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Alpine Tourism and 'Masked Transformation': Salzburg and Tyrol before 1914

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Abstract: The article undertakes a comparative analysis of tourism's role in transformation processes in the Austrian crownlands of Salzburg and Tyrol from the mid-19th to the early 20th century. The authors outline the overall pattern of tourist development in the alpine region, before considering the impact of tourism on the host societies in the two neighboring provinces. They argue that two features of the transformation process proved ambivalent. Firstly, the development of tourism regions resulted from a process of negotiation and confrontation between those favouring and those opposing tourist activities. Secondly, regional transformation took place in 'masked form' because, alongside the creation of tourist facilities and infrastructures, many features of 'traditional' society were maintained. In addition, the article suggests that a more precise understanding of the transformation process requires differentiation between 'adaptive transformation' (the adjustment of existing enterprises and facilities to tourism) and 'industrial transformation' (the construction of dedicated areas of tourism-centered activity).

Keywords: Alpine tourism regions, transformation process, masked transformation, tourist development, Salzburg and Tyrol, comparative analysis.

Writing before the real advent of mass tourism in the Austrian Alps, the English travel writer Rachel Busk expressed in 1874 the sense of regret and simultaneous belief in progress that characterized much of the whole process of tourism: "It is quite true [...] that just in proportion as a country becomes better known, it loses, little by little, its merit of being picturesque. [...] But then these changes *must* be. The attempt to delay them is idle; nor would individual abstention from participating in the necessary movement of events have any sensible effect

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in stemming the even course of inevitable development" (Busk, 1874, pp. v-vii). Busk was an acute contemporary observer of the transformative effects of tourism in Europe in the second half of the 19th century. As seemingly 'untouched' areas of the continent were sucked into this "course of inevitable development", tourists themselves were aware of the transformative effects of their activities.

If the changes accompanying tourism clearly altered social and economic structures and regional landscapes, economic historians have generally been slow to analyze such transformations in detail, as Patrizia Battalani, Maria Cavalcanti, and Laurent Tissot have pointed out (Battalani, Cavalcanti, Tissot, in Leonardi & Heiss, 2003). Among historians of tourism in alpine regions, there is general agreement about the impact of tourism on local society through the creation of what Wolfgang Lipp has termed a "hub for encounters, experiences and exchanges of all kinds". Lipp suggests that alpine regions have profited from the "give and take" of tourism, both economically and "metaphorically, in the sense of [...] the further development and modernization of their cultural form" (cited in Lauterbach, 2010, p. 1). Nevertheless, as Franz Mathis noted some time ago, the "majority of relevant research publications on the Alps [...] content themselves with the mere description of conditions, for example, to the effect that 'tourism was a motor of modernization in certain regions', but without asking further how precisely this is to be explained" (Mathis, 1996, p. 61).

Despite a plethora of articles in the last two decades, there is still much to be discovered about these tourism-related changes for the alpine territories of the Habsburg Empire, or Austria-Hungary, as it was officially known after 1867 (compare the contributions in Haas, Hoffmann & Luger, 1994; Bachleitner, 1998; Luger, 2002). For example, there is still no tourism history of the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole, although one recent collection provides an important impulse in this direction (Stachel, 2010). Above all, detailed studies of regions or particular localities are few in number, the most extensive to date being Heidi Rogy's study of Carinthia, and works by Andrea Leonardi and Mauro Grazioli on Levico and Arco respectively; Stadler's cultural historical study of tourism in Salzburg offers extensive coverage of the topic from a chronological point of view and is based on a substantial number of sources. Türkis' and Lässer's overviews of tourist development in Innsbruck and Tyrol are full of valuable information for the period before 1914, although they concentrate mainly on the 20th century (Rogy, 2002; Leonardi, 1990; Grazioli, 1993; Türkis, 2010; Lässer, 1989; Stadler, 1975). Moreover, with the notable exception of a volume by Andrea Leonardi and Hans Heiss, most work to date has concentrated on individual provinces within the Habsburg Monarchy, without adopting a comparative or 'transregional' perspective (Leonardi & Heiss, 2003; most recent-

ly see also Dirninger, Hellmuth & Thuswaldner, 2015; Penz, 2005). The considerable potential within such an approach has been shown for other fields of study on the Habsburg Monarchy, such as nationalism. For example, Pieter Judson's 2006 study looked at the activities of nationalist activists across three different regions in the Austrian half of the Habsburg state (Bohemia, Tyrol and Styria), while devoting considerable attention to the ways in which nationalists sought to use the marketing and consumption of tourism to promote national identity in regions with disputed "language frontiers" (Judson, 2006, pp. 141–76).

Nevertheless, it remains an open question how best to define the term 'region' in conceptual and methodological terms (Stauber, 1994; Dopsch, 2011; Paasi, 2011). Without being able to go into this complex debate here, for the purposes of this article a pragmatic definition will be adopted, whereby the term will be understood flexibly in spatial terms (for more extensive conceptual discussion, compare the introduction to this special issue by Humair, Knoll, Tissot). In short, the provinces of Salzburg and Tyrol can be seen as a distinctive touristic space within the Eastern Alps that transcended administrative boundaries. While possessing specific social, economic, political and cultural characteristics, owing to their diverging histories, the emphasis here is on transformation processes that were common to both provinces, thereby making Salzburg and Tyrol (along with overlapping territories such as the Salzkammergut in Upper Austria / Styria) part of a larger 'alpine tourism region' in the western part of the Habsburg state.

Using such a framework, this article explores the role of tourism in transformation processes in Salzburg and Tyrol from the mid-19th to the early 20th century from a comparative perspective. Today, these provinces are the two most important tourism destinations in Austria (Statistik Austria; Österreich Werbung). While the long-term transformative power of tourism in this alpine region seems beyond question, closer analysis is necessary with regard to what kind of transformation took place. In short, what exactly was transformed, and how, when and why? Locating the precise impact of tourism within a process of regional transformation is a complex task for two reasons. Firstly, tourism could be promoted intentionally, but also indirectly or, even, unintentionally (for example, when associations founded to preserve 'traditional customs' or regional costumes became attractive for tourists). Secondly, from an analytical point of view, it is difficult to separate out specifically tourist-related causes of transformation from wider economic and structural changes. In practice, this means asking about the relationship between readily visible, quantifiable as-

pects of tourist-related change and other social, economic and political developments.

One way to approach this problem is to start from Battalani's observation that, in addition to economic change, the emergence of tourism is always accompanied by cultural transformations (Battalani, 2001, p. 19). Jarkko Saarinen further suggests that tourist destinations are socially constructed, meaning that they are "produced and represented in a specific manner" (Saarinen, 2005, p. 165). Hence, it needs to be asked who or what constructed these destinations (Paasi, 2010). Where earlier tourism history focused more on construction from the outside, in the shape of travelers' experiences and the much-quoted "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002), more recent work emphasizes the need to look at protagonists of tourism as key agents in this process of creating and transforming tourist destinations (Anderson, 2016; Keller, 2016).

Placing the experiences of the host societies at the forefront of discussion, this article sketches out the main pattern of tourist development in Salzburg and Tyrol before 1914. Overall, we wish to argue that the transformation process was ambivalent in two respects. Firstly, the creation and development of tourism regions resulted from a process of negotiation and confrontation between those who favoured and others who opposed tourist activities. Secondly, regional transformation was ambivalent in that, alongside visible markers of change (new roads, grand hotels, and so on), tourism transformation also took place in 'masked form'. In other words, even as tourist facilities and infrastructures developed, many features and appearances of 'traditional' society were maintained. This is not to argue that alpine societies actually remained unchanged, as some ethnographers or social anthropologists once assumed (for discussion see Viazzo, 1990, pp. 11–29), but that the process of transformation contained contradictory elements. Moreover, we suggest that a better understanding of the transformation process can be gained by differentiating between 'adaptive transformation' – the adjustment and expansion of existing enterprises and facilities to the tourist economy – and 'industrial transformation' – the creation of new, concentrated areas of dedicated, tourism-centered activity, in the sense described by Laurent Tissot as "Fordist" mass tourism (Tissot, 2011; see also Humair, Knoll and Tissot in this volume).

1 The Emergence of Alpine Tourism in Western Austria

Salzburg and Tyrol possessed many common features in terms of geography, landscape and social and economic structures, with both provinces being characterized by alpine terrain, agricultural small-holdings and small-scale artisan production, without the industrialization evident in nearby Switzerland. Salt-mining represented a partial exception in the case of Salzburg, but this sector was in long-term decline, as was the traditional north-south transit trade in Tyrol. The major point of difference from a geographical and environmental point of view lay in the milder climate in the southern parts of Tyrol, below the Brenner Pass. At the same time, there were important cultural and political differences, connected mainly to the fact that Tyrol had become a Habsburg possession in 1363, with Italian-speaking territories being accrued in the subsequent centuries. Tyrol was thus a multi-lingual region, in which the German population formed roughly 57% out of a population of 950,000 in 1910, as against 42% Italian-speaking in Italian-Tyrol (unofficially known as Trentino) and l% Ladin-speaking (Cole, 2000, p. 24). Salzburg, by contrast, had only been fully integrated into the Habsburg Monarchy in 1816, after the former prince-bishopric had been dissolved in 1803, before experiencing changing rule in the Napoleonic era under the former Grand Duke of Tuscany, Austria, France and Bavaria. In confessional terms, both provinces were almost entirely Roman Catholic, with the Archdiocese of Salzburg exercising ecclesiastical authority over the entire region.

In general terms, the emergence of tourism in both provinces followed a pattern similar to that of other eastern alpine regions:

a) A first phase in the late 18th and early 19th century, in which Enlightened scientific interest in the geology and ethnography of the mountain world combined with the latter days of the Grand Tour to establish an initial basis for travel in the Alps (Scharfe, 2007). Alpine regions came to be seen as worth visiting and were described and advertised in topographies and guidebooks, which provided the educated bourgeoisie with informative overviews of the respective provinces (Hübner, 1794; Vierthaler, 1799; Rohrer, 1796).
b) In the first years of the 19th century, a second phase of Romanticist-influenced travelling signaled the advent of modern tourism. In Salzburg, these Romantics idealized the idyllic scenery surrounding the provincial capital and tourism began to emerge, but limited mainly to the town of

Salzburg and a few outlying centres such as Bad Gastein and Zell am See. Further outlying mountain regions, such as the upland plain of Lungau, were at first barely affected by tourism. In Tyrol, nascent alpine tourism grew along the Inn and Etsch valleys, spreading outwards into side-valleys away from the main transit route. A notable feature of early touristic representations of Tyrol was the idea of the province as a 'second Switzerland', deriving from comparisons made by British and German travelers with the scenery in Switzerland and from the transnational reception of the Tyrolean uprising of 1809 against the French and Bavarians. Hailed by William Wordsworth as Wilhelm "Tell's great Spirit, from the dead returned", Andreas Hofer, the leader of the uprising was hailed as a 'national hero' by the educated public in Britain and Germany after 1815 (Cole, 2009). This created considerable interest in the area, in a way similar to the 'discovery' of the composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart for tourist purposes in Salzburg (Hoffmann, 2005, pp. 277–281; Schmidt, 1990, pp. 51f).

c) From the 1850s–60s onwards, there developed a third phase of 'sporting alpinism', which witnessed the founding of numerous local alpine associations, following the foundation of the Austrian Alpine Association in 1862, its German equivalent in 1869, and the gradual merger of the two groups in 1873/74 (Amstädter, 1996; Günther, 1998; Gidl, 2007; Keller, 2016). This phase formed part of a European trend of the 'alpinization' of tourism, whereby Switzerland acted as a role model, notably for the western provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy (Tissot, 2011). On the one hand, as the 19th century progressed, tourists built upon and spread the great enthusiasm about Switzerland shown by the travelling writers and scientists of the late Enlightenment. On the other hand, tourism promotors in Salzburg and Tyrol, who were seeking to expand the sector in their own region, viewed Switzerland with a mixture of jealousy and anxiety, pointing to Switzerland both as a role model to emulate and as a rival in a competitive market (Tissot, 2011; Böning, 2005).

d) In the 1870s, the move to large-scale tourism accelerated, accompanied by extensive infrastructural development. Scholars generally agree that railway connections were a prerequisite for enabling large-scale tourist arrivals, as well as facilitating greater awareness of tourism's economic potential (Heiss, 2001). The arrival of the western railway to Salzburg (from Vienna) in 1860 enabled the take-off of tourism, as the town became an attraction both in its own right and as a point of departure for visits to the surrounding area. In Tyrol, completion of the vital rail link over the Brenner Pass in 1867 had an equivalent function in transforming the number of tour-

ist visits. Rail links between the two provinces of Salzburg and Tyrol were established in 1875.

By 1914, tourist numbers reached new peaks, with Tyrol in the forefront of developments in the tourist sector in the Habsburg Monarchy. The pioneering town for Tyrolean tourism was Meran, which as early as the 1830s–40s had established a reputation for the beneficial effects of its mild and dry climate. In 1871, Thomas Cook began to include Tyrol in his organized tours to the Rhine and Switzerland, and these trips soon became well established (Ring 2000, p. 109). Towards the end of the century, the development of Kitzbühel as a winter resort revealed the potential of all-year round tourism, with the province's skiing and winter sport clubs belonging to the first of their kind in Europe, after Switzerland and Great Britain (Steinegger, 1976). In the Italian-speaking south of the province (Trentino), the spa towns of Levico and Arco played a leading role, along with Madonna di Campiglio as a mountain resort. In 1889/90, interested professionals in the towns of Innsbruck and Bozen formed the Provincial Association for Tourism in Tyrol, the first of its kind at the provincial level in Austria-Hungary. By 1913, the Statistical Central Commission for the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy recorded around 400 designated tourist resorts in Tyrol, with just over 2,000 enterprises (from grand hotels to guest-houses) offering accommodation with over 65,000 bed-spaces, of which approximately two-thirds were in hotels and one-third in private accommodation, a category including rooms in private residences and farm-houses (Leonardi, 2003, pp. 253–256). In Salzburg, the most significant tourism centres in the 19th century were the provincial capital itself, Zell am See, St. Johann im Pongau and Bad Gastein (Stadler, 1975, p. 255). The number of visitors to the province of Salzburg increased rapidly by the end of the century, leaping from about 100,000 in 1896 to 150,000 only four years later. The city of Salzburg comprised more than fifty percent of the total tourist flows into the country, but the proportion of the rest of the province grew constantly (Salzburger Landtag, Landesverband für Fremdenverkehr, 1901).

The symbiotic nature of tourist development across the region was illustrated by the way in which Tyrol functioned as a role model for its neighbor. Tourism supporters in Salzburg never tired of referring to Tyrol's impressive progress and the economic advantages that came with it. Yet, they also strove to compete with Tyrol and this fostered the proliferation of hotels and inns, as well as calls for expansion of the local railway network. In particular, numerous kinds of improvement and tourism associations (*Verschönerungsvereine, Fremdenverkehrsvereine*) formed the basis for the active promotion of tourism, spreading

throughout the province. The Salzburg Provincial Association for Tourism was founded in 1896, and formal cooperation with its equivalents in Tyrol and Vorarlberg began in 1905/06. In order to improve communication about "questions of general interest for tourism", the three associations began publishing a joint periodical, whose first number appeared in April 1906. A month later, its scope was widened to include Liechtenstein, from when on it appeared as the *Mitteilungen der Landesverbände für Fremdenverkehr in Tirol, Salzburg, Vorarlberg und Liechtenstein*.

2 Alpine Tourism and Socio-Cultural Transformation

By means of looking at what kind of socio-cultural transformations accompanied the emergence of a tourism sector in the economy, two areas will be analyzed: firstly, the process of negotiation and contestation around tourism, which involved political confrontation on the one hand and clashes of interest between urban and rural areas on the other hand; secondly, the question of infrastructural change, social relations and cultural images within tourism.

2.1 Promoting and Contesting Tourism

Within the province (*Land*) of Salzburg, the contested beginnings of tourism were bound up with the fact that its promotion emanated mainly from the provincial capital – the city of Salzburg. An Association for the Advancement of Tourism in Salzburg (*Verein zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Salzburg*) was founded in 1887 with the purpose of encouraging tourism in the city, yet its leading members argued that tourism could also be economically beneficial for the countryside, especially Salzburg's hinterland. The association regarded the town as the central node for communication with the surrounding area and the mountain districts (known as *Gaue*): Salzburg was "the gateway (*Einbruchstation*), from which the visitors dispersed all over the country, into the most outlying alpine valleys" (Salzburger Landtag, Verein zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs, 1904). In similar fashion, members of the urban bourgeoisie in the southern part of German-speaking Tyrol took the initiative in forming organizations to promote tourism. A key motivation here was the decline in the transit trade and the Bozen markets. According to official records, the oldest *Verschönerungsverein* in Tyrol was established in Bruneck in the Puster valley in

1874, although it had seemingly been active since the late 1860s already. Other associations soon followed, including in places such as Hall in north Tyrol (founded in 1870, but not officially registered until 1884), and many soon gathered substantial support. In Innsbruck, for example, commercial agent Alois Schrott was the driving force behind the town's Improvement Association, which gathered 304 members to its constituent meeting in 1880 (Türkis, 2010, pp. 16–17).

The drive to form tourism associations at a provincial level came principally from this same milieu, with town-based promotors thereby laying claim to influence developments throughout the countryside too (Heiss, 2001). In Tyrol, for example, Johann Angerer, secretary of Bozen chamber of commerce and member of the Austrian parliament, reported in 1880 that tourism had brought in over 2 million florins to the district under its purview, and such figures impressed upon his colleagues the sector's considerable potential (Türkis, 2010, p. 17). However, it was the participation of a small Tyrolean delegation at the first Conference for the Promotion of Tourism in the Austrian Alpine Provinces, held in Graz in 1884, which convinced pro-tourism groups that a more effective coordination of their activities was desirable. Editor and publicist Franz Pita from the Innsbruck *Verschönerungsverein* observed that, in terms of tourists from within Austrian-Hungary, Tyrol was facing 'notable competition' from Styria and he started lobbying for more concerted action. When concerns were raised over the next few years that accommodation capacity in Innsbruck was no longer sufficient and tourists were therefore discouraged from coming to the town, the necessary final push towards firmer organization occurred. In short succession, the *Deutsch-Süd- und Osttiroler Fremdenverkehrsverein* was founded in Brixen in January 1889, and the *Verein zur Hebung des Fremdenverkehrs in Nordtirol* a few months later in April; in January 1890, the two groups north and south of the Brenner pass fused together to form the *Landesverein der vereinigten Kur- und Fremdenverkehrsvereine in Tirol* (Lässer, 1989, pp. 37–52).

Through these initiatives from civil society, networks of improvement and tourist associations spread across the regions of Salzburg and Tyrol in the last two decades of the 19th century (for a list of such foundations in Tyrol, see Lässer, 1989, pp. 19–24). As the statutes of numerous associations from Salzburg province indicate, the improvement associations included a series of tasks for the "beautification" of their localities. These ranged from the "building, improvement and preservation of pavements, the planting of trees, the installation of benches for resting on, signposts and the like" (Statuten des Verschönerungs-Vereins in Lofer, 1883) to the "promotion of scenic attractions, the advertisement of accommodation and summer apartments through lists, the

support of winter sports" (Statuten des Verschönerungsvereines Golling, 1908) and the "organization of festivities on patriotic commemoration days" (Statuten des St. Gilgener Fremden-Vereines, 1882). In sum, suggested St. Gilgen's tourism association, "as far as possible, all obstacles should be eliminated, which are disadvantageous for the arrival and stay of tourists and newcomers and of the village's reputation" (Statuten des St.Gilgener Fremden-Vereines, 1882). Or, as the equivalent group in Lofer affirmed: "The association's purpose is to ensure all these kinds of improvements and comforts in our town, so as to make it a comfortable and popular summer place of residence" (Statuten des Verschönerungs-Vereines in Lofer, 1883).

In practice, however, these tasks were by no means straightforward, because clashes of interest often occurred between groups actively encouraging tourism (the commercial bourgeoisie, the Christian Social party and lower clergy, and inn-keepers, communal leaders and peasants in the localities) and those against it (Catholic-Conservatives and the upper clergy, some sections of the agricultural population, state civil servants and conservationist groups). Two examples illustrate the nature of the conflictual situations that arose, the first being religious and ideological, taken from Tyrol, and the second being political and financial, coming from Salzburg. Common to both conflicts was a familiar 19th century discourse about 'progress' and 'modernity'. A crucial factor here was the fact that many of the entrepreneurial protagonists involved were members of local councils, provincial assemblies or the Austrian parliament. Alongside their professional work in chambers of commerce or voluntary membership of tourism associations, they were able to lobby actively in favour of tourism and to put pressure on policy makers at different levels. If the number and characteristics of these historical actors were crucial for tourism's breakthrough, their prominence also meant that political disputes could ensue.

While the southern Tyrolean spa town of Meran had been drawing visitors since the 1830s, the numbers involved were still relatively modest around mid-century (amounting to 350 in 1850), and the presence of German and English guests was tolerated by the provincial authorities (Lässer, 1989, p. 34). Numbers started to increase more quickly in the next decades (reaching 3,270 by 1874), but what really turned tourism into an ideologically controversial issue was the Austrian *Kulturkampf* in the 1860s–1870s. Much as in Germany, the conflict revolved around the place of religion in public life and the Catholic Church's relationship to the state, especially with regard to education and justice. In Austria, the signing of a Concordat with Rome in 1855 heightened the stakes in this dispute, which raged with particular vehemence in Tyrol.

In short, having authorized the expulsion of Protestants from the Ziller valley as late as 1837, the Catholic-Conservative elites in the Tyrolean provincial assembly (*Landtag*) resolved to maintain the 'religious unity' of the province by blocking the foundation of Protestant parishes (Cole, 2003). Yet, pressure to build Protestant places of worship in Meran and Innsbruck derived from the need to cater to visitors from northern Europe, notably after the visiting King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia had organized a private Protestant service at Castle Rottenstein outside Meran (Das Kurhaus, 1999, p. 21). The issuing of a government decree on 8th April 1861 – the so-called *Protestantenpatent* – brought matters to a head because it permitted the formation of Protestant communities in Tyrol. The Catholic-Conservative hierarchy and their newspaper mouthpiece, the *Tiroler Stimmen*, stirred up agitation throughout the spring and summer of 1861, warning of the dangers of Protestant influence should the free flow of tourist traffic be permitted without restriction (Tiroler Stimmen, 11.4.1861). Ongoing agitation and alarmist reports created such a negative atmosphere that one newspaper in the neighboring province of Vorarlberg reported receiving several enquiries as to whether it was safe for Protestants to visit the area for the forthcoming autumn and winter season without having to endure insults and other unpleasant behaviour (Feldkircher Zeitung, 24.8.1861).

While numerous factors played a role in the Tyrolean *Kulturkampf*, including the ongoing tensions in the German Confederation that culminated in Austria's war against Prussia and Italy in 1866, the fear of 'pernicious' outside Protestant influence through tourism was a constant theme of Catholic-Conservative discourse throughout the 1860s–1870s. The founding of the German Alpine Association in 1869 heightened these fears, and provided a new target for criticism. In 1876, for example, anti-tourism campaigners renewed their attacks against Alpinists. The Catholic-Conservative paper criticized the German and Austrian Alpine Association's decision to lay a plaque on the Großglockner mountain for co-founder Karl Hoffmann, who had died at the Battle of Sedan during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. In August 1876, the paper invoked the "sons of Austria" who had recently died by Prussian hand in the 1866 war, and the following month it further railed against association members' seeming disregard for religious holidays, as well as their scientific endeavours, given that science was a "word that has caused much mischief" (cited in Keller, 2016, p. 58). The very same year, however, a central government decision formally confirmed the constitutional toleration of non-Catholic confessions in Tyrol. In Meran itself, a prayer-house for Protestants was established in 1862, but guidebooks still warned about taking prayer-books outside in public or seeking to advertise one's confession. Only after a Protestant church was

consecrated in 1885, did the situation slowly start to "normalize" (Benischek, 2002, pp. 179–184).

These conflicts in Tyrol indicated that a town-country divide underlay some of the disputes over tourism, and the example of financial subsidies in Salzburg illustrates a different dimension to this debate. All proponents of tourism sought money for various projects and usually invoked the urgent necessity of "enhancing tourism" to do so. In 1897, Ludwig Zeller, member of a well-known entrepreneurial family and director of the Salzburg Provincial Tourism Association, pointed out that a "mass of thousands and thousands" of tourists would now "visit and inhabit all areas in the province", meaning that the small country of Salzburg had to be as successful as its neighbor Tyrol and the alpine "Eldorado", Switzerland (Salzburger Landtag, Zeller, Februar 1898). Accordingly, the association needed to extend its efforts across the whole country, making use of the annual subsidy it received from the Salzburg *Landtag*. In this way, so the association's members hoped, "the tourists' money" would "percolate through many veins into all levels of working society" (Salzburger Landtag, Petitionsausschuss, 1898). Yet, the challenge here was not just competing with its neighbours, but in bridging gaps between the city of Salzburg and the countryside.

Rural-urban tensions between the city and the mountain areas repeatedly surfaced in debates on tourism in the provincial assembly. Rudolf Spängler, *a Landtag* deputy from a renowned family of merchants and bankers, complained about the situation in 1872: "Unfortunately, the dispute between the city and the countryside erupts every year. But, what would the wee country *(Ländchen)* be without the capital city? Indeed, the city takes advantage of the hinterland, but the hinterland gains much greater advantages from the capital" (Salzburger Volksblatt, 11.12.1872). Promotion of tourism thus involved a process of negotiation and confrontation between the city and mountain districts, such as the Lungau, on the country's southern border to Styria. By the end of the 19th century, for example, the Lungau had only partially profited from railway connections and local politicians repeatedly brought up the "step-motherly" treatment of the Lungau during *Landtag* debates. The gist of the complaints was that not enough was being done to overcome its peripheral geographic location far from the provincial capital by improving rail links, installing telephone lines, extending the postal network, and providing subsidies. Moreover, this lack of investment meant that the natural climatic advantages of the area, which was also known as "Salzburg's Siberia", were not being fully exploited, because poor transport connections limited the development of winter tourism. In this respect, the internal political dynamics within the province worked against

Lungau before 1914, with some tourism agents even trying to establish the city of Salzburg as an international winter sports resort. Their chief argument was the superior infrastructure in the capital city, whereas the mountain regions only disposed of a few hotels of poor quality. Eventually, of course, winter tourism outside the city did become a success story, but not until the second half of the 20th century.

At the same time, ideological dimensions underlay these financial issues, which linked back to religious-based concerns about the material and moral consequences of tourism for the local population. In January 1895, for example, the Tyrolean *Landtag* rejected a subsidy request from the Provincial Tourism Association, with the leading speaker against the idea being a priest, who evidently reflected clerical fears that, instead of toiling in field and stall, peasants might gain an easy source of income through letting out rooms to tourists or acting as mountain-guides. These sentiments certainly animated the Benedictine abbot of Marienberg, Leo Treuinfels, in another *Landtag* debate about subsidies in February 1897, when he thundered that such supplementary income was "no sooner gained than wasted away" (cited in Lässer, 1989, p. 75). Pastoral care reports (*Seelsorgeberichte*) from Salzburg voiced similar worries about the potentially negative effects of tourism, as the priest from the village of Hof wrote: "Everywhere tourism has – albeit in disguise – a negative and destructive impact on morality and religious faith" (cited in Hanisch, 1985, p. 832). In 1875, a writer from Unken had already warned that the tourists brought "little good, but plenty of bad" (Salzburger Chronik, 23.10.1875, p. 2), and a quarter of a century later such suspicions had not dissipated entirely among political Catholics. In Tyrol, the clash of viewpoints over materialism and consumption took on extra symbolic significance when it came to the planning of the centenary celebration of the above-mentioned 1809 uprising. Conservatives wanted to hold the event on the religious feast-day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the 15th August, when Andreas Hofer had ridden in triumph into town after a third victory against the Franco-Bavarians on the Berg Isel outside Innsbruck. Pressure by the younger generation of political Catholics – the Christian Socials – forced a switch to the end of August 1909, partly due to considerations about harvest-time. However, another key factor was tourism, as the organizers were concerned that fewer peasants would attend if they thereby missed out on tourist income in the middle of a key holiday month (Cole, 2000, pp. 401–403).

These examples show how concern for 'traditional morals' remained a key issue in tourist regions, although it would be misleading to imply that the clergy as a group was wholly against tourism. After all, one of the most well-known early promoters of tourism and a co-founder of the German Alpine Association

was Franz Senn, priest in Vent in the Ötz valley (and later in Neustift in Stubai valley). Senn was not only active in undertaking mountain-climbing, but in providing facilities through the reconstruction of his curate's house in the early 1860s: "By extending and renovating the old [building], I got 6 decent rooms with 2 parlours. Since then, something was repaired or built every year, so that it now disposes of 11 rooms alongside both parlours, and there are 30 guest-beds for tourists" (cited in Oberwalder et al., 2004, p. 128; see also Anderson, 2016). Senn was a striking example of a new generation of clergymen, who favoured active engagement with the economic problems facing the peasantry rather than focusing purely on doctrinal questions. In other words, tourism formed a dividing line in the internal debates within political Catholicism that saw the Christian Social movement opening up to the practical benefits of tourism. Crucially, however, they did so by asserting a firm moral framework within which tourism could be accepted. One article in the *Salzburger Chronik* praised the novel *Die Fremden* ("The Foreigners") by the Tyrolean conservative author Karl Domanig, suggesting that Salzburg's *Landtag* should re-print the book and distribute it for free, because of the relevance of its message: "[...] keep your inborn faith [...] hold fast to the beliefs your Catholic parents gave you, then tourism won't harm you and you can avail yourself of the advantages of tourism [...]" (Salzburger Chronik, 25.6.1898, p. 1f).

Such caution indicates that tourist transformation was an ambivalent process in alpine regions before 1914. The debates surrounding the development of tourism in the last third of the 19th century underline that there was not necessarily anything automatic about its 'triumph'. Contemporaries debated what form tourism promotion should take and which areas should be developed, with both of these questions giving rise to political disputes. At the same time, as well as political backing, regional transformation through tourism clearly depended on infrastructural prerequisites, and the implications of these changes also contained contradictory elements.

2.2 'Adaptive' Transformation to Tourism and 'Industrial' Tourism

The expansion of tourism began to make general socio-economic changes more visible and to alter the structure of the regional economy, which began a slow transformation from agricultural to service-dominated sectors, thus 'leap-frogging' industrialization (Meixner, 1992). In analyzing this

process, it is necessary to distinguish more closely between 'adaptive' transformation to tourism and 'industrial tourism' in the sense outlined above. Not unlike Tyrol, Salzburg's involvement in regional transformation through tourism had its roots in its location as a transit land – less so in terms of the commercial markets that prospered in early modern southern Tyrol, but more in terms of tradespeople and pilgrims, which reflected the role of the Archbishopric of Salzburg as an ecclesiastical conduit between the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy (Stadler, 1975).

Hence, small enterprises benefitted from existing trade and communication routes so as to evolve into guest-houses or even proper hotels (Hellmuth, 1994). One well-known inn at Bruck in the Pinzgau, bearing the catchy name *Lukashansl,* had long been in the possession of the Mayr family. Under Johann Mayr, a member of the Austrian Tourist Club, head of the local council, and *Landtag* deputy for the curia of large landowners, the business prospered as it adapted to the new opportunities tourism presented. Alongside the original *Lukashansl,* Mayr also ran a second property under the same name at Ferleiten between 1877 and 1920. In addition, he owned the Rainer hut in the Kaprun valley until 1894, and in 1890 he built the mountain lodge *Trauneralm* in the Fusch valley. In order to encourage business at his guest-house in Ferleiten, Mayr applied for a license for a narrow gauge electric railway to the *Tauernalm* and he argued for investments in adequate roads (Illustrierte Rundschau, 10.7.1901, p. 11; Salzburger Volksblatt, 16.06.1894, p. 17; Dillinger´s Reise- und Fremden-Zeitung, 10.06.1897, p. 7 and 20.08.1899, p. 6; Voithofer, 2011, p. 86).

Careful adjustment of existing businesses to new demands meant that the pace of transformation might be long drawn out, as is suggested by the *Gasthaus Elephant* in Brixen. This tavern initially prospered as a hostelry serving the transit trade, before becoming an elegant guesthouse playing host to aristocrats on their Grand Tour. As the 19th century proceeded, it became a modern hotel offering fine cuisine and up-to-date comforts. Inheritance settlements and astute marriage agreements kept the guesthouse in continuous family possession from 1773 onwards, but crucially, it was the enterprise's diverse economic base that allowed it to stay in business. As associational life developed in Austria from the 1860s onwards, the guest-house became an important meeting-place for local civil society. At the same time, guest-house owner Joseph Mayr bought agricultural land and took on official duties, having successfully become the town's postmaster in 1837. This ensured that coach relays passed through the inn, while the agricultural landholdings covered a considerable part of the

guest-house's needs as regards food and fuel (these holdings were only sold in the 20th century, when the *Gasthaus Elephant* became a solely service-providing institution). By 1914, with tourist arrivals in Brixen at 13,074 compared to 2,547 in 1898, the long-term transformation of the business was affirmed, as signaled by the building of a garage to cater to 'automobilists' in 1906 (Heiss, 2002, pp. 49–112).

This example from Brixen suggests that much of tourism-based transformation occurred through adaptation and within an established framework of small-scale family enterprises, which long continued to play a central role in the sector. Moreover, as Andrea Leonardi has argued, it was not just modern infrastructure that formed a prerequisite for touristic development, but a pre-existing "culture of hospitality" (Leonardi, 2006). In this sense, long-term continuities enabled the small-town environments in which touristic transformation took place to act as conduits of 'modernisation' in alpine regions. On the one hand, small-town urban spaces mediated between visitors from 'big-city' conglomerations and the mountain countryside. On the other hand, they experienced on a small scale the process of urbanization happening more rapidly elsewhere, in terms of population growth, expansion of infrastructure and administration, and differentiation in the social structure as wage-earners migrated into tourism centres to work in the service sector. For example, Meran's resident population grew from 4,229 in 1869 to 11,618 in 1910, and that of the Salzburg spa Bad Gastein from 922 to 2,350 over the same period (Heiss, 2001).

However, given the state of current research, it is difficult to evaluate how far such developments fundamentally altered social and gender relations. Certainly, employment in the tourist sector increased the mobility of the working population. Second only to the building trade among non-agricultural occupations, it was particularly important for the female population, accounting for 40% of all paid female workers. Many women gained a degree of 'economic emancipation' through independent wage-earning, while a few established themselves successfully as hoteliers or inn-keepers (Heiss, 2000; Bedin, 2016, pp. 222f). Nevertheless, much of this activity took place in small-scale businesses where a familiar patriarchal structure remained.

In the countryside, tourism was initially grafted onto existing occupational structures. In other words, tourism provided a much-needed additional source of income in a hard-pressed economy which had always relied on secondary occupations, particularly as many of the minor trades, such as tool- or clothes-making declined. Even though agriculture in Salzburg and Tyrol benefited from

the second agricultural revolution in the late 19th-century, most farms were of the small, self-providing variety and the main social and cultural structures in the villages remained almost constant. In the Wipp valley in southern Tyrol, for example, the farm run by Maria and Alois R. ensured a reasonably comfortable living, but extra income from summer vacationers *(Sommerfrischler)* provided a welcome boost of 120 crowns in 1913, compared to the 50 earned for renting out their horse (Strauß, 2015). From this point of view, tourism offered new possibilities to diversify their living, mainly on a seasonal basis, and thereby contributed to a partial "re-agrarianization" (Haas, 1994, pp. 11–14). In other words, tourism ensured the means to stay on the farm, thereby slowing the flight from the land, but change was not yet on a scale to enable full conversion to the business of accommodating visitors. More research is certainly needed in this area, but it can provisionally be suggested that the persistence of small-scale enterprises, patriarchal social relations, and the role of tourism as a provider of supplementary income within a still predominantly rural economy limited or 'disguised' the nature of transformation taking place on a regional level before 1914.

Alongside – and emerging from – this 'adaptive transformation', 'industrial transformation' occurred in certain locations defined by new, modern infrastructures and a primary concentration on the tourist economy. Together with railways, new roads, cable-cars and mountain refuges, the grand hotels symbolized this change most visibly, often rising up in the vicinity of urban rail stations. The Hotel de l'Europe, Hotel Victoria and Hotel Tyrol in Innsbruck, as well as the equivalent grand hotels in the town of Salzburg such as Hotel de l'Europe, Hotel d'Autriche and Hôtel Bristol, or in Zell am See, the Hotel am See, boasted the kind of facilities – running hot water, en-suite bathrooms, electric light, telephone lines and heating – that older guest-houses did not have. For example, after the earlier concerns about bed-spaces, new construction helped to treble the number of rooms available in Innsbruck between 1890 and 1909 and the number of registered tourists in the town increased from around 50,000 in 1890 to 200,000 in 1914 (Türkis, 2010, pp. 15–18). Expansion of accommodation capacity placed new demands on the municipal infrastructure, which meant that tourism centres often anticipated or accelerated improvements to sanitation or power supplies. For example, the local council and *Verschönerungsverein* in St. Gilgen on Lake Wolfgang in Salzburg initiated canalization and a water pipe in the town, arguing: "the new water pipe will result in an increasing number of foreigners. A *Sommerfrische* and health resort needs to guarantee water of drinkable quality for all the guests" (Salzburger Landtag, September/Oktober 1903). In southern Tyrol, a joint enterprise between Bozen and Meran led to the construction of a hydro-electric power plant on the Etsch

river, which went into operation in 1898. Reputedly creating the first high-tension cable in the world to transmit 10,000 volts, the power station transformed the range of possibilities for further improving infrastructure. It enabled, for example, the supply of power to the funicular railway between Bozen and Ritten in 1907 (Heiss, 2001).

Intensification of transport links had a symbiotic effect in creating concentrations of tourist activity. While many roads in the alpine region were based on the old trading routes, demand for completely new stretches typically came from tourism entrepreneurs. In Salzburg, one famous route replaced a badly maintained track that Emperor Franz Joseph I. had travelled on in 1893. When completed, the new *Kaiser-Franz-Josef-Straße* attracted great praise: "It is the beginning of a mountain road, such as has been created for the first time in Salzburg and today there are no longer any doubts about its importance for tourism" (Salzburger Landtag, Zeller, Jänner 1896). In 1910, the road was broadened in places for cars. Moreover, it was closed to agricultural vehicles in the summer, in order to guarantee unobstructed access for cars and omnibuses. As *Landtag* deputies in favour of the project reasoned, "if we want to increase tourism in Salzburg, first and foremost it is necessary to construct the finest roads for the most beautiful valleys, for the pearls of the country" (Salzburger Landtag, Eberhart, November 1910).

While business interests in south Tyrol always took account of the importance of the railways for normal goods traffic, they lobbied hard in favor of new connections because tourism "constitutes a very substantial source of income that cannot be replaced by anything else" (Statistischer Bericht, 1894, p. 443). In practice, however, support from the Austrian government proved hard to come by in the 1890s and 1900s, with Minister-President Count Taaffe telling the above mentioned Johann Angerer that tourism was essentially the business of inn-keepers and was not a matter for the state (Kofler, 1951, p. 313). Hence, most transport connections resulted from private finance or contributions from municipal and provincial institutions, which meant that progress was slower than many wished for, despite the clear boost they gave to increasing tourist numbers. This was the case with the Meran-Bozen railway opened in 1881, the Lake Achen funicular and narrow-gauge railway opened in 1889 (the first of its kind in Tyrol), and the narrow-gauge track from Jenbach into the Ziller valley in 1900. When entrepreneur Josef Riehl opened his mountain cable-rail link from Innsbruck to the Hungerburg in September 1906, he also had to overcome initial disinterest from the town council; but a total of 155,197 paying customers in the first year soon proved the doubters wrong (Türkis, 2010, pp. 19-23).

In sum, through a combination of policies by tourist pressure groups and infrastructural improvements, specific locations were transformed into centers of 'industrial tourism', by specialising in this sector of the economy. Spa towns such as Meran and Arco illustrate the point in terms of their administrative organization and the construction of medicinal and therapeutic facilities. Meran established a spa commission as early as 1836, which became a formal spa administration (*Kurverwaltung*) in 1855; Arco followed suit in 1872. The construction of spa pavilions, promenades, and music rooms created a visitor-oriented economy that grew rapidly from the 1880s onwards; where Meran had 7,000 visitors in 1883, the number rose to 27,000 in 1909 and 40,000 five years later (Das Kurhaus, 1999, p. 86).

In the countryside, it was new 'hotel villages' in places like Neutoblach (in the Puster valley) that embodied the 'industrial' aspect of tourism, because here a new settlement arose up around a grand hotel. Following the expansion of the southern rail route from Vienna through Carinthia, new possibilities opened up for tourism in the Dolomite mountains of the upper Puster valley. The Southern Railway Company was responsible for constructing the first grand hotel at Toblach, which opened next to the rail station in 1878. When the leaseholders purchased the hotel from the company in 1887/88, a phase of expansion ensued around the initially isolated buildings, as 'new' Toblach emerged away from the old village (which came to be known as Alttoblach). Four further hotels were constructed, together with a series of smaller and larger villas; by 1914, the original hotel had expanded to a capacity of 350 beds, possessed its own gas supply, and welcomed prominent guests including the German Crown Prince and composer Gustav Mahler (Heiss, 1999, pp. 23–48).

In all these respects, 'industrial tourism' brought about infrastructural change and turned the service sector into the leading part of local economies in specific areas of the Tyrol-Salzburg alpine region. Centers of tourism also began to draw satellite villages into their orbit, as is suggested by the case of Lana near Meran, which burgeoned on the back of the electric tramway connection between the two places from 1906 onwards (Giovanonni, 2001, pp. 49–55). All these developments were widely publicized by the provincial tourism associations and presented at exhibitions across Europe and the U.S.A. (Lässer, 1989, p. 68). As a guide book for the American and British public produced by the Provincial Tourist Association in Tyrol asserted in 1906, "it is quite remarkable that even in the wildest and loneliest valleys and mountain fastnesses, the traveller may enjoy the benefit of modern inventions, such as the telegraph and the telephone.... In most towns and summer- and winter-resorts, as well as in selected spots high up in the mountains, there may be found hotels second to

none in Europe". Accompanying adverts from hotels throughout the province carefully enumerated the modern comforts that might be expected, such as electric light, heating, lifts, garages, the presence of a doctor, and so on (Tyrol, 1906, pp. 9–10 and pp. 63–80).

While tourism in these respects transformed economic structures, it must nevertheless be asked how far regional society as a whole was transformed. It can be argued that, behind the new activities considerable social and cultural continuities remained, or – to be more precise – some aspects of society changed only very slowly, while in other areas traditions were consciously maintained or reinvented in a way that served tourism. Three aspects can be sketched out in this regard, relating firstly to nature and cultural images of the rural world, secondly to social relations and representations of the social order, and thirdly, relating to national discourse.

Laurent Tissot has suggested that "alpine tourism represented a convergence of a set of needs, expectations, experiences, certainties and hopes that together helped convert the Alps into a tourist product", which included the "creation of landscapes designed to enhance the beauty of the mountain setting" (Tissot, 2011, pp. 4–5). In order to feed the daydreaming, expectations and sense of the extraordinary of the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002, pp. 2–3), nature had to be made accessible by infrastructure, but also to be presented – and experienced – as 'unspoilt' and 'authentic', which implied a constant emphasis on the 'traditional', unchanging, non-urbanized countryside. Countless British visitors to Tyrol believed to glimpse in the alpine countryside a world gone by, such as Walter White writing in 1855: "in the heart of the Continent there is much to be seen that sets actually before our eyes the olden time of England, such as we read of in the pages of histories and story-tellers" (White, 1855, p. 2). Invocation of romantic scenes formed a staple of travel accounts throughout the century. Josiah Gilbert and G.C. Churchill remarked typically of their sojourn in the Inn valley in 1861: "What valley can compare with this for romantic, and yet cheerful, beauty – villages and castle towns on every knoll – woods sweeping up the slopes, and grand mountain forms above?" (Gilbert & Churchill, 1864, pp. 96–97). Regional tourism promoters thus consciously described romantic images to appeal to such sentiments and desires: "beside the rigid masses of ice rising aloft into the sky on the gigantic mountains of the Central Alps, the fantastical forms of the Dolomites glow with a warm sunlight as if wrapped in a fairytale life of enchanting beauty. [...] The whole of Tyrol appears like a gigantic castle, the mountains being the towers, the rocky cliffs the bastions...." (Tyrol, 1906, p. 4 and p. 11).

If tourists came to enjoy tranquillity and naturalness, landscapes needed to be cultivated and perpetuated, as tourist activists in Salzburg became increasingly aware in the second half of the 19th century. Lawyer, conservationist, and *Landtag* deputy August Prinzinger was a vehement advocate of the protection of beautiful scenery. He put forward arguments about aesthetic values, the importance of nature for the education of adolescents and future generations, and also tourism. One important discussion revolved around the well-known Krimml waterfalls, still today a frequently visited tourist attraction. These waterfalls also constituted a promising energy resource, which is why some investors tried to apply for a licence to build a hydro-electric power station. However, due to Prinzinger's stout defence of "the pearl of all waterfalls and gorges, a first-rate natural spectacle, a glory not just for Salzburg but for whole Austria" (Salzburger Volksblatt, 6.04.1899, p. 9), the tourism argument won out. Thus, the – carefully presented – natural landscape was preserved, so that tourists could continue to make nocturnal visits to the illuminated spectacle, much in the same way that Alois Stauder in Lana (southern Tyrol) initiated the building of a promenade so that tourists could view the natural wonder of the Gaul ravine (Giovannoni, 2001, pp. 55–57).

Alongside the cultivation of the landscape, the marketing of the rural idyll further required images of a 'pure', traditional peasantry. The English visitor Henry Inglis, already writing in the 1830s, claimed: "I have already said, of the Tyrolese, that a more noble looking peasantry is no where [sic] to be found in Europe" (Inglis, 1833, p. 285). Such views provided a foundation for the subsequent presentation of the native population as people "who love their country" with their "whole heart and faithfully adhere to the old customs which have been handed down to them from ancient times" (Tyrol, 1906, p. 7). Referring in the 1920s to a phenomenon that was already prevalent before 1914, Alois Reich condemned outsiders who imitated a Tyrolean appearance as "saloon Tyroleans and mountain dandies", and pointed out that the everyday, proud wearing of original costumes would be beneficial for tourism: "the picturesque clothing of the locals" presented "an unforgettable feast for the tourists' eyes, which is why they tell everybody at home about it and return with lots of others" (Österreichische Gebirgs- und Volks-Trachten Zeitung, 01.02.1926, p. 1). Innsbruck's mayor Wilhlem Greil had come to a similar conclusion about the value of "traditional customs" in a revealing discussion about preparations for the centenary celebrations of the 1809 uprising in Tyrol. Greil had initially been sceptical about suggestions to stage conservative author Karl Domanig's turgid patriotic trilogy about the uprising as part of the official festivities in 1909, but he eventually agreed to its performance, because the peasant theatre production would have "an excellent

drawing power for visitors" and would create "effective advertisement for Tyrol and its capital town" (cited in Cole, 2000, p. 378).

In practice, many promoters of tourism were involved in *Heimat*-oriented cultural associations that sought to preserve 'traditional' alpine customs. Members of the Tyrolean Tourism Association helped found the *Tiroler Volkstrachtenerhaltungs- und Schuhplattler-Verein Innsbruck* in 1904, which sought to revive folk costumes and dances (Cole, 2000, p. 391). In the same way, in several mountain districts in Salzburg local *Volkstrachtenerhaltungs- und Schuhplattler-Vereine* as well as many similar associations arose around the turn of the 20th century, aiming to act as a form of tourist commodity, to preserve the "national fabric" of the peasantry and hence the "people" (*Volk*), and to encourage peasant self-assurance and thereby prevent rural depopulation (Salzburger Volksblatt, 16.03.1911, p. 2).

Where this presentation of the natural landscape and the peasantry mounted a 'traditional' façade for tourism and necessitated awareness of the dangers of over-development, social relations constituted a second area where the scale and import of tourist transformation proved contradictory. As indicated above, tourism created employment opportunities within a new service sector of the burgeoning capitalist economy, but in practice much of this development took place within smaller family businesses. The family business was, however, also a feature of the grand hotels and here too a patriarchal model predominated, with most of the key positions from manager to head waiter and chef in the hands of men. A clear hierarchy prevailed, in which the notion of service related more to a traditional framework of social relations, with the position of chamber-maids, cleaners and the like more akin to that of domestic servants (*Dienstboten*) in the households of the nobility, bourgeoisie or wealthy farmers (Heiss, 1999, pp. 49–52). More research needs to be done on this aspect of tourist transformation, but it seems clear that significant structural changes in the workplace, such as unionization or the introduction of fixed contracts, had limited impact in the tourist economy of alpine regions before 1914 (compare Cavalcanti, 2003).

At the same time, pre-1914 tourism in Salzburg and Tyrol was still predominantly the preserve of social elites, meaning that the style and form of transformation bore a 'traditional' imprint. This was particularly the case in spa towns, where elite tourism was the norm and the presence of the aristocracy or the ruling house leant a particular air to the proceedings; it also explains some of the nostalgia-tinged literature on the 'golden age' of spa towns before 1914 (as noted by Leonardi, 1999; Heiss, 2001). Members of the Habsburg dynasty frequented places like Bad Hofgastein, while much of the early development of

Arco occurred under the aegis of Archduke Albrecht, until his death in 1895 (Grazioli, 1993). Moreover, many hotels consciously appealed to a traditional vision of the social order. At Igls in northern Tyrol, for example, the Grand Hotel Igler-Hof advertised its qualities not by stressing modern comforts, but by saying that it was a "first class establishment in the most beautiful position", "patronised by their Majesties Queen Wilhelmina and Queen Emma of Holland, His Majesty the King of Saxe, The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, The Duke and Duchess of Alencon and many other members of the aristocracy" (Tyrol, 1906, p. 70).

In this sense, the transformative effects of modern infrastructure were tempered by the attempt to reinforce established social norms. Christian Social politicians argued for more road-building and lower taxes on income earned by mountain-guides, but still adhered to an agrarian-based ideal opposed to the "modern ways" that certain tourists seemed to embody. In the leading peasant paper, the *Tiroler Bauern-Zeitung*, a January 1902 report sarcastically applauded the achievement of a certain Fräulein Kuntze from Berlin, who had just climbed the Schreckhorn in Switzerland with the help of two guides. The paper warned that such a fool-hardy undertaking should not be imitated (Tiroler Bauernzeitung, 31.01.1902) In short, emancipated females from the 'irreligious' big city did not fit into the patriarchal, rural world-view that the Christian Socials placed at the centre of their political and social programme, although such concerns found an echo among national-liberal bourgeois alpinists as well. In practice, women's alpine activities were not infrequently greeted by caricatures or mocking ditties on the part of those who resented their 'intrusion' into the mountains and feared an alteration in the established gender order of the mountaineering world (Runggaldier, 2011, pp. 118f). Where infrastructural changes enabled tourism's promoters to market the notion that "even ladies" could gain access to the mountain peaks, this development was simultaneously rejected by elitist male alpinists as a "down-grading" of climbing tours, if members of the supposedly "weaker sex" could embark upon them (Wirz, 2007, p. 223).

If, by 1900, tourism had become generally accepted and little, if any criticism of its economic benefits appeared in the Christian Social papers, there was nonetheless no mistaking the sense that tourism should not be allowed to change the basic order of the host societies in the alpine region. For example, the *Salzburger Chronik* long advocated the potential advantages of the Tauern railway (eventually built in 1901–1909) for the Lungau, because the expected tourists would bring in much money. Nonetheless, the local people would need to exercise self-control and abide by the tenets of holy religion (Salzburger

Chronik, 23.03.1883, pp. 1f). Equally, a degree of hesitancy accompanied certain aspects of change, if it meant that old institutions were threatened. The ending of the post-coach in Mittersill in 1897, after the arrival of the local railway, immediately evoked nostalgic sentiments and regrets: "The perpetual progress now cruelly has destroyed the intimate idyll. Hopefully the railway leads to lots of tourists and proves to be a blessing [...]" (Salzburger Volksblatt, 05.10.1897, p. 3).

Lastly, alpine tourism in Salzburg and Tyrol before 1914 took place within a nationalized political context, in which the meaning of the Alps as a national space and border was fiercely contested, from both the German and the Italian side (Cuaz, 2005; Judson, 2006; Keller, 2016). Organized nationalist activity represented a new phenomenon within civil society and there were significant organizational and personal overlaps between tourist promoters, alpine associations and nationalist pressure groups. Moreover, the transformative activity of alpinist groups on the landscape was unmistakable, in the form of the construction of mountain-top refuges and huts, the laying out of pathways or climbing trails, and the physical presence of alpine enthusiasts. If such developments are well documented, what requires emphasis here is that much of this new activity was again accompanied by the rhetoric and practices of conservation and preservation. Aside from the ambivalent nature of the German and Austrian Alpine Association itself, which warned against overly intense tourist activity, a key aspect of alpine discourse was the nationally driven concern to 'protect' the 'original national character' of the mountain landscape and its inhabitants (Keller, 2016).

Thus, the mapping and naming of territory on the linguistic border was a hotly disputed issue in Trentino and the southern part of German Tyrol. National associations such as the Tyrolean People's League (*Tiroler Volksbund*, founded in 1905) or the German and Austrian Alpine Association produced maps which 'Germanized' names in Italian-speaking Tyrol, while tourist newspapers such as the *Gardasee-Post* sought to encourage German visitors to visit German-owned hotels (Cole, 2000, p. 391). When members of the nationalist Gymnastics Association visited German language-islands in Trentino in the summer of 1907, violent clashes ensued with Italian nationalists near Calliano, including members of the Trentine Alpine Association (*Società Alpina Tridentina*) (Judson, 2006, pp. 151–152). One of the protagonists of those events, Edgar Meyer, was a member of the *Tiroler Volksbund*, teacher, castle-owner and artist, who specialized in renovating or designing 'old-German parlours' for restaurants and guesthouses, which sought to preserve 'folk interiors' for both commercial and nationalist reasons. The already mentioned Anton Kofler provides a further exam-

ple. Secretary of the Innsbruck Chamber of Commerce and one of the driving forces behind the professionalization of Tyrolean tourism, Kofler was a German-National deputy to the Tyrolean *Landtag* (from 1900 to 1914) and the Austrian parliament (1911–1918). He too was a member of the *Tiroler Volksbund* and saw the preservation of 'German-Tyrolean' customs and their simultaneous commercial promotion for tourist purposes as part of a mutually reinforcing commercial and national-political nexus (Cole, 2000, pp. 390–392).

3 Conclusion

Bernd Lauterbach states with regard to alpine tourism that "the outsiders bring in unknown and new things", leading to both cultural contact and potential conflict (Lauterbach, 2010, pp. 1–5) As our discussion here has suggested, tourism was in many respects a conduit for transforming aspects of society and economy in the alpine provinces of Salzburg and Tyrol before 1914. Yet, as several researchers into the phenomenon have identified, this was a process rife with ambivalence and contradictions, deriving from the desire to provide easy access to a 'pure nature' that nevertheless could be enjoyed alongside the comforts of 'modern life'. Viewing these changes from the 'insider' perspective suggests that we should be cautious in assessing the scale and nature of social and cultural transformation experienced by host societies in the 19th and early 20th century. Further research is certainly needed on places where 'adaptive tourism' occurred and where 'industrial tourism' took hold, but the 'masked' nature of much of this transformation process emerges clearly from this analysis. As Martin Scharfe has suggested with regard to the specific example of mountain-top crucifixes, the tourist transformation of the mountain-world from the late 18th to 20th century involved an inversion and exchange of cultural meanings at the same time as external material forms were maintained (Scharfe, 2007, pp. 270–71). The alpine region of Salzburg and Tyrol changed in terms of a new prioritization of tourism and the spreading realization of its potential profitability, yet the transformation was in other respects contradictory, involving an emphasis on the preservation of cultural traditions and social relations through a convergence of commercial, political and national interests.

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Tiroler Bauernzeitung
Tiroler Stimmen

Statutes of Associations

Proceedings (Salzburger Landtag)

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