “Bayerische Verkehrs- (Fremdenverkehrs-) Vereine.” “Von der Burg aus erblickt man jenseits des weit über die Altstadt hinausgewachsenen modernen Nürnbergs das Gelände der Reichsparteitage mit seinen Anmarschstraßen, seinen weiten Grünflächen und seinen stolzen, weiß schimmernden Säulenhallen: eine Anlage, die nach ihrer Vollendung ihresgleichen nicht haben wird. Dieses harmonische Nebeneinander von Einst und Jetzt, von Geist und Kultur vergangener Jahrhunderte, und von Geist, Kultur und machtvoller Emporblühen der Gegenwart, findet sich wohl kaum noch einmal in Deutschland und jeder Besucher wird von Nürnberg unvergeßliche Eindrücke erhalten und mit sich nehmen...”

After January 1933, the Bavarian tourism industry substantially revised the marketing of its two premier attractions. Munich, the cosmopolitan and provincial “Athens on the Isar,” was reborn as the “Capital of the National Socialist Movement” and “German Art.” Nuremberg, the “German Reich’s Treasure Chest” celebrated by romantics, became the “City of the Reich Party Rallies,” and a congregation point for the National Socialist party and the German people alike. In both cases, a rich historical and cultural legacy served as the foundation of modern-day prestige, and past and present stood side by side. In the process, Munich and Nuremberg were repositioned at the symbolic center of the re-imagined national community, and the “powerful resurgence” of the “New Germany” was not only confirmed, but celebrated and sold to tourists from Berlin to Boston.

The sights of “Brown Bavaria,” such as the Temples of Honor in Munich, or the Reich Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg, served a unifying function in the Third Reich, merging conceptions of past and present, and endorsing the powerful myth of continuity discussed in the previous chapter. After 1933, both cities became modern-day pilgrimage destinations, providing thousands of domestic and international visitors with a firsthand glimpse at the triumphant march of history. These sites also united the masses under the rubric of the “people’s community,” or *Volksgemeinschaft*.⁸⁵² With regard to the ongoing debate over coercion and consent in the Third Reich, this appears to be a case of the latter; visitors flocked to these destinations while the local tourism industry voluntarily endorsed the image of a German people united by history, culture, and less obviously, race, thereby privileging the “nation” over all other units of collective identity, such as

⁸⁵² Throughout this chapter, I alternate between the terms “sights” and “sites,” as I view these places as both tourist attractions and national “*lieux de mémoire*... material, symbolic, and functional.” See Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 18-19.

class, region, and denomination.⁸⁵³ Largely without coercion, traditional tourist propaganda became Nazi propaganda, and an entirely new and profitable feature was added to Bavaria's wealth of tourist attractions.

This chapter constitutes a tour of the most nationalized sites that Brown Bavaria had to offer: the Generals' Hall, Temples of Honor, Party Buildings, and House of German Art in Munich, and the network of monumental structures, both completed and uncompleted, that made up the Reich Party Rally Grounds of Nuremberg. I begin by situating my research within the growing scholarship on Nazi tourism and *Volksgemeinschaft*. Following this section, I address Munich and Nuremberg separately, in each case providing a brief overview of municipal history focused on the interwar period. After establishing the historical and historiographical contexts, I elaborate on the symbolic substance of each city's Nazi monuments, as well as their highly visible role in the pseudo-religious festival culture of the Third Reich.

Focusing on how local tourist propaganda marketed these sites of memory, this chapter demonstrates that there was no separate "Nazi tourist culture" in Munich and Nuremberg. On the contrary, the traditional tourist culture became thoroughly Nazified after January 1933. Printed tourism publications endorsed the National Socialist identity of Bavaria's largest cities by emphasizing each destination's connections with Hitler and the National Socialist movement, as well as the prominent position of both the Third Reich and Bavaria within a longer but selective version of German history. Establishing a link between modern Germany and the national past was central to this version of grounded modernity, with symbols of political triumph replacing the factories discussed

⁸⁵³ Ian Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria, 1933-1945*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 2.

in the previous chapter. The sights associated with the Führer and the movement became the defining features of modern Munich and Nuremberg, grounding the new nation in a concrete locality. Still, older marketing themes never completely disappeared; they were simply redeployed in the Nazi context. During this volatile period of modern German history, tourism was much more than a business; it was a potent means of imagining and selling community, as it exposed visitor and visited alike to nationalized and Nazified renderings of Bavaria's largest cities.

Hitler's Bavaria and the People's Community

Within the larger story of tourism during the Third Reich, Bavaria merits special attention because its experiences were simultaneously exemplary and exceptional. First, the region experienced an outward *Gleichschaltung* of its tourism industry alongside the rest of the nation. For example: in 1933 the Tourism Association of Munich and Southern Bavaria (Bavarian Alps), which had existed for over sixty years, was reconstituted as the State Tourism Association of Munich and Southern Bavaria. This was in line with the Law for the Reich Committee for Tourism, and was endorsed by the Bavarian state government, which was now responsible for overseeing the organization's activities.⁸⁵⁴ Second, Bavaria became the site of an overtly politicized tourism in the "Bayerische Ostmark," the eastern territories bordering Czechoslovakia. The process had begun after the First World War, when heightened nationalism combined with the myth of Czech aggression to transform the region into a "bulwark against the Slavs."⁸⁵⁵ After 1933, guidebooks

⁸⁵⁴ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 14: "Verkehrs-Verein-München: Planstellen, Arbeitsgebiet, Errichtung, Gesetzblätte, Zeitungsartikel... 1933-1949."

⁸⁵⁵ For more on the creation of the Bavarian Ostmark, see Jörg Haller, "'Die heilige Ostmark': Ostbayern als völkische Kultregion 'Bayerische Ostmark'," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde* (2000):

portrayed the “Eastern Marches” in ominously nationalist and militant terms, referring to the historical “colonization” of the “besieged border area,” and the “absorption” of the “long sequestered region.”⁸⁵⁶

Bavaria’s experience with the Nazi leisure program, “Strength through Joy,” was likewise exemplary. As one of Germany’s premier tourist destinations before 1933, the region was an obvious choice for KdF excursions. A September 1934 issue of the Nazi newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, reported that “Strength through Joy” had brought 44,771 German tourists to Upper Bavaria during the previous eight months.⁸⁵⁷ The following year, special KdF trains began transporting visitors en masse to the winter sports center of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, home of the 1936 Winter Olympics.⁸⁵⁸ Elsewhere, all inclusive trips to destinations in the Bavarian Alps and Franconian Switzerland helped to rejuvenate local economies and engineer support for the regime.⁸⁵⁹ Even operatives of the exiled Social Democratic Party, who regularly discussed Nazi vacation policies in their reports, identified KdF activities in Bavaria as a “genuinely commendable achievement of National Socialism.”⁸⁶⁰

While its experiences with *Gleichschaltung* and the “Strength through Joy” program were exemplary, Bavaria still occupied a unique place within the larger story of Third Reich tourism. As a result of its central role during the early years of the National

63-73. For more on a similar form of overtly nationalized, irredentist tourism on the German-Polish border during the interwar period, see Elizabeth Harvey, “Pilgrimages to the ‘Bleeding Border’: Gender and Rituals of Nationalist Protest in Germany, 1919-39,” *Women’s History Review* 9, no. 2 (2000): 201-229.

⁸⁵⁶ Herbert Günther, *Franken und die Bayrische Ostmark* (Berlin: Atlantis-Verlag, 1936), 7.

⁸⁵⁷ *Völkischer Beobachter* (Munich), 13 September 1934.

⁸⁵⁸ For more on the twin tourist destination of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, see Josef Ostler, *Garmisch und Garmisch und Partenkirchen 1870-1935. Ein Olympia-Ort entsteht* (Garmisch-Partenkirchen: Verein für Geschichte, Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte im Landkreis Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 2000).

⁸⁵⁹ Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich*, 124, 136.

⁸⁶⁰ *Deutschlandberichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SOPADE)* 3, no. 7 (July 1936): A-54. “Die KDF wird bei fast allen Volksgenossen al seine wirklich anerkennenswerte Leistung des Nationalsozialismus gewertet.”

Socialist movement, the region contained a number of locations associated with Hitler and the party, including Munich, Nuremberg, and Landsberg am Lech. After 1933, other Bavarian locales grew in popularity because of their inclusion in the National Socialist “liturgy of events.”⁸⁶¹ Hitler’s regular attendance of the Wagner Festival helped to revive the tourism industry of Bayreuth, while the heavily-politicized celebration of the “Franconian Days” outside of Ansbach annually drew close to 100,000 visitors.⁸⁶² Impressive landscapes, a rich historical legacy, and select images of modernity were common motifs for the marketing of Bavaria long before 1933. The rise of Hitler and the National Socialist Party provided another feature, producing a new take on grounded modernity that relied on connections between the local past and the triumphant present.

Promoters of regional tourism lost little time in capitalizing on these connections. In March 1933, Munich’s “Publishing Office of National Propaganda” issued a dense brochure entitled “Visit Bavaria, the Homeland of Adolf Hitler.” This publication, written before the process of *Gleichschaltung* had been completed, was intended for distribution in north German locales free of charge, and no less than ten thousand copies were ordered. Its cover featured a simple amalgamation of regional and national imagery, with the Nazi flag waving above the traditional blue and white standard of Bavaria. The publisher confirmed this connection between region and nation in the

⁸⁶¹ Other events celebrated over the course of the year included the anniversary of the seizure of power on January 30, the “Party Festival in Remembrance of the Announcement of the 25 Point Programme of the NSDAP” at the end of February, the “Heroes’ Remembrance Day” in March, the birthday of the Führer on April 20, as well as a work-free May Day holiday and an “ideologically revalued Mothers’ Day.” The quasi-religious nature of these celebrations was best represented by the annual events in Munich and Nuremberg. Norbert Frei, *National Socialist Rule in Germany: The Führer State, 1933-1945*, trans. Simon B. Steyne (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1993), 84.

⁸⁶² For more on the Wagner Festival during the Third Reich, see Frederic Spotts, *Bayreuth: A History of the Wagner Festival* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 159-188. For more on the *Frankentagen* celebrations, see Thomas Greif, *Frankens braune Wallfahrt - Der Hesselberg im Dritten Reich* (Ansbach: Selbstverlag des Historischen Vereins für Mittelfranken, 2007).

foreword, noting that the “national uprising” of the German people had begun with the founding of the Nazi Party in Munich, and consequently, Bavaria’s “national sentiments” were unrivalled. After the requisite sections on Munich and the Alps, the brochure identified several locations that had figured prominently in the life of Hitler. Among them was Braunau am Inn, an Austrian town that had not been part of Bavaria since 1816, but nevertheless had the distinction of being the “birthplace of the People’s Chancellor, Adolf Hitler.” The border town of Passau was similarly redefined as the “city of Adolf Hitler’s youth,” while Landsberg am Lech was singled out for its fortress, where Hitler was interned after the 1923 “Beer Hall Putsch.” Even Berchtesgaden, the Alpine resort town near Bad Reichenhall, was re-defined as the rustic retreat of the new chancellor. A brief entry on the town featured a photo of Hitler and his entourage at the Obersalzberg, the caption reading: “Our people’s chancellor at his country house in Berchtesgaden.”⁸⁶³ The guidebook not only invited northern Germans to visit Bavaria, a noteworthy gesture in and of itself; it compelled them to travel to locations sanctified by the very presence of “our” Adolf Hitler, the messianic unifier of the German people.

In her account of tourism in the Third Reich, Kristin Semmens singles out the “Nazi tourist culture” as a highly-politicized form of tourism revolving around sites associated with Hitler and National Socialism. Although the Nazi tourist culture provided the perfect stage for the pageantry of the National Socialist movement, she insists that it was rarely imposed by central authorities. Semmens asserts: “the

⁸⁶³ StadtAA, Bestand 34, 278: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs, VIII. Band, 1932-1933.” Excerpts from a 1933 pamphlet entitled *Besucht Bayern, die Heimat Adolf Hitlers: Ein Werbeheft, Ausgabe 1933*, published by the Verlag für nationale Propaganda München, A. Habel Verlag, München. A 1937 issue of *Das Bayerland* featured an article on Berchtesgaden, “the chosen *Heimat* of the Führer.” Willi Stoll, “Das Berchtesgadener und Reichenhaller Land, die Wahlheimat des Führers,” *Das Bayerland. Illustrierte Wochenschrift für Bayerns Volk und Land* (January 1937). For more on Hitler and Berchtesgaden, see Ulrich Chaussy and Christoph Püschner, *Nachbar Hitler. Führerkult und Heimatzerstörung am Obersalzberg*, 6th ed. (Berlin: C. Links, 2007).

Nazification of tourist culture ... appears to have been a spontaneous, usually voluntary reaction to the Nazis' assumption of power."⁸⁶⁴ The category of the "Nazi tourist culture" is a valuable one, but I believe that Semmens' distinction between "Nazi" and "normal" tourist cultures obscures the fact that in Munich and Nuremberg, the sites associated with Hitler and the National Socialist Party redefined the travel experience without completely replacing the traditional tourist culture (I prefer "traditional" to "normal," as there are no omnipresent "norms" in history). The tourism industry did not obscure these new sights "within a broad stream of information," as Rudy Koshar has claimed, but celebrated them against the larger backdrop of the German past.⁸⁶⁵ Semmens argues that the Nazi tourist culture focused on "historical discontinuity" and the Nazi regime's break with the past, but it was "only a certain past – the Republican past – which the Nazis wanted to disown, not the past in general."⁸⁶⁶ Indeed, continuity was a dominant theme of the Nazified tourist culture, but there were numerous silences in this constructed history, including divisive episodes like the Thirty Years War and the Revolutions of 1918-1919.

In Brown Bavaria, the local tourism industry responded to popular demand by marketing modern-day pilgrimage sites, recalling Helen Waddy Lepovitz's conclusions on the spiritual origins of the regional tourist culture.⁸⁶⁷ Locally-produced publications propagated the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, employing phrases like "people's community," "spirit of union," and "currents of national energy and enthusiasm." Thus, tourism promoted, in the words of Ian Kershaw, a "transformation in subjective

⁸⁶⁴ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 42.

⁸⁶⁵ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 127.

⁸⁶⁶ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 51-52.

⁸⁶⁷ Lepovitz, "Pilgrims, Patients, and Painters."

consciousness more than of objective realities,” supporting the myth of a homogenous society unified by the Führer and National Socialism.⁸⁶⁸ A true “social revolution” may have never occurred in the Third Reich, but the Nazified tourist culture produced the illusion of a successful cultural revolution, and sold it to both domestic and international visitors.⁸⁶⁹ In an indirect fashion, one of the stated goals of the “Strength through Joy” program was achieved, as the region of Bavaria was integrated into the Third Reich, and transformed into the symbolic heart of the modern nation.

This deliberate marketing of Bavaria as the “Homeland of Adolf Hitler” was a testament to the popularity of the new regime and the marketability of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. During the past two decades, scholarship on the Third Reich has shifted away from a preoccupation with dissatisfaction or resistance (or *Resistenz*, to employ Martin Broszat’s term), to a new concentration on consent and the legitimacy of the Nazi dictatorship.⁸⁷⁰ Robert Gellately has characterized the National Socialist regime as a plebiscitary dictatorship that successfully built a social consensus around its agenda. This consensus, he maintains, was based on the regime’s eradication of unemployment and improvement of living standards, as well as its public persecution of alleged enemies of the German people, including socialists, foreigners, and Jews.⁸⁷¹ Götz Aly has placed more emphasis on the economic base of consent, noting that the Nazi dictatorship not only eliminated unemployment, but also instituted popular fiscal reforms like a progressive income tax. Furthermore, the Second World War gave millions of Germans

⁸⁶⁸ Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich*, 1, xv.

⁸⁶⁹ For more on the “social revolution” debate, see Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 161-182.

⁸⁷⁰ Examples of this earlier historiography include Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich* and the six volumes of *Bayern in der NS Zeit*, edited by Martin Broszat. For more on the subject of resistance in the Third Reich, see Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 183-217.

⁸⁷¹ Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

“a vested interest in the Third Reich” by allowing them to profit from the confiscation of Jewish property and the extensive pillaging of occupied Europe.⁸⁷² Thomas Kühne has also stressed the criminal origins of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, but in his view, this sense of community was based not on collective profit, but on collective shame. It was the Holocaust that ultimately united the German nation, and the Nazi regime established the *Volksgemeinschaft* not by offering economic incentives or overcoming class conflicts, but by making the German people accessories in mass murder.⁸⁷³

Peter Fritzsche has offered a rather different interpretation of *Volksgemeinschaft*, focusing not on actions, but on “the realm of ideas and loyalties.”⁸⁷⁴ In his work, *Germans into Nazis*, Fritzsche refutes the claim that the Versailles Treaty and the economic crises of the Weimar era were responsible for ultimate success of the Nazi party. More important, he insists, was a widespread desire for a new Germany founded upon ethnic nationalism and social reform, a fantasy that had existed since the “August Days” of 1914. While the governments of Wilhelmine and Weimar Germany had proved incapable of satisfying such desires, the National Socialist movement proposed “a program of cultural and social regeneration premised on the superordination of the nation and the Volk.”⁸⁷⁵ After January 1933, the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was no longer a pipe dream. Fritz Stern has also explained the popularity of the Nazi regime in terms of

⁸⁷² Götz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War, and the Nazi Welfare State*, trans. Jefferson Chase (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005), 4. For more on the economic benefits of Aryanisation, see Frank Bajohr, “Aryanisation” in *Hamburg: The Economic Exclusion of Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002).

⁸⁷³ Thomas Kühne, *Belonging and Genocide: Hitler's Community, 1918-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 164. For a similar argument about the Holocaust and the creation of *Volksgemeinschaft*, see Michael Wildt, *An Uncompromising Generation: The Nazi Leadership of the Reich Security Main Office*, trans. Tom Lampert (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

⁸⁷⁴ Peter Fritzsche, *Germans into Nazis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 7.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 235.

ideology, describing National Socialism as a potent form of “religious-mystical temptation.” He argues: “National Socialism’s certainty of victory and its promise of national unity dazzled disillusioned Germans. Here at last was a call to the national spirit.”⁸⁷⁶ Although Fritzsche and Stern disagree on the political maturity of the German people, they agree that the idea of a united, people’s community was genuinely appealing. The Nazi dictatorship exploited this desire, and used it to satisfy their “incessant demand for popular legitimation.”⁸⁷⁷

Following Fritzsche and Stern, I insist that we cannot dismiss the concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* as a mere propaganda chimera. To do so would be to overlook the true nature of propaganda in the Third Reich, which actually did more to “confirm” attitudes than to “convert” them. David Welch has argued that official Nazi propaganda often appealed to “the rational elements in human nature,” reinforcing “existing trends and beliefs” instead of creating new ones. One of these preexisting beliefs was the notion of a people’s community grounded in an “idealized past.” Welch asserts: “Propaganda presented an image of a society that had successfully manufactured a ‘national community’ by transcending social and class divisiveness.”⁸⁷⁸ Again, the Nazi dictatorship did not manufacture the idea of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, it simply mobilized it. Moreover, this message was not confined to official propaganda. In a recent article, Randall Bytwerk notes that Joseph Goebbels’ Propaganda Ministry contended with several obstacles, including the bureaucratic disarray of the Third Reich, and the fact that

⁸⁷⁶ Fritz Stern, *Dreams and Delusions: National Socialism in the Drama of the German Past* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 149.

⁸⁷⁷ Richard Evans, *The Third Reich in Power, 1933-1939* (New York: Penguin Group, 2005), 121.

⁸⁷⁸ Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, 5, 9, 60-61.

thousands of citizens made propaganda at the local and regional levels.⁸⁷⁹ Some of these “grassroots propagandists” were subordinate to Goebbels, but many were not. The former category included countless producers of tourist propaganda, who, in spite of the *Gleichschaltung* of the travel industry, rarely received specific orders on what to publish. Without coercion, these propagandists also employed the language of *Volksgemeinschaft*, inviting tourists to connect with the historically-grounded German nation.

The popular concept of the *Volksgemeinschaft* revolved around the dynamic of inclusion, but it also relied on the process of exclusion. This had implications for the tourism industry of Bavaria, where localities with carefully-cultivated reputations of hospitality began to discriminate against Jewish guests after the Nazi seizure of power. For example, the local historical association of Rothenburg ob der Tauber placed four anti-Semitic “warning plaques” at the town’s medieval gates, informing visitors that they were entering a racially pure German place where enemies of the Aryan race were unwelcome.⁸⁸⁰ By 1934, the Franconian tourist destinations of Ansbach and Dinkelsbühl had posted similar signs announcing: “Jews are not wanted here” (*Juden sind hier unerwünscht*).⁸⁸¹ In Oberammergau, allegedly amicable relationships between Jewish visitors and Catholic hosts did not prevent municipal authorities from endorsing a number of anti-Jewish measures, including the boycott of non-Aryan businesses and a 1935 law barring Jews from using the new swimming complex.⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁹ Randall L. Bytwerk, “Grassroots Propaganda in the Third Reich: The Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and Public Enlightenment,” *German Studies Review* 33, no. 1 (February 2010): 95. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 137-140.

⁸⁸⁰ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 211-216.

⁸⁸¹ A memo issued by the State Tourism Association of the Rhine and Main noted the presence of these signs. StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1286: “Verkehrsverband Nordbayern e.V., Bd. 2, 1933-1934.”

⁸⁸² Waddy, *Oberammergau in the Nazi Era*, 182-186.

Anti-Semitism also had an impact on tourism in Bavarian health resorts, where Aryanization tended to proceed more slowly than it did in the seaside resorts of northern Germany. In Bad Tölz, local Nazis began targeting a Jewish-owned hotel in 1935, defacing the building with defamatory slogans, surrounding it with a contingent of storm troopers, and smashing its windows. These actions led to the mass exodus of the resort's approximately 350 Jewish guests. In 1936, the hotel was forcibly sold to an Aryan innkeeper, and Jews were officially barred from entering the spa town. In larger, internationally-renowned health resorts like Bad Kissingen and Bad Reichenhall, the local tourism industry hesitated to implement anti-Jewish measures, and the Reich Tourism Association was initially unwilling to force them to do so, as they were still committed to disseminating an image of a hospitable and peace-loving Germany to international visitors. This changed after the *Olympia-Jahr* of 1936, when State Minister Hermann Esser issued new provisions. From this point onward, Jews were only allowed to sojourn in spas that already possessed a "Jewish infrastructure." In Bavaria, this meant the "state baths" of Kissingen, Brückenau, and Reichenhall, where a veritable system of apartheid confined Jewish guests to pre-approved hotels and spa facilities, thereby preventing them from "polluting" the air and water enjoyed by other tourists.⁸⁸³

The municipal authorities of Munich and Nuremberg had their own approaches to Aryanization, reflecting various economic, political, and ideological concerns. While the city of Munich hesitated to jeopardize its *Gemütlichkeit*-based, cosmopolitan reputation, the city of Nuremberg never denied its reputation as a center of German nationalism and anti-Semitism. However, even in the latter case, discrimination was not publicized in

⁸⁸³ Bajohr, *Bäder-Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, 127-135. For more on anti-Semitism in Bad Reichenhall after World War I, see Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 752-760.

tourist propaganda, and racism was extremely subtle. The tourism industry relied on the dynamic of inclusion, and therefore tended to mask this negative feature of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Open discrimination may have been acceptable in smaller towns like Rothenburg, but it was not part of the carefully-constructed image of Germany's great cities.

The Nazi regime attached special significance to five cities in particular, the so-called "Führer cities." There was Berlin, imperial capital and the new center of "Germania"; Hamburg, "Gateway to the World" and center of international trade; Linz, Hitler's hometown and a burgeoning cultural center; Nuremberg, former Imperial Free City and site of the Reich Party Rallies; and finally, Munich, "Capital of the Movement" and longtime headquarters of the party.⁸⁸⁴ After 1933, a 1,000 mark tariff discouraged German tourists from traveling to Austria, and consequently, Linz did not figure prominently in the tourist propaganda before the *Anschluss* in 1938.⁸⁸⁵ Meanwhile, the other "Führer cities" were marketed as the symbolic centers of Hitler's Germany. A 1937 publication by the Reich Railway Office for German Travel addressed all four under the title "German Capitals: Munich, Nuremberg, Berlin, Hamburg," offering valuable insight into how these urban centers were marketed during the Third Reich. For instance, the brochure briefly covered the relatively short history of Berlin before dedicating attention to the city's modern-day significance: "In recent years Berlin has increasingly become the spiritual, economic, and above all, political center of strength in Germany. All the essential elements of the New Germany are united before the visitors'

⁸⁸⁴ Eckart Dietzfelbinger and Gerhard Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen: Das Reichsparteitagsgelände – Vorgeschichte und schwieriges Erbe* (Berlin: Christoph Links, 2004), 32.

⁸⁸⁵ Shortly thereafter, plans for the architectural transformation of the city were indefinitely postponed due to the approaching war. Hachtmann, *Tourismus-Geschichte*, 134-137.

eyes in the capital: politics and economics, science and art, commerce and trade...”⁸⁸⁶

Similarly, the brochure advertised Hamburg as a progressive and bustling metropolis, and one of the few Hanseatic cities that has retained its economic status into the twentieth century. Decidedly cosmopolitan, Hamburg was also home to countless theatres and scientific and cultural institutions, in addition to the internationally notorious *Reeperbahn*, the “haven of pleasure.”⁸⁸⁷

Interestingly, the brochure’s descriptions of the Bavarian cities of Munich and Nuremberg take on a somewhat different tone. Munich was characterized as “the heart of Germany,” and alongside the decidedly modern Berlin, tangible evidence of the “internal wealth” of the nation, and the “diversity of the German tribes.” Munich was modern, but it was many other things as well, and its selling points included its charming Bavarian culture, *Gemütlichkeit*, and colorful past (even though it was not much older than Berlin). Nuremberg, on the other hand, was depicted as the medieval city of Albrecht Dürer and the Mastersingers, renowned for its hand-crafted toys and gingerbread. The brochure pointed to Nuremberg’s historical identity as the rationale behind its transformation into “The City of the Reich Party Rallies,” claiming that the annual celebration forged a link between “yesterday and today, from the praiseworthy and empowering past to the living and energetic resurgence of the New Germany.”⁸⁸⁸ The balancing of historical

⁸⁸⁶ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/937/DEU: *Deutsche Hauptstädte: München, Nürnberg, Berlin, Hamburg* (Deutsches Propagande-Atelier: Berlin, 1937). “In den letzten Jahren ist Berlin immer mehr zum geistigen, wirtschaftlichen und vor allem politischen Kraftzentrum in Deutschland geworden. Alles Wesentliche des neuen Deutschland wird der Besucher in der Hauptstadt vereinigt sehen: Politik und Wirtschaft, Wissenschaft und Kunst, Handel und Gewerbe...” Semmens at one point even refers to Berlin’s appeal as “in some ways futuristic.” Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 81.

⁸⁸⁷ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/937/DEU: *Deutsche Hauptstädte: München, Nürnberg, Berlin, Hamburg*. “Ankerplatz der Freude.”

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.* “So wurde in Nürnberg auf den Parteitag die Brücke geschlagen vom Einst zum Heute, von der ruhmreichen, kräftespendenden Vergangenheit zu der lebendigen und tatkräftigen Gesundung im neuen Deutschland.”

significance and contemporary relevance was a central theme in the tourist propaganda covering Munich and Nuremberg during the Third Reich. This vision of grounded modernity reinforced the notion of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, uniting the German people in the name of a common culture and history, while obscuring the fact that the new nation was actually built upon selective memory and racism.

By discussing grounded modernity during the Third Reich, I am directly engaging with the work of Jeffrey Herf, and specifically, the idea of “reactionary modernism.” Before we proceed, it would be helpful to outline the differences between our concepts. “Reactionary modernism” was limited to ideologues like Ernst Jünger and Martin Heidegger, who reconciled anti-modernist tendencies with technological modernization during the interwar period. They created an ideology in which technology, emanating from the German soul, was integrated with nationalism and provided the foundation for a powerful state.⁸⁸⁹ Grounded modernity, on the other hand, was a much more flexible and widespread idea, and it was recognizable as early as the nineteenth century. Simultaneously nostalgic and progressive, visions of grounded modernity celebrated technology alongside several other aspects of modernity, including city planning, mass culture, and popular politics, as the following chapter will demonstrate.

Munich, The Athens on the Isar

Compared to the Roman-settled Bad Reichenhall or Augsburg, Munich was a relatively young city in 1933. Founded in 1158 near a settlement of Benedictine monks on the Isar River, Munich was located along the salt trading route, and quickly grew into an important fortified city. It became the official capital of the newly-reunited Bavaria in

⁸⁸⁹ Herf, *Reactionary Modernism*.

1506, and served as an important center of the Counter-Reformation. When Napoleon transformed the Duchy of Bavaria into a kingdom in 1806, Munich became the royal capital. In subsequent decades the city's appearance was enhanced by the building campaigns of Bavaria's first three kings. Munich's stock increased even more after the re-location of the University of Landshut to the Bavarian capital in 1826, and the opening of a rail connection in 1839. After German Unification in 1871, the empire's third largest city acquired a reputation as a center of high arts and folk culture, equally renowned for its museums and concert venues as it was for its beer halls and popular festivals, most notably the Oktoberfest, the annual celebration of the future King Ludwig I's marriage to a Saxon princess in 1810.⁸⁹⁰

Tourists found no shortage of sights worth seeing in the "Athens on the Isar." The *Altstadt* was the location of many of these attractions, including the iconic onion-domed towers of the gothic "Cathedral of our Blessed Lady," or *Frauenkirche*, as well as the largest downtown palace in Germany, the Wittelsbach Residenz. Another popular attraction was the Hofbräuhaus, initially established during the sixteenth century as the court brewery of brown beer, but long since become a popular gathering spot for locals and visitors alike. Outside the walls of the *Altstadt* were a number of internationally-renowned art museums centered around the "King's Square," or *Königsplatz*. While the Ludwig I-commissioned *Glyptothek* possessed a collection of sculptures from Ancient Greece and Rome, the nearby *Pinakothek* contained paintings from European masters like Raphael, Rembrandt, and Rubens.

⁸⁹⁰ For helpful surveys of Munich's place in Bavarian history, see Kraus, *Grundzüge der Geschichte Bayerns*; Alois Schmid, ed. *Das Neue Bayern. Von 1800 bis zur Gegenwart. Zweiter Teilband: Innere Entwicklung und kulturelles Leben* (Munich: C.H.Beck, 2007).

Fin-de-siècle tourist propaganda celebrated this wealth of attractions, in addition to stressing that in spite of the city's size, Munich remained a warm and inviting destination. The 1907 guidebook, *Our Bavarian Land*, proudly proclaimed: "Today Munich is a city of half a million residents. But in spite of the growth of its tourism, it remains the city of rest and relaxation, the city of friendliness and informality."⁸⁹¹ The guidebook's author, Ernst Platz, characterized Munich as a modern European metropolis, but he coupled this image with that of an inviting and unpretentious tourist Mecca. Art also played a central role in Platz's treatment of the Bavarian capital, which underscored the international reputation and diversity of the city's older and more avant-garde collections.⁸⁹² Alongside art, an equally important theme in the tourist propaganda was (and remains) local beer. An 1899 "Illustrated Hotel Tourist Guide" urged visitors not to overlook the city's famous "art industry," but more importantly, not to forget the world-renowned, locally-brewed beer, which could be enjoyed in any number of inviting and spacious beer cellars, where out-of-town visitors could easily get to know the "straightforward and open character of Munich's residents."⁸⁹³

The tourist identity of Munich revolved around these twin pillars of high and low culture, refinement and merriment, Rembrandt and *Weißbier*. But the city was characterized by contradictions in several other regards. David Clay Large has claimed that the bohemian neighborhood of Schwabing, renowned for its avant-garde and anti-bourgeois artists, also gave rise to nationalist and racially-based critiques of modernity,

⁸⁹¹ Platz, *Unser Bayerland*, 5. "München ist heute eine Halbmillionenstadt. Aber trotz der Entwicklung seines Verkehrs ist es noch immer die Stadt der Erholung, die Stadt der Gemütlichkeit."

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁸⁹³ StadtAM, *Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung*, 116/1.

which helped to pave the way for National Socialism.⁸⁹⁴ Andreas Heusler has looked beyond Schwabing in arguing that Munich's modernization bred discord between an alternatively conservative-monarchist and liberal *Bürgertum* and a growing number of disenfranchised workers driven by despair into the arms of the Social Democrats.⁸⁹⁵ Tourism covered up these fault lines, clinging to the conciliatory formulas of *Gemütlichkeit* and joie de vivre.

The First World War and its revolutionary aftermath fueled the crisis of classical modernity in Munich, in addition to leading to serious problems for the city's tourism industry. As was the case in Bad Reichenhall and Augsburg, three concerns would make foreign and domestic tourists reluctant to visit the Bavarian capital over the course of this period: Germany's damaged international reputation, the currency crisis of the early 1920s, and the worldwide Great Depression. Munich was especially hard hit by the currency crisis, with a glass of beer costing up to 150 billion marks in November 1923. While the "Great Inflation" initially brought an invasion of tourists, "flaunting their hard currency," these visitors were greeted not with *Gemütlichkeit*, but with excessively high prices and xenophobia, doing further damage to the city's international reputation.⁸⁹⁶ The Bavarian Revolution of 1918-1919 had also tarnished Munich's standing among travelers, and a 1926 report issued by the Association for the Promotion of Tourism in Munich and the Bavarian Highlands stated that many had been led to believe that visiting

⁸⁹⁴ David Clay Large, *Where Ghosts Walked: Munich's Road to the Third Reich* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 3-42.

⁸⁹⁵ Andreas Heusler, *Das Braune Haus: Wie München zur "Hauptstadt der Bewegung" wurde* (Munich: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 2008), 51-53, 58-59, 70-71.

⁸⁹⁶ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 159-160; Feldman, "The 'Fremdenplage' in the Weimar Inflation," 643; Geyer, *Verkehrte Welt*, 184.

Munich meant putting one's life in danger.⁸⁹⁷ That very same year, an article in the local nationalist newspaper, *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, lamented: "Unfortunately, Munich can no longer count on its beauty, art, and hospitality to attract visitors. The tourist no longer feels at ease with us, and only uses the city as a transit point; the influx of visitors is steadily decreasing."⁸⁹⁸

The ramifications of the 1929 stock market crash complicated efforts to improve the city's image with new marketing. The municipal government's annual subsidy for advertisement within Germany was decreased from 55,000 to 35,000 marks in 1931, sparking a crisis mentality among community members with investments in the local tourism industry.⁸⁹⁹ A January 1932 issue of the *Bayerische Staatszeitung* announced a "sharp decline" in tourism during the previous season, noting that the number of overnight guests had decreased by 21.4% from 1930 to 1931, falling from 857,765 to 674,256. The number of foreign guests had dropped even more dramatically, falling 32% from 186,281 to 125,786.⁹⁰⁰ The Munich tourism industry did not begin to rebound until 1933, a result of both the resurgent German economy and the enshrinement of several local sites associated with Adolf Hitler and the rise of the Nazi Party.

⁸⁹⁷ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 7: "Verkehrswerbung, Reichszentrale, 1925-1928." In spite of these concerns, American travel correspondent Harry Franck noted in a 1920 publication that reports about the revolution and its aftermath had been somewhat sensationalist, concluding: "Like so many dreadful things, however, martial law and beleaguered cities prove more terrible at a distance than on the spot." Harry Franck, *Vagabonding through Changing Germany* (New York: Harry & Brothers Publishers, 1920), 250.

⁸⁹⁸ *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (Munich), 24 March 1926. "Leider ist München nicht mehr die Stadt, die trotz ihrer Schönheit, Kunst und Gemütlichkeit die Fremden anzieht. Man fühlt sich bei uns nicht mehr wohl und benützt die Stadt möglichst nur als Durchgangsstation; der Zustrom wird immer geringer."

⁸⁹⁹ One response to this was the creation of the "Emergency Group for the Advancement of Internal Tourism," founded in Munich in 1931 with the goal of drawing German tourists back to the traditional tourist center of Munich and the Bavarian Highlands. StAM, Polizeidirektion München, Vereinsakten, 5999: "Notgemeinschaft zur Förderung der Inlandreisen, 1931-1935."

⁹⁰⁰ *Bayerische Staatszeitung* (Munich), 24 January 1932.

The struggling Austrian painter first arrived in Munich in 1913, and quickly fell in love with the city.⁹⁰¹ He would later write in *Mein Kampf*: "...there was the heartfelt love which seized me for this city more than for any other place that I knew, almost from the first hour of my sojourn there. A German city! What a difference from Vienna!"⁹⁰² The conservative tendencies and carnival mood of Munich appealed to young Hitler, who even felt at home in the cosmopolitan Schwabing, which was filled with Eastern European artists and north German expatriates.⁹⁰³ Upon the outbreak of the First World War, Hitler was among the thousands of Munich citizens to participate in a mass demonstration on the *Odeonsplatz*, captured in the now famous photo by Heinrich Hoffmann. Shortly thereafter, Hitler allegedly appealed directly to King Ludwig III for permission to enlist in the Bavarian army. Four years later, a wounded but decorated corporal, Hitler returned to a Munich he barely recognized.⁹⁰⁴ Like many other German cities at the end of the war, Munich was confronted with material shortages and political unrest.⁹⁰⁵ After the bloodless coup on the 7 November, the Prussian-born Jew Kurt Eisner proclaimed the dawn of the Bavarian Republic, energizing Munich's disenfranchised proletariat.⁹⁰⁶ Six months later, bloodshed marked the end of socialist experimentation, as the entrance of counterrevolutionary forces into Munich led to 600

⁹⁰¹ Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris* (New York: Norton, 1998), 68, 81-82.

⁹⁰² Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 126.

⁹⁰³ For more on the pre-war culture of Munich, see Peter Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance. 1890-1914* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985); J. Trygve Has-Ellison, "Nobles, Modernism, and the Culture of *fin-de-siècle* Munich," *German History* 26, no. 1 (January 2008): 1-23.

⁹⁰⁴ Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 89-90, 109.

⁹⁰⁵ Rationing in Munich had actually begun in May 1915, with additional items being added to the list throughout the war. Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 60.

⁹⁰⁶ For more on Kurt Eisner, see Bernhard Grau, *Kurt Eisner 1867-1919* (Munich: C.H.Beck, 2000).

deaths over the course of two days, and the summary executions of dozens more during the first week of May.⁹⁰⁷

The political climate of post-revolutionary Munich remained volatile, as “nationalist slogans, anti-Semitic phrases [and] reactionary keywords” filled the air.⁹⁰⁸ It was in this context that Hitler became a spy for the *Reichswehr*, and was ordered to infiltrate the fledgling German Workers’ Party, led by the anti-Semitic and anti-communist Anton Drexler.⁹⁰⁹ Realizing his affinity for the party’s ideology, Hitler quickly became their star speaker, and even helped to draft the party programme, which was announced at the Hofbräuhaus during the first mass meeting of the newly-renamed National Socialist German Workers’ Party in February 1920.⁹¹⁰ His emotional tirades against Jews, social democrats, liberals, reactionary monarchists, capitalists, and communists fueled the popularity of the Nazi party during the early years, and by July 1921, Hitler’s name had become synonymous with the NSDAP itself. He found himself surrounded by men who would follow him throughout his career, including Hermann Göring, Julius Streicher, and Hermann Esser. During these early years, Hitler also secured the patronage of members of Munich’s high society, and came into contact with General Erich Ludendorff, the symbolic leader of Germany’s radical nationalist Right.⁹¹¹

⁹⁰⁷ Geyer, *Verkehrte Welt*, 50-129.

⁹⁰⁸ Richard Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich* (New York: Penguin Group, 2004), 169.

⁹⁰⁹ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 128-129. For more on Hitler’s activities during the immediate postwar period, see Anton Joachimsthaler, *Hitlers Weg begann in München 1913-1923* (Munich: Herbig, 2000), 177-319.

⁹¹⁰ Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 140-145. The connection between National Socialism and the Hofbräuhaus was later acknowledged by a commemorative plaque on the Munich landmark, and was also pointed out in a special 1934 issue of *Das Bayerland*, entitled “Munich, die Kunststadt des Neuen Reiches.” Hans Zöberlin, “München, die Stadt der Bewegung,” *Das Bayerland. Illustrierte Wochenschrift für Bayerns Volk und Land* (October 1934), 589-590.

⁹¹¹ Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 149, 160-165, 186-190, 194-195; Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 80-90.

It was Hitler's choice to capitalize on his association with Ludendorff that led to his initial downfall. Using Ludendorff as a front, Hitler organized a putsch attempt modeled after Mussolini's "March on Rome." On the evening of November 8, 1923, Hitler and an armed entourage interrupted a mass meeting in the banquet hall of the *Bürgerbräukeller* beer hall. After silencing the crowd by firing his pistol at the ceiling, Hitler announced the beginning of the "national revolution." The following morning, Hitler, Ludendorff, and roughly two thousand armed and somewhat hung-over men marched toward the Bavarian Ministry of War. They were stopped by one hundred soldiers at the Generals' Hall, or *Feldherrnhalle*. After a brief exchange of fire, four police officers and fourteen insurgents lay dead, with two more being mortally wounded. Hitler was injured, but managed to escape to the home of friends, where he briefly contemplated suicide.⁹¹² Shortly thereafter, he was arrested for high treason, and brought before a specially organized "People's Court" in Munich. The trial was a spectacle. Although Hitler was sentenced to five years in prison, he would serve only nine months.⁹¹³

The coup attempt had amounted to a fiasco, but it would serve as a powerful, propaganda tool for the young Nazi party, endowing Munich with indisputable symbolic capital. Although Hitler's brief incarceration in the fortress of Landsberg am Lech may have brought the party's momentum to a standstill, it was hardly enough to stamp it out entirely. A 1938 independently-published guidebook on Munich described the party's rebirth, in English, as follows:

⁹¹² Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 206-212. For more details on these events, see Harold J. Gordon, *Hitler and the Beer Hall Putsch* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 270-409.

⁹¹³ Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 195-196.

Yet though its source was for a time buried by a force beneath the debris its strength was not spent. Like some primeval power of the earth it burst forth again to the light of day. The free hands of the movement worked untiringly. On February 27th, 1925, Adolf Hitler could issue his summons in the Bürgerbräukeller to refound the National Socialist German Workers' Party under the motto: The Future of Germany and our Movement. And now the movement took its irresistible and unwavering course over Munich, Bavaria, all Germany... Yet Munich's fame will endure as the source and stronghold of the Movement – the Movement, which as the leader promised, has indeed become identical with the future of Germany.⁹¹⁴

Munich, source and stronghold of the movement, was effectively cast as the site of the party's Passion and Resurrection. The city lost much of its political significance during the years before 1933, as the Nazi party focused on electioneering across Germany, while the majority of Munich's population proved impervious to the Nazi ideology.⁹¹⁵ However, after the seizure of power, Munich acquired a nearly unrivalled status in Hitler's Germany, a status bolstered by frequent political festivals, party events, and visits by foreign dignitaries like Mussolini.⁹¹⁶

The Capital of the Movement and German Art

Once the residential city of the Wittelsbach kings, Munich's political and cultural identity was substantially reconfigured during the Third Reich. Although there continues to be debate about whether or not Munich was a political stronghold of National Socialism, the city's highly visible role in the festival culture of the Third Reich is undeniable.⁹¹⁷ In

⁹¹⁴ Theodor Trautwein, *Guide Book for Munich, the Capital of the National Socialist Movement, Its Environs, and the Royal Castles* (Munich: Bergverlag Rudolf Rother, 1938), 19-20. This guidebook was also printed in German, containing relatively identical text. One notable difference in the German edition was the inclusion of three page lists of addresses for local offices of National Socialist organizations, including the SS, the SA, the Hitler Youth, and the German Workers' Front, or DAF.

⁹¹⁵ Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 117, 121-126.

⁹¹⁶ Elizabeth Angermair and Ulrike Haerendel, *Inszenierter Alltag: "Volksgemeinschaft" im nationalsozialistischen München, 1933-1945* (Munich: Hugendubel, 1993), 14.

⁹¹⁷ A 1937 report by the exiled SPD identified an atmosphere of "disillusionment" in Munich,

July 1935, Hitler officially designated the city as the “Capital of the Movement,” a title that carried serious political and cultural weight. Berlin may have been the political capital of Nazi Germany, but Munich remained the administrative center of the National Socialist Party, and was inextricably associated with the Führer.⁹¹⁸ The new title was also a means of integrating the Bavarian capital into the Third Reich, eclipsing the city’s independent and particularist legacy.⁹¹⁹

Munich was not only the city where the National Socialist Party had been founded; it was one of the first places where Nazi blood had been spilt for the New Germany, as Hitler often claimed.⁹²⁰ Tourist propaganda employed similar language, with obvious religious overtones. A brochure entitled “Munich’s Festival Summer 1935,” issued by the Munich Tourism Association, declared: “Munich is the Capital of the Movement. Here the spirit of the young nation became flesh and blood; here the first martyrs of the new empire fell.”⁹²¹ Munich was now re-imagined as the site of the Third Reich’s genesis, where the idea of the people’s community took physical form. Sanctioning this new identity, city officials commissioned a new municipal coat of arms, with the Bavarian lion now replaced by the iconography of the Third Reich: the eagle and swastika.⁹²² The city’s new role under the Nazis was even noted in a July 1934 issue of *The New York Times*, which reported that Munich, “more virulent in its faith than any

concluding that it was not (and never had been) a National Socialist city. *Deutschlandberichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SOPADE)* 4, no. 8 (August 1937): A-7.

⁹¹⁸ Helmut M. Hanko, “Kommunalpolitik in der ‘Hauptstadt der Bewegung’ 1933-1935. Zwischen ‘revolutionärer’ Umgestaltung und Verwaltungskontinuität,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit, III: Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt, Teil B*, eds. Martin Broszat, Elke Fröhlich, and Anton Grossman (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1981), 408.

⁹¹⁹ Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 210.

⁹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁹²¹ StadtAM, *Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung*, 116/1.

⁹²² Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 231.

other German center, save perhaps Nuremberg,” was being “groomed to be a political and cultural south German capital.”⁹²³

In 1933, a small memorial tablet, or *Mahnmal*, was erected on the eastern side of the Generals’ Hall. This memorial, under the constant supervision of two SS men, commemorated the sixteen fallen putschists and celebrated the decisive moment in the history of the Nazi movement and the German *Volksgemeinschaft*. The tablet read: “The *Feldherrnhalle* is bound for all times with the names of the men who gave their lives on 9 November 1923 for the movement and the rebirth of Germany.”⁹²⁴ The location of the memorial alongside the Generals’ Hall allowed for another connection to a national past. Commissioned by Ludwig I, the Generals’ Hall was a monument to past military victories, and contained bronze statues of the generals Johann Tilly and Karl Philip von Wrede, heroes of the Thirty Years and Napoleonic Wars respectively. The central bronze figure, depicting the goddess Bavaria, was added after the German Wars of Unification, and was flanked by two lions, symbols of the former kingdom. It was a fortunate coincidence, then, that the 1923 putsch came to a bloody end in the shadow of this nineteenth-century monument, as it meant that the Nazi martyrs could be venerated alongside the military heroes of the Bavarian past. Different strands of regional and national history were united in a common space of collective remembrance, even though propaganda rarely provided details about the two generals, especially the fact that Tilly fought against fellow Germans, and was notorious for the Sack of Magdeburg.

Local tourist propaganda validated the new symbolic status of the Generals’ Hall, ranking the monument among the city’s most important sights, while drawing vague

⁹²³ *The New York Times* (New York), 1 July 1934.

⁹²⁴ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 53. Semmens’ translation.

connections between the German past and present. For example, a 1938 guidebook on “Munich and its environs,” published by the independent Trautwein firm, proclaimed:

This fine, yet solemn structure contains the statues of Bavarian generals and a monument in honour of the great deeds of the old Bavarian army... On the east side of the Feldherrn-Halle (Residenz-Strasse) the **Mahnmal** (Memorial Tablet) reminds us of an event of fateful importance for the New Germany. Here, on November 9th 1923, many of her best sons sank wounded and dying to the ground, the Leader, too, among them. The Mahnmal is dedicated to their memory and to the memory of all who died for the New Germany.⁹²⁵

This treatment of the landmark linked the “great deeds of the old Bavarian army” with the memory of the Beer Hall Putsch, grounding the “New Germany” in the process. Recent history was integrated into the larger trajectory of the German nation, as well as the architectural landscape of the Bavarian capital. The Generals’ Hall provided a crucial link between historical Munich and the “New Munich,” and photographs and paintings of the memorial on its eastern side became a standard addition to brochures and guidebooks.⁹²⁶ The building became a popular subject of picture postcards as well. One noteworthy example features a black-and-white photograph of the monument from the *Ludwigstrasse*, with the Generals’ Hall lavishly decorated with wreaths, and swastika banners hanging from tall poles on either side of the monument.⁹²⁷ What was once just another stop in Munich’s impressive list of attractions was now a national shrine. A 1935 Baedeker guide reported that tourists and residents alike were expected to perform the “German greeting” – the outstretched right arm – as they passed the memorial beside the Generals’ Hall.⁹²⁸ While Richard Evans has argued that “the Hitler greeting” helped to

⁹²⁵ Trautwein, *Guide Book for Munich*, 66. The word *Mahnmal* appears in bold in the guide.

⁹²⁶ An undated brochure issued by the Munich Tourism Association even featured an image of the memorial as the cover of its brochure “München.” BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268.

⁹²⁷ BWA, Bildpostkarten, 120: “München: Feldherrnhalle” (dated 25 September 1938).

⁹²⁸ Karl Baedeker, *München und Südbayern Handbuch für Reisende* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1935), 15, 25.

solidify a sense of community, one traveler noted that visitors could easily pass without saluting, “and the Black Guards will not shoot you or even appear to notice you.”⁹²⁹

In spite of this occasional apathy, the Nazi regime insisted upon the reverent treatment of its fallen heroes. Their chief ideologue, Alfred Rosenberg, invested the movement’s martyrs with a powerful symbolism, portraying them as sacrifices in the spirit of the “blood myth,” and a meaningful step toward the rejuvenation of the race.⁹³⁰

A German cult of heroism may have existed before the coming of the Third Reich, but the Nazis transformed these older traditions into unprecedented propaganda spectacles.⁹³¹

The fallen putschists honored at the Generals’ Hall acquired the status of mythological figures during the Third Reich, and their sacrifice was commemorated through an elaborate, state ceremony every November from 1933 to 1939. The exaltation of the fallen soldiers was transformed into a ritualized display of reverence, which served as a “function of sovereign state power.”⁹³² This ritualized display did more than institutionalize faith in heroic martyrdom; it offered the Nazis another stage on which to showcase their power and discipline.

The first commemoration of the putsch in 1933 concluded nine months of celebration following Hitler’s ascension to power. Other festive occasions, such as the May Day celebrations in Berlin, or the Harvest Thanksgiving in the countryside of Lower Saxony, would pale in comparison to the extensive pageantry of the November

⁹²⁹ Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 123; John Alfred Cole, *Just Back From Germany* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1938), 129.

⁹³⁰ Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts: Eine Wertung des seelisch-geistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (Munich: Hoheneichen-Verlag, 1938), 698-699.

⁹³¹ For an inquiry into earlier notions of heroism in Imperial Germany, see Karen Hagemann, “German Heroes: The Cult of the Death for the Fatherland in 19th Century Germany,” *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 116-134. For more on the “cult of the fallen soldier” after World War I, see Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 70-106.

⁹³² Jay Baird, *To Die for Germany: Heroes in the Nazi Pantheon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 71.

commemoration, which Hitler reportedly took a personal interest in organizing.⁹³³ The most senior members of the party attended, as did massive crowds, composed of locals and out-of-town visitors alike.⁹³⁴ The local government shut down much of the city during the ceremony; downtown stores were to be closed from 8:00 until 14:00, and the use of automobiles was forbidden in parts of the city. On the morning of 8 November, the entire city was adorned with swastika flags and banners, largely a result of popular support for the Nazi regime. The festivities officially began with a performance of Wagner's *Lohengrin*, and concluded with the ceremonial march from the *Bürgerbräukeller* to the Generals' Hall, complete with the remaining "Old Guard" as well as the cherished "*Blutfahne*," the Nazi banner stained with the blood of fallen putschists.⁹³⁵

By literally retracing the footsteps of the sixteen, heroic martyrs, the Nazi party developed something akin to its own stations of cross. Several scholars have identified parallels between Nazi rituals and Catholic traditions, with some suggesting that the Catholic backgrounds of the Austrian Hitler, the Bavarian Hermann Göring, and the Rhinelander Joseph Goebbels might have played a role. More recently, Derek Hastings has drawn explicit connections between Catholicism and National Socialism, arguing that Catholics played an important role in the early Nazi movement, influencing its ideology and providing crucial support during its formative years. Once Hitler chose to cooperate with the fervently anti-Catholic Ludendorff in 1923, this relationship began to deteriorate. After 1925, the deliberate cultivation of a "highly stylized form of political

⁹³³ Baird, *To Die for Germany*, 49. For more on the Harvest Thanksgiving festival on the Bückeberg, see Bernd Söseemann, "Appell unter der Erntekrone: Das Reichserntedankfest in der nationalsozialistischen Diktatur," *Jahrbuch für Kommunikationsgeschichte* 2 (2000): 113-156.

⁹³⁴ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 62.

⁹³⁵ Baird, *To Die for Germany*, 50-51.

religion, with its secular-liturgical symbolism and powerful participatory aesthetic,” ensured that there would be no return to the “straightforward Catholic orientation at the heart of the early Nazi movement.”⁹³⁶

Regardless of their origins, religious motifs provided an effective template for connecting with the public, especially in predominantly Catholic Upper Bavaria. Jay Baird argues that religious parallels were evident throughout the ceremonies of November 8-9, and that the regime deliberately mimicked the traditions of Easter. Robert Wistrich similarly insists that Nazi rituals in Munich borrowed extensively from Catholic forms, which were then subverted “from within,” turning National Socialism into a “politicized Catholicism stripped of any residue of Judeo-Christian ethics.”⁹³⁷ While the Nazi party may have been known for its professed distrust of religion, the cult of death celebrated at the November commemorations, like so many other elements of the Nazi festival culture, was “thoroughly within Christian tradition and iconography.”⁹³⁸ The Nazi replication of religious practices has led several scholars to define National Socialism as a form of “political religion,” even though Philippe Burrin has argued that this process is recognizable in all modern political phenomena, with National Socialism serving as an extreme case.⁹³⁹

The secular “stations of the cross” that concluded the annual November commemoration of the Beer Hall Putsch were expanded with the completion of the open-

⁹³⁶ Derek Hastings, *Catholicism and the Roots of Nazism: Religious Identity and National Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 4.

⁹³⁷ Robert S. Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich: Art, Propaganda, and Terror in the Third Reich* (London: Pavilion, 1995), 43.

⁹³⁸ Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 112.

⁹³⁹ Philippe Burrin, “Political Religion: The Relevance of a Concept,” *History and Memory* 9 (Fall 1997): 331-332. For more on National Socialism as a “political religion,” see Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

air “Temples of Honor,” or *Ehrentempel*, in 1935. Located at the eastern edge of the King’s Square, the monuments completed Ludwig I’s neo-classical forum, “unfinished” for “hundreds of years.”⁹⁴⁰ The temples were designed by the Führer’s favorite architect, Paul Ludwig Troost, who had been working with Hitler on redesigning the square as early as 1931.⁹⁴¹ Troost was known for his interest in reviving classical architecture, an interest he shared with Hitler, who had arrived in Munich with dreams of becoming an architect.⁹⁴² Hitler’s own affinity for the neo-classical style could not be reduced to aesthetic concerns alone, and he was drawn to ancient Greece and Rome for ideological reasons. He admired the imperial Romans for their militarism, their obsession with social order, and their political hierarchy ruled by a man with almost god-like status. Conversely, he viewed the ancient Greeks as the “racial ancestors” of the German *Volk*, and he admired classical Sparta in particular as “the clearest example in history of a city-state based on race.” Neo-classical architecture in the Third Reich would establish connections with historical antiquity while also allowing the Nazis to surpass the achievements of both the Greek city-states and the Roman Empire. Historian Alexander Scobie explains: “Every artifact was to breathe the spirit of domination and the glorification of the regime.”⁹⁴³

In spite of Hitler’s attraction to classical antiquity, he was not interested in “purity of style,” and instead sought to create new architectural forms that would become

⁹⁴⁰ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/936/BRO: *Passing Through Germany*, 10th ed. (Berlin: Terramare Office, 1936), 82.

⁹⁴¹ For more on Troost, his posthumous reputation, and his relationship with Hitler, see Karl Arndt, “Paul Ludwig Troost als Leitfigur der nationalsozialistischen Repräsentationsarchitektur,” in *Bürokratie und Kult. Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München. Teil 1: Geschichte und Rezeption*, ed. Iris Lauterbach (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1995) 147-156.

⁹⁴² Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 82-83.

⁹⁴³ Alexander Scobie, *Hitler’s State Architecture: The Impact of Classical Antiquity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 2-5, 13-14.

historical in their own right. Consequently, the design of the Temples of Honor displayed the unique synthesis of neo-classicism and functionalism that would become the trademark of Nazi monumental architecture. Serving as the final resting place of the movement's first martyrs, the monument consisted of two square "atria," each supported by a series of freestanding pillars without classical capitals. With no superfluous ornamentation, the "temples" were not covered by a roof, and the sixteen iron-ore tombs sat in plain view, serving as "eternal sentinels for the German nation."⁹⁴⁴ With these twin monuments serving as its new entrance, the King's Square became the final station during the elaborate, annual commemoration of the 1923 putsch, which climaxed with the "Führer's lonely walk" to each of the open temples, and his silent reverence before the tombs of martyrs.⁹⁴⁵ Afterwards, the names of the fallen heroes were read aloud. Once each name was called, the uniformed members of the audience responded with a resounding "*Hier*," proclaiming a connection with the fallen members of the people's community.⁹⁴⁶

Both guidebooks and tourists praised the Temples of Honor. In *Reiseland Südbayern*, an independently-published guidebook, Alexander Heilmeyer claimed:

No member of our people's community will be able to visit this square in the future without taking note of the martyrs of the movement, whose memory is also honored by the memorial on the eastern side of the Generals' Hall near the Residenz. And thus these two Temples of Honor will become a site of worship and consecration in the historical consciousness of present as well as future generations.⁹⁴⁷

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid., 16, 40, 56-64. Scobie also notes that Hitler's 1938 will included instructions for displaying his own coffin in the Temples of Honor on the *Königsplatz*.

⁹⁴⁵ Frei, *National Socialist Rule in Germany*, 84.

⁹⁴⁶ Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 205.

⁹⁴⁷ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/938/HEI: Alexander Heilmeyer, "Die Bauten des Dritten Reiches," in *Reiseland Südbayern*, ed. Paul Wolfrum (Munich: Verlag Knorr & Hirth, 1938), 65. "Kein Angehöriger unserer Volksgemeinschaft wird in Zukunft diesen Platz betreten, ohne sich nicht auch der Opfer der Bewegung bewußt zu werden, denen auch das Mahnmal an der Ostseite der Feldherrnhalle, der

Heilmeyer used religious language to explain the allure of Munich's new monuments, but noticeably, only discussed their impact on members of the people's community, employing the dynamic of inclusion as well as exclusion. Another guidebook identified the new monument as "perhaps, in all Munich, the spot of the most solemn memory."⁹⁴⁸ In spite of their occasional exclusion, foreign travelers also testified to the sacred quality of the site. In a 1938 account, English novelist John Alfred Cole recalled the "extraordinary effect of the place," describing the Temples of Honor as more impressive than the London cenotaph or the Tomb of the Unknown Warriors in Paris. He reported that "pilgrims" constantly flocked to the shrine: "They may come as laughing coachloads of tourists, or happy family parties out on a trip, but as they draw near their demeanor changes, they mount the steps slowly and quietly, look for a minute or more at the coffins below, give the Nazi salute and then slowly make their way to the other shrine."⁹⁴⁹ Similarly, English author and tourist Charles W. Domville characterized the square as a "place of pilgrimage for all patriotic Germans," who walked "with bared heads up the broad stone steps from which one looks down upon the sacred slabs of marble."⁹⁵⁰

As a sacred site and the new focal point of Munich's King's Square, the Temples of Honor were not the only addition planned for this particular part of the "Capital of the Movement." Before his death in 1934, Troost had restored the interior of the nearby

Residenz gegenüber, geweiht ist. Und so werden diese beide Ehrentempel als eine Stätte der Andacht und Weihe ins geschichtliche Bewußtsein der gegenwärtigen wie der kommenden Geschlechter eingehen."

⁹⁴⁸ Trautwein, *Guide Book for Munich*, 75.

⁹⁴⁹ Cole, *Just Back From Germany*, 124-126.

⁹⁵⁰ Charles W. Domville, *This is Germany* (London: Seeley Service & Co. Ltd., 1939), 251-254.

“Brown House,” which had served as the Nazi Party headquarters since 1930.⁹⁵¹ Troost was also responsible for the designs of two additional buildings on the square. The *Führerbau*, christened during Mussolini’s 1937 visit to Munich, contained offices, a massive auditorium, and even a restaurant in the basement.⁹⁵² The administrative building (*Verwaltungsbau*), which was connected to the *Führerbau* via an underground tunnel, housed the offices of the Reich Treasury as well as the extensive index of party members.⁹⁵³ Both buildings featured a balcony from which Hitler could address crowds, as well as modern conveniences like air-conditioning.⁹⁵⁴ With their vaguely classical façades and colonnaded porches, these twin constructions completed a ring of monumental architecture on the King’s Square that included the nineteenth-century landmarks of the *Glyptothek* and the *Propyläen*. Even Goebbels, who had never been fond of Munich, admitted in his diary that the buildings were “indescribably beautiful,” adding: “Here the Führer has translated his will into stone.”⁹⁵⁵ Alexander Heilmeyer claimed that every step closer to the “Party Buildings” revealed more and more of the structures’ architectural merit, demonstrating that modern architecture could boldly reflect the “spirit of classical Antiquity” without merely reproducing antiquated

⁹⁵¹ For a tourist’s impression of the Brown House and its relics, see John Heygate, *Motor Tramp* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), 321. For more on the renovation of the “Brown House,” see Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 127-169.

⁹⁵² Baedeker, *München und Südbayern Handbuch für Reisende*, 32.

⁹⁵³ Ulrike Grambitter, “Vom „Parteiheim“ in der Briener Straße zu den Monumentalbauten am „Königlichen Platz“: Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz in München,” in *Bürokratie und Kult. Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz*, 74.

⁹⁵⁴ Evans, *The Third Reich in Power*, 181.

⁹⁵⁵ Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Teil I, Aufzeichnungen 1924-1941; Band 3/I, April 1934-Februar 1936*, ed. Elke Fröhlich (New York: K.G. Saur, 2006), 278. “Hier hat der Führer seinen Willen in Stein geschrieben.”

designs.⁹⁵⁶ These examples of Nazi architecture represented a link to the past, but they also signified improvement over nineteenth-century neo-classicism.⁹⁵⁷

The King's Square in Munich was more than an administrative center for the Party; it was an assembly point for a "political community of faith."⁹⁵⁸ It acquired the status of "a sacred cult center," and was labeled the "Acropolis Germaniae."⁹⁵⁹ After 1933, the lawn that sat between Ludwig I's monuments was paved over with over 20,000 square meters of granite pavement, and was equipped with eighteen permanent lanterns, as well as an extensive network of underground electrical cables that could be used for additional lighting and amplification. The new King's Square could accommodate over 50,000 people, and was utilized during the November celebrations and the festivities surrounding the "Day of German Art."⁹⁶⁰ An English-language brochure issued by the Munich Tourism Association characterized the King's Square as "the national sanctuary of the German People." A photo adjacent to this description showed pedestrians leisurely strolling through the newly-remodeled square, offering a somewhat depoliticized depiction of the Munich attraction.⁹⁶¹ Even when the square was not the site of mass celebrations, it still drew visitors.

⁹⁵⁶ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/938/HEI: Heilmeyer, "Die Bauten des Dritten Reiches," 65-66.

⁹⁵⁷ On the other hand, a 1937 report from the exiled SPD speculated that the average citizen of Munich had "no appreciation for the architectural addiction of the Führer." *Deutschlandberichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SOPADE)* 4, no. 8 (August 1937): A-9.

⁹⁵⁸ Arndt, "Paul Ludwig Troost als Leitfigur der nationalsozialistischen Repräsentationsarchitektur," 150.

⁹⁵⁹ Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture*, 63.

⁹⁶⁰ Hans Lehmbruch, "ACROPOLIS GERMANIAE. Der Königsplatz – Forum der NSDAP," in *Bürokratie und Kult. Das Parteizentrum der NSDAP am Königsplatz*, 20-24, 36. Lehmbruch also notes that initial plans for the *Königsplatz* in the early 19th century had focused on turning the square into a congregation point revolving around a war memorial. Although this monument was never constructed, the square did become a popular site for royal celebrations and political rallies, in spite of a lack of public toilets.

⁹⁶¹ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268.

For residents and tourists, the Temple of Honor and the other Nazi buildings of the King's Square served as examples of the "New Munich," in addition to somewhat shifting the symbolic nucleus of the Bavarian capital slightly northwest. A postcard printed by August Lengauer, a local Munich firm, confirmed the magnitude of the "Königlicher Platz," a new title that diverted attention from the actual Bavarian king who oversaw the square's initial construction.⁹⁶² The postcard featured a painted, black-and-white aerial view of the square from the west, with the *Propyläen* in the foreground, Ludwig's museums on either side, and the Temples of Honor and the Party Buildings figuring prominently at the top of the scene. The towers of the *Altstadt* are barely recognizable in the background, although the twin domes of the *Frauenkirche* are discernible in the upper, right-hand corner.⁹⁶³ While the recent additions to the city dominate this particular view, the remote past of Munich is literally and figuratively positioned in the background, but hardly forgotten. Serving as the backdrop for the new "Party Center," the *Altstadt* remained connected with the "New Munich" celebrated in the Nazified tourist culture.

The King's Square was the most ambitious example of the architectural transformation of Munich, but many other projects were proposed. Although the city was not slated for the massive reconstruction planned for Berlin, Hitler did hope to improve Munich's cultural profile with a new Opera House.⁹⁶⁴ There were also plans to construct a number of large skyscrapers near Munich's central train station, with one of them

⁹⁶² Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 227.

⁹⁶³ BWA, Bildpostkarten, 64: "München, Hauptstadt der Bewegung: Königlicher Platz" (Munich: A. Lengauer, undated).

⁹⁶⁴ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/937/DEU: *Deutsche Hauptstädte: München, Nürnberg, Berlin, Hamburg*. For more on the extensive plans for Berlin, see Stephen Helmer, *Hitler's Berlin: The Speer Plans for Reshaping the Central City* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1985).

containing a “Strength through Joy” hotel.⁹⁶⁵ While these plans were destined to remain on the drawing board, several architectural adjustments were completed before 1939. For example, the bridge spanning the Isar between the *Bürgerbräukeller* and the Generals’ Hall was expanded in order to accommodate the annual November procession. A historical, evangelical church near the city’s center was demolished to make room for government buildings.⁹⁶⁶ Meanwhile, a number of monuments commemorating the revolutionaries of 1918-1919 were destroyed, obscuring the memory of this dark chapter in Munich’s history.⁹⁶⁷ Similarly, many Munich synagogues were demolished in a partially symbolic gesture designed to eradicate all traces of Jewish culture from the country’s historical landscape.⁹⁶⁸ The limited urban renewal of Munich therefore assisted in the codification of an official version of the past that could be sold to locals and tourists.

The elimination of the Jewish presence in Munich was not immediately apparent to tourists. For example, Grieben’s 1934 guidebook on the *Bavarian Highland* advertised the existence of three “Jewish ritual” restaurants within the city, further evidence that the *Gleichschaltung* of the tourism industry was not comprehensive.⁹⁶⁹ In Munich, local authorities initially hesitated to implement anti-Jewish economic policies as they feared that such measures might scare away foreign tourists, or at least give the wrong

⁹⁶⁵ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 280-281.

⁹⁶⁶ These plans were discussed in a 1935 meeting of the Munich Tourism Association. StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 14. For more on the debate surrounding the design of the expanded *Ludwigsbrücke*, see Hanko, “Kommunalpolitik in der ‘Hauptstadt der Bewegung’ 1933-1935,” 438-439.

⁹⁶⁷ Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, “Monuments and the Politics of Memory: Commemorating Kurt Eisner and the Bavarian Revolutions of 1918-1919 in Postwar Munich,” *Central European History* 30, no. 2 (1997): 229-233.

⁹⁶⁸ Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 243-245.

⁹⁶⁹ HAT, Sachkatalog, GRI-63/BAY. HOCHLAND-38... D061/09/01: Griebens Reiseführer [Firma], *Bayerisches Hochland mit München und Allgäu*, 38th ed. (Berlin: Grieben-Verlag, 1934), 30.

impression about Germany.⁹⁷⁰ Both the Nazi regime and the local hospitality industry were committed to international tourism as a means of earning revenue *and* combating negative stereotypes. Munich's status as a cosmopolitan destination meant that it was to serve as a cultural representative of the Third Reich, reassuring foreign tourists that allegations of militarism and anti-Semitic violence were unfounded. After all, it was in Munich that "the spirit of the New Germany visibly advanced," as the 1935 brochure claimed. David Clay Large has concluded that foreigners were by and large fooled, and Munich's "indefatigable festival culture and apparent joie de vivre were therefore an effective cover for the ugly realities of Nazi policy."⁹⁷¹ Foreign tourists were largely unburdened with the knowledge that anti-Semitism had played a role in Munich politics since the turn of the century.⁹⁷² They were also largely unaware of the existence of Nazi Germany's first concentration camp, located a mere 16 kilometers outside of the city in the town of Dachau.⁹⁷³

The tourist image of the "New Munich" was completely dependent upon an official codification of history, as well as the city's reputation as the capital of German art, which had been somewhat tarnished by Berlin's avant-garde status during the Weimar era. Art had helped to attract Hitler to the Bavarian capital, where he marveled at the Ludwig I's triumph: "By pushing Munich from the level of an insignificant provincial capital into the format of a great German art metropolis, he created a spiritual center which even today is strong enough to bind the essentially different Franks to this

⁹⁷⁰ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 248.

⁹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 276-277.

⁹⁷² Heusler, *Das Braune Haus*, 66-70.

⁹⁷³ For a brief history of the Dachau concentration camp, see Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau: The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933-2001* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15-72.

state.”⁹⁷⁴ For Hitler, art could serve as a means of creating a people’s community, and he credited the Wittelsbach king with unifying Bavaria by transforming its capital into an unparalleled center of high culture. Munich was no longer the seat of the Bavarian throne, but it remained *the* German art metropolis in the eyes of Hitler, and he refuted talk of cultural decline and rekindled local patriotism by casting the city once again as “the center of the artistic universe.”⁹⁷⁵

Hitler demonstrated his commitment to both Munich and German art when he laid the foundation stone of the House of German Art (*Haus der deutschen Kunst*) on 15 October 1933. The city’s newest attraction was to serve as a temple of true German art that would stand in opposition to the decadent experimentation of Weimar.⁹⁷⁶ The museum was located at the southern end of English Garden, Munich’s large city park, and was based on plans created by Troost before his death in 1934. Like his other designs, it was a synthesis of neo-classicism and functionalism: a symmetrical and rectangular building with a wide porch surrounded by columns without capitals. The emphasis here was not on height, but on length and width, and the House of German Art was designed to blend in with its natural surroundings, achieving harmony between the modern regime and the timeless landscape. Although the building was reminiscent of the “Old Museum” in Berlin, the House of German Art lacked the classical ornamentation (sculptures, reliefs, and even windows) of Karl Friedrich Schinkel’s design. Such aesthetic embellishments would have lessened the impact of the building’s “massive” and

⁹⁷⁴ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 576. To what extent the Franks even today consider themselves bound to the Bavarian state is a question that remains open to debate.

⁹⁷⁵ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 259; Karl Arndt, “Die Münchener Architekturszene 1933/34 als ästhetisch-politisches Konfliktfeld,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit, III: Herrschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt, Teil B*, 445-446.

⁹⁷⁶ It appears that Hitler might have overestimated both the popularity of experimental art during the Weimar Republic. At Munich’s *Allgemeine Kunstausstellung* in 1930, modernist works accounted for only 5% of the 2,700 exhibits. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic*, 166.

“unalterable” forms, which were designed to represent the nature of the Nazi regime itself.⁹⁷⁷ The House of German Art also provided a venue where the Führer “could imagine that he was heir to the Greeks and their ideal of the *polis* as ‘a work of art’...”⁹⁷⁸ Tourist publications showered praise upon the museum, describing it as a “magnificent temple of art” and a “truly German building, a monumental expression of the mighty cultural will of the Third Reich.”⁹⁷⁹ The Munich Tourism Association proclaimed in an English-language brochure: “The House of German Art on the outskirts of the English Garden is the architectural expression of Munich’s Mission as the Town of German Art.”⁹⁸⁰ In spite of its vaguely Greek and Roman design, the building was cast as an inherently German structure, reflecting the nebulous sense of history that was central to the Nazified tourist culture.

The House of German Art officially opened on 18 July 1937, an occasion commemorated with the “Day of German Art,” the latest addition to the National Socialist festival calendar. The centerpiece of the festival was the exhibition held in the new museum, reminiscent of an older Munich tradition: the annual shows at the “Glass Palace,” which had burned down in 1931.⁹⁸¹ The exhibition of “Great German Art” featured works by relatively unknown artists. Their pieces reflected the romantic and realist styles of the nineteenth century, and although some were clearly indebted to the principles of Impressionism, they could hardly be classified as avant-garde. The subject matter was conventional as well, and included a large number of landscapes (about 300), portraits (over 100), and still-lives (50). The exhibition also contained several works that

⁹⁷⁷ Arndt, “Die Münchener Architekturszene 1933/34,” 457-462, 475.

⁹⁷⁸ Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich*, 22.

⁹⁷⁹ Trautwein, *Guide Book for Munich*, 73.

⁹⁸⁰ BayHStA, *Sammlung Varia*, 268.

⁹⁸¹ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 262.

could be classified as propaganda, including paintings of Nazi monumental architecture and the *Autobahn*, and at least ten portraits of Hitler.⁹⁸² Taken as a whole, these selections were meant to prove that the German race could produce outstanding and “pure” pieces of art long after the achievements of Lukas Cranach and Albrecht Dürer. During his speech on the museum’s opening day, Hitler declared: “I know, therefore, that when the *Volk* passes through these galleries it will recognize in me its own spokesman and counselor... it will draw a sigh of relief and joyously express its agreement with this purification of art.”⁹⁸³ Although official statistics recorded 400,000 visitors during the 1937 exhibition, the expansive galleries of Munich’s new museum were often relatively empty.⁹⁸⁴

In contrast, the “Degenerate Art Exhibition” organized by Goebbels’ Propaganda Ministry made noticeable waves. Opening one day after the exhibition at the House of German Art in 1937, this counter-exhibition was housed in the nearby Archaeological Institute, a location that reflected the Nazi party’s attitudes toward “degenerate” art.⁹⁸⁵ The collection featured works by modern artists such as Wassily Kandinsky, Max Ernst, and Pablo Picasso, and according to the official guidebook, was designed “to give, at the outset of the new age for the German people, a firsthand survey of the gruesome last chapter of those decades of cultural decadence that preceded the great change.”⁹⁸⁶ The

⁹⁸² Arndt, “Die Münchener Architekturszene 1933/34,” 451-453. For more on the Nazi dictatorship’s taste in art, see Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

⁹⁸³ For the entire speech, see Benjamin Sax and Dieter Kuntz, eds, *Inside Hitler’s Germany: A Documentary History of Life in the Third Reich* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath & Company, 1992), 224-232.

⁹⁸⁴ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 263.

⁹⁸⁵ Neil Levi, “‘Judge for Yourselves!’-The ‘Degenerate Art’ Exhibition as Political Spectacle,” *October* 85 (Summer 1998): 42.

⁹⁸⁶ “Guide to the Degenerate Art Exhibition” (1937), quoted in Stephanie Barron, *“Degenerate Art”: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 360.

exhibition attracted over two million visitors, and it was even extended past its original dates.⁹⁸⁷ An apparent success, no doubt, but did it succeed as propaganda? After visiting the exhibition, John Alfred Cole reported that most visitors “showed no reaction at all,” while others “appeared struck with horrified awe.” Other visitors, characterized as “worshippers,” were clearly “in love” with these examples of “degenerate art,” on display for perhaps the last time.⁹⁸⁸

In addition to these two arguably successful exhibitions, the Day of German Art (actually three days) included other, more egalitarian attractions outside of the traditionally bourgeois confines of museums. One of these was the historical parade entitled “Two Thousands Years of German Culture”: a procession of lavish floats that offered a “chronological narrative of German achievement from a Nazi perspective.”⁹⁸⁹ Among the floats were depictions of the Nibelungen legend, Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa, and “The World of Richard Wagner,” while the subjects of the Reformation and the Thirty Years War were predictably absent. The parade also avoided modern history prior to 1933, but did feature a series of floats dedicated to the “monumental architecture of the Führer,” including the House of German Art, the Temples of Honor, and several of the monumental buildings planned for the Reich Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg. At the same time, the parade route of over seven kilometers was anchored in local history, as it passed some of Munich’s most well-known tourist attractions, including the House of German Art, the Generals’ Hall, the King’s Square, the

⁹⁸⁷ This popular collection of “degenerate art” would later be showcased in eleven other cities in Germany and Austria. Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich*, 64.

⁹⁸⁸ Cole, *Just Back from Germany*, 146-147.

⁹⁸⁹ Joshua Hagen, “Parades, Public Space, and Propaganda: The Nazi Culture Parades in Munich,” *Geografiska Annaler* 90, no. 4 (2008): 349. For a much more extensive treatment of the parades, see Stefan Schweizer, *„Unserer Weltanschauung sichtbaren Ausdruck geben“: Nationalsozialistische Geschichtsbilder in historischen Festzügen zum „Tag der Deutschen Kunst“* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2007).

Frauenkirche, the neo-gothic *Rathaus*, and the Wittelsbach Residenz.⁹⁹⁰ Joshua Hagen has recently suggested that the propaganda potential of the parade was limited by Munich's existing spatial layout and the incomprehensible historical exposition, but the sheer spectacle of the public display was still effective.⁹⁹¹ After witnessing the parade of 1937, even representatives of the exiled SPD were forced to admit that their expectations had been "surpassed."⁹⁹²

By the summer of 1939, the Day(s) of German Art was one of the most important occasions on the Nazi festival calendar. The three-day event drew thousands of visitors to Munich, with 70,000 more than usual passing through the train station, and another 100,000 arriving by car.⁹⁹³ Tourist propaganda invited "all of Germany" to the "Capital of the Movement" and the "City of German Art," and senior Nazi officials like Heinrich Himmler, Albert Speer, and Joseph Goebbels were obliged to attend the celebrations, giving the proceedings a distinct "political flavor."⁹⁹⁴ Local authorities implemented tight security measures, closely monitoring hotels and even preparing a list of residents who planned to watch the historical parade from their apartments on the *Odeonsplatz*.⁹⁹⁵ A series of concerts and public celebrations was also organized, infusing the excessively politicized festivities with doses of high and low culture. The program for the inaugural "Day of German Art" advertised three days of world-class concerts, including

⁹⁹⁰All of this information was included in the official 1937 program for the parade, entitled: "Zweitausend Jahre Deutsche Kultur: Der Festzug am Tag der Deutschen Kunst 1937 in München." StAM, Verwaltung der staatlicher Schlösser, Gärten, und Seen (SGSV), 1468: "Durchführung des Tages der Deutschen Kunst im Englischen Garten, 1937-1940."

⁹⁹¹ Hagen, "Parades, Public Space, and Propaganda," 349-367.

⁹⁹² *Deutschlandberichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SOPADE)* 4, no. 8 (August 1937): A-9. "Heute müssen wir zugeben, dass wir alle unsere Erwartungen übertroffen sehen..."

⁹⁹³ Hagen, "Parades, Public Space, and Propaganda," 360.

⁹⁹⁴ Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich*, 70.

⁹⁹⁵ *Deutschlandberichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SOPADE)* 4, no. 8 (August 1937): A-12.

performances of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, recently re-staged upon the request of Hitler. In addition to these offerings, visitors and locals could also enjoy music and dancing at the "Classic Old-Munich Summer Celebration" or the "Royal Bavarian Summer Night's Gala," both held in the English Garden on the final day of the festival.⁹⁹⁶ While performances of Beethoven and Wagner confirmed the pre-eminence of a national German culture, these informal celebrations in Munich's city park linked the festivities of the German Day of Art with elements of local culture and identity. The new Nazi festival was not intended for the museum crowd alone; it was to be enjoyed by all members of the people's community. This helped to produce the illusion of "cultural hegemony," while simultaneously broadcasting an image of the Third Reich as a "peacefully-minded *Kulturstaat*."⁹⁹⁷

Despite these innovations in branding and the production of new attractions, Hitler's favorite city was still the location of the Oktoberfest and the Hofbräuhaus, the unpretentious city where past and present blended together, where "old traditions" and "eternal youth" lived harmoniously side by side, as stated in a 1937 issue of the locally-published Anglo-German journal, *München*. Visiting Munich in 1935, W.E.B. DuBois described it as "a city of theater, of music, of marvelous old buildings, and of beer."⁹⁹⁸ The Bavarian capital may have been the symbolic heart of National Socialism, but it was also the site of a traditional tourist culture revolving around refinement and merriment. A

⁹⁹⁶ StAM, Verwaltung der staatlicher Schlösser, Gärten, und Seen (SGSV), 1468.

⁹⁹⁷ Frei, *National Socialist Rule in Germany*, 84; Arndt, "Die Münchener Architekturszene 1933/34," 450.

⁹⁹⁸ Oliver Lubrich, ed. *Travels in the Reich, 1933-1945: Foreign Authors Report from Germany*, trans. by Kenneth Norcott, Sonia Wichtmann, and Dean Krouk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 142.

series of publications issued by the Munich Tourism Association in 1938 and 1939 characterized Munich as “The City of Art and Joy of Life,” a city of charming contradictions and a tourist destination rich in German art, Bavarian culture, and beautiful landscapes.⁹⁹⁹ These layers of identity co-existed with each other within a larger package that blended past and present achievement, local and national identity, and high and low culture.

At the same time, even traditional features of Munich’s tourist culture like Fasching and Oktoberfest acquired a more pronounced Nazi character in the years before the Second World War. In the case of the latter, one of the most popular attractions after 1933 was the annual exhibition of riding and jousting performed by SS horsemen.¹⁰⁰⁰ Oktoberfest souvenirs also began to feature a synthesis of Bavarian and Nazi iconography, a notable example being a decal with the city’s mascot, the *Müncher Kindl*, carrying an oversized beer mug and radish above a swastika.¹⁰⁰¹ Nazi banners even replaced the standard blue and white colors of Bavaria that usually lined the fairground, a change reflected in locally-produced picture postcards.¹⁰⁰² The Nazification of the Oktoberfest was effectively completed in 1938, when in the midst of the Sudeten Crisis it was extended an additional week and rechristened as the “Greater German Folk Festival” in commemoration of the recent incorporation of Austria into the German Empire.¹⁰⁰³

⁹⁹⁹ StadtAM, *Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung*, 116/1. Two publications issued in 1938 and 1939, respectively, featured this title: “München: Die Stadt der Kunst und der Lebensfreude.”

¹⁰⁰⁰ Reported in the “Vergnügungs-Anzeiger: Bayerischer Fremdenführer,” 28 September 1935. StadtAM, *Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung*, 116/1.

¹⁰⁰¹ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 275-276.

¹⁰⁰² BWA, *Bildpostkarten*, 302. “Gruß vom Oktoberfest” (Munich: Emil Köhn, Kunstverlag, undated).

¹⁰⁰³ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 65. For more on Oktoberfest under the swastika, see Florian Nagy and Johann C. Bentele, *Oktoberfest. Zwischen Tradition und Moderne* (München: München Verlag, 2007), 28-33.

As a result of the Nazification of such local events, attractions that had once represented a decidedly traditional tourist culture were transformed into National Socialist spectacle, founded upon the perceived unity between the party, the people, and the past.

Did the Nazification of Munich's tourist culture have an impact on the number of visitors? Statistics assembled by the Munich Tourism Association during this period verify that the Bavarian capital enjoyed increased popularity among tourists. Between the years of 1932 and 1936, the number of overnight visitors during the summer season increased by close to 300,000, rising 73% from 395,273 to 681,809. The number of German visitors increased by 35% between 1932 and 1934 alone, rising from 325,502 to 441,041. Conversely, the number of foreign visitors declined between 1932 and 1933, but rose steadily afterwards, confirming that the "New Munich" appealed to non-Germans as well.¹⁰⁰⁴ These statistics confirm a remarkable increase in Munich's tourism, especially in light of Christine Keitz's conclusion that the overall number of overnight guests in Germany only rose between 10 and 15% during the Nazi era.¹⁰⁰⁵ A clear revival of the Munich tourism industry is apparent, reflecting the impact of the city's new symbolic status within the Third Reich.

*Table 5.1: Number of Registered Guests in Munich by Season, 1932-1937*¹⁰⁰⁶

	Summer 32	Summer 33	Summer 34	Summer 35	Summer 36
Total:	395,273	395,379	536,779	523,033	681,809
Foreign:	69,771	57,049	95,378	104,772	158,971

	Win. 32-33	Winter 33-34	Winter 34-35	Winter 35-36	Winter 36-37
Total:	206,319	232,718	275,429	330,505	380,963
Foreign:	30,058	25,818	37,294	41,139	51,491

¹⁰⁰⁴ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 14. "Summer" ran from April to September, "Winter" ran from October to March.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 214.

¹⁰⁰⁶ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 14.

This new status was widely celebrated by the tourism propaganda addressing Munich. Although traditional marketing themes were never entirely abandoned, the sights associated with Hitler and the rise of the Nazi party became the dominant symbols of the city. For example, a 1937 map printed by the firm “Munich Visitor Tours” only contained pictures of “modern Munich,” featuring images of the King’s Square with the Temples of Honor and Brown House, the House of German Art, the World War I monument, the Generals’ Hall, and the German Museum.¹⁰⁰⁷ An undated brochure entitled “Munich” offered an itinerary for an ideal seven day stay in the Capital of the Movement, recommending the *Pinakothek*, the Brown House, and the Generals’ Hall as the first three sights that should be visited after leaving the train station.¹⁰⁰⁸ In other words, the first three sights visited would immediately establish Munich’s artistic reputation, as well as its contemporary significance within the Third Reich.¹⁰⁰⁹ Then again, not every tourist publication dwelled on the city’s Nazi connections. For example, a 1936 guidebook entitled *All Over Upper Bavaria* dedicated its section on Munich to a discussion of the city’s historical architecture beyond the Generals’ Hall. In fact, the guidebook only mentioned the Nazi connection in the foreword, placing the cultural policies of the Third Reich within the larger context of foreign contributions to Munich’s artistic scene.¹⁰¹⁰ This was a noteworthy exception, but it also serves as further evidence

¹⁰⁰⁷ StadtAM, *Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung*, 116/1.

¹⁰⁰⁸ HAT, Prospekte, D061/09/01/A-Z/.-45: “München” (Munich: Herausgegeben vom Landesverkehrs-verband München-Südbayern (Bayer. und Allgäuer Alpen), Hauptbahnhof Nordbau, undated).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Other brochures offering itineraries would also place the sights of Brown Bavaria atop the list of things to see, often recommending that they be visited on the first day in the city. See HAT, Prospekte, D061/09/01/A-Z/.-45: “München im Olympia Sommer 1936.”

¹⁰¹⁰ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/936/GUE: Erich Günther, *Kreuz und quer durch Oberbayern. Ein kultureller Führer für Reisende und Heimatfreunde* (Ulm-Donau: Verlag Dr. Karl Höhn, 1936), 1-2.

of the incomplete nature of *Gleichschaltung*, as well as the persistence of Munich's traditional tourist culture.

Nuremberg, The German Reich's Treasure Chest

The Franconian city of Nuremberg also acquired a new status within the Third Reich. While its well-preserved medieval core had made the city a popular destination long before 1933, its transformation into the "City of the Reich Party Rallies" provided another dimension to the tourist experience. Perhaps even more so than Munich, Nuremberg became a place where the cultural and political history of the German *Volkgemeinschaft* was on display alongside the modern-day "Triumph of the Will." The spectacle of the Reich Party Rally annually drew thousands of visitors to the historical city, while the monumental structures of the rally grounds, both completed and uncompleted, became tourist attractions that represented the power of the new regime and challenged the architectural heights of Antiquity.

Nuremberg's historical legacy was especially rich. Founded in the eleventh century, it was one of the most important cities of the early modern Holy Roman Empire, alongside Cologne and Augsburg. The city's medieval status as the "unofficial capital of the Reich" was reinforced with the Golden Bull of 1356, which decreed that every Holy Roman Emperor must hold his first Imperial Diet in the free city of Nuremberg. This declaration ushered in three hundred years of political significance and economic affluence for the city. Aeneas Sylvius, or Pope Pius II (1405-1464), reportedly commented that "the citizens of Nuremberg live better and reside in grander residences

than the kings of Scotland.”¹⁰¹¹ Nuremberg also possessed an imposing amount of “concentrated intellectual, economic and cultural power and skill,” exemplified by its contributions to German art.¹⁰¹² The Thirty Years War, however, ushered in an era of economic and cultural decline for Nuremberg, similar to that experienced by Augsburg. Upon Napoleon’s dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, Nuremberg was incorporated into the new kingdom of Bavaria, losing its independence.

Shortly afterwards, the city’s star began to rise again in the eyes of the German romantics, who viewed Nuremberg as an almost mythical location. Representing a “simpler world,” it epitomized the potential harmony between German art and faith, and the individual and society.¹⁰¹³ Consequently, the “Pearl of Medieval Cities” played a prominent role in Ludwig Tieck’s and Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder’s 1798 novel, *Franz Sternbald’s Wanderings*, in addition to serving as the backdrop for E.T.A. Hoffmann’s 1816 short story, “The Nutcracker and the Mouse-King.” Nuremberg was also unique among German cities in that it had never been associated with the particularism so typical of Upper Bavaria and Munich. In his account of Nuremberg as modern Germany’s “imaginary capital,” Stephen Brockmann argues that the city “had always seen its fate as intimately connected to the fate of the German whole. Nuremberg was indeed a synecdoche for Germany itself.”¹⁰¹⁴ In a 1904 issue of the *Munich Visitor and Travel Paper*, local author Ludwig Gehring commented: “So King Ludwig I once

¹⁰¹¹ Quoted in Heinrich Detzel, *Eine Kunstreise durch das Frankenland* (Würzburg: Leo Woerl, 1885), 24-25.

¹⁰¹² Dieter Wuttke, *Nuremberg: Focal Point of German Culture and History* (Bamberg: Stefan Wendel, 1988), 17.

¹⁰¹³ Hermann Glaser, “Um eine Stadt von innen bietend: Historische Stadt und kulturelle Aneignung,” in *Die Alte Stadt: Denkmal oder Lebensraum?*, ed. Cord Meckseper and Harald Siebenmorgen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 11.

¹⁰¹⁴ Stephen Brockmann, *Nuremberg: The Imaginary Capital* (New York: Camden House, 2006), 179-180.

claimed that he would transform his capital into a city which would force the conclusion: whoever has not seen Munich, has not seen Bavaria; so can be said of Nuremberg, that anyone who has not seen this city, does not know Germany.”¹⁰¹⁵

Visiting Nuremberg was often described as a journey into the German past. The 1900 Grieben’s *Guidebook to Nuremberg and its Environs* claimed that an evening stroll through the city’s medieval gates and winding alleyways could produce the illusion of being propelled into a past century, with the visitor almost expecting to run across locals in medieval apparel: “Nowhere else in Germany can we find a city in which the history of our people and their great deeds is so vividly captured as in Nuremberg... an impressive monument to the German past stands before us. Every stone here tells us of history, every house is its very own, so perfectly German.”¹⁰¹⁶ Indeed, Nuremberg’s primary tourist attraction around the turn of the century was its general medieval character, epitomized by architecture of the *Altstadt*, including the Imperial Fortress, the gothic churches of St. Sebald and St. Lorenz, and the Hangman’s Tower and Bridge along the Pegnitz River. Ernst Platz’s 1907 guidebook praised Nuremberg’s historical architecture, paying special attention to the city’s medieval fortifications, the series of well-preserved “walls, moats, and towers” that were increasingly a novelty in twentieth-century Germany. Platz characterized Nuremberg as the “German Reich’s Treasure Chest,” home to priceless works of art from masters such as Peter Vischer, Adam Kraft, Lukas

¹⁰¹⁵ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1269: “Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs Bd. 1, 1903-1922.” “Wenn König Ludwig I. von München behauptete, er werde es zu einer Stadt machen, von der man sagen müsse, wer München nicht gesehen, der habe Bayern nicht gesehen, so kann man von Nürnberg behaupten, wer diese Stadt nicht geschaut, kennt Deutschland nicht!”

¹⁰¹⁶ Grieben (Firm), *Führer durch Nürnberg und Umgebungen* (Berlin: Grieben Reisebücher, 1900), 17-19. “Nicht noch einmal in Deutschland finden wir eine Stadt, in der uns die Geschichte unseres Volkes und seine Grossthaten in so lebendiger Weise entgegentreten wie in Nürnberg... ein herrliches Denkmal deutscher Vergangenheit vor uns steht. Jeder Stein erzählt uns hier Geschichte, jedes Haus ist ureigen, so recht deutsch.”

Cranach, and Albrecht Dürer, distinguished by travel writer Ludwig Gehring as “the most German of medieval masters.”¹⁰¹⁷ The city had also been the home of the legendary Hans Sachs, the shoemaker, poet, and Meistersinger, immortalized in Richard Wagner’s opera, *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*. Nuremberg clearly possessed a wealth of tourist experiences: “Whether one wanders through the alleys and lanes of Old Nuremberg, or takes a tour of the city’s aged ring of walls, or even looks out from the fortifications of its fortress over the maze of towers and gabled rooftops, the impression is unforgettable.”¹⁰¹⁸

This constructed identity as the “Pearl of Medieval Cities” and the “German Reich’s Treasure Chest” began to change after the First World War, when the Nuremberg tourism industry was handicapped by recession, inflation, and Germany’s damaged international reputation.¹⁰¹⁹ A 1929 guidebook published by the Tourism Association of Northern Bavaria, entitled *Northern Bavaria: A Guide through its Wonders*, placed heavy emphasis on “the Nuremberg of the present,” offering details on the city’s public transportation and local factories before even mentioning Albrecht Dürer. The guidebook’s author, August Sieghart, argued that modern Nuremberg was much more than a historical site, “... as today the city stands as a symbol for German skill, German industriousness, and German efficiency... The State of Bavaria ranks Nuremberg ahead

¹⁰¹⁷ Platz, *Unser Bayerland*, 30. StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1269.

¹⁰¹⁸ Platz, *Unser Bayerland*, 31. “Gleichviel ob man die Straßen und Gassen Alt-Nürnberg durchwandert, oder einen Rundgang um seinen altergrauen Mauergürtel macht, oder ob man von der Freieung seiner Burg aus auf das Gewirre von Türmen, Giebeln und Dächern herabsieht, der Eindruck, den man da empfängt, ist unvergeßlich.”

¹⁰¹⁹ For more on Nuremberg’s experience with the Great War and revolution, see Klaus-Dieter Schwarz, *Welkrieg und Revolution in Nürnberg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (Stuttgart: E. Klett, 1971). For more on the negative impact of the post-war recession and the inflation crisis, see Gesa Büchert, “Förderer des Fremdenverkehrs: Der Verkehrsverein Nürnberg von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg,” *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 92 (2005): 382-385.

of all others as *the greatest and most important center of industry and commerce*, whose products have always been highly sought after on the international market.”¹⁰²⁰

Some tourist destinations were marketed as places of rest and relaxation, Nuremberg, like Augsburg, was now being marketed as a place of industry. The nineteenth-century industrialization of the Nuremberg outside of the medieval walls had propelled the city into modern times and provided it with a claim to relevancy, but contemporary relevance was still balanced with historical significance.¹⁰²¹ For example, a brochure issued in 1930 by the Tourism Association of Northern Bavaria, entitled “Visit Northern Bavaria,” offered a balanced description of Nuremberg’s historical and modern attractions. After listing the standard medieval sights of the *Altstadt*, the brochure referred visitors to the Transportation Museum, the Nuremberg Stadium, the Zoological Park, and even “schools of all varieties.” Nuremberg was portrayed as a unique city that had preserved its medieval core in spite of its evolution into a modern industrial center.¹⁰²²

This new marketing direction proved incapable of reversing alarming trends in Nuremberg. Heavily-advertised festivities commemorating the 400th anniversary of Albrecht Dürer’s death brought over 280,000 visitors to the city in 1928, but the number of overnight guests plummeted in the following years, dropping by 30% between 1930

¹⁰²⁰ August Sieghart, *Nordbayern: Ein Führer durch seine Schönheiten* (Nuremberg: Verkehrsverband Nordbayern, 1929), 8-9. “So sieht der Fremde in dem heutigen Nürnberg nicht nur die historische Stätte, sondern auch heute noch ein Spiegelbild deutschen Könnens, deutschen Fleißes und deutscher Tüchtigkeit... Das Land Bayern schätzt Nürnberg vor allem als seine *größte und bedeutendste Industrie- und Handelsstadt*, deren Erzeugnisse, auf dem Weltmarkt stets begehrt sind!”

¹⁰²¹ For more on the nineteenth-century industrialization of Nuremberg, and its implications, see Charlotte Bühl-Gramer, *Nürnberg, 1850 bis 1892: Stadtentwicklung, Kommunalpolitik und Stadtverwaltung im Zeichen von Industrialisierung und Urbanisierung* (Nuremberg: Stadtarchiv, 2003).

¹⁰²² StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1285: “Verkehrsverband Nordbayern e.V., Bd. 1, 1927-32.”

and 1932.¹⁰²³ Nuremberg tourism rebounded after 1933, but like Munich, the city's reemergence as a premier tourist attraction was closely related to its role during the early days of the National Socialist movement.¹⁰²⁴ Long before Hitler arrived in Munich, Protestant Franconia was known as a hotbed of German nationalism and anti-Semitism.¹⁰²⁵ The Franconian city of Nuremberg was also home to Julius Streicher, member of the Nazi "Old Guard," and the editor of the notorious anti-Semitic newspaper *Der Stürmer*.¹⁰²⁶ As a result, Franconia and Nuremberg in particular became fertile ground for the National Socialist movement, especially after Hitler's imprisonment in 1923, when the party was briefly banned in Upper Bavaria and the momentum of the movement shifted to Franconia.¹⁰²⁷

Due to its prominence during this transitional period, Nuremberg became a symbolically important city for the movement, and was chosen to host the Nazi Party Rally in 1927. Only a tram-ride away from the *Altstadt*, the rally was held at the Luitpold Meadow of the so-called "Dozen Ponds Area" in southwestern Nuremberg. Although the various demonstrations and meetings were heavily orchestrated for "maximum propaganda effect," the event failed to raise interest in the party. Two years later, the second Nuremberg party rally amounted to "a far bigger and more grandiose spectacle," showcasing a more confident party, and bringing an estimated 40,000 visitors to the city.¹⁰²⁸ However, the 1929 rally also represented a preview of things to come. Clashes between Nazis and leftist opponents resulted in two deaths that year. In response, the

¹⁰²³ Büchert, "Der Verkehrsverein Nürnberg," 389-394.

¹⁰²⁴ Wuttke, *Nuremberg: Focal Point of German Culture and History*, 12.

¹⁰²⁵ Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 188.

¹⁰²⁶ For more on Streicher, see Randall L. Bytwerk, *Julius Streicher: Editor of the Notorious Anti-Semitic Newspaper Der Stürmer* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2001).

¹⁰²⁷ Eckart Dietzfelbinger and Gerhard Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen: Das Reichsparteitagsgelände – Vorgeschichte und schwieriges Erbe* (Berlin: Christoph Links, 2004), 23-24.

¹⁰²⁸ Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936: Hubris*, 293, 310.

Nuremberg city council forbade the National Socialist party from convening in the city until 1933, in spite of the outcry from locals who had benefited financially from the influx of visitors.¹⁰²⁹ The Nazis returned in August 1933, bringing greater numbers and proclaiming the “Victory of Faith.” No longer was the rally a “celebration of the party,” it was now a veritable “celebration of the nation,” and an opportunity for the *Volksgemeinschaft* to connect with the Nazi regime.¹⁰³⁰

There has been some debate as to why Hitler agreed to the Nuremberg City Council’s proposal to make their city the permanent site of the Reich Party Rally. Some historians have argued that this decision was based on the city’s central location, its vast expanses of open land, and the presence of a sympathetic police chief and a strong Nazi contingent. Stephen Brockmann dismisses all of these explanations, arguing that a much more important factor was the city’s layered historical significance.¹⁰³¹ Not only had Nuremberg provided a home to the Nazi party during a period of transition and uncertainty, it also allowed the movement to connect its own history with the greater political and cultural legacy of the city.¹⁰³² The 1937 brochure on “German Capitals” was quite clear on this connection: “The Führer’s decision to make Nuremberg the City of the Reich Party Rallies had a deep rationale behind it. Nuremberg is the embodiment of German history, with both its splendor as well as the reminders of its tragic downfall.”¹⁰³³ Hitler’s decision was potentially based on other factors as well, for

¹⁰²⁹ Dietzfelbinger and Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen*, 27.

¹⁰³⁰ Here I am utilizing two of Bernd Sösemann’s categories of Nazi festivals, the third being “*traditionelle Feste*.” See Sösemann, “Appell unter der Erntekrone,” 115.

¹⁰³¹ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 133-140.

¹⁰³² Dietzfelbinger and Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen*, 66.

¹⁰³³ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/937/DEU: *Deutsche Hauptstädte: München, Nürnberg, Berlin, Hamburg*. “Daß Nürnberg vom Führer zur Stadt der Reichsparteitage bestimmt wurde, hat seine tiefen Gründe. Nürnberg ist die Verkörperung der deutschen Geschichte mit all ihrem Glanz und auch mit den Mahnzeichen traurigen Niederganges.”

example, his well-documented admiration for the Bavarian region of Franconia. In his 1934 autobiographical work, *With Hitler on the Road to Power*, Reich press chief Dr. Otto Dietrich noted that Hitler commonly referred to Franconia as “the most German of all landscapes.”¹⁰³⁴ Hitler was also an avid fan of Richard Wagner, whose *Mastersingers of Nuremberg* had glorified the city as a bastion of German culture.¹⁰³⁵ Regardless of what led to Hitler’s decision, one thing is certain: the mythical image of historical Nuremberg was central to its new identity as the “City of the Reich Party Rallies.”

The City of the Reich Party Rallies

Already an established icon of German nationalism and medieval virtue, Nuremberg was seemingly ready-made for Nazi propaganda. Nuremberg’s historical legacy and loaded symbolic status before 1933 ensured that visitors could not possibly escape the presence of the German past. As was the case with Munich, the Nazis simply built upon a preexisting municipal identity, augmenting and omitting where necessary. The marketing of the city revolved around grounded modernity and historical continuity, with the buildings of the Reich Party Rally representing the culmination of a long tradition of German industry and culture, the roots of which extended into the medieval city of Dürer and Sachs.¹⁰³⁶

The Reich Party Rally did not only expose the people to an approved version of the German past, it exposed them to Hitler himself. Such events provided a “sense of

¹⁰³⁴ Quoted in an undated press release from the Nuremberg Tourism Association. StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1286.

¹⁰³⁵ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 94-111.

¹⁰³⁶ Even though both men actually lived during the German Renaissance, Nazi-era propaganda did not recognize this distinction, subsuming them under the category of “medieval.”

immediacy,” uniting Germans in a common perception of homogeneous time.¹⁰³⁷ Even if they only caught a glimpse of Hitler, or heard his voice projected through a loudspeaker at the Luitpold Meadow, they were united. Hitler reinforced this perception, proclaiming at the 1936 party rally: “Not all of you can see me, and I cannot see all of you. But I feel you, and you feel me!”¹⁰³⁸ Some visitors were fortunate enough to see their Führer up close. An inscription on the back of a “Reichsparteitag 1937” postcard offers “many greetings from beautiful Nuremberg” where “the Führer had been seen many times,” leading the author to exclaim: “I would have never thought that such a thing existed.”¹⁰³⁹ Visiting Nuremberg in 1938, Scottish writer A.P. Laurie recounted the reaction of an Austrian woman upon seeing Hitler in person: “[S]he was silent, her eyes filled with tears. She turned to me and said in English, ‘I have never seen the Führer before – I think my heart is breaking’.”¹⁰⁴⁰ Much of this excitement can be linked to the popular “personality cult” surrounding Hitler, and laying eyes upon him was a means of experiencing history first-hand by sharing a common space with Germany’s messiah.¹⁰⁴¹ Even though the rally was ostensibly a NSDAP gathering, attended nearly exclusively by members of Nazi organizations and the military, it drew hundreds of other “*Nürnberg-*

¹⁰³⁷ Levi, “Judge for Yourselves!,” 54.

¹⁰³⁸ Quoted in *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁰³⁹ StadtAN, Postkarten, 1428: “Festpostkarte zum Reichsparteitag” (1937). Inscription on the card: “Viele Grüsse sendet Ihnen von dem schönen Nürnberg Ihre Anna Zipp und st. Ihre viel erzählen Spase auch schon manchmal erlebt, aber auch vor allem den Führer schon sehr viel gesehen. Ich hätte nie gedacht, daß es so was gibt. Grüß an Walter.”

¹⁰⁴⁰ A.P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany: A Study of Modern Germany* (Berlin: Internationaler Verlag, 1939), 40.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ian Kershaw has described the Reich Party Rally as “above all a vehicle for the transmission of the Führer cult... now he towered over the Party.” Ian Kershaw, *The “Hitler Myth”: Image and Reality in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 69.

Besucher,” men, women, and children who lined the streets of the city during parades and even gathered outside of Hitler’s hotel.¹⁰⁴²

The popularity of the Reich Party Rally as both a political spectacle and a tourist attraction grew substantially during the prewar years, and its duration was extended from five days in 1933 to eight days in 1937.¹⁰⁴³ The event typically drew over half a million visitors to Nuremberg, making it temporarily one of the most populated cities in the Third Reich.¹⁰⁴⁴ An early highlight of the festivities was the “Day of Greeting,” when Hitler arrived by plane, and was driven into the heart of the *Altstadt*, where he was received by the local government in front of Nuremberg’s medieval town hall in the newly-renamed *Adolf-Hitler-Platz*.¹⁰⁴⁵ The opening sequence of Riefenstahl’s film *Triumph of the Will* captures this procession well: narrating Hitler’s drive through historic Nuremberg, the camera repeatedly cuts from his smiling face, to the jubilant crowd, to various monuments of the city’s illustrious past, from the Imperial Castle to the “Beautiful Fountain.”¹⁰⁴⁶ The city itself was lavishly decorated for the event, and many of Nuremberg’s most famous landmarks, including the town hall and the Albrecht Dürer House, were adorned with garlands, golden wreaths, and ribbons, as well as countless banners emblazoned with the iconography of the Imperial Free City and the Third

¹⁰⁴² Dietzfelbinger and Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen*, 68-69.

¹⁰⁴³ For more on the organization and marketing of the rally, see Josef Henke, “Die Reichsparteitage der NSDAP in Nürnberg 1933-1938. – Planung, Organisation, Propaganda,” in *Aus der Arbeit des Bundesarchivs*, ed. Heinz Boberbach and Hans Booms (Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag, 1977), 398-422.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 152.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Peter Reichel, “Culture and Politics in Nazi Germany,” trans. Dorothea Blumenberg, in *Political Culture in Germany*, ed. Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Ralf Rytlewski (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 63.

¹⁰⁴⁶ *Triumph des Willens*, dir. Leni Riefenstahl, 120 min., Synapse Films, 2001, DVD. For more on *Triumph of the Will*, see David Welch, *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933-1945*, 2d ed. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 125-133; Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 190-200.

Reich.¹⁰⁴⁷ A.P. Laurie was struck by these decorations: “Beautiful in color the long banners draped the old grey walls in perfect harmony, and they seemed pleased with this new decoration. It was of good omen, that the new revolution was so closely knit with the past of the German people and was not a garish and vulgar twentieth century invention.”¹⁰⁴⁸ Both the tourist culture and the regime itself were grounded in the German past.

After the “Day of Greeting,” the Reich Party Rally climaxed with an elaborate ceremony at the “Hall of Honor” in the Luitpold Meadow. This monument was originally dedicated to the fallen German soldiers of World War I, but in 1933 it was transformed into another shrine for the sixteen martyrs of the Beer Hall Putsch. In Nuremberg, these men were honored through a pseudo-religious ritual, with the *Blutfahne* once again serving as the object of veneration. Each year, new members of the SS and SA watched as the blood-stained relic was rededicated and touched with new Nazi standards.¹⁰⁴⁹ Witnessing these events firsthand in 1934, American journalist William Shirer commented in his diary: “I’m beginning to comprehend, I think, some of the reasons for Hitler’s astounding success. Borrowing a chapter from the Roman church, he is restoring pageantry and color and mysticism to the drab lives of twentieth-century Germans.”¹⁰⁵⁰ Jewish professor Viktor Klemperer watched these events from a movie theatre in Dresden, writing in his diary: “Contemporary history on film! This time the Nuremberg rally of the Nazi Party. What stage direction of the crowds and what

¹⁰⁴⁷ StadtAN, Zweckverband Reichsparteitag, 1102: “Reichsparteitag 1936 Stadtschmückung, 1 Fasz.” Roughly 15,000 RM were to be spent on decorations, with 4,300 dedicated to the Adolf-Hitler-Platz alone.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Laurie, *The Case for Germany*, 34-35.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Dietzfelbinger and Liedtke, *Nürnberg – Ort der Massen*, 30, 45-46.

¹⁰⁵⁰ William L. Shirer, *Berlin Diary: The Journal of a Foreign Correspondent, 1934-1941* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 18.

hysteria! Hitler consecrates new standards by touching them with the ‘blood flag’ of 1923: Gunfire every time the flag touches cloth.”¹⁰⁵¹ Even opponents of the regime could not deny the power of the spectacle.

Like the November commemorations of the Beer Hall Putsch in Munich, the Reich Party Rally gave the regime a stage on which to honor its origins, framed by myths of heroism and rebirth. While the commemoration of the 1923 putsch took place next to the Ludwig I-commissioned Generals’ Hall in Munich, a similar tribute to the dead occurred in Nuremberg before a monument to the casualties of the Great War, in a structure commissioned by Luitpold, former Prince Regent of Bavaria. Such rituals allowed the Nazi regime to gather disparate threads of the German past and weave them into a single, comprehensible narrative leading to the Third Reich, “the culmination and salvation of two millennia of German history.”¹⁰⁵² However, the Reich Party Rally was not dedicated exclusively to symbolically-loaded pageantry; it also featured sports competitions, musical performances, and even the largest fireworks display in Germany.¹⁰⁵³ In other words, it was a manifestation of mass culture just as much as it was a means of actualizing the people’s community.¹⁰⁵⁴

Tourist publications confirmed the significance of Nuremberg’s new status as the “City of the Reich Party Rallies” by listing it among the city’s various titles. An advertisement in an August 1934 issue of the *Neue Leipziger Zeitung* insisted that every German must become acquainted with Nuremberg, “The German Reich’s Treasure Chest,

¹⁰⁵¹ Victor Klemperer, *I Will Bear Witness: A Diary of the Nazi Years, 1933-1941*, trans. Martin Chalmers (New York: Random House, 1998), 34.

¹⁰⁵² Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich*, 82.

¹⁰⁵³ For more on the daily events of the Reich Party Rally, see Reichel, “Culture and Politics in Nazi Germany,” 63-65.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Norbert Frei maintains that mass festivals in Nazi Germany allowed “national comrades” to recognize and acknowledge their common destiny, facilitating the “constant actualization” of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Frei, *National Socialist Rule in Germany*, 83.

the City of the Mastersingers, and the Reich Party Rallies.”¹⁰⁵⁵ These claims did not contradict one another; they coexisted, and complemented one another. Other publications employed similar combinations. The twelfth edition of the *Nuremberg Official Guidebook*, for example, featured the new slogan: “City of the Mastersingers and Reich Party Rallies.”¹⁰⁵⁶ A 1938 brochure issued by the State Tourism Association of Nuremberg and Northern Bavaria used the same tagline, praising the coexistence of the “immortal Nuremberg of the German Romantics and German history” and the new Nuremberg of the “Reich Party Rallies.”¹⁰⁵⁷ Past and present remained balanced in the marketing of Nuremberg, but now the Reich Party Rally Grounds replaced factories and trade schools as the dominant symbol of the city’s modernity.

Nuremberg’s National Socialist identity significantly changed the outlook of the local tourism industry. Nuremberg Mayor and tourism advocate, Willy Liebel, proclaimed in a 1935 speech that city’s recent transformation into the “City of the Reich Party Rallies” had captured the attention of Germany and the world, in addition to instilling pride in the local population. Consequently, it was the duty of the local population to assist in “the cultivation of tourism,” ensuring the satisfaction of each guest, and encouraging future visits. Liebel characterized the obligation as a “political

¹⁰⁵⁵ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1270: “Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, sowie Fremdenverkehr überhaupt, 1923-1935, II. Band.” *Neue Leipziger Zeitung* (Leipzig), 8 July 1934.

¹⁰⁵⁶ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/02/934/NUE: *Nürnberg. Des Deutschen Reiches Schatzkästlein: Offizieller Führer*, 12th ed. (Nürnberg: Rudolf Kern Druckerei G.m.b.H., 1934), 4. “Das alte Nürnberg, die Stadt der „Meistersinger“, mit ihrer unvergänglichen Kunst und Kultur – das neue Nürnberg mit den Reichsparteitagen – das Nürnberg eines unsterblichen Albrecht Dürer und meisterlichen Veit Stoß und wiederum die Stadt, die man die Hochburg des Dritten Reiches nennt...”

¹⁰⁵⁷ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268. “Nürnberg: Die Stadt der Meistersinger/Die Stadt der Reichsparteitage,” Landes-Fremdenverkehrs-Verband Nürnberg und Nordbayern mit Bayer. Ostmark e.V., 1938.

undertaking of the greatest consequence and importance.”¹⁰⁵⁸ Initial concerns that Nuremberg’s associations with National Socialism might keep international visitors away were quickly quelled by the abundant optimism of the local tourism industry. The Nuremberg Tourism Association predicted in January 1934 that the city’s identity as “a center of National Socialism in general and the struggle against the Jews in particular” would become an attractive feature for the international tourist.¹⁰⁵⁹

Although it is unclear that Nuremberg’s anti-Semitic orientation did actually attract international tourists, the local tourism industry clearly did not avoid the issue. In a 1934 memo, the managing director of the State Tourism Association of Franconia praised the region’s commitment to fighting the “Jewish plague,” and advised local communities to post signs that announced that Jews were unwelcome. Such measures might impair the tourism industry, he speculated, but only as long as the supposed “truth about the Jewish question” was unknown to the rest of the world. Once the truth was revealed, Franconia would be commended for its unyielding anti-Semitism, and cities like Nuremberg would attract a multitude of “national comrades,” as well as foreigners that were “racially conscious” (*völkisch erwacht*).¹⁰⁶⁰ In 1935, a report by the Nuremberg Tourism Association denied rumors that the city’s reputation as the home of Julius Streicher and a hotbed of anti-Semitism had damaged the local tourism industry. In spite of an alleged boycott of Nuremberg organized by the international Jewish community, statistics confirmed that tourism had improved since 1933.¹⁰⁶¹ While representatives of the tourism industry neither rejected nor downplayed Nuremberg’s anti-Semitic

¹⁰⁵⁸ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1290: “Fremdenverkehrsverein Nürnberg und Umgebung, Band 2, 1928-1937.”

¹⁰⁵⁹ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1286.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶¹ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1290.

reputation in internal memos, they rarely stressed it in tourist propaganda, presumably for fear of alienating international tourists. One exception can be found in a brochure issued by the Nuremberg Tourism Association in 1939, issued after the violence of *Kristallnacht* made the anti-Semitic orientation of the Nazi regime clear. The brochure boldly stated: “The healthy national and racial instincts that reside in the Franks ensured Nuremberg’s transformation into a stronghold of National Socialism, even before other cities had heard Adolf Hitler’s call.”¹⁰⁶² Even though it evokes the racial component of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, this passage still stressed inclusion over exclusion. Ironically, it did so nearly four years after the Nuremberg Laws passed at the 1935 “Party Rally of Freedom” authorized exclusion by depriving Jews of their legal status.¹⁰⁶³

For many visitors, Nuremberg’s contemporary relevance was based not on its “racial instincts,” but on the spectacle of the Reich Party Rally. The Nazis were unequivocal masters of presentation and spectacle, operating “a political system which relied on the meticulous organization of appearances, careful simulation, constant stimulation and the sophisticated stage management of huge public spectacles.”¹⁰⁶⁴ Due to the increasing demands of this political approach, and the growing number of Nazi supporters traveling to Nuremberg, it became increasingly clear that the facilities around the Luitpold Meadow were inadequate, both logistically and symbolically. Plans were therefore developed to build a huge complex for the Nazi party rallies that would rival the forum of ancient Rome. Construction began slowly, but by 1939, Nuremberg was not

¹⁰⁶² BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268. “Nürnberg: Kurzfürher,” Herausgeber: Verkehrsverein Nürnberg e.V., 8.39.

¹⁰⁶³ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 153.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Wistrich, *Weekend in Munich*, 13.

only the largest building site in Germany, it was the largest in the world.¹⁰⁶⁵ The construction of elaborate structures for the party rallies was just one element of a wider project of urban renewal within Nuremberg, designed to modernize and enhance the historical character of the city.¹⁰⁶⁶ The massive building campaign outside of the medieval walls created an entirely new category of sights worth seeing, even if the structures were not initially conceived as material for tourist consumption.¹⁰⁶⁷

The buildings of the Reich Party Rally Grounds were the Third Reich's most ambitious architectural projects, exuding a "supra-temporal megalomania... appropriate to the Nazi leadership's ideological and political self-image."¹⁰⁶⁸ Hitler had always understood architecture primarily as "statements of power," and the buildings of the Reich Party Rally grounds, like the Nazi architecture of Munich, were intended to represent the achievements of the Führer and his party by making the Nazi claim to power visible.¹⁰⁶⁹ A 1938 guidebook on Germany noted:

Architecture receives its strongest impulses from the spiritual forces at work in the different periods of a country's history. The sphere of architecture is always a faithful reflection of these impulses. The period beginning with the National Socialist revolution has brought about a radical change – a transformation from materialism into idealism, from individualism to a spirit of union. The big mass meetings at which the Führer speaks on questions of state administration, culture, economics, etc. are a prominent feature in the life of the German people today.¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁶⁵ Wuttke, *Nuremberg: Focal Point of German Culture and History*, 12. The existence of this massive building site also significantly increased the city's working population. Paul B. Jaskot, *The Architecture of Oppression: The SS, Forced Labor and the Nazi Monumental Building Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 52.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*, 133. Nazi projects of urban renewal, also initiated in Berlin, Hamburg, Kassel, Braunschweig, and Cologne, were designed to give cityscapes an entirely original character that reflected the impact of the National Socialist revolution. Instead of being dominated by the traditional cathedral or town hall, "each city's physiognomy" would now be distinguished by new "urban summits" in the forms of party buildings. See Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 154-155.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 46.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Frei, *National Socialist Rule in Germany*, 197.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, 163; Angermair and Haerendel, *Inszenierter Alltag*, 21.

¹⁰⁷⁰ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/936/BRO: *Passing Through Germany*, 79-80.

As symbolic representations of the New Germany's idealism and "spirit of union," these buildings would reflect the weight of recent German history, just as they would showcase the magnitude of the Third Reich to future generations.¹⁰⁷¹ In terms of design, the buildings were in line with what was commonly understood to be the Nazi style of architecture already represented in Munich. Hitler's leading architect after Troost, Albert Speer, wrote in his memoirs: "What was branded as the official architecture of the Reich was only the neoclassicism transmitted by Troost; it was multiplied, altered, exaggerated, and sometimes distorted to the point of ludicrousness."¹⁰⁷²

As noted earlier, Hitler was not interested in an architectural "purity of style," and was instead preoccupied with impact. Consequently, the exaggerated dimensions of the Reich Party Rally Grounds structures were meant "to emphasize the insignificance of the individual engulfed in the architectural vastness of a state building."¹⁰⁷³ These state buildings included, in order and degree of completion, the Luitpold Arena, the Zeppelin Field, the Congress Hall, and the German Stadium. The Luitpold Arena was built near the pre-existing Temple of Honor in the Luitpold Meadow in 1933. Grandstands were erected around an area of over 80,000 square meters, which could accommodate up to 150,000 participants. The main grandstand, or *Haupttribüne*, could seat up to 500 dignitaries, and was flanked on each end by bronze eagles standing seven meters tall.¹⁰⁷⁴ The next building project was the massive Zeppelin Field on the eastern side of the "Great Road" dividing the grounds. This new open-air arena would serve as the

¹⁰⁷¹ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 149.

¹⁰⁷² Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 42.

¹⁰⁷³ *Ibid.*, 19, 40.

¹⁰⁷⁴ These figures were reported by a local guidebook in 1934. HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/02/934/NUE: *Nürnberg. Des Deutschen Reiches Schatzkästlein*, 67-68.

congregation point of the National Socialist leadership, as well as a drill field for *Wehrmacht* and Labor Force units. The field was surrounded by grandstands that could seat up to 70,000 people, and was dominated by a main grandstand that rose 17 meters above the field. With its wide steps and long colonnade, the *Zeppelinhaupttribüne* mirrored the Pergamon Altar, conveniently located in Berlin since 1910. Unlike the Hellenistic original, however, this structure's ornamentation was limited to a colossal swastika above the speaker's rostrum, and "a huge stone eagle, which stands as a symbol of the New State."¹⁰⁷⁵

The third massive structure built for Reich Party Rallies was the Congress Hall, or "New Nazi Congress Palace," as it was referred to by some local guides. Located on the shore of the largest of the "Dozen Ponds," it was designed by Nuremberg architects Ludwig and Franz Ruff. Construction began in 1935, but was incomplete at the start of the war. Featuring a rounded façade with three tiers of arches, the Congress Hall had its classical precedent in the Roman Colosseum.¹⁰⁷⁶ A local tourism publication boasted: "this new building will after its completion cover an area of 45,000 square meters, the big congress room will seat 60,000 men and two smaller rooms 5,500 and 2,000, not to mention many other side rooms."¹⁰⁷⁷ As impressive as this incomplete structure was, it paled in comparison to Albert Speer's ambitious plans for the world's largest stadium, the *Deutsches Stadion*, which was to be used for the sports spectacles of the rallies.¹⁰⁷⁸ With its horseshoe design, its huge barrel-vaulted substructures, and arcaded façade, the

¹⁰⁷⁵ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/936/BRO: *Passing Through Germany*, 81.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Jaskot, *The Architecture of Oppression*, 53.

¹⁰⁷⁷ From an undated tourism publication produced by Hapag-Tourist-Office "Intra" of Nuremberg. StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1292: "Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, sowie Fremdenverkehr überhaupt, 1936-1939, III. Band."

¹⁰⁷⁸ Jaskot, *The Architecture of Oppression*, 57.

massive structure was inspired by the Circus Maximus in Rome, and the stadium of Herodes Atticus outside of Athens. Had it actually been completed, this “symbol of German sport” would have dwarfed its classical forerunners, standing at a height of 90 meters and seating up to 405,000 people.¹⁰⁷⁹ Construction began in 1937 when the Führer laid the cornerstone, but was halted abruptly in 1939 after the invasion of Poland. Several other projects were also abandoned as a result of the war, including a plan to surround the rally grounds’ immense drill field, or *Märzfeld*, with 24 granite towers.¹⁰⁸⁰

Although much of the monumental architecture of the Nazi party rally grounds was destined to remain in blueprint form, both the finished and unfinished structures impressed visitors. One of these visitors was John Baker White, an invited guest of the German government at the 1937 Reich Party Rally. In his published account of the rally, White could not mask his admiration for the monumental architecture. His description of the Zeppelin Field registered his awe:

A vast green field some four times the size of the Wembley Stadium, with a broad asphalt track running across one side of it. Surrounding it on all four sides, save for three wide entrances, white stone stands, surmounted on one side by a long colonnade in the Grecian style, flanked with two bowls of living fire and capped in the centre with a huge swastika wreathed in gold... Waving above the stands a forest of national flags. Such is the Zeppelin field at Nürnberg, the main parade ground of National Socialism.¹⁰⁸¹

Similarly, in an October 1937 edition of *The Washington Post*, Merlo J. Pusey applauded a demonstration in the “huge stone grandstand surrounding the Zeppelin meadow,” in which German people honored the achievements of the Führer and his party.¹⁰⁸² Visitors

¹⁰⁷⁹ For more details on the stadium’s design, see Wilhem Lotz, “Das Deutsche Stadion in Nürnberg,” *Kunst und Volk* 5 (1937): 257-9. Hitler even anticipated that the *Deutsches Stadion* would become the permanent site of the Olympic Games after Japan hosted them in 1940. Scobie, *Hitler’s State Architecture*, 75, 79-80.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Jaskot, *The Architecture of Oppression*, 59-61.

¹⁰⁸¹ John Baker White, *Dover-Nürnberg Return* (London: Burrup, Mathieson, 1938), 23-24.

¹⁰⁸² *The Washington Post* (Washington), 10 October 1937.

were also struck by the incomplete buildings, and White reported that plans were already underway for a truly grand structure: “[A]lthough the Zeppelin Field stands hold 180,000 the new stadium now being built will contain 400,000!”¹⁰⁸³ As “statements of power” and physical representations of a resurgent Germany grounded in historical styles, the architecture of the Reich Party Rally Grounds did not fail to impress, even without the presence of the *Volk* themselves.

Local and national tourist propaganda hailed the Reich Party Rally Grounds as full of sights worth seeing, while simultaneously incorporating them into the pre-existing tourist landscape. As early as 1934, the Nuremberg Tourism Association printed 100,000 copies of a brochure detailing the plans for the Reich Party Rally Grounds, while the official guidebook of the city began featuring a description of the grounds in its list of tourist attractions.¹⁰⁸⁴ In 1937, an English-language brochure produced by the Nuremberg branch of the Official Bavarian Travel Bureau praised the city’s blending of “tradition and old German culture” with the “new life and struggles of the present times,” acknowledging Nuremberg’s medieval charm and industrial might before moving on to the rally grounds:

Having seen and enjoyed all the sights of the great past of Nuremberg one ought to pay a visit also to the sites of our modern times... No visitor should fail to see the gigantic Parade Ground with the Memorial to our soldiers who fell in the Great War. Out there between the picturesque “Dutzendteiche” (Dozen Lakes) and the Zoological Garden amid extensive green lawns a tremendous piece of ground is being prepared to make room for the great assemblages and festivals of the German Nation, such as nowhere else may be found. Here a Congress Hall is

¹⁰⁸³ White, *Dover-Nürnberg Return*, 33.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Büchert, “Der Verkehrsverein Nürnberg,” 400-401. Büchert argues in this article that the Reich Party Rallies constituted only one aspect of Nuremberg’s larger image during this period, instead of being advertised as the dominant feature.

to be erected which in size and splendor will surpass even the Colosseum of Rome.¹⁰⁸⁵

Great, gigantic, tremendous - these were the words used to market the Reich Party Rally Grounds to both Germans and foreigners. This language of immensity was also recognizable in a short guide issued by the Nuremberg Tourism Association in August 1939, which described the architecture as “an expression of a new artistic and cultural spirit that will leave its mark on the following centuries.”¹⁰⁸⁶ Picture postcards also showcased the sheer size of these new structures, featuring images of the New Congress Hall’s construction, a close-up of one of the gigantic bronze eagles from the Luitpold Arena, and even a scale model of the German Stadium, complete with details on its planned dimensions.¹⁰⁸⁷ Like the “German Art” celebrated in Munich, the architecture of the Reich Party Rally Grounds was a symbol of a triumphant German culture. However, there was nothing intimate about these symbols, and their massive scale indirectly produced a sense of community by dwarfing the individual.

While the Reich Party Rally drew large numbers of visitors to Nuremberg in September, the grounds on which the rally was held remained tourist attractions year-round. The Nuremberg Tourism Association reported in a November 1935 communiqué that visitors were requesting tours of the rally grounds in the southern part of the city. Shortly thereafter, they began offering official tours, conducted along prearranged routes with local guides carefully chosen in order to ensure that the relevant material was

¹⁰⁸⁵ Brochure was entitled “1937 Nuremberg: Excursions and Sightseeing Program.” BWA, Amtliches Bayerisches Reisebüro (F 14), 6: “abr-Zweigstelle Nürnberg, 1935-1939.”

¹⁰⁸⁶ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268. “Es ist ein Ausdruck eines neuen Kunst- und Kulturwillens, der kommenden Jahrhunderten seinen Stempel aufdrücken wird.”

¹⁰⁸⁷ StadtAN, Bildpostkarten, 4671: “Im Bau befindliche neue Kongreßhalle” (Berlin: Verlag Th. König, undated); 4680: “Stadt der Reichsparteitage Nürnberg: Hoheitszeichen an der Ehrentribüne der Luitpoldarena” (Nuremberg: Andro-Verlag, undated); 5198: “Nürnberg „Deutsches Stadion“” (Fürth i. Bayern: Verlag Ludwig Riffelmacher, undated).

conveyed properly.¹⁰⁸⁸ A November 1936 issue of the *Nürnberger Zeitung* proudly announced that 3,283 tourists had visited the Reich Party Rally Grounds in August, and another 1,763 had toured the grounds in October. The article also conceded that the “approximate number of guests who visited outside of the tour is difficult to calculate.”¹⁰⁸⁹ This last concern was quickly alleviated by two new policies: tours of the Reich Party Rally Grounds were only available through officially-licensed guides, and entrance to the grounds was otherwise forbidden.¹⁰⁹⁰ Furthermore, the official tours were only offered a few times per day (three times a day on weekdays, four times a day on Saturday, and five times a day on Sunday).¹⁰⁹¹ An undated brochure issued by Nuremberg Tourism Association, entitled “The Answers to the Most Important Questions during your Nuremberg Visit,” advertised “tours in sightseeing wagons” as well as “tours by foot,” with groups of *Wehrmacht*, Hitler Youth, SS, and SA members receiving reduced rates, alongside KdF vacationers.¹⁰⁹²

Whether touring the grounds by foot or by car, the tourist was likely to hear the same details, as there was a standardized text prepared by the Special Association for the Reich Party Rally. This text mirrored the tourist propaganda of the period, describing the buildings of the rally grounds with a mathematical language of immensity, even if the figures themselves were not always consistent. It began with the proportions of the

¹⁰⁸⁸ StadtAN, Zweckverband Reichsparteitag, 337: “Führungen im Reichsparteitaggelände – Fremdenrundfahrten, 1935-1943.”

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Die Nürnberger Zeitung* (Nuremberg), 23 November 1936. A 1936 report issued by the Special Association for the Reich Party Rally gave an overview of the tourists visiting the rally grounds. The list included Polish and Swedish students, Italian engineers, Hungarian teachers, Danish journalists, and ethnic Germans from Romania.

¹⁰⁹⁰ StadtAN, Zweckverband Reichsparteitag, 337.

¹⁰⁹¹ StadtAN, Zweckverband Reichsparteitag, 338: “Führungen im Reichsparteitaggelände – Handakt des ZRN, 1936-1943.”

¹⁰⁹² BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268. The brochure also featured a map of the Reich Party Rally Grounds which included the non-existent German Stadium.

grounds themselves, stretching seven kilometers from north to south, and three and a half kilometers from east to west. The barrage of figures continued with the descriptions of the individual constructions, as the dimensions and capacity of each were cited. Numbers aside, the text of the official tour also called attention to the political significance of the Reich Party Rallies, in addition to commenting on the sheer spectacle of it all. For example, when describing the main grandstands of the Zeppelin Field, the text strayed from the facts to offer qualitative commentary:

The Führer gives his speeches from the central tribune. The many banners of the Movement, the guests of honor, and the representatives of party and state also find their places here. All of this combines with the fully-seated grandstands and assembled formations to produce the impression of a determination, as well as sights of such magnitude, spirit, and magnificence that words simply cannot describe.¹⁰⁹³

Even without the fully-seated grandstands and the assembled formations, a tour of the Reich Party Rally Grounds was sold as an unforgettable experience.

A 1936 issue of *Der Fremdenverkehr*, the “official organ” of the Reich Committee for Tourism, described one of these official tours in “A Morning in the Reich Party Rally Grounds.” Impressed with the scope as well as the public nature of these buildings (“National Socialist Germany has nothing to hide”), the author concluded: “Even those who have looked upon these buildings only once, with their proportions so difficult to comprehend, will never forget their prominence.” The author characterized the grounds as the “cathedral of National Socialism,” evoking the religious language that

¹⁰⁹³ StadtAN, Zweckverband Reichsparteitag, 337. “Vom Tribünenbau aus spricht der Führer. Hier finden auch die vielen Fahnen der Bewegung, die Ehrengäste und die Vertreter von Partei und Staat ihre Plätze. Dies alles in Verbindung mit den vollbesetzten Zuschauertribünen und den angetretenen Formationen im weiten Feld formt den Ausdruck eines Willens und Bilder, die ich ihrem Maßen, in ihrer Stimmung und Großartigkeit ... mit Worten nicht annähernd zu schildern sind...”

was so common within the Nazified tourist culture.¹⁰⁹⁴ This glowing account of the tour confirmed that the buildings of the Reich Party Rally Grounds were no average tourist attractions; they were historical representations of a revived national consciousness. Some visitors complained that the Reich Party Rally Grounds had begun to outshine other tourist fixtures of Nuremberg. For example, Madeline Kent, an Englishwoman who had married a German man and lived in Dresden, noticed that the galleries of the Germanic National Museum were largely empty when she visited in 1936. Wondering where all the tourists were, she concluded that they had been forced to rely on the official propaganda: “They are then driven round the walls of Nuremberg ... and so out beyond the city to the immense stadiums for the Party Congress, each one vaster than the last, more uncannily pagan in design, more thickly studded with giant swastikas in concrete and gilded eagles.”¹⁰⁹⁵ Even a critic of the Nazi regime like Kent was forced to comment on the immensity of the Reich Party Rally Grounds.

Whether they visited during the rally itself or during any other time of the year, tourists to Nuremberg were presented with a city where the past and present intersected, and in the eyes of many, this seemed to point toward a glorious future for Germany. A 1938 guide published by the Nuremberg Tourism Association distinguished the city as the “living embodiment of German history,” where every year at the Reich Party Rally “new currents of national energy and enthusiasm” originated and subsequently spread across the German fatherland.¹⁰⁹⁶ A 1937, English-language brochure proclaimed:

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Der Fremdenverkehr: Reichsorgan für den deutschen Fremdenverkehr* (Berlin), 8 August 1936. “Wessen Auge sie auch nur ein einziges Mal erblickt, sie in ihren Ausmaßen zu erfassen bemüht ist, wird diese Gewaltigkeit nimmermehr vergessen.”

¹⁰⁹⁵ Madeleine Kent, *I Married a German* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 328.

¹⁰⁹⁶ BayHStA, Sammlung Varia, 268. “Von den Reichsparteitagen in Nürnberg gehen Jahr für Jahr neue Ströme der nationalen Kraft und Begeisterung aus, die auch den letzten Volksgenossen im fernsten Winkel des deutschen Vaterlandes erfassen.”

In no other city in Germany are tradition and old German culture as harmonically blended with the new life and struggles of the present times as here in Nuremberg. He who visits Nuremberg for the first time, even though it be only for a short stay, will undoubtedly as soon as he enters the town be impressed by the imposing developments of the present, amidst the many signs that bear witness to a great and glorious past.¹⁰⁹⁷

According to tourist propaganda, the new Nuremberg of the Reich Party Rallies rested upon the foundations of “a great and glorious past.” The balancing of the National Socialist Nuremberg with the “City of the Mastersingers” was also evident in numerous picture postcards. One card in particular featured a painted image depicting three layers of decidedly German iconography. In the foreground, three German soldiers march with Nazi flags. Behind them stands one of the massive bronze eagles of the Luitpold Arena, while the swastika banners of the Reich Party Rally Grounds are visible to their left. In the distance, under a blue sky, the Imperial Fortress looms, with the traditional standards of the Free City hanging from the foremost tower.¹⁰⁹⁸ This postcard accomplishes with images what so many other examples of tourist propaganda attempted with words: the integration of Nuremberg’s twin identities as the historical, “unofficial capital of the Holy Roman Empire,” and the modern “City of the Reich Party Rallies.”

Through this careful balancing of historical significance and contemporary relevance, Nuremberg, like Munich, made the abstract concept of the people’s community real for domestic and international visitors. The “City of the Reich Party Rallies” provided tangible evidence of the past and present achievements of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, making it an effective metaphor for the German nation at large. In Nuremberg, the rejuvenated nation was grounded and on display for all to see. This was accomplished most overtly during the 1937 party rally with an exhibit at the Germanic

¹⁰⁹⁷ BWA, Amtliches Bayerisches Reisebüro (F 14), 6.

¹⁰⁹⁸ StadtAN, Postkarten, 5196: “Reichsparteitag Nürnberg” (Munich: Photo-Hoffman, undated).

National Museum entitled “Nuremberg, the German City: From the City of the Imperial Diets to the City of the Reich Party Rallies.” Organized by Alfred Rosenberg’s Fighting League for German Culture, the exhibit highlighted the historical continuities between the early modern assemblies and the modern-day rallies, substantiating the Third Reich’s claim that it was the ideological heir to the First Reich. What is more, the official guidebook of the exhibit explicitly linked the fate of Nuremberg to the fate of the German nation, arguing that when the Reich was strong, Nuremberg was strong, and when the Reich was divided, Nuremberg was divided.¹⁰⁹⁹ After immersing themselves in the nation’s rich history at the museum, visitors could witness history firsthand at the nearby rally grounds.¹¹⁰⁰

The Reich Party Rally expanded Nuremberg’s already impressive repertoire of sights, and statistics reflected the impact that event had upon the tourism industry. An article in a March 1934 issue of the *Abendblatt/Münchener Telegrammzeitung* noted that the 1933 Reich Party Rally had brought “345,872 visitors to Nuremberg, roughly 150,000 more than the standard tourism could deliver.”¹¹⁰¹ An annual report issued by the Nuremberg Tourism Association in 1934 confirmed a 20% increase in visitors during the 1933 season (April 1, 1933 – March 31, 1934), but also stressed that the roughly 346,000 participants in the Reich Party Rally could not be classified as normal tourists. Most of these guests were required to stay on the rally grounds, and could not visit the medieval city, or more importantly, spend money there. Higher ranking party members, on the

¹⁰⁹⁹ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 176, 179.

¹¹⁰⁰ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler’s Germany*, 67.

¹¹⁰¹ The author of the article, northern Bavarian tourism writer August Sieghart, claims that Nuremberg’s visitors were no longer interested in the medieval city alone, and were increasingly curious about “the creations of National Socialist Nuremberg.” *Abendblatt/Münchener Telegrammzeitung* (Munich), 7 March 1934.

other hand, were permitted to leave the rally grounds, and tended to spend their evenings in local restaurants and inns, where business boomed once again.¹¹⁰²

Table 5.2: Number of Registered Guests in Nuremberg by Year, 1932-1938¹¹⁰³

	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Total	201,112	197,422	233,410	289,704	347,493	447,183	529,768
Foreign	26,437	21,279	30,564	39,250	56,414	75,691	76,812

In 1938, the Statistics Office of the City of the Reich Party Rallies published more extensive data on Nuremberg tourism. In general, the statistics reflected a remarkable increase in the number of overnight visitors in Nuremberg, which rose from roughly 200,000 in 1932 to over 500,000 in 1938. (See Table 5.2) Unsurprisingly, the month of September always posted large numbers, with over 21,000 new visitors in 1933, and over 75,000 in 1938, roughly 14% of the annual amount. These figures did not include the number of participants in the Reich Party Rally, which were tallied separately. Statistics indicating the nationality of visitors were also revealing; the number of international tourists visiting Nuremberg nearly tripled between 1932 and 1938. A closer look at the year of 1937 reveals that the greatest number of international tourists to Nuremberg traveled from Great Britain and Ireland (13,566), the United States of America (10,684), Austria (8,157), Czechoslovakia (6,129), and Denmark (5,340). Together, the tourists from these five nations would represent over 57% of Nuremberg's international tourists in 1937. However, the events of 1938, including the *Anschluss* and *Kristallnacht*, appeared to have an adverse effect on international tourism in 1938, as the overall figure

¹¹⁰² StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1290.

¹¹⁰³ StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1292. *Die Statistik des Fremdenverkehrs (Mitteilungen des Statistischen Amtes der Stadt der Reichsparteitage)*, Heft 14 (Nuremberg: Im Auftrage des Oberbürgermeisters der Stadt der Reichsparteitage Nürnberg, Herausgegeben vom Statistischen Amt, 1938), 14-23, 24, 31-36.

did not register the growth of previous years.¹¹⁰⁴ Still, these statistics prove that National Socialist Nuremberg was a popular destination among both German tourists and international visitors, both eager to behold the spectacle of the Third Reich.

* * *

While it is tempting to interpret the Nazified tourist culture of Munich and Nuremberg as an unprecedented phenomenon that signaled a dramatic aberration from that which preceded and followed it, this form of tourism actually signaled one more phase in an ongoing process rather than an abrupt volte face. Just as the Nazi dictatorship's efforts to extend vacationing opportunities to the masses represented a new chapter in the continuing rise of mass tourism, the marketing of the Nazified tourist culture in Bavaria represented another example of the local tourism industry's attempts to balance the themes of history and modernity within the constructed image of the locality. This represents an important example of continuity, not rupture.

Tourism, and specifically the propaganda that surrounded it, must be examined as an integral part of the larger story of Nazi Germany, as it sheds invaluable light on the subjects of cultural diplomacy, racism, and most importantly, the construction of *Volksgemeinschaft*. While earlier works have focused on the Strength through Joy program, this chapter has sought to illuminate previously neglected aspects of tourism during the Third Reich. I have demonstrated that the tourist cultures of Munich and Nuremberg became thoroughly "Nazified" after 1933. Attractions like the Generals' Hall

¹¹⁰⁴ Ibid. During 1938, the number of British visitors dropped to under 5,000, while the number of American visitors fell to just under 7,500.

and the Reich Party Rally Grounds not only became modern-day pilgrimage sites, they became the definitive features of each city's repertoire. These sites remained grounded in the preexisting cityscape, which was never entirely obscured. This connection between past and present fueled the myth of continuity, which was central to the idea of the people's community. Furthermore, the genuine popularity of these sites serves as a testament to the wider temptation of National Socialism, both inside and outside of Germany.

Visiting the sights of Brown Bavaria allowed tourists to witness the triumphant resurgence of Germany firsthand, while also making connections between the past and present. In short, the experience amounted to no less than a re-conceptualization of time and space that confirmed the special position of the Third Reich within the larger narrative of the German nation. The unique position of the region of Bavaria within the Third Reich was thereby validated, and the former Wittelsbach kingdom was transformed into the symbolic heart of the modern nation. The balancing of tradition and progress, historical significance and contemporary relevance that had been the *modus operandi* of the Bavarian tourism industry for decades bore its greatest fruit during the National Socialist period, when the region's cultural and political legacy became the foundation of its modern-day identity.

Epilogue

Of Continuity and Rupture

By concluding the final chapter with the fateful year of 1939, I do not want to suggest that the outbreak of the Second World War marked a caesura in the larger story of German tourism. On the contrary, a surprising amount of continuity characterized the activity of the German tourism industry during the early years of the war, even though some things did change after the invasion of Poland. Most obviously, the creation of a wartime economy and the closing of international borders meant that KdF package tours and international tourism were no longer feasible. The war also led to several institutional changes. For example, in late 1939 the Reich Central Office for German Tourism Promotion (RDV) fell under the administration of Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry, which used the organization to distribute news reports in foreign lands.¹¹⁰⁵ This was propaganda, no doubt, but not exactly tourist propaganda.

During the early years of the Second World War, it was clear to the government that the tourism industry could not be dismantled *in toto*. The situation was very different than it had been in 1914; travel was no longer understood as a middle-class luxury, but as a common necessity.¹¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, the Nazi dictatorship maintained that tourism served an important ideological function in the midst of war. Kristin Semmens argues: "The Nazi regime saw the continuation of leisure travel... as crucial to the maintenance of the *Volk's* morale and the war effort more generally." Promising recuperation and rejuvenation, leisure travel would keep the *Volksgemeinschaft* strong and committed to

¹¹⁰⁵ BArch, Reichsbahnzentrale für deutschen Reiseverkehr, R 4323/1: "Verfügungen über grundlegende Organisationsfragen."

¹¹⁰⁶ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 247.

the war effort, while also helping to unite the German tribes.¹¹⁰⁷ The government's commitment to tourism was confirmed at a February 1940 meeting, when State Minister Hermann Esser reassured 70 representatives of the German travel industry: "It is the will of the Führer that the work of tourism continues."¹¹⁰⁸ In Bavaria, the tourism industry proceeded with business as usual, and organizations like the Administration of State Castles, Gardens, and Lakes (SGSV) ensured both the government and visitors that their attractions would remain open throughout the war.¹¹⁰⁹ Local newspapers insisted that the tourism industry would not succumb to the same problems that had paralyzed it during the First World War. A January 1941 issue of the *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* informed readers that a rationing system was already in place, and that travelers could expect adequate provisions in Bavarian hotels and bed-and-breakfasts.¹¹¹⁰

In spite of such promises, the German tourism industry faced serious obstacles during the final years of the war. Although the government acknowledged the ideological significance of tourism, they also had to prioritize the war effort, and consequently took measures to regulate leisure travel. This began as early as 1940, when the German Railway abolished special offers on fares in order to make trains available for military use. When this measure failed to stop civilians from riding the trains, the *Reichsbahn* took more extreme measures to prevent unnecessary travel, and even threatened violators with internment in concentration camps, as reported in a March 1942

¹¹⁰⁷ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 154-157.

¹¹⁰⁸ BA, Reichskanzlei, R 43-II/768A: "Verkehrswesen, Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, Band 4, 1940-1944."

¹¹⁰⁹ BayHStA, Verwaltung der staatl. Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 406: "Schloßbesichtigungen, besonders der Residenz München mit Schatzkammer und Reicher Kapelle – Generalia, Bd. 6, 1939-1952."

¹¹¹⁰ *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten* (Munich), 21 January 1941. A February 1941 issue of *Der Fremdenverkehr* made similar claims. *Der Fremdenverkehr: Reichsorgan für den deutschen Fremdenverkehr* (Berlin), 1 February 1941.

issue of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.¹¹¹¹ Meanwhile, the government sought to curb the demand for travel by ordering the regional tourism industries to stop producing propaganda, a measure that would also preserve precious paper resources.¹¹¹² In November 1941, Esser passed a resolution that denied vacations of over four weeks to anyone who was not a soldier, a member of a soldier's immediate family, or an employee of a "war-essential industry."¹¹¹³ This was only the first of many decrees that limited the length of vacations in wartime Germany. In spite of these efforts, many local communities chose to ignore "the new rules," and tourism continued. In Rothenburg ob der Tauber, for example, the number of visitors remained relatively high through 1944.¹¹¹⁴ This was an exceptional case, and in most destinations, the Battle of Stalingrad marked a real turning point. After the winter of 1943, military defeats, air raids, and the resumption of "total war" made leisure travel nearly impossible for most Germans.¹¹¹⁵

At the conclusion of the war in 1945, the tourism industry was one of the most incapacitated sectors of the German economy, and its infrastructure and most of its attractions lay in ruins.¹¹¹⁶ Tourist hubs like Berlin, Dresden, and Munich had been obliterated by American and British bombers. Allied air raids produced 400 million cubic meters of rubble, destroyed 25% of the country's 19 million residences, left 7

¹¹¹¹ *Völkischer Beobachter* (Munich), 23 March 1942. In November 1943, civilians injured in bombing raids were added to the list of prioritized vacationers. StadtAN, Hauptregistrar, 1301: "Lenkung des Fremdenverkehrs im Kriege, 1942-1944."

¹¹¹² Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 158-160.

¹¹¹³ StAN, Regierung von Mittelfranken (Abgabe 1978), 3700: "Lenkung des Fremdenverkehrs im Kriege, 1941-1944."

¹¹¹⁴ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 217.

¹¹¹⁵ Semmens, *Seeing Hitler's Germany*, 155, 174, 186.

¹¹¹⁶ Alexander Wilde, "Zwischen Zusammenbruch und Währungsreform. Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen," in *Goldstrand und Teutonengrill: Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Tourismus in Deutschland 1945 bis 1989*, ed. Hasso Spode (Berlin: Verlag für universitäre Kommunikation, 1996), 87.

million people homeless, and claimed approximately 600,000 lives.¹¹¹⁷ In contrast to the cities, which lost 60-95% of their preexisting architecture, health resorts were relatively unscathed by Allied bombers. In the American zone of occupation, which included Hesse, Baden-Württemberg, and Bavaria, spa towns and climatic health resorts could boast of damage rates of less than 5%.¹¹¹⁸ One exception was Bad Reichenhall, which was the target of an American air raid on 25 April 1945. Close to a thousand bombs left considerable portions of the modern spa town in ruins, in addition to claiming at least 215 lives.¹¹¹⁹

Even relatively undisturbed tourist destinations had to contend with another consequence of the Second World War: the multitude of German expellees from the East. The 1945 Potsdam Agreement dictated that the 12 million ethnic Germans living in Eastern Europe would be “humanely transferred” to occupied Germany. By the end of 1945, Bavaria was crowded with over one million refugees (*Flüchtlinge*). At first, most of these refugees came from the Sudetenland and evacuated German cities, but over the next three years, expellees from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Soviet zone also arrived in Bavaria. The newly-founded State Secretariat for Refugee Affairs was responsible for housing these displaced people, and oversaw the construction of 1,153 camps, spending 23 million marks in the process.¹¹²⁰ This was not enough, and the bureau struggled to accommodate the nearly two million refugees that resided in Bavaria by early 1950. Many of the expellees relocated to urban centers: 69,000 dwelt in

¹¹¹⁷ Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 200; W.G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Modern Library, 2004), 3-4.

¹¹¹⁸ Wilde, “Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” 87.

¹¹¹⁹ Lang, *Geschichte von Bad Reichenhall*, 782.

¹¹²⁰ Brenda Melendy, “Expellees on Strike: Competing Victimization Discourses and the Dachau Refugee Camp Protest Movement, 1948-1949,” *German Studies Review* 28, no. 1 (February 2005): 109-110. See also Karin Pohl, *Zwischen Integration und Isolation: Zur kulturellen Dimension der Vertriebenenpolitik in Bayern (1945-1975)* (Munich: Iudicium, 2009).

Munich, 21,600 in Nuremberg, and 19,200 in Augsburg, a figure that constituted 10.5% of the Swabian city's overall population.¹¹²¹ Other refugees descended upon rural communities, often having a devastating effect on local economies. In places like Franconian Switzerland, refugees impeded the revival of the tourism industry by filling hotels and bed-and-breakfasts. A 1947 memo from the Tourism Association of Nuremberg and Northern Bavaria reported that the villages of Streitberg, Muggendorf, and Gößweinstein were overrun with refugees. Gößweinstein was allegedly so packed that it could not be expected to accommodate another single person. As late as 1949, the municipal authorities complained that out of 890 beds available before American occupation, only 107 remained vacant.¹¹²²

Insufficient accommodations were one of the greatest obstacles faced by the German tourism industry after World War II. In 1946, Bavaria could only offer 10% of the guest rooms that were available before the war.¹¹²³ In 1947, it was reported that over 50% of the guest beds in the American zone were reserved for refugees or members of the occupying army, while only one-third were available for tourists.¹¹²⁴ In a 1948 statement, the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU), the postwar successor to the Bavarian *Volkspartei*, politicized the issue, claiming that the regional tourism industry had been “dismantled” by the “allocation of tourism facilities to occupation forces and refugees.”¹¹²⁵ But destroyed cities and housing shortages were not the only issues facing the Bavarian tourism industry after 1945. Transportation was also a problem, most

¹¹²¹ Jeffrey Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 128.

¹¹²² BayHStA, Ministerium für Wirtschaft und Verkehr, 26435: “Förderung des Fremdenverkehrs in der Fränkischen Schweiz, 1947-1953.”

¹¹²³ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 266.

¹¹²⁴ Wilde, “Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” 88.

¹¹²⁵ BayHStA, Ministerium für Wirtschaft und Verkehr, 26233: “Fremdenverkehr, allgemein, Bd. 1, 1946-1948, 2. Teil.”

obviously in the case of the German Railway, which was still handicapped by structural damage and energy shortages. In more ways than one, travel was not as easy as it used to be. In spite of that, many people did travel during the early postwar years. In addition to the millions of expellees seeking refuge in cities and villages across western Germany, many crisscrossed the country in search of missing relatives and friends, while thousands more traveled in pursuit of vital provisions.¹¹²⁶ Germans also traveled to the devastated cities in order to tour the piles of rubble. Rudy Koshar argues: “Leisure travel in the ruins was one of the ways in which Germans informed themselves about the scope of destruction and the status of rebuilding efforts.”¹¹²⁷

Nevertheless, the very notion of leisure travel remained outside of the realm of possibilities for most Germans during the immediate postwar period. This did not, however, dissuade the tourism industry from rebuilding. In some cases, efforts began just weeks after the German defeat. In July 1945, representatives of Lower Saxony’s tourism industry appealed to the British for permission to found a new tourism association. The occupying forces hesitated, but eventually approved the creation of a new organization in March 1946, four months after the first postwar tourism association was founded in Baden. By early 1947, thirteen tourism associations were in operation in the Rhineland, Westphalia, Württemberg, and Bavaria. These local tourism associations were united by the German League of Tourist Associations and Spas, which met for the first time in June 1946.¹¹²⁸ At the local level, organizations like the Tourism Association of Munich

¹¹²⁶ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 258-259; Alex Schildt, “„Die kostbarsten Wochen des Jahres“. Urlaubstourismus der Westdeutschen (1945-1970),” in *Goldstrand und Teutonengrill*, 69-70.

¹¹²⁷ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 182-1833.

¹¹²⁸ Alon Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance: Promises and Limits of Writing History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 214-215, 243; Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 173; Wilde, “Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” 95-96.

(*Verkehrsverein München*) were initially occupied with practical tasks like finding accommodations for evacuees, reconstructing hotels, and assisting the Bavarian Red Cross in their efforts to locate missing people.¹¹²⁹ During the early postwar years, promoting leisure travel in Germany and abroad did not rank high among their priorities.

Things begin to turn around for the German tourism industry in 1948. The introduction of the *Deutsche Mark* halted inflation and signaled an era of economic revival for western Germany, in addition to providing a level of stability that allowed Germans to plan vacations in advance.¹¹³⁰ For travel agencies offering package tours, this led to a sudden increase in business. Meanwhile, legislation on the state-level helped to “re-normalize” the idea of the vacation. Between 1946 and 1952, the governments of the individual *Bundesländer* passed laws guaranteeing at least twelve paid vacation days for all workers.¹¹³¹ Despite efforts to ensure that workers had time to travel, the tourism industry tended to target the middle-class tourists during the 1950s, indicating that mass tourism, as defined by Christine Keitz, was still not a reality. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of the German tourism industry was effectively complete by 1955; prewar levels of available beds and overnight stays had not only been reached, but surpassed.¹¹³² Of course, some tourist regions recovered more quickly than others. Bavaria, for

¹¹²⁹ StadtAM, Fremdenverkehrsamt, 14.

¹¹³⁰ Wilde notes leisure travel actually increased during the weeks leading up to the currency reform, as Germans were eager use old currency to finance vacations. When the new currency was introduced in June 1948, resorts like Garmisch-Partenkirchen witnessed a mass exodus of guests that was so intense that the police had to shut down the train station. Wilde, “Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” 93.

¹¹³¹ Keitz, *Reisen als Leitbild*, 263-264, 268.

¹¹³² Schildt, “Urlaubtourismus der Westdeutschen,” 72-73.

example, became the “undisputed center of travel” during the 1950s, and was responsible for one-third of the overnight stays in Germany.¹¹³³

The reconstruction of the German tourism industry coincided with the reconstruction of German cities. The latter task raised a number of questions: Should historical buildings be precisely restored, or should architects settle for conveying a more general sense of the past? Or, should city planners make the most of wartime destruction by drawing ambitious plans for technically modernized cities? Which projects of reconstruction should be prioritized, and why? In most cases, the reconstructed cities reflected compromises between “traditionalist” and “modernist” schools of thought. When city planners and architects worked on historical buildings, they alternated between painstaking restoration and vaguely historical functionalism. They also tended to prioritize the most recognizable landmarks of a particular city, meaning churches, palaces, city halls, and other tourist attractions.¹¹³⁴ Although W.G. Sebald has argued that the reconstruction of German cities “prohibited any look backwards... pointing the population exclusively towards the future and enjoining on it silence about the past,” this was clearly not the case.¹¹³⁵ Yes, reconstruction permitted Germans to move beyond recent horrors and establish the foundations of a new Germany, but it did not demand a total liquidation of the nation’s past. On the contrary, the restoration and reconstruction of historical buildings promoted a vague appreciation of the past without dwelling on

¹¹³³ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 244; Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 173; Schildt, “Urlaubtourismus der Westdeutschen,” 70.

¹¹³⁴ Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 204-205, 210-211.

¹¹³⁵ Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, 7.

specific historical events. This helped to ground the uprooted German people, who understood reconstruction as a means of returning to normality.¹¹³⁶

In Bavaria's largest cities, reconstruction promoted a selective appreciation of the past while simultaneously diverting attention from the architectural impact of the Third Reich. Reconstruction proceeded rather rapidly in Munich and Nuremberg, but the rebuilding of Augsburg's historical center, which had been destroyed during an air raid in February 1944, dragged on for close to a decade.¹¹³⁷ This did not prevent the tourism industry from marketing the Swabian city as a worthwhile destination. A 1949 brochure reported that Augsburg's city center had finally been cleared of rubble, while the restoration of its Renaissance landmarks was ongoing.¹¹³⁸ In Nuremberg, over 80% of the *Altstadt* had been destroyed during an air raid in January 1945. One building that survived was the modern Palace of Justice, which was chosen as the venue of the International Military Tribunal, the first and most notorious trial of Nazi war criminals. In preparation for the event, General George Patton ordered fifteen thousand German prisoners of war to clear the city streets of rubble.¹¹³⁹ Shortly thereafter, the widescale reconstruction of the *Altstadt* commenced. Municipal authorities were not preoccupied with restoring every historical building, but were determined to recreate the medieval ambience that had defined the city in the eyes of tourists. They were largely successful in this regard. In his 1958 publication, *Bavarian Journey*, British travel writer Gary Hogg wrote the following about postwar Nuremberg:

¹¹³⁶ Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 207, 242.

¹¹³⁷ Roeck, *Geschichte Augsburgs*, 186-187, 190.

¹¹³⁸ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 267. The brochure was entitled "Ferienglück in Südbayern: Eine Werbeschrift, mit Hotel- und Gaststättenverzeichnis," and was distributed by the Tourism Association of Munich-Southern Bavaria.

¹¹³⁹ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 237-238. Ironically, much of the rubble was transported to the Party Rally Grounds, where it was transformed into a hill overlooking the proposed site of the German Stadium.

The most ancient parts of the city did indeed suffer disastrously in an air raid which it seems hard to justify on any grounds whatsoever; but the extensive restoration, not only of the great churches and public buildings but of more humble structures, has been carried out lovingly and skillfully, and it often takes an expert's eye to spot where the new has been married to the old.¹¹⁴⁰

Reconstruction was not comprehensive in Nuremberg, but enough was accomplished to ensure that locals and visitors had “frequent visual contact with historic buildings.”¹¹⁴¹

Historic buildings were also on display in the largely undamaged Reich Party Rally Grounds, although they were not advertised as tourist attractions. During the military occupation, American forces utilized the rally grounds as a base of operations; the former SS barracks housed American soldiers, while the wide thoroughfare dividing the grounds became a runway. The American army even staged military parades in the massive Zeppelin Field, inviting residents of Nuremberg to attend.¹¹⁴² Aside from the symbolic destruction of the oversized swastika on the central tribune of the Zeppelin Field, the Americans made no adjustments to the preexisting architecture.¹¹⁴³ The municipal government of Nuremberg also put the rally grounds to practical use. They converted the Luitpold Arena back into a city park, while the *Märzfeld* was transformed first into a refugee camp, and then into a new suburb known as *Langwasser*. In 1950, the city of Nuremberg even celebrated its 900th anniversary with a ceremony in the unfinished Congress Hall.¹¹⁴⁴ In all of these cases, there was little interest in the historical significance of the rally grounds. Paul Jaskot has argued that the postwar use

¹¹⁴⁰ Gary Hogg, *Bavarian Journey* (London: R. Hale, 1958), 18.

¹¹⁴¹ Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 87.

¹¹⁴² Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 220, 257-258.

¹¹⁴³ Paul Jaskot, “The Reich Party Rally Grounds Revisited: The Nazi Past in Postwar Nuremberg,” in *Beyond Berlin: Twelve German Cities Confront the Nazi Past*, ed. Gavriel Rosenfeld and Paul Jaskot (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008):147-148.

¹¹⁴⁴ Brockmann, *Nuremberg*, 257; Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts*, 209. The residents of Rothenburg ob der Tauber also had a use for the former Reich Party Rally Grounds, which provided them with the supplies of stone required to rebuild their own medieval city. Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 227-228.

of the former Reich Party Rally Grounds was defined by a “laissez-faire historicism,” implying that political and economic concerns were ultimately more important than confronting the Nazi past.¹¹⁴⁵

The city of Munich also had to contend with a complicated past in the midst of reconstruction. Alongside heavily-damaged Würzburg and tourist-friendly Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Munich was one of the top three priorities of the Bavarian Office for Historical Preservation during the immediate postwar period.¹¹⁴⁶ Between 1945 and 1950, the Bavarian government committed 30 million marks to 18 restoration projects in Munich alone.¹¹⁴⁷ The state received additional support from the Catholic Church, as well as private groups and individuals. Together, they rebuilt and repaired neo-classical and baroque exteriors, while updating the interiors of many historical buildings, giving Munich “its special blend of historic, nineteenth-century, and modern architecture.” The American authorities endorsed the historical restoration of Munich, but they were also responsible for the destruction of several buildings built during the Nazi era, including the Temples of Honor in the King’s Square.¹¹⁴⁸ Other architectural reminders of the Third Reich were put to new use. The *Führerbau* was reborn as the *Amerikahaus*, an institution dedicated to the promotion of American culture in occupied Germany. The adjoining administrative building, or *Verwaltungsbau*, became a sorting center for artwork looted by the Nazis. Across town, the House of German Art was transformed

¹¹⁴⁵ Jaskot, “The Reich Party Rally Grounds Revisited,” 146. For more on Nuremberg’s engagement (or non-engagement) with the Nazi past during the postwar period, see Neil Gregor, *Haunted City: Nuremberg and the Nazi Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

¹¹⁴⁶ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 227.

¹¹⁴⁷ The reconstruction of the Wittelsbach Residenz became the most extensive project of historic restoration in postwar Germany, costing over 60 million marks by 1976.

¹¹⁴⁸ Diefendorf, *In the Wake of War*, 74, 91, 94.

into an American recreation center, complete with a basketball court.¹¹⁴⁹ After the departure of American forces, Hitler's museum became the temporary home of the extensive collection of the *Alte Pinakothek*, which had been badly damaged during the war.¹¹⁵⁰

In general, the citizens of postwar Munich were eager to forget about the city's recent identity as "The Capital of the Movement." As was the case in Nuremberg, there was little interest in acknowledging the historical significance of sites like the House of German Art. Gavriel Rosenfeld has argued that between 1945 and 1958, the citizens of Munich tended to dismiss National Socialism as an aberration and a regrettable by-product of modernity. This "traditionalist" view of the Nazi past corresponded well with the reconstruction of Munich, which produced a "historic architectural harmony generally unsullied by the presence of extroverted examples of modern architecture, by unsightly war ruins, glaring works of Nazi architecture, or highly-public monuments marking the Third Reich." Like Nuremberg, Munich represented local history "in a highly selective fashion," and successfully avoided confronting its Nazi past until recent decades.¹¹⁵¹

In the last twenty years, several historians have addressed the question of how Germans dealt with the Nazi past during the immediate postwar period. In his seminal work on the "politics of the past" (*Vergangenheitspolitik*), Norbert Frei showed how geopolitical forces and popular opinion compelled the government of Konrad Adenauer to develop a policy of integration and amnesty for former Nazis, thus refusing to acknowledge the transgressions of the Third Reich. The year of 1949 marked a "new

¹¹⁴⁹ Large, *Where Ghosts Walked*, 351-352.

¹¹⁵⁰ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/952/TEN: *Ten Days in Germany* (Munich: Universitätsbuchdruckerei Dr. C. Wolf & Sohn, 1952), 38.

¹¹⁵¹ Gavriel Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 6, 8-9.

beginning” for Germany, and throughout the following decade, a sense of solidarity among members of the *Volksgemeinschaft* eclipsed concerns about the victims of the Third Reich.¹¹⁵² In his 2001 monograph, Robert Moeller provided a different perspective on “coming to terms with the past,” or *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, refuting the notion that the Adenauer era was a “dead zone” of memory, characterized by the pervasive repression of the Nazi past. Moeller argues that many Germans did engage with recent history, but instead of focusing on the crimes committed during the Nazi era, they concentrated on their own experiences of suffering and loss. In this way, Germans became “legitimate participants in a moral competition over who suffered the most.” The “rhetoric of victimization” was an effective form of mourning, as well as a powerful integrative myth, useful for the construction of postwar collective identities.¹¹⁵³

Moeller’s work has indicated that the question of whether or not Germans came to terms with the past is inadequate. Instead, we must ask broader questions: What elements of the past did Germans remember? How did they do so? Who remembered, and why? As suggested above, the reconstruction of the built environment was one of the ways in which Germans confronted recent history. Rudy Koshar has attacked the “silence about the past” thesis, insisting that postwar debates about urban reconstruction were characterized by “commemorative noise.”¹¹⁵⁴ Alon Confino has suggested that tourism, “as discourse and practice,” can also provide insight into how Germans came to terms with the past during the immediate postwar period. He argues that tourist publications portrayed the prewar Nazi years in a decidedly positive light, focusing on the economic

¹¹⁵² Norbert Frei, *Adenauer’s Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration*, trans. Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

¹¹⁵³ Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 4, 13.

¹¹⁵⁴ Koshar, *Germany’s Transient Pasts*, 199.

breakthroughs that had been accomplished between 1933 and 1939. At the same time, tourist publications employed the rhetoric of victimization by bemoaning conditions during the Allied occupation and describing the Nazi party as a “foreign entity that imposed a dictatorship and a war on an innocent people.”¹¹⁵⁵

Tourist propaganda in postwar Bavaria also engaged with elements of the recent past, but only selectively. For example, several guidebooks alluded to the destruction of Bavarian cities during the war, with some of them even featuring pictures of urban ruins. In 1949, a brochure entitled “Winter in Bavaria” reported that Munich still “bled from a thousand wounds, both small and large,” but that a “new life” was rising from the rubble.¹¹⁵⁶ A guidebook published nearly ten years later was less optimistic about Munich’s recovery, noting that the city had been devastated by air raids during the war, losing “irreplaceable assets” in the process.¹¹⁵⁷ Comments on Nuremberg’s destruction were likewise alternately colored by despair and hope. The 1952 guidebook, *Ten Days in Germany*, recommended visiting the Dinkelsbühl and Rothenburg ob der Tauber, as “these towns convey a good impression of what was once the more famous town of Nuremberg, now destroyed.”¹¹⁵⁸ Three years later, a guidebook entitled *Bavaria: Seen and Experienced* urged tourists not to skip over Nuremberg, “in spite of all that had happened there during our lifetime,” because a new city was “rising from the dead.”¹¹⁵⁹

¹¹⁵⁵ Confino, *Germany as a Culture of Remembrance*, 217, 219-220, 244, 254.

¹¹⁵⁶ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 265.

¹¹⁵⁷ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/958/HOF: Ernst Hoferichter, *München – Stadt der Lebensfreude* (München: Kindler Verlag, 1958), 147.

¹¹⁵⁸ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/952/TEN: *Ten Days in Germany*, 40.

¹¹⁵⁹ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/00/955/FOI: Walter Foitzick and Fritz Busse, *Bayern: Erlebt und Gesehen* (München: F. Bruckmann, 1955), 38. “Man soll an Nürnberg nicht überfahren, trotz allem, was darin und mit ihm zu unseren Lebzeiten geschehen ist. Es ist dabei, wiederaufzuerstehen. Nicht das alte Nürnberg, sondern ein neues, und vielleicht werden kommende Generationen diesen Zeitpunkt achtungsvoll segnen.” The Tourism Association of Nuremberg employed a similar argument in their 1949 *Official Guidebook*. HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/02/951/SCH: Fritz Trautgott Schulz, ed. *Neuer amtlicher*

Allusions to the devastated cityscapes of Munich and Nuremberg expressed either a melancholic sense of loss, or a sense of hope and even pride in reconstruction. Regardless of the tone, the tourism industry rarely cast blame on the Allied powers, nor did they suggest that Germany was in any way responsible for the destruction. The devastation of the war did not demand soul-searching or repentance, it demanded hard work and concentration as the country rebuilt. A 1949 guidebook on Upper Bavaria announced:

The most severe hurts war caused to our country did not heal yet. In every part of the country, however, diligent people are already at work, endeavoring to make our homeland what it was before: *a gem in the golden crown of nature*. New sport fields and establishments for relaxation are being created. In the towns, the gigantic mountains of rubbish have disappeared, and the first new buildings begin to rise up in place of them. Though the consequences of war heavily press down upon the whole country, the hospitable and jovial manners of the Bavarian population are the same now as ever before. Bavaria is ready to bid her guests “A HEARTY WELCOME.”¹¹⁶⁰

Destruction was not understood as punishment for the sins of the Third Reich; it was viewed as an ordeal that the German people were admirably overcoming. While the tourism industry was willing to comment on the devastation of urban centers, they generally avoided references to the Nazi dictatorship. August Sieghardt’s 1954 guidebook on Nuremberg offered a standard overview of the city’s history, but only identified three events during the Nazi era: the restoration of the Imperial Fortress in 1933, the opening of the new zoo in Schmausenbuck in 1939, and the destruction of the *Altstadt* in 1945. In his coverage of the recreational space on the edge of the city, Sieghardt did mention “the monstrosity of the so-called Congress Hall” (which allegedly

Führer durch Nürnberg und seine Sehenswürdigkeiten (Nuremberg: Fränkische Verlagsanstalt und Buchdruckerei GmbH, 1949), 74.

¹¹⁶⁰ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/01/949/BRA: Carl Braun, *Handbuch für Oberbayern/Vacation Guide to Upper-Bavaria* (München: Carl Braun, 1949), 5.

ruined the nearby pond with its reflection), but did not comment on the building's Nazi origins.¹¹⁶¹

In general, the postwar tourism industry of Bavaria overlooked reminders of the Nazi past in favor of timeless landscapes and provincial traditions. Organizations like the State Tourism Association of Bavaria differentiated the region from other parts of Germany by focusing on its pre-modern character. A 1949 memo conceded that Bavaria was an “industrially weak” land that lacked the economic prowess of the Rhineland or Saxony, but it was also a region of diverse natural attractions.¹¹⁶² During the early postwar years, these natural attractions were marketed as the antithesis to the devastated cities. A 1948 guidebook described southern Bavaria as a land of “rare beauty,” with landscapes and mountain villages that had changed very little in recent decades.¹¹⁶³ A 1951 brochure, also issued by the State Tourism Association of Bavaria, claimed that Bavaria was still a land of farmers (*Bauernland*), defined by its “undying nature, lively people, and unspoiled historical treasures.”¹¹⁶⁴ Timelessness and simplicity characterized the depictions of Bavaria in postwar tourist propaganda, and there was little evidence of industrial reconstruction. Even publications produced outside of Bavaria highlighted the region's pre-modern character. A 1954 guidebook published in Westphalia proclaimed, in English:

Oberbayern is the country of beer, of dumplings served in a thousand ways, the Kalbshaxen (calves foot), the “Schmarrn” (baked pan-cake mixture – sweet), the cheese, the sausage. Oberbayern also means leather shorts and “Dirndl” costumes, Schuhplattler and Watschentanz (dances) and the Munich October

¹¹⁶¹ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/09/02/954/SIE: August Sieghardt, *Nürnberg alt und neu: Handbuch und Stadtführer* (Nuremberg: Glock und Lutz Verlag, 1954), 14-15, 272, 274.

¹¹⁶² BayHStA, Ministerium für Wirtschaft und Verkehr, 26303: “Fremdenverkehrsverband München-Oberbayern, Bd. 1, 1945-1953.”

¹¹⁶³ StAM, Kurverwaltung Bad Reichenhall, 270: “Bücher, Zeitschriften, Reklame, 1911-1950.”

¹¹⁶⁴ StadtAM, Zeitgeschichtliche Sammlung, 117/2: “Fremdenverkehrs-Verband München-Oberbayern, 1950-1974.”

Feast – for this is an Upper Bavarian Feast. Oberbayern also means pilgrimages and stage productions – the zither and the jodeller...¹¹⁶⁵

According to this guidebook, Bavaria meant many things, but it did not mean modernity.¹¹⁶⁶

During the postwar period, Bavarian tourist propaganda emphasized the pastoral and the provincial over the modern and the national. Hasso Spode has argued that after “the horror of the Second World War,” Germans eagerly abandoned the “gray and demolished cities for warm and distant fields.”¹¹⁶⁷ Indeed, when the domestic tourism industry began to recover in 1946, it was remote villages and hotels in the Bavarian Alps that led the way.¹¹⁶⁸ During the 1950s, the Alpine village of Ruhpolding became “the mecca of inexpensive package tours for West Germans.”¹¹⁶⁹ With provincial traditions like the *Schuhplattler* dance, locals clad in Lederhosen, and an impressive mountain setting, Ruhpolding became a symbol of postwar mass tourism, and an icon of Bavaria at large.¹¹⁷⁰ A 1950 report from the Bavarian State Office of Statistics confirmed that Ruhpolding ranked sixth among the region’s most popular tourist destinations. With 210,059 overnight stays in 1950, Ruhpolding was only surpassed by Munich, Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Oberammergau, Bad Reichenhall, and Bad Kissingen.¹¹⁷¹ The fact that three out of five of these locations were located in the Bavarian Alps is revealing. The

¹¹⁶⁵ HAT, Sachkatalog, D061/00/954/BOE: Bernd Boehle, *Handy Guide to Western Germany: A Reference Book for Travel in the German Federal Republic*, trans. N.V. Timewell and H. Hoyer (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1954), 415.

¹¹⁶⁶ Hasso Spode argues that in many cases, traveling in Upper Bavaria was like traveling back in time, as sanitary conditions in many locales had not improved since the beginning of the twentieth century Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 147.

¹¹⁶⁷ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 150.

¹¹⁶⁸ Wilde, “Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” 91.

¹¹⁶⁹ Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 173.

¹¹⁷⁰ Spode, *Wie die Deutschen „Reiseweltmeister“ wurden*, 144; Monika Putschögl, “Am Anfang stand Ruhpolding,” *Die Zeit* (Hamburg), 1 July 1999, 49-50.

¹¹⁷¹ BayHStA, Ministerium für Wirtschaft und Verkehr, 24149: “Fremdenverkehrsstatistik aus ausgewählten Gemeinden In Bayern und deren Monatsberichte, Bd. 1, 1947-1951.”

mountainous region of Upper Bavaria was especially popular among postwar tourists, especially foreigners. A 1956 report from the Tourism Association of Munich and Upper Bavaria (*Fremdenverkehrsverband München-Oberbayern*) reported that the region could account for 15.4% of the overnight stays of foreigners in Western Germany.¹¹⁷²

Rural destinations in Bavaria were advertised as “islands of peace,” grounded in their natural settings, and far removed from the hustle and bustle of the cities.¹¹⁷³ This marketing was consistent with the tourist propaganda discussed in Chapters II and III, but the context was somewhat different after 1945. In explaining the postwar popularity of Rothenburg ob der Tauber, Joshua Hagen argues: “It is easy to understand the appeal of such idyllic places in the wake of a war that destroyed so much of the nation’s cultural monuments and put a seemingly lasting stain on German history.”¹¹⁷⁴ For a nation burdened by the past and beleaguered by the present, tourism provided a much-needed escape from the modern world. While tourist publications produced by the American authorities employed the discourse of grounded modernity, balancing an appreciation for historical Bavaria with praise for German industry and engineering, the local tourism industry seemed less concerned with the modern world than it had once been.¹¹⁷⁵

Postwar tourist propaganda on Bavaria also departed from earlier materials by addressing the region as a collective tourist destination. While some earlier publications had focused on particular regions within Bavaria, such as Franconia or Upper Bavaria, few examples of tourist propaganda made generalizations about the entire state. An

¹¹⁷² BayHStA, Ministerium für Wirtschaft und Verkehr, 26304: “Fremdenverkehrsverband München-Oberbayern, Bd. 2, 1954-1960.”

¹¹⁷³ From a 1958 brochure issued by the *Amtliches Bayerisches Reisebüro*. BWA, Amtliches Bayerisches Reisebüro (F 14), 39: “Verschiedene Reisen- und Veranstaltungen: Prospekte, 1908-1958.”

¹¹⁷⁴ Hagen, *Preservation, Tourism and Nationalism*, 248.

¹¹⁷⁵ For an example of the American marketing of Bavaria, see *Information Bulletin: Magazine of the U.S. Military Government in Germany* (Munich), 8 February 1949.

excellent example of this postwar phenomenon is a brochure issued by the *Bayerische Vereinsbank* in 1954. The brochure opened with some straightforward questions: “Do you know Bavaria? Are you looking for a country which meets your expectations at any time throughout the year? Are you looking for international society, well kept hotels, reliable traveling conditions, sporting contests, beautiful scenery in immediate vicinity of theatre and music?” The answer was simple: “THEN VISIT BAVARIA!” Summarizing the attractions of Bavaria in the following pages, the brochure echoed the marketing of previous decades, endorsing the region’s natural landscapes, spas, art collections, historical architecture, medieval towns, and castles. Like the postwar propaganda discussed above, the brochure also conflated Bavaria with Upper Bavaria, asking: “Are you looking for the country of the leather pants and the beer-mug, a country with old customs, beautiful costumes, folks dancing and yodeling – THEN VISIT BAVARIA!”¹¹⁷⁶ Such marketing transformed the rustic world of Upper Bavaria into a synecdoche for Bavaria at large, obscuring the regional differences between Franconia, Swabia, and other parts of the modern state.

In the eyes of many American visitors, Upper Bavaria did not only represent all of Bavaria, it functioned as a symbol for all of Germany, similar to the Upper and Middle Rhine areas. This was a direct consequence of the American occupation of southern Germany. After the defeat of the Third Reich, nearly one million American military personnel and their dependents moved to southern Germany, along with numerous government officials, business representatives, and journalists. Various institutions encouraged these foreigners to travel throughout the region, just as the escalating tensions

¹¹⁷⁶ HAT, Prospekte, D061/09/00//45-80: *Come to Bavaria: A Travelling Companion of the Bayerische Vereinsbank* (Munich: Offseitdruck Karl Knörzer, 1954).

of the Cold War compelled Americans to acquaint themselves with their former foes and current allies. The local tourism industry also targeted Americans, and a 1945 memo from the resurgent State Tourism Association of Munich and Southern Bavaria listed “sight-seeing tours for the occupying army” as one of its postwar priorities.¹¹⁷⁷ In Bavaria, American tourists were drawn to rustic locales like Garmisch-Partenkirchen, which they used as their “recreational center,” but they were also interested in unorthodox tourist attractions associated with the Nazi dictatorship. In 1946, over 30,000 American soldiers visited Hitler’s mountain-top retreat at Berchtesgaden each month, where they expressed amusement at a placard reading: “Hitler doesn’t live here anymore.”¹¹⁷⁸

The vacation choices of these soldiers help to explain many of the common stereotypes of Germany in postwar America. In a 1985 article, Konrad Jarausch argued that in the eyes of most Americans, “Germany conjures up the Third Reich, the Berlin Wall, and two World Wars,” as well as “beer, quaint towns, romantic landscapes and industrial technology.”¹¹⁷⁹ Although recent history and industrial technology were rarely advertised as tourist attractions in postwar Bavaria, beer, quaint towns, and romantic landscapes certainly were. American soldiers and their dependents returned home with memories of Bavarian vacations, providing material for an alternative vision of modern Germany that was well-suited to the new relationship between the Cold War allies.

¹¹⁷⁷ BWA, Industrie- und Handelskammer für München und Oberbayern (K 001), 39/9: “Fremdenverkehr in Bayern, Juli 1943-1949.”

¹¹⁷⁸ Wilde, “Fremdenverkehr in den westlichen Besatzungszonen,” 89, 97; Koshar, *German Travel Cultures*, 168.

¹¹⁷⁹ Konrad Jarausch, “Huns, Krauts or Good Germans?: The German Image in America, 1800-1980,” in *German-American Interrelations, Heritage, and Challenge*, ed. James Harris (Tübingen: Attempto, 1985), 145.

Bavaria's transformation into a symbol for Germany at large is demonstrated by a May 1954 issue of *Life Magazine*. This issue was dedicated to "Germany, A Giant Awakened," and was filled with articles on German economics, culture, faith, cuisine, and fashion. As an exercise in cultural diplomacy, the magazine even featured an "Introduction" by Konrad Adenauer, in which the German Chancellor emphasized the importance of rebuilding his country and unifying Europe. And what image did the editors choose for the cover? A glossy, color photo of Castle Neuschwanstein in the Bavarian Alps.¹¹⁸⁰ Admittedly, *Life Magazine* was somewhat of a special case, as the fervently anti-Communist publisher Henry Luce was an early advocate of West Germany's reintegration into the West. Still, the choice to feature Castle Neuschwanstein is noteworthy. This celebrated "fairy-tale castle" had been open to visitors within weeks of Ludwig II's death in 1886, but it was especially popular with American soldiers during the immediate postwar period.¹¹⁸¹ Official, English-language guidebooks depicted Neuschwanstein as being "far from real life and secluded," a "romantic dream amidst the busy life of an entirely different epoch."¹¹⁸² For American soldiers, the castle itself seemed to represent an entirely different epoch, far removed from the Nazi Germany that they had recently defeated. Less than one hundred years old, Neuschwanstein was an effective symbol of a timeless Bavaria, and a new, old Germany.

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¹¹⁸⁰ *Life Magazine*, 10 May 1954.

¹¹⁸¹ BayHStA, Verwaltung der staatl. Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 406: "Schloßbesichtigungen, Generalia, Bd. 6, 1939-1952."

¹¹⁸² Hans Thoma, *Neuschwanstein: The Official Guide to the Castle*, trans. Elizabeth Palicka (Munich: Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, 1952), 9.

Historians tend to avoid making sweeping generalizations about a particular epoch, nation, or historical phenomenon. In some cases, however, such generalizations still seem appropriate. For example: the land of Germany experienced unprecedented political, social, economic, and cultural upheaval during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To be fair, modern history in general has been defined by conflict and revolutions, broadly defined, and in this sense, the history of Germany is exemplary. Since the era of the Napoleonic Wars, this part of central Europe has experienced industrialization and urbanization, unification and re-unification, numerous political revolutions and military occupations, while the German people have been at the center of two world wars and genocide. This is a story of progress and regression, triumph and terror, hope and despair. While many historians have insisted on the peculiarities of Germany's "special path," or *Sonderweg*, the nation's history can also be viewed as a paradigm of modernity at large, showcasing its most remarkable achievements, contradictions, and failures.

Many scholars have also discussed Bavaria in terms of exceptionality, either dismissing the German region as a provincial backwater or singling it out as a stronghold of regional particularism. In either case, there is the implicit designation of the "anti-modern." This has prevented us from appreciating the many ways in which Bavaria is exemplary of Germany itself, and along with it, of modernity and the processes of modernization. During the Napoleonic Wars, Bavaria coped with military occupation and heavy casualties on battlefields in central Europe and Russia. The government pursued political modernization at home and *Realpolitik* abroad, and was rewarded with new territories, including portions of Swabia and Franconia, regions with large Protestant

populations. In less than thirty years, Bavaria doubled in size, while its population increased threefold. During the long nineteenth century, the new kingdom experienced a gradual industrialization that complicated the civic identities of historical cities like Augsburg and Nuremberg, while the royal capital of Munich became the site of revolutionary upheaval in 1848. After German unification, urban populations swelled as a result of the influx of rural migrants, as the Bavarian state struggled to retain vestiges of independence within the federalist system of the *Kaiserreich*. During the First World War, thousands of Bavarian residents volunteered for military service, while many on the homefront dedicated themselves to charity in the name of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The region, like the rest of Germany, was confronted with material shortages and political unrest during the latter half of the war. In 1918, revolution erupted again in Munich, and the fires it kindled would burn long after the socialist visions in northern Germany were violently compromised. During the interwar period, a politically-polarized Bavaria served as the birthplace of National Socialism, a movement that would dramatically alter the history of Germany and the world at large.

This dissertation has illuminated the connections between Bavarian tourism and the turbulent experience of modernity. Progress sowed many seeds of discontent in Germany; industrialization led to the atomization of society and the creation of a politically-conscious proletariat, while urbanization produced new health concerns and fueled a longing for natural landscapes. The rise of the nation-state had the potential to unite people across class, confessional, and regional divides, but it also led to the First World War, which produced a rupture in the historical consciousness of the German people. Tourism in Bavaria promised antidotes to each of these problems. It offered

access to natural landscapes where travelers were safe from the noise, traffic, and stress of urban life. It catered to a new health consciousness by advertising the healing power of mountain air, water, and even the terrain itself. During the interwar period, an ostensibly egalitarian tourism functioned as a means of compensation and distraction for industrial workers. It also helped to conceal class differences by propagating the illusion of a people's community united by a common past and culture. While it is difficult to ascertain whether or not the tourism industry actually achieved any of this, the promises were extraordinary. Although tourism was often marketed as an escape from modern life, it was actually more of a therapy. Tourism provided a place for collective reflection where visitors and visited alike could come to terms with life in a post-traditional society.

As a modernist endeavor in its own right, tourism led to a massive re-mapping of Bavaria in several regards. This new Bavaria was characterized by a sense of perpetuity. Destinations like Franconian Switzerland and Bad Reichenhall were defined by their natural landscapes, which seemed to exist outside of time. These locations appealed to the allegedly primordial bond between the German people and the untamed wilderness, but they became especially appealing in the wake of nineteenth-century urbanization. Assertions of timelessness were also recognizable in the Bavarian tourism industry's treatment of history. Guidebooks and brochures often focused on ahistorical forces that transcended particular eras and geographical boundaries, such as the ambiguous "industrial spirit" of Augsburg. These enduring forces survived into modern Germany, establishing a sense of continuity between past and present. However, this myth of continuity could not function without certain omissions in the historical record. Divisive episodes like the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the Revolutions of 1918-1919 rarely

received attention. Continuity was contingent on unity, just as timelessness was contingent on forgetfulness.

The Bavarian tourism industry provided fleeting access to the foundations of modern society in the form of timeless landscapes and historical cityscapes, but these sites also contained evidence of modernization. Tourist propaganda did not obscure this fact; it celebrated it, and in this manner, helped to re-map Bavaria as a modern place. In Franconian Switzerland, guidebooks and brochures emphasized the rural region's distance from the city, while also advertising modern accommodations at local inns, as well as new technologies like the telegraph and the railroad. In Bad Reichenhall, tourist propaganda glorified the timeless mountain landscape just as it praised the progressive treatments available within the spa facilities, as well as the "modern look" of the town itself. During the 1920s, tourist publications in Augsburg continued to focus on the historical *Altstadt*, but this was coupled with an increasing attention to the more modern dimensions of the city, including its factories and contemporary, urban culture. After 1933, the marketing of Munich and Nuremberg continued to endorse the traditional sights, but it devoted more space to the neo-classical structures associated with the Führer and the new regime. The language of these publications revealed an enthusiasm for forms of technological and urban modernity that coexisted with a neo-romantic infatuation with the natural environment and the local past. In other words, pre-modern nostalgia was not necessarily incompatible with a positive experience of modernity.

By integrating contemporary history, technology, and politics into its constructed image of Bavaria, the tourism industry accommodated modernity and framed it in a positive light. Throughout this dissertation, I have referred to this alternative rendering

of modernity as “grounded modernity,” a marketable vision that relied on the balancing of tradition and progress, nature and technology, and historical significance and contemporary relevance. Although the Bavarian tourism industry never employed the term “grounded modernity,” there was a remarkable consistency to the tourist propaganda, which regularly juxtaposed the “old” with the “new.” This idea is reminiscent of Herf’s reactionary modernism, but grounded modernity was a much more flexible and widespread idea, and was recognizable as early as the nineteenth century. Visions of grounded modernity celebrated nature, tradition, and history alongside technology, experimental medicine, city planning, mass culture, and popular political movements. Furthermore, grounded modernity was not always articulated in explicitly nationalist terms, like reactionary modernism. Countless sights and experiences defined this synthetic vision of modernity, and yet they all had an aura of authenticity that appealed to disillusioned city-dwellers from Germany and abroad.

Tourism re-mapped Bavaria as simultaneously timeless and modern, and during the interwar period, “German” became part of the marketing formula. In Chapter III, I argued that the self-representation of Bad Reichenhall shifted dramatically during the First World War, when the language of nationalism abruptly replaced the language of cosmopolitanism. In Chapters IV and V, I demonstrated how the tourist propaganda of Augsburg, Munich, and Nuremberg became increasingly nationalist during the interwar period. Guidebooks and brochures defined local sights in explicitly German terms, and highlighted the importance of each city within the modern nation. Still, it would be a mistake to conclude that German tourism was grounded exclusively in cosmopolitan values prior to World War I and then nationalist ones thereafter, as there were several

exceptions. For example, an 1876 guidebook defined Franconian Switzerland as one of “the natural wonders of our German Fatherland” and “a precious pearl of the German *Heimat*.” Conversely, a 1936 guidebook on Munich promoted the image of a cosmopolitan metropolis with an artistic scene defined by the contributions of foreigners. Nevertheless, the general tone of tourist propaganda did change during the interwar period, reflecting a new nationalist consciousness fueled by the experiences of war and defeat, as well as the ideology of National Socialism.

In many ways, tourism led to a massive re-mapping of Bavaria. It raised the profile of many locations while rendering others invisible. Previously secluded destinations like Franconian Switzerland and Bad Reichenhall acquired spots on the new tourist map of Bavaria, while the city of Augsburg struggled to secure a place. Tourism also modified city maps by facilitating the reimagining of urban space and spotlighting the architectural symbols of civic identity. On a larger scale, tourism facilitated the revision of regional and national boundaries. At the end of the nineteenth century, Bad Reichenhall became part of a unified Alpine tourist region that included both German and Austrian destinations. During the 1930s, the new status of Munich and Nuremberg helped to transform Bavaria into the symbolic center of the Third Reich, blurring the boundaries between the region and the rest of the nation. After 1945, many publications began to address Bavaria as a collective “*Reiseland*,” obscuring the internal divisions between Bavarians, Franks, and Swabians.

This last point brings us to the subject of regionalism. Although I have employed the region as a category of historical analysis, I have not addressed Bavarian regionalism for a single reason: tourist propaganda rarely referred to a unified regional identity.

Instead, they engaged with a multiplicity of identities. In articulating what made a particular destination unique and worthy of a visit, publications seldom employed the “Bavarian” label, preferring categories like natural, romantic, timeless, traditional, historical, modern, progressive, German, and even Franconian or Swabian. Admittedly, Munich was something of an exception. As the region’s premier tourist destination since the nineteenth century, Munich became a symbol of Bavarian culture and *Gemütlichkeit*, but this was coupled with a reputation as an international city of art. Furthermore, its popularity made it the bane of tourism industries across Bavaria, which sought to achieve Munich’s success while also differentiating their localities from the Bavarian capital. Resistance to a collective Bavarian identity was also recognizable in the historical overviews of Augsburg and Nuremberg tourist propaganda, which focused on all the great things that had happened when each city was part of the Holy Roman Empire, long before the creation of the Kingdom of Bavaria. During the 1920s, the Augsburg Tourism Association suggested that a shared Bavarian identity did exist, but this identity was defined by a common economy, and not much more.

Bavaria was a political and administrative unit, but it was also a region of localities. Tourism did not fortify a regional consciousness; it simply reflected regional fragmentation, but this did not rule out the emergence of a national consciousness. The Germans were a people who loved many regions, but in spite of this (or maybe even because of this), they were one people. At least, that is what the tourist propaganda encouraged visitors to believe. Applegate and Confino have argued that the glorification of local communities was an effective building block of German nationalism. I have shown how the promotion of tourism could also function as a “common denominator”

between the concrete locality and the abstract nation. In Bavaria, there was an obvious connection between selling community and imagining community, even though the “region” itself was rarely part of this equation.

This work has shed light on the development of collective identities in modern Germany, but that has not been its primary goal. More significantly, it has contributed to the ongoing debate about the nature of modern consciousness in Germany. Throughout the preceding five chapters, I have discounted the myth of German (and Bavarian) exceptionalism, and specifically, the idea that German culture was somehow opposed to modernity. By demonstrating how local tourism industries across Bavaria deployed the language of grounded modernity, I have confirmed that neo-romantic sentiments were not always explicitly reactionary, and that the acceptance of modernity did not preclude pre-modern sensibilities. Echoing Thomas Rohkrämer and Thomas Lekan, I contend that it is not advantageous to think in terms of “modern” versus “anti-modern,” and that we should appreciate the ways in which Germans combined these different currents of thought. Unlike Rohkrämer and Lekan, I have shown that these “alternative modernities” could also profitably appeal to international visitors. This suggests that the experience of German modernization was not unique, and that the therapy offered by the German tourism industry was not culturally-specific.

By illuminating the relationship between the marketing of tourism in the region of Bavaria and the experience of modernity in Germany, I have indicated that tourism is not reducible to pure escapism. The tourist often runs *away* from something, but he or she also runs *toward* something. Regardless of whether the objective is “thoughtful leisureliness” or “sights worth seeing,” the tourist travels to sanctified places that offer

more than breathing space. I began by identifying the religious pilgrimage as an important form of proto-tourism. I concluded by noting similarities between Christian pilgrimages and the Nazified tourist culture of Munich and Nuremberg. Although there are important differences between these forms of travel, I would argue that the tourist can also be seen as a modern-day pilgrim. Victor and Edith Turner made a similar point when they asserted that “a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist. Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred, often symbolic, mode of *communitas*, generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor, or mine.”¹¹⁸³ Pilgrims travel in pursuit of penance or out of a desire to witness the extraordinary. They also travel to sites of memory that promise greater proximity to the sacred, or a richer experience of it. Similarly, tourists seek spiritual redemption and temporary access to the mystical “Beyond.” Like pilgrims, many tourists travel in search of a cure, seeking treatment for a variety of ailments, ranging from pulmonary disorders to the more modern complaint of neurasthenia. More importantly, both pilgrims and tourists travel in search of an authenticity that eludes them in their real lives. This authenticity might only be a vision, a feeling, a fleeting moment, but it recenters the traveler, who returns with a new perspective on the world. In the end, travel is not only about getting away, it is about coming home.

¹¹⁸³ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 20.

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Augsburger Neueste Nachrichten
Bayerische Staatszeitung
Bayerisch Land und Volk: Offizielles Organ des Landesverbandes zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Bayern
Das Bayerland. Illustrierte Wochenschrift für Bayerns Volk und Land
Deutsche Verkehrsblätter: Nachrichtendienst der Reichszentrale für Deutsche Verkehrswerbung
Deutschlandberichte der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Deutschlands (SOPADE)
Dresdner Anzeiger
Frankfurter Neueste Nachrichten
Der Fremdenverkehr: Reichsorgan für den deutschen Fremdenverkehr
Illustrierte Zeitung
München-Augsburger Abendzeitung
Münchner Neueste Nachrichten
Münchener Zeitung
Neue Augsburg Zeitung
Neue Leipziger Zeitung
Neues Münchener Tagblatt
Nürnberg Zeitung
Reichenhaller Grenzboten
Schwäbische Zeitung
Simplicissimus
Der Untersberg: Bad Reichenhaller Wochenblatt
Völkischer Beobachter
Wiener Hausfrau-Zeitung: Organ für hauswirtschaftliche Interessen

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The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal
The Chicago Tribune
Harper's New Monthly
Information Bulletin: Magazine of the U.S. Military Government in Germany
The Ladies' Repository: A Monthly Periodical Devoted to Literature and Religion
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The New Republic
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