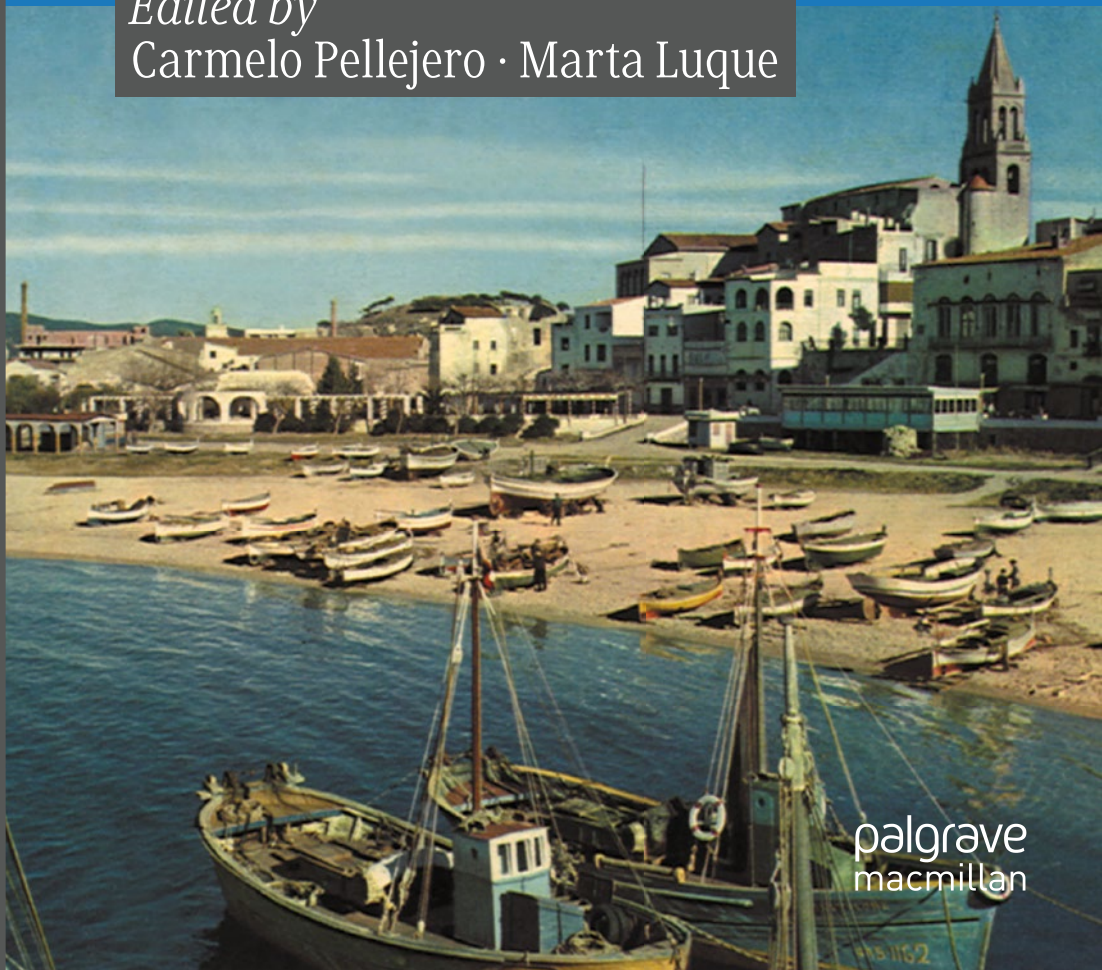
PALGRAVE STUDIES IN ECONOMIC HISTORY

Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960

Edited by
Carmelo Pellejero · Marta Luque



palgrave
macmillan

Palgrave Studies in Economic History

Series Editor
Kent Deng
London School of Economics
London, UK

Palgrave Studies in Economic History is designed to illuminate and enrich our understanding of economies and economic phenomena of the past. The series covers a vast range of topics including financial history, labour history, development economics, commercialisation, urbanisation, industrialisation, modernisation, globalisation, and changes in world economic orders.

More information about this series at
http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/14632

Carmelo Pellejero Martínez
Marta Luque Aranda
Editors

Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960

palgrave
macmillan

Editors
Carmelo Pellejero Martínez
Department of Theory & Economic History
University of Málaga
Málaga, Spain

Marta Luque Aranda
Department of Theory & Economic History
University of Málaga
Málaga, Spain

ISSN 2662-6497 ISSN 2662-6500 (electronic)
Palgrave Studies in Economic History
ISBN 978-3-030-39596-4 ISBN 978-3-030-39597-1 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1

Cover credit: Pictures Now / Alamy Stock Photo

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Contents

Notes on Contributors

Patrizia Battilani is Professor in Economic History at the University of Bologna (Italy) where she serves as Director of the Center for advanced studies in tourism (CAST). She is president of the Italian cluster on Urban Tourism and is a member of the editorial board of Tourism History and of the executive committee of Sise (Società italiana degli storici dell'economia). She is a researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private companies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund.

Annunziata Berrino is professor in Contemporary History at the University Federico II—Department of Humanities in Naples (Italy) and deputy director of Centro interdipartimentale di ricerca sull'iconografia della città europea (CIRICE) of the same university. She directs *Storia del turismo. Annale* (Franco Angeli editions) and *Eikonocity* (FedoaPress) and sits on the Advisory Board of the *Journal of Tourism History* (Taylor and Francis publisher). Among her books: Storia del turismo in Italia (Il Mulino, 2011). She is a researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private compa-

nies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund.

Ester Capuzzo is Full Professor in Contemporary History. She teaches History of Tourism at Sapienza University of Rome—Dipartment Letters and Modern Cultures (Italy). She is a member of the Scientific Committee Filippo Turati's Foundation. One of her books is *Italiani visitate l'Italia. Politiche e dinamiche turistiche tra le due guerre mondiali* (Milano, Luni editore, 2019).

Gaetano Cerchiello has a PhD in tourism from University of Alicante (Spain), where he is honorary member of the University Institute of Tourism Research. He is member of the Advisory Board of the *Journal of Tourism History* and the Spanish Journal *Investigaciones Turísticas*. His studies explore the historical evolution of maritime tourism from the nineteenth century until the present day.

Beatriz Correyero is PhD in Journalism (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). She is Vice Dean of the Degree in Journalism at the Catholic University of Murcia (Spain). She is member of the Research Group in History of Tourism (TURHIS) and member of the Research Group in Political Communication (UCAM). She worked as a journalist for the Spanish Hotel and Catering Federation (FEHR) and is a researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private companies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund.

Ivanne Galant teaches Spanish Civilization and Literature at Paris 13 University in France and is a member of the Centre de Recherche sur l'Espagne contemporaine in Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle University. Her current research focuses on tourism advertisement and cultural representations in travel guides. She is currently head of a project working on the Spanish travel memories of eminent scholars.

Marta Luque Aranda is Associate Professor of Economic History at the University of Málaga (Spain). She is the researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private companies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund. Her main publications are about the history of tourism.

Saida Palou holds a PhD in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the University of Barcelona (Spain). Since 2018, she is a researcher at the Institut Català de Recerca en Patrimoni Cultural (ICRPC). Since 2010, she is a professor at the University of Girona (Spain). She has participated as an expert in the City of Barcelona Strategic Tourism Plan 2015. She is a researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private companies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund.

Carmelo Pellejero Martínez is Associate Professor of Economic History at the University of Málaga (Spain). He is a member of The University Institute of Tourist Investigation, Intelligence and Innovation of the University of Málaga. He is the author of more than fifty publications between books, book chapters and articles in scientific journals, and researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private companies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund.

Mari Carmen Rodríguez completed a PhD in contemporary history on organized political travels in Spain during the civil war (1936–1939) at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), led by Professor Python. She has been lecturer at the University of Lausanne (2015–2019) and Geneva

(2011–2014), in Switzerland and at University of Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne (2014) in France.

Donatella Strangio is full professor of Economic History at the Memotef Department of the Faculty of Economics, Sapienza University of Rome (Italy). She is the President of the Sapienza University of Rome Master's Course Business Management. She is the scientific director of the Migrations/Migrations Series, New Culture, Rome. She is a researcher of the project "The tourism during the Civil War and the first Francoism, 1936–1959. State and private companies in the tourist recovery of Spain. A comparative perspective", funded by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities of the Government of Spain and European Regional Development Fund.

List of Figures

List of Tables

1

Introduction

Carmelo Pellejero Martínez and Marta Luque Aranda

In the last quarter of the century the number of scientific publications and published works that address the history of modern tourism in different countries has increased. However, research on the tourism phenomenon in contemporary post-war periods is still scarce. Hence, when in September 2018 the University of Barcelona invited us to coordinate a session on the International *Aftermaths of War* Congress, scheduled for June 5, 6 and 7, 2019, we did not hesitate. We proposed that it be titled *Postguerra y turismo en la Europa contemporánea* and that its objective would be to analyse the evolution of tourism in the post-war stages of the twentieth century, especially those derived from the First and Second World Wars and the Spanish civil conflict (1936–1939), studying the work that, in an exceptional and challenging backdrop, social entities and organisations undertook in the interest of developing the leisure travel

C. Pellejero Martínez (✉) • M. Luque Aranda (✉)
Department of Theory & Economic History, University of Málaga, Málaga, Spain
e-mail: cpellejero@uma.es; martaluque@uma.es

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_1

industry, as well as its contribution to the emotional and economic recovery of the old continent.

The response among expert university researchers on the history of tourism was very inspiring. Around twenty of them, of Italian, Swiss, French and Spanish nationalities, were interested in participating in our session and exhibiting their work there. But, as the rules of the Organising Committee recommended a maximum number of participants per session, we were forced to make a choice among the applicants—not an easy task. However, after analysing the proposals presented, and thinking about a possible future publication, we chose the works that make up the book that is in your hands today. We believe that all of them, defended and discussed in Barcelona, and improved in the last few months thanks to the recommendations received at the Congress and from the evaluators in Palgrave, will contribute to shed light on the subject of our study, and in a special way on what happened in Italy and Spain.

In Chap. 2, Mari Carmen Rodríguez (Universität Freiburg, Switzerland) points out that in France the battlefields of the Great War were seen as a new tourist market from 1915 onwards. As of 1919, this product was exploited and inspired other European countries that were impacted by the conflict, generated benefits for the devastated areas and interested large travel agencies, like the British company, Thomas Cook. Next, and in light of this tourism model, Rodríguez focuses her attention on Franco's Spain, studying the development of war tourism during the civil war (1936–1939) with the creation of the so-called *Rutas de Guerra*, and in the immediate post-war period as the end of the armed confrontation did not mean the disappearance of these routes. Their name changed to *Rutas Nacionales*, but they continued offering trips to visit different geographical places in Spain and to visit new symbols of the Franco regime, such as the Alcázar in Toledo.

Staying with battlefield tourism, Ester Capuzzo (Sapienza Universitá di Roma, Italy) in Chap. 3 analyses what happened in the period between the two world wars in Italy. Funeral monuments to fallen soldiers and excursions to places that the war had turned into sites of public and private memory, even some that went back to the Italian *Risorgimento*, attracted more and more tourists. She also looks at organisers, such as the *Touring Club Italiano* and the *Ente Nazionale per la Industria Turistiche*,

which fascist organisations like *l'Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* and *l'Opera Nazione Combattenti* joined. In addition, the Mussolini regime would use this tourist product not only as an important source of economic income, but also as an internal propaganda instrument to increase the number of fascism followers.

In Chap. 4, Ivanne Galant (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3, France) studies the way in which Spanish and French guides, brochures and travel accounts continued to promote travel to Spain during the civil war and the first Franco regime. After highlighting the role of this literature in the construction of a national historical account written inside and outside, she points out that in this genre, in addition to proposing lists of monuments to visit and itineraries to follow, some pages dedicated to the history of the location visited would be included. The guide also had a great responsibility since its limited lines could represent the only source of historical-political knowledge read by tourists. Next, she analyses the editorial panorama of the publications related to travel in France and Spain, and the range of positions proposed for this historical discourse, as well as the strategies used to continue presenting the country as an attractive tourist destination.

In Chap. 5, Marta Luque Aranda (Universidad de Málaga, Spain) and Carmelo Pellejero Martínez (Universidad de Málaga, University Institute of Tourist Investigation, Intelligence and Innovation, Spain) discuss the work carried out by the *Dirección General de Turismo* in Spain in the 1940s, pointing out that in a political and very unfavourable economic context, both domestically and internationally, its work was highly influenced by the interventionism and the scarcity of resources that characterised the first Franco regime. Its work focused primarily on three objectives: (a) to both rebuild, after the civil war, and increase the *Red de Establecimientos Turísticos del Estado*, which had been born in 1928 and was intended to complement private initiative; (b) to improve and expand the limited knowledge of Spain abroad, publishing posters and publications, inviting agents from the sector to visit the nation and opening tourist information offices nationally and abroad; and (c) to participate in the organisation of trips and excursions, first with the *Rutas Nacionales*, successors of the *Rutas de Guerra* started in 1938, and as of 1949 with the public company *Autotransporte Turístico Español*, formed with the

mission of creating a national and regional network of tourist routes, as well as offering a car and bus rental service.

Based on their study of the political and social context, and an analysis of the advertising and propaganda strategy promoted by the Franco Administration, Beatriz Correyero (Universidad Católica San Antonio, Murcia, Spain) and Saida Palou (Universidad de Gerona, Catalan Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Spain) examine in Chap. 6 the Spanish tourism context that was forged between 1939 and 1959, as well as the political, institutional and administrative framework that sustained it, concluding that after the civil war, tourism became a tool at the service of the regime propaganda. This was done not only to legitimise it, but also to strengthen national sentiment by promoting stereotypes with which some regions, such as Catalonia, would not feel identified. Through the review of specialised magazines, posters, tourist propaganda brochures and official documents published by the analysed institutions, it is revealed that after the civil war, the touristic promotion of one of the most important tourist destinations in Spain, namely Barcelona, focused on documentaries prepared specifically for visiting tourists, ignoring their full reality and nullifying any dissent with the State framework.

In Chap. 7, Patrizia Battilani (Universitá di Bologna, Centre for Advanced Studies in Tourism, Italy) and Donatella Strangio (Sapienza Universitá di Roma, Italy) start with the assumption that tourism is an economic activity that can be promoted in rural or deindustrialised areas and this can be used as a tool to overcome territorial divisions and the "periphery" of some areas. They point out that Italy is an example for analysing territorial cohesion based on the development of tourism and note that in the province of Trentino, as well as along the northern Adriatic coast, tourism was an engine for development and, consequently, contributed to territorial cohesion. However, it is not clear whether the sector performed the same role in southern Italy. Although public policies focused on manufacturing, the authors show, using new evidence found in the Bank of Italy Archives, that during the decade of the 1950s the *Cassa per il Mezzogiorno* (the Agency for the development of the southern regions) also financed investments in the tourism sector.

Finally, Annunziata Berrino (Universitá degli Studi di Napoli Federico II, Italy) and Gaetano Cerchiello (Instituto Universitario de Investigación

Turística, Universidad de Alicante, Spain) analyse in Chap. 8 the trajectory of transatlantic passenger-shipping companies during the fifteen years following the Second World War, and especially the impacts and repercussions that this cruise activity had in Spain. In order to do this they reconstructed a volume of cruise traffic during the period under study, taking Barcelona as a reference port and using the port chronicles that were published daily in *La Vanguardia Española*, as well as using advertising material collected from different virtual newspaper libraries. Their study highlights the clear dominance of the British cruise product, whose expeditions were characterised by their massive nature and high occupancy rates on board, and the obvious autonomy of the cruise business with respect to the general trend of international tourism. Their analysis shows that, while the latter recorded a steady and unstoppable increase, cruises, which are very dependent on emigration traffic, experienced a very different evolution. It should be remembered that, until the early 1960s, no actual tourist shipping lines or cruise companies existed, only transport companies whose main activity was liner services.

2

Battlefield Tourism, from One (Post)War to the Other, France–Spain. Touring from the Great War to the Spanish Civil War

Mari Carmen Rodríguez

Battlefields of the Great War have been perceived in France as a new tourism market since 1915 and its growing exploitation since 1919 has inspired other European States impacted by the war, like Italy, until 1939. Its development has generated benefits in the devastated regions, after almost five years of warfare. In addition, large travel agencies such as the British Thomas Cook have taken advantage of that vein, achieving significant success in the 1930s.

According to these pioneering initiatives in the field of memory tourism, Franco takes advantage of the *still burning tracks*[1] of the civil war to inaugurate the War Routes in 1938, in order to generate foreign exchange

[1] Free translation of "huellas aún candentes". *Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra del Norte* [Notes on the North War Route], 05.1938. Archivo General de la Administración [General Administration Archives] – AGA, Alcalá de Henares (Spain), section AA.EE, 54, box 11710.

M. C. Rodríguez (✉)
University of Fribourg, Fribourg, Switzerland
e-mail: maricarmen.rodriguez@unifr.ch

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_2

and publicity for the New State, raising the interest of Thomas Cook in 1939.

This article aims to study the phenomenon of "battlefield tourism" from one (post)war to another, from a transnational perspective. This approach studies an object from the angle of circulatory regimes (Saunier 2008), historicizing the phenomena of interdependence, interconnection, relations between and across societies and the entities that structure them. Issues of non-domestic inputs, rejections and appropriations are presented. The crossings between sociohistorical contexts in which motor individuals and those groups that are formed in different spaces and temporalities emerge and then evolve are described. The networks of influence revealed by the study of their relations are essential to understanding the reception, export, translation and hybridization of theoretical and practical models. In this sense, it seems appropriate to identify the distribution channels such as sociability spaces, journals, translations, official and unofficial diplomates and travel agents that contribute to it. Finally, the survey of transfers between Tourings of the Great War and the Spanish Civil War is placed in a diachronic perspective to better perceive the dynamics of the process, but also to identify its limits (Werner and Zimmermann 2004, p. 19).

Actually, as Louise Bénat and Serge Gruzinski write, the exchanges from one world to another, the crossings, but also the individuals and groups that act as intermediaries, smugglers who pass between the blocks, whom we are just spotting, build bridges between semiotic universes and configure skills to criticize and transform legacies (Bénat Tachot and Gruzinski 2001, pp. XI–XII & 8).

2.1 Prolegomena: War and Tourism, an Incompatible Couple?

As Richard Butler and Wantanee Suntikul (2013, pp. 1–3) have written, it is necessary to clear the simplistic idea that war and tourism are incompatible. Their relation is complex. War can generate a new tourist attraction by creating a military, political or memorial heritage. According to

Maria Tumarkin (2005. p. 12), the transition from landscape to traumascape or memoryscape forges other interpretations that open unprecedented itineraries, creating a space where events are experienced and reexperienced over time. The War Routes reassign new identities to the past, territory and heritage.

Links between war and tourism, particularly visible today in the context of the centenary of the Great War, date back to a long tradition of visiting battle sites, changing a warrior space into a memorial destination. Since antiquity, paying tribute to the heroic soldiers where the fight had taken place is part of the cult of *magistra vitae*, whether real or mythical. Even if these itinerant ancestors cannot be compared with the tourists of modernity, a ritual homology connects them. According to Jean-Pierre Vernant (2001, pp. 16–17), there is a heroic death in fighting that is not a common death for the young warrior who falls on the battlefield; then everything seems beautiful, everything is adequate. For through this "beautiful death", honor is safe. Thus in 334 BC, during his invasion of Asia, Alexander the Great would have visited the ancient Troy and the tomb of Achilles, whose imagined tracks had been sung about by the Aedes.

Telling a story that corresponds to an exemplary perception of the world, studying and transmitting the history of battles, is a practice that has lasted to this day and has also largely interested historians (Delacroix et al. 2010, pp. 162–169). In contemporary times, stories of struggles, especially those ending with victories, play an important role in the nation-building narrative, often presented as an epic tale. Associated to the development of tourism, they mold, reinvent and codify the space, and classify it following the politics of memory, but also to economic aims. As several researchers underline (Seaton 1999, pp. 131–150; Holguín 2005, pp. 1401–1404), the pioneering example that still benefits today from an important exploitation is the battle of Waterloo on June 18, 1815, which culminated in the victory of the armies led by the English General Wellington and the Prussian Blucher over the troops of Emperor Napoleon. The place is the subject of an important memorial exploitation in a period that corresponds, at the same time, to the development of tourism. The organization of visits to the place of such events inaugurates the first major attraction of the genre. Other conflicts such as

the civil war of 1861–1865 in the United States, the commune of Paris in May 1871 and, above all, the First World War have contributed to consolidate "battlefield tourism" as a genre of the tourism industry.

2.2 The Chabert Report

Battlefields of the First World War had become the quintessential model of touristic exploitation of war during the conflict itself. In 1915, the French Ministry of Public Works commissioned a tourism development expert, Pierre Chabert, for an exploratory mission on tourist interest in the United States and Canada, to visit the battlefields of the Great War after the hostilities, a market that appeared promising back then. In his report presented on March 20, 1916, Chabert estimated that around 600,000–700,000 tourists would visit France when the war ended and that the tour of the tracks of this traumatic past must, paradoxically, be very comfortable, according to the habits of the well-off traveler. He recommended the construction of large hotels near the most famous sites, the organization of special trains from the main cities near the front, Paris to the head, to accommodate the expected crowd that will come tomorrow.

In his report, the war memory promoter also took into account the ideological orientation of the visits. Echoing the official context, he advised considering these trips as "pilgrimages to the battlefields of France" and the speeches of the guides as a promotion of the national spirit. They had to show the "bravery of ours" against "German barbarism".

In addition, Chabert proposed taking advantage of the presence of foreign travelers to convince them to discover other regions of France at the end of their tour of the front, to stop at the Côte d'Azur or other beaches, in order to create a tourism stream in the future (Chabert 1918, pp. 128–132).

2.3 Michelin's Leadership

The leaders of the French tourism industry exploited Chabert's prospecting. The Touring Club of France (TCF), before the report was officially published, commented on it in its national magazine. The influential members of French tourism did not want to wait until 1918 to launch what they called their "business revenge" (Ballif 1916, pp. 82–85). The TCF, together with the National Tourist Office and the businessman André Michelin, undertook tourism on the battlefields of France. Michelin quickly became the leader. For the tire contractor, this experiment was part of his promotional strategy that he had been conducting since the beginning of the century, but also his ability to adapt his production to war economy. Originally, the Michelin & Cie family business was born from the acquisition, in 1886, of the declining rubber products factory created by their grandfather in Clermont-Ferrand by the brothers André and Édouard Michelin. The two brothers decided to produce bicycle tires in 1891 and automobiles in 1895, which required large investments but represented the future transport market. In 1900, the company reached a dominant position in France and, in 1912, it employed around 4444 workers (compared to 1595 for its competitor Bergougnan and 600 for Torrilhon).

In order to increase its sales, Michelin also tried to enlarge its influence on the development of automobile tourism, a useful activity for the avant-garde image that the company wanted to promote, following the example of the English Cyclist Touring Club (1878), and the Touring Clubs of France (1890), Belgium and Italy (1895) and before other European countries and the United States. Its members formed an influential associative group of senators, lawyers and businessmen. These lobbies presented tourism as an economic project that could revitalize regions, give work and promote small companies. In 1900 the Michelin Guide of France was created for tourists traveling by car. This volume of 400 pages on thin paper was designed to slide into the traveler's pocket and was offered for free. It contained a practical list of useful addresses to obtain fuel, to maintain tires, to repair a car and to stay and rest. But gradually, the guide offered more space for accommodation, extended to

other parts of Europe and developed another specificity: road maps. Between 1906 and 1914, it distributed annually an average of 60,000–70,000 copies. André Michelin took advantage of his knowledge as a cartographer of the French State, at the Ministry of the Interior, and provided his guides with accurate maps that allowed motorists to navigate through a landscape that still did not have sufficient signage. A year before the First World War, Michelin completed the production of his red guides with maps covering the entire territory of France and select cities considered worth visiting (Harp 2008, pp. 17–18; Moulin-Bourret 1997, pp. 12–18; Miquel 1962; Lottman 1998; Dumond 2002).

For Michelin, war represented a rupture and a continuity. The rupture occurred because the company's rubber tires did not resist rugged roads. It tried to compensate the fragility of this material with symbolic initiatives that could project an image of patriotic generosity toward the French society. In August 1914, the company transformed one of its warehouses into a state-of-the-art military hospital, delivering food packages to the soldiers. Michelin factories also adapted their production to the war market. They sold rubber bags for horses, tents and sleeping bags, but also bombshells. The company offered its financial contribution (one-fifth) to the fuselage of aircraft produced by Breguet and Renault, which prevented the closure of its factories and the dismissal of non-mobilized[2] workers. It also distributed some benefits to mobilized families, as well as to widows and orphans. Like its competitors, Michelin contributed to the war effort from the moment it was clear that the conflict would last awhile.

The idea of producing battlefield guides followed the same logic of adaptation. The project was created with Michelin's partners, the TCF (150,000 members), the State, through the ONT, and the editor Berger-Levrault, specialized in publications of military and nationalist propaganda. To these main promoters of the operation, Michelin requested the addition of some journalists to write chronicles of the battles, the photographic section of the army founded in 1915 and the conservative magazine *L'Illustration*, which offered a weekly space to promote the project.

Tourism of the battlefields of the Great War was framed in a context of official mediated memory, combining the political interests of the State, which had sent an expert in tourism development in 1915, finding a

[2] Non-mobilized workers' refers to the workers who had not been called for military duty.

suitable space to spread its national defense speech, and the private business interests, which aim to position themselves in a promising market.

In 1917, the first Michelin guide was published while the third anniversary of the battle of the Marne was celebrated. The guide was dedicated to the Ourcq region, where the Battle of the Marne took place, a destination that already enjoyed a certain reputation (*Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne I,* 1917). The book and the itinerary were inaugurated at a garden party organized on the afternoon of September 27, 1917, in the castle of Chantilly, the headquarters of General Joffre from 1914 to 1916 and later of the great allied war councils. The presence of the prestigious French historian Ernest Lavisse consecrated the event. Twenty-seven journalists, including three American correspondents, attended with some personalities, ministers and academics. The ONT and the TCF sponsored a "visit of Ourcq" to which the French and foreign press was invited. Visitors were onboard military cars following the tracks of the Great War, with the guidebook in their hand (Harp 2008, p. 121; Champeaux 2005, pp. 527–532; Moulin-Bourret 1997, p. 190).

2.4 The Michelin Guide's History Masterclass

The narrative of the Michelin guide retrieved the official account of the war, which was far from the experience of the poilus (foot soldiers). While claiming to give its readers the reflection of "reality", the narrative followed the historiographical pattern of the history of battles from the point of view of military command. The first volume dedicated to the Battle of the Marne opened with a portrait of French, English and German generals (Joffre, Gallieni and Douglas Haig, Sir John French and von Kluck) presented as the main actors of history before narrating the story of the "Miracle of the Marne", with illustrations of maps, as a patriotic burden:

> *This is how the physiognomy of the battle of the Marne is outlined, won by the same soldiers who have just suffered the failure of the battle of the borders and retired, "exhausted of fatigue", as never before in history, traveling two hundred*

> *kilometers in ten days. The firmness of the soul of the General, the clear and judicious plan that he has thought of and that he has carried out in close collaboration with high-ranking military leaders, in addition to the superhuman heroism of the troops, such are the factors of what was called the Miracle of the Marne.* (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne I, op. cit., p. 15)[3]

Following the same ideological line, the proposal of visits to the cities, funerary monuments and devastated places that reveal traces of fighting, offered a unilateral vision of the conflict. The violence was mainly attributed to the German army, which made the tourist an agent to relay the propaganda arsenal of the French Nation. Political use of the past was also mobilized for the same purpose. During the visit of the bombed city of Senlis, the Melingue painting exhibited in the town hall stood out, representing the execution of four Burgundy hostages besieged in 1418 by the Armagnac, beheaded in the city walls. The guide concluded thus: *Six centuries have passed since then, but we see that the Germans continue with the mentality of the Middle Ages regarding hostages* (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne, *I,* 1917, pp. 50–53)[4]

In this tour of the battlefields of France represented by the Michelin guidebook, it is essential to mention the place reserved for the emblematic "Battle of Verdun". As a metonymy of the Great War, the story of that famous relic from the interwar period to this day—the battlefield of Verdun in France—became the most popular volume of the Michelin collection produced by the firm itself in 1919 (*Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille: La Bataille de Verdun, 1914–1918,* 1919).

[3] Free translation of "Ainsi se trouve esquissée la physionomie de la bataille de la Marne gagnée par ces mêmes soldats qui viennent de subir l'échec de la bataille des frontières et d'effectuer, «hallucinés de fatigue», une retraite sans précédent dans l'histoire, atteignant en dix jours deux cents kilomètres de profondeur. La fermeté d'âme du généralissime, le plan clair et judicieux qu'il a arrêté et qui a été exécuté dans une étroite collaboration avec des chefs d'armée d'une haute valeur, pardessus tout l'héroïsme surhumain des troupes, tels sont les facteurs de ce qu'on a appelé le Miracle de la Marne" (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne I, op. cit., p. 15).

[4] Free translation of "Six siècles ont passé depuis, mais on a vu que les Allemands ont conservé vis-à-vis des otages la mentalité du Moyen Âge" (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne, I, 1917, pp. 50–53).

Like the previous narratives, the story recomposes, in the long term, the typological construction of the "fortress city" as "one of the oldest cities in France", besieged by iconic conquerors of history, such as Attila in 450 or Carlos I in 1544. It is also presented as the headquarters of the Prussian army in 1792, and obviously also in 1870, when "Verdun defended itself longer" against 10,000 men of the Prince of Saxony troops, before playing a "capital role" in the Great War.

However, as historian Antoine Prost demonstrates, Verdun's symbolic weight does not predate the conflict. That feature has been created afterwards. What underlies the weight of the place is the German offensive in February 1916, quoted by Michelin, which caused an imposing French setback and dramatic disorganization of the front. In June, Verdun became a symbol; while the combatants saw it as a pointless place which rather evoked death and sacrifice, although it did not have the same meaning for the rear guard who heroized the battle, it became the battleground of the Great War because the entire French army, or almost all of it, passed over it due to the strategy of the Ferris wheel designed by Pétain (continuous relay of soldiers). Fighting in Verdun was an act of initiation that almost all soldiers shared. It became a common space that could be commemorated. With the victory, it gained exceptional stature. That symbolic burden extended by commemorative rituals gave Verdun the rank of a hegemonic tourist destination. The 1919 Michelin guide offers aerial views, maps and accounts of the struggle from the point of view of the military chief's strategy. But, in addition, the volume dedicated to Verdun is often reissued and the 1919 version is constantly updated. New commemorative elements such as the ossuary of the fallen opened in 1932 and even new legends that are emerging are constantly added. Thus, the myth of "the bayonet trench", already denounced by Jean Norton Cru in 1929 (Norton Cru 1929, pp. 33–36) as a creation of the same tourists, appears in later editions to 1919. The bayonet trench monument tells the legend of the 137th regiment of infantrymen who were allegedly buried alive:

> *The men waited for the attack with the shotgun loaded with bayonet, but the weapon was resting on the parapet within reach of the combatant who was holding grenades, ready to repel, first with the grenade, the probable attack.*

> *Falling in front, behind and in the trench, bombs brought their lips closer, burying our brave soldiers from Vendée and Bretagne. It was because they did not have the shotgun in hand that the bayonets remained standing, emerging from the mound of slippery dirt. From that night of June 11, 1916, the trench presented that aspect that was discovered in times of armistice.* (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille: Verdun, 1934, p. 100)[5]

But, as Prost demonstrates, bombs cannot fill a trench. They dig it as much as they fill it and the soldiers are not used to quietly waiting for death during a bombing. In addition, the bayonet was sparsely used in attacks. Today, it is recognized that bayonets were added later (Prost 1997, p. 1768).

2.5 Followers of the Experiment of "Michelin Guides for the Visit of the Battlefields of France" during the Great War and Postwar

Between 1917 and 1921, Michelin produced a collection of 29 guides, with about 1000 maps and 4500 photographs, following the same narrative pattern. Nineteen were translated into English, four into Italian and the first, dedicated to Ourcq, into Spanish and Portuguese in March 1918 (Champeaux, pp. 533–542). Special series were also published for Americans, indicating the battles in which they participated. But despite the importance of these propaganda investments, the Michelin guides for the visit to the battlefields of France did not achieve the expected success. The operation was a financial failure, although 885,000 volumes were sold in 1919 and, in total, sales have reached 1.5 million to 2 million

[5] Free translation of "Les hommes attendaient l'attaque avec le fusil, baïonnette au bout, mais cette arme était appuyée au parapet à portée du combattant qui avait dans ses mains des grenades, prêt à repousser, d'abord à la grenade, l'attaque probable. Les obus tombant en avant, en arrière, et sur la tranchée, rapprochèrent les lèvres de cette dernière, ensevelissant nos vaillants Vendéens et Bretons. C'est par le fait qu'ils n'avaient pas le fusil à la main qu'il s'est trouvé que les baïonnettes émergeaient après l'écroulement des terres. Dès ce soir-là, le 11 juin 1916, la tranchée avait l'aspect que l'on a retrouvé à l'armistice" (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille: Verdun, 1934, p. 100).

(HARP, pp. 144–150; Champeaux, pp. 533–542; Moulin-Bourret, volume II, p. 707). The avalanche of American visitors that was expected for the postwar period, announced by Michelin as a "peaceful invasion" that tourism actors would take advantage of, did not happened.

Nevertheless, that failure was not harmful for the Michelin company, which became the first Clermont-Ferrand industry to emerge from the crisis and, since the postwar period, its name has been linked to the image not only of the city but also of France.

In addition, the memory tourism market continued to grow until the 1930s. Ypres visitors' book in Belgium, for example, indicated the presence of 100,000 visitors that same year (Mosse 1991, p. 154; Holguín 2005, p. 1403). The Michelin initiative was also imitated in other places. The model circulated in particular through the Italian Touring Club (TCI), which, from 1928 to 1931, published a series of guides to the Italian battlefields titled *Sui campi di battaglia*, in six volumes, contributing to the political use of tourism practiced by the fascist regime and aiming to "get the Italians to visit Italy" (Berrino 2011, p. 228). The narration and visits are often carried out with the help of veteran associations, framed in the fascist cult of the memory of Italian martyrs and exalting the epic warrior promoted by the regime (Guerrini 2012, p. 139). The volume dedicated to Mount Grappa in 1937, integrates the monumental ossuary, inaugurated on September 22, 1935, by King Victor Emmanuele and the high representatives of the army, under the leadership of the Marshal of Italy, Gaetano Giardino (*Sui campi di battaglia. Il monte Grappa,* 1937, pp. 32 et 33 & pp. 64–65).

Visits to the battlefields of Belgium, Greece, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Turkey also arouse interest, constituting a market for the main tour operators. To the waves of peregrinations of veterans or relatives of victims traveling to traumatic destinations, keeping alive the memory of their peers or relatives, especially in times of commemorations, other categories of visitors were gradually added, motivated by curiosity or historical interest. Since the 1930s, an increasing number of schoolchildren have also been taken to the old battlefields, enabled by memory entrepreneurs. If the number of visitors fluctuated in the 1920s and 1930s, it reached naught with the Munich crisis until the eve of the Second World War (Lloyd, pp. 107–109).

2.6 "War Tourism" in Franco's Spain

When Spain began its civil war in the summer of 1936, the "battlefield tourism" of the Great War, almost nine years after the first tour of Ourcq organized by the French State, Michelin and its partners, became a well-known practice of elites who had the ability to travel in Europe. In the commemorative field, 1936 represented the twentieth anniversary of the battle of Verdun, whose memory was celebrated in those states that took part in the conflict and by the international press. Two years later, when the number of tourists visiting the battlefields of the Great War dwindled, Franco's Spain issued a tutelary announcement to promote its first "War Route":

> *After the European War, France opened its battlefields to foreign tourism. The Spain of General Franco, in full war yet, but with absolute faith in the imminence of the final victory, invites citizens of all civilized nations to discover its War Routes and personally check the order, tranquility and prosperity that reign in regions recently military conquered, and in which, in maximum conditions of safety and comfort, they can see the still burning traces of one of the greatest epics recorded in History.* (Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra op. cit.[6])

In this promotional campaign, the affiliation established by Franco with the "battlefield tourism" of the Great War was strategical. The first global confrontation marked an unprecedented number of victims in Europe and beyond, building up a never seen common memory space. The Generalissimo claimed the entry of his fields of honor in the heroic story of European civilization. The propagandists of Franco's "war tourism" even turned their struggle into "one of the greatest epics that History records". In the wake of the French model, which was reproduced by other European powers in the postwar period, the touristic

[6] Free translation of "Terminada la Guerra Europea, Francia abrió sus campos de batalla al turismo extranjero. La España del General FRANCO, en plena guerra todavía, pero con fe absoluta en la inminencia de la victoria final, invita a los ciudadanos de todas las naciones civilizadas a recorrer sus Rutas de Guerra y a comprobar personalmente el orden, tranquilidad y prosperidad que reinan en las regiones recién conquistadas por las armas, y en las que, en máximas condiciones de seguridad y comodidad, pueden ver las huellas aun candentes de una de las epopeyas más grandes que registra la Historia" (Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra op. cit.).

memorialization of the conflict became a powerful ritual for the "Nationals", where "historical memory" was produced to capture the attention of world public opinion. Amid hostilities, the symbolic construction of the new State was elaborated in a *hypermnesia* that instituted war as a lesson in history.

On the other hand, Franco claimed the primacy of the organization of tourism "in the midst of the war", relegating the French model to a post-war practice. This version echoed the memoirs that the organizer of the operation, Luis Bolín, published in 1967, stating that no other country had ever opened doors to tourism in the middle of war (BolínBidwell, p. 312), and this has been relayed by the existing historiography, including the author of this article (Rodríguez 2012a, p. 351; Holguín 2005, p. 1414; Correyero and Cal 2008, p. 268; Pack 2006, p. 33; Rodríguez 2001, p. 109; Fernández Fuster 1991, pp. 317–319.). However, the first Michelin guide published in September 1917 already boasted of the same argument in its warning to the reader: *This volume appears before the end of the war, but the campaigns to which it leads the reader have long been released* (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne I, 1917, p. 2).[7]

Despite this, it has to be recognized that Franco's war tourism went further. The newly created government of Burgos invested significant funds in the elaboration of a weight structure, the National Tourism Service (SNT), whose magnitude was surprising for a state under construction and in the middle of a war. In that sense, it can be said that it was an audacious and unprecedented experiment in 1938. It also succeeded in convening a greater number of travelers during the conflict than Michelin did, as it took advantage of the 1930s boom in battlefield tourism promoted by several countries involved in the First World War.

The creation of the SNT started after the founding of the new government in January 1938, by several decrees that insured extraordinary financing with the aim of inaugurating the first "Route of War" in July.[8]

[7] Free translation of "Ce volume paraît avant que la guerre [ne] soit terminée, mais les campagnes où il conduit le lecteur sont depuis longtemps libérées" (Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. Bataille de la Marne I, 1917, p. 2.).

[8] Decreto del Ministerio del Interior in *Boletín Oficial del Estado* [Bulletin officiel de l'État] – BOE, 17.02.1938, nº 484, p. 5819, y Decreto del Ministerio del Interior in BOE– 07.06.1938, nº 593, pp. 7738–7739.

The Minister of Interior, Ramón Serrano Suñer, was the supervisor and Luis Antonio Bolín y Bidwell, appointed at the head of the Service, acted as the project manager.

Bolín had some professional experience in the field. He had directed the National Tourism Board in the Andalusia region during the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera, also known for exploiting tourism as a powerful state propaganda vector. He was in charge of the propaganda for the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville, in 1929, and had forged contacts mainly in London. Since his dismissal by the Republican government in 1931, he had returned to London and, in 1936, had taken sides for the uprising of rebel generals (Bolín 1967, pp. 3–46, 229). After a feasibility study of the communication structures and the accommodation and restoration network to ensure circuits, the head of the SNT commissioned two tourism industry partners to study the market interest of the Routes for travelers in Europe, just as Chabert had done for France in the United States in 1915. In the United States, Bolín managed to buy a fleet of twenty new buses with thirty seats and to hire a group of guide-interpreters. The targeted tourists would come from Italy, Germany, France, England, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal and other regions such as Scandinavia and Central Europe.[9]

These collective tours, for a duration of 9 days, were prepared following the advance of the Franco army. The "Route of the North" opened on July 1, 1938, and the "Route of the South", inaugurated on December 1, were expected to be followed by the "Route of Madrid" (corresponding to Castile) and the "Route of Catalonia".

As in the case of the Great War, the Spanish conflict became a space for "renationalization" in which a stereotyped figure of the enemy was built which in turn reinvented national common values (Nuñéz Seixas 2006, p. 24). With the mediation of tourism, territory and heritage were mobilized in favor of the memorialization of the present, past and future of a "new Spain". The Routes constituted a microcosm of identity production in which the political use of history played a key role. The itinerary configured by the area occupied by Franco revealed a peacemaker who, after

[9] Note of the Servicio Nacional de Política y Tratados, MAE, Burgos, to Spanish Representatives abroad, 14.03.1938. AGA, AA.EE., 54, 11710.

a providential struggle against the enemy, offered a present territory in which, since the end of October 1937, "order, tranquility and prosperity" were restored. In that sense, tourists discovered picturesque and quiet villages such as Fuenterrabía or Santillana del Mar and the coast of the sea from San Sebastián to Deva. But they also recorded the atrocities experienced until the arrival of the "Nationals". The scars of the current war served as victimist relics. The cities destroyed by shrapnel and bombs, as well as the ruins that reflected the violence of enemy fire, became the target of political pilgrimages, such as Guernica, which must have convinced visitors of the "incendiary fury of the Reds", in opposition to international campaigns. Franco and Bolín spread the idea that Republicans burned the city before fleeing (instead of the German Condor Legion) and put the blame on the enemy (Southworth 1977, pp. 31–398). Bilbao and its defensive "iron belt", for which a special road was built, was also another key example of traditional battlefield tourism of the "Northern War Route".[10]

Like the Michelin guides, the SNT excursions also reflected a reinterpretation of the nation's past in favor of its organizers' side. The guide-interpreters' narrative was based on historical revision of iconic elements of the Spanish collective memory in favor of the struggle of the "Nationals". For example, the sanctuary of Covadonga, the headquarters of nineteenth-century rituals celebrating the beginning of the medieval Catholic Reconquest of Spain by Pelayo, became the scene of one of the battles of the New Reconquest of Asturias by Franco's army, an opportunity to establish a link between the two reconquistas:

> *The road takes the tourist to the Sanctuary of Covadonga, cradle of the Reconquest of Spain and scene of one of the decisive battles of the New Reconquest of Asturias. From there, in continuous contrast between the peace of the valleys and the destruction carried out in the villages by the disciples of Lenin, the road passes through Cangas de Onís, with its incomparable Roman bridge, the Pontón gorge, Arriondas and Infiesto, and endes in Oviedo, the undefeated city, where war footprints carefully preserved is a testimony of its*

[10] Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra del Norte, op. cit., 1938.

heroism. There, visitors can appreciate the full extent of the struggle that lasted more than fifteen months around the capital of Asturias. (Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra del Norte, 1938, op. cit.[11])

The Asturian region, marked in October 1934 by mining strikes strongly repressed by Franco, beginning the so-called black biennium of the Republic, is remembered by the "Nationals" as the Sanctuary of Catholic Spain, united and liberated, under the auspices of the Caudillo. This historical revision buries the memory of the October revolution in Asturias.

On that same Route, tourists can add a pilgrimage to Compostela, which benefits from a long religious and political use. Actually, the myth of the "holy sepulcher" of the Apostle Santiago de Compostela was created in the eighth century by radical Catholics of the Iberian Peninsula, in the context of dominant Islamic presence (Rey Castelao 2006, pp. 29–31). They "fabricate[d]" the legend of the evangelizing mission that the Apostle would have accomplished in Hispania and claimed its continuity. In the ninth century, the Bishop of Iria and the Lord of the kingdom of Asturias and Leon, both in search of territories, encouraged the search for the tomb of the Saint. The *inventio* (meaning discovery) was attributed to a hermit guided by celestial forces. The tale justifies the creation of the *Land of Santiago*, where a church was built, according to the pilgrimage models which were multiplying at the time of the Crusades. The political and religious prestige of the "sanctuary" increased in the twelfth century, under the protection of Rome and the order of Cluny and its material protection was ensured by a tax: the *Vow of Santiago*. Despite the lack of credibility of hagiography and relics, the "sanctuary" gradually obtained the necessary recognition for its exploitation by the

[11] Free translation of "la carretera lleva al turista al Santuario de Covadonga, cuna de la Reconquista de España y escenario de una de las batallas decisivas en la Nueva Reconquista de Asturias. Desde allí, en contraste continuo entre la paz de los valles y la destrucción realizada en los pueblos por los discípulos de Lenín, el camino pasa por Cangas de Onís, con su incomparable puente romano, el desfiladero del Pontón, Arriondas e Infiesto, para llegar a Oviedo, la ciudad invicta, de cuyo heroísmo son testimonio insuperable las huellas de la guerra conservadas cuidadosamente, para que los visitantes puedan apreciar toda la magnitud de la lucha que, alrededor de la capital de Asturias, se desarrolló durante más de quince meses de incesantes combates" (Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra del Norte, 1938, op. cit.).

clergy of the city, which led, for example, to the construction of a cathedral and facilities to host pilgrims. Its impact is to be assessed in terms of a positive symbolic capital. By the frequency of celebrations of *Holy Years* (when the ephemeris of Santiago, July 25, coincides with a Sunday) and with a revitalization of the pilgrimage in the late nineteenth century, promoted by Archbishop Payá y Rico, the place earned a reputation (Villares, pp. 12–17). Since the jubilee of 1909, the region of Compostela has made its way into tourist exploitation and, in 1924, the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera made an official visit to the "sanctuary" for propaganda purposes (Díaz Martínez et al. 2000, p. 35). During the Spanish Civil War, Compostela, quickly occupied by the "Nationals", allowed them to make use of the symbolic power of the Saint's relics in favor of their "Cruzade". Fortunately, the *Holy Year* fell in 1937. Franco decided to extend it to 1938 and visits the sepulcher as a pilgrim. But naturally, the extension was particularly useful to get an additional tourist attraction to the "North War Route".

Other older places, such as the Altamira Caves, which offer world-renowned archaeological paintings, were exploited by the "New Spain" of Franco.[12]

The "South War Route", which led visitors through Andalusia starting in December 1938, followed the same narrative. It showed the link between medieval Christian *"Reconquista"* on the remaining territory of *Al Andalus* and the current victory of the "National" troops. The itinerary mainly focused on monumental Ancient Arab cities reconquered by Christians such as Granada, Cordoba, Seville, Jerez and Cadiz. It also testified the order, peace and abundance restored by Franco's army against the "red terror":

> *One of the most characteristic features of Andalusia at war is the feeling that one does not live in a country where there is a relentless civil war. Andalusia is in mourning; it is rare to meet families who do not cry dear loved ones, victims of red terror. […] Abundance reigns in Andalusia. It suffices to travel through its towns and countryside to convince oneself that the economic situation of the country is most favorable and that the provisions of the Government ensure a*

[12] Notas sobre la Ruta de Guerra del Norte, 1938, op. cit.

> *normal and satisfactory development, in every respect, of national agriculture and commerce, which is experiencing a revival of activity [that is] very encouraging. We are entitled to mention Andalusia as one of the regions of the national Spain which best evidence [] the excellence, of the just and strong methods that Franco uses with tact and skill. Andalusia, country of order, work, social peace and tranquility, where the population has found its daily bread, the joy of living, the pride of being Spanish, and serenely waiting for the moment when the armies of Franco will have deluded her from the Moscow yoke.* (Documents relayed by the S.I.D.: L'Andalousie au travail; L'ouverture de la Route de Guerre d'Andalousie.[13])

In addition, the circuit included an excursion to Morocco, the place of departure of Franco's troops at the beginning of the civil war and a symbol of the Spanish Empire that was being rebuilt.[14]

2.7 Tourism Postwar

The end of the civil war did not mean the end of the "Routes". The existing circuits of the north and the south continued their course and new itineraries were opened.

---

[13] Free translation of "L'un des traits les plus caractéristiques de l'Andalousie en guerre, est la sensation que l'on éprouve de ne pas vivre dans un pays où sévit une guerre civile implacable. L'Andalousie est en deuil; il est rare de rencontrer des familles qui ne pleurent pas de chers disparus, victimes de la terreur rouge […].

L'abondance règne en Andalousie. Il suffit de parcourir ses villes et ses campagnes pour se convaincre que la situation économique du pays est des plus favorables et que les dispositions du gouvernement assurent un développement normal et satisfaisant, à tous les points de vue, à l'agriculture nationale et au commerce, qui connaît un regain d'activité des plus encourageants. Il nous est permis de citer l'Andalousie comme l'une des régions de l'Espagne nationale qui prouve le mieux l'excellence des méthodes justes et fortes qu'emploie, avec tact et doigté, Franco. L'Andalousie, pays d'ordre, de travail, de paix sociale et de tranquillité, où la population a retrouvé son pain quotidien, la joie de vivre, la fierté d'être espagnole, et attend avec sérénité le moment où les armées de Franco l'auront délirée du joug moscoutaire". Documents relayed by the S.I.D.: *L'Andalousie au travail* [Andalusia at work], 29.07.1938; *L'ouverture de la Route de Guerre d'Andalousie* [The opening of the Andalusia War Route], 17.11.1938, AGA, section AA.EE, 54, box 11710.

[14] Documents relayed by the S.I.D.: *Une nouvelle Route de Guerre va être ouverte aux touristes en Espagne nationale* [A new War Route will open for tourists in National Spain], 09.09.1938; *L'Andalousie au travail* [Andalusia at work], 29.07.1938; *L'ouverture de la Route de Guerre d'Andalousie* [The opening of the Andalusia War Route], 17.11.1938, AGA, section AA.EE, 54, box 11710.

Among the great variety of destinations offered by the routes, it is worth mentioning the Alcazar of Toledo, integrated into the "Madrid Route". This monument occupies a special place in the continuity of the memorializations of the Spanish war, of history and myth, enabling, in the long term, even establishing a link with the memory of the Great War.

As a Roman, Visigoth and then Arab fortress, the "Alcázar de los Alcázares", located in the former capital of the Empire which served as palatine residence to Emperor Carlos I, had become a military space to forge elite bodies in the Spanish army from the nineteenth century. Franco received his cadet training there (Preston 2006, pp. 35–41). But the Toledo palace also had commemorative use after the First World War. On February 5, 1926, it was chosen as the official space by the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera and King Alfonso XIII to grant the cross of great military merit to the "hero of Verdun", Marshal Philippe Pétain (La colaboración franco-española, 1926, pp. 13–14). The soldier, who was crowned for his role in the Great War, was received in Madrid and Toledo from February 4 to 6 by military and political representatives to sign a collaboration agreement of the two armies in the colonial war in Morocco against Abd-el-Krim. Pétain had been appointed head of the French army in Africa in 1912, replacing Lyautey. Under his command, that war, in which Francisco Franco ascended to the rank of general on February 3, 1926, concluded with a Spanish-French victory in May. Pétain made another official trip in November 1928 to inaugurate the Velázquez House, created as part of the cultural diplomacy of France, following the model of the French Schools of Rome or Athens.

Since the beginning of the civil war, the fortress has also been the center of another memory. From July to September 1936, Republican forces fought against entrenched nationalist troops in the building, under the eyes of national and international media. The nationalist interpretation converted the "resistance of the Alcazar" into a symbol of heroism. The epic praises the fight of Colonel José Moscardó Ituarte's troops. A mythical narrative tells a fictional telephone conversation between the colonel and his son, hostage to the enemy soldiers. In an invented and dramatized dialogue, the son urges his father not to give up and to keep fighting and, given Moscardó's refusal to surrender, the son is executed. The fiction dialogue was spread by the nationalist press from Seville and became

a myth of resistance and sacrifice exploited until today (Rodríguez 2012b, pp. 282–287). Actually, as the historian Southworth analyzed, Moscardó's son was executed a month later under other circumstances, along with other prisoners, in retaliation against a nationalist bombing (Southworth 2008, pp. 173–174). General Franco, aware of the media opportunity that could represent the battle of Alcazar, ordered his troops on their way to Madrid to take Toledo first, against the advice of some of his strategists and Nazi allies, since they wasted time and, therefore, the opportunity to arrive on time to take the capital. The "liberation" of the Alcazar took place under the command of General Varela, at the head of the legionaries, on September 27, 1936. The assault was brutal and did not spare a single prisoner. No war correspondent was allowed to witness it. On the afternoon of September 27, Franco praised Toledo's victory and visited the fortress with the press. By this political use, he achieved his rise to the rank of Generalissimo and was elected Head of the Government of the Spanish State by the National Defense Board (Preston 2006, pp. 204–219).

On October 1, Francisco Franco Bahamonde, elected primus inter pares, officially inaugurated his new position in the Captaincy General of Burgos, in the presence of military and diplomatic representatives ("La transmisión de poderes al jefe del nuevo Estado español", 1936, pp. 3 et 5). After the fighting, the ruins of the Alcazar became a destination for political pilgrimages. Visitors paid tribute to the soldiers who shed their blood to make the "liberation" of Spain possible. On February 24, 1937, a decree declared the Alcazar as a National Monument. In 1938, the legend of the besieged fortress became an important propaganda for a film production in the midst of the conflict called *Heroic Spain* (Tranche and Sanchez Biosca 2005, pp. 478–479). The fiction suggests the arrival of Franco with the liberating troops that consecrate his military charisma. Actually, the general arrived at the Alcazar the day after its release. In the immediate postwar period, the Alcazar became an essential travel destination in Spain, at the height of the myth forged on the battlefield. It received prestigious guests. On July 18, 1939, to celebrate the anniversary of the rise of the generals, two official visitors were invited to the famous ruins, Count Galeazzo Ciano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mussolini, and Marshal Philippe Pétain, who had become French ambassador to Spain since March. But this time, France no longer represented

a memory model of war. Unlike in 1926, the neighboring country, which supported the Republican government during the civil war and was reluctant to repatriate Spanish gold deposited in the National Bank, no longer had the same prestige on the peninsula (Catala 1997, p. 35). The Count of Ciano, in a glamorous official tour of Spain since July 10 (in exchange for a two-week stay in Italy of Minister Serrano Suñer) visited the Alcazar relics with Colonel Moscardó and the Interior Minister, the Falangist Ramón Serrano Suñer ("De la visita del conde Ciano a Toledo", 1939, pp. 1 et 5). On the other hand, the old "hero of Verdun" commemorated July 18 in the Alcazar with the city authorities ("El Mariscal Pétain en Toledo", 1939, cover page), relegated to a secondary role in the management of the memory of war by Franco's regime.

2.8 Success and Limits of "War Tourism"

The Second World War did represent a break in Franco's "War Routes". The economic difficulties of the 1940s in Spain, but also the cataclysm unleashed by the countries of the axis in the occupied regions and the discovery of the extermination camps, ended the success of the model claiming heroic and nationalist exaltation of the battlefields inherited from the Great War. It was gradually replaced by another kind of memory tourism, called "thanatourism" or "black tourism" (visit of places of mourning), based on educational trips devoted to remembrance duty for the victims of illegitimate violence (Seaton 1999).

Without complete statistic data, it is hard to say whether the "War Routes" had the success boasted by Luis Bolín, who writes that the majority of tourists left Spain impressed by what they saw (Bolín Bidwell 1967, p. 306). There is no doubt that the number of tourists who participated in the circuits far exceeded the travelers of the battlefields of the Great War and that part of the itineraries remained in force in a "pacified" Spain during the dictatorship, under the name of "National Routes". But that atypical form of socialization also had its limits. During the civil war, the Francoist operation also had its detractors as is testified in *Le Soir* in 1938:

> *Strange traffickers have come to the Spanish battlefields. They have seen collapsed cathedrals, dead hands, martyred landscapes. They have concluded: "Business". They have made posters, advertis[e]ments and have beaten a macabre tam-tam: "Visit Spain and its battlefields. Motor coach, lodging, drink and tip included. As many pesetas, as many francs.*[15] (Puck 1938, p. 1)

Some tourists had already expressed their opposition to Franco's propaganda during the War Tours. Others tried to take personal photographs of what they saw or used the tourism facilities to enter the country and then split from the group to suit their own purposes (Rodríguez 2012a, pp. 364–365). As Rachel Mazuy has shown in her study of organized trips to the USSR during the interwar period, the touristic propaganda does not have a conversion effect, but reinforces convictions that were already shared by travelers before their trip abroad (Mazuy 2002, p. 285).

Moreover, it is interesting to note that the SNT's circuits did not raise the interest of the well-known international travel agency Thomas Cook during the civil war. In 1938, Bolín showed his disappointment toward Cook's lack of support to the North War Route campaign and regretted having to collaborate with local small agencies instead to transport foreign tourists through Franco's Spain.[16] The famous British tourism organizer, which had been a close partner of Bolín during Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship in the context of the International Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville in 1929, would only relay the War Tour's itinerary for the north of Spain starting in 1939.

Nevertheless, tourism has proven to be the centerpiece of the economy and management of the dictatorship's political memory. The regime succeeded in adapting it to the circumstances (Sánchez Sánchez 2006, p. 278; Pack 2006). The battlefield tourism model was finally replaced by a depoliticized tourism based on low-cost beach holidays, a model which expanded in the 1960s. For the promoters of the new tourism plan, in

[15] Free translation of "D'étranges trafiquants ont surgi au bord des champs de bataille espagnols. Ils ont vu les cathédrales écroulées, les mains mortes, les paysages martyrisés. Ils ont conclu: 'Business' Ils ont confectionné des affiches, des placards publicitaires et battu un macabre tam-tam: 'Visitez l'Espagne et ses champs de bataille. Autocar, logement, boisson et pourboire compris. Autant de pesetas, autant de francs'" (Puck 1938, p.1).

[16] Letter from Luis Bolín, Malaga, to the Spanish State Representative in Bern (Switzerland), 02.12.1938. AGA, Section AA.EE. [Affaires étrangères], 54, box 11710.

1959, there was no other Spanish activity which, with less investment, could produce more profits. That year, tourism demand to the peninsula had already exceeded the supply of hospitality throughout the country. Measures to increase the attractiveness of Spain, such as the devaluation of the currency in 1959 or the promotion of charter flights, produced a large influx of foreign visitors. Tourism was becoming the most profitable sector of the national economy (Pack 2010, p. 55). The tourism boom was called the "Spanish miracle" in quantitative terms and, in 1976, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) moved to Madrid.

Luis Bolín, president of the National Patronage of Tourism from 1938 to 1944 and general director of Tourism from 1944 to 1955, was a tenor of tourism until 1971. He built a family empire in the region and played a determining role in the local government, multiplying the benefits of this sector (Fernández Carrión 2006). In 1975, when the dictator died, the democratic transition, which promoted the path of amnesty, benefitted the pro-Franco representatives, most of whom retained their positions in democratic Spain. The Bolín family was able to maintain its influence on the tourist and political sectors of the Costa del Sol.

In the long term, twenty years after the transition to democracy, "war tourism" practice experienced a new impetus, driven by debates in the historiographic field and public space, as well as the resurgence of memory tourism linked to traumatic pasts and commemoration calendars.

In France, the commemorations of the centenary of the Great War (2014–2019) have energized the phenomenon and revived the tourist market. The old leader Michelin has edited updated guides, proudly recalling its precursor status in the sector, whose 1917 guides are now used as historical collection, forming a memorial heritage integrated into the twenty-first century's narrative (*Guides illustrés Michelin des Champs de bataille 1914–1918. Verdun*, *Argonne, Saint-Mihiel,* 2014, pp. 3–4). Memorials of northern France and of Belgium have requested to be part of the UNESCO heritage and, since 2014, French Presidents have politically used the *memoryscape* of the international conflict. In 2014, the socialist François Hollande opened the commemorative cycle, recalling the sacrifice of soldiers, evoking the fraternity that was born somewhere between the frontlines. In 2017, by visiting the battlefield of Chemin des Dames, a symbolic defeat that now displays the memory of subordinates

against the narrative of old war propaganda, Hollande took the side of the soldiers who mutinied there against their command, showing their rejection of illegitimate violence. In 2018, the new elected President Emmanuel Macron, representing the party *En marche*, chose to commemorate the November 11 Armistice under the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, with 72 international leaders (including Angela Merkel, Justin Trudeau, Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin) who represented the nations that took part in the conflict, to make memory diplomacy great again.

In Spain, although the phenomenon is not comparable, war memorialization has also experienced a revival, following the French trend, as in the past. Itineraries of the civil war have resurfaced, adapted to post-Francoist memory policies. Driven by the will of memory associations to retrieve the forgotten past, especially the sites linked with Republican forbidden narratives considered as "red propaganda" during the dictature, the places of remembrance have been exploited by local tour operators attracted by the growing profits generated by the memory market. More recently, this interest in Spanish Civil War heritage has also led to the publication of multiple guides for local, national and international visitors (Romero 2009; Arévalo Molina 2018). It remains to be seen whether this will mark a turning point for "battlefield tourism" revival in the Iberian Peninsula and whether the practice will be seized by political leaders, following the French model yet again.

Bibliography

ABC, Seville, «La colaboración franco-española. En el patio de Carlos V, de la academia de infantería, su majestad el Rey impone la medalla militar al Mariscal Pétain» (6.2.1926); «La transmisión de poderes al jefe del nuevo Estado español» (02.06.1936); «El Mariscal Pétain en Toledo» (8.7.1939); «De la visita del conde Ciano a Toledo» (18.07.1939).

Arévalo Molina, Jacinto (2018) *Rutas por el Frente de Madrid. Senderos de Guerra 3.* Madrid: Ediciones La Librería.

Ballif, Abel (1916) «Pour "notre revanche": Un acte; un écrit», *Touring-Club de France, revue mensuelle, Pour la revanche. L'œuvre du soldat au front*, vingt-sixième année, mai-juin [May–June]. Paris: TCF, pp. 82–85.

Bénat Tachot, Louise et Gruzinski, Serge (dir.), (2001) *Passeurs culturels: mécanismes de métissages*. Marne-la-Vallée: Presses universitaires de Marne-la-Vallée & Paris: éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, pp. XI-XII and 8.

Berrino, Annunziata (2011) *Storia del turismo in Italia*. Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino.

Bolín Bidwell, Luis Antonio (1967) *España. Los años vitales*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe S.A.

Butler, Richard & Skuntikul, Wantanee (2013) *Tourism and War.* London-New York: Routledge.

Catala, Michel (1997) *Les relations franco-espagnoles pendant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Rapprochement nécessaire, réconciliation impossible, 1939–1944.* Paris: L'Harmattan.

Cazals, Rémy et Frédéric Rousseau (2003) 14–18, *le cri d'une génération*. Toulouse: Privat.

Chabert, Pierre (1918) *Le Tourisme américain et ses enseignements pour la France*. Paris: Hachette.

Champeaux Antoine (2005) «Les guides illustrés Michelin des champs de bataille 1914–1918. Mémoire de la Grande Guerre», in Coutau-Begarie Hervé (dir.), *Les médias et la guerre*. Paris: éd. Economica.

Correyero, Beatriz & Cal, Rosa (2008) *Turismo, la mayor propaganda de Estado, España, desde sus inicios hasta 1951.* Madrid: Visionnet.

Delacroix, Christian, Dosse, François, Gardia, Patrick et Offenstadt, Nicolas (2010) *Historiographies. Concepts et débats,* vol. I. Paris: Gallimard-Folio Histoire, pp. 162–169.

Díaz Martínez, Carlos, Seixas Seoane, Miguel Anxo, Cores Trasmonte, Baldomero (2000), *A memoria de Santiago*, Vigo: Edicións Xerais de Galicia.

Dumond, Lionel (2002) *L'épopée Bibendum, une entreprise à l'épreuve de l'histoire.* Toulouse: éditions Privat.

Fernández Carrión, Miguel-Héctor (2006) «Aproximación a la historia de los empresarios extranjeros en la Costa del Sol, durante el segundo tercio del siglo XX», *AEHE*. University of Santiago de Compostela.

Fernández Fuster, Luis (1991) *Historia General del Turismo de masas.* Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Guerrini, Irene (2012) «L'Opera nazionale dopolavoro tra turismo di massa e gestione quotidiana del tempo libero», in AMBROSIO, Claudio et WEDEKIND, Michael, *Turisti di truppa, vacanze, nazionalismo e potere.* Trento: Fondazione Museo storico.

Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille. *Bataille de la Marne I, L'Ourcq* (1917). Nancy: Berger-Levrault Editeurs.

Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille*: La Bataille de Verdun, 1914–1918* (1919). Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie éditeurs.

Guides Michelin pour la visite des champs de bataille*: Verdun. Argonne. Un guide, un panorama, une histoire* (1934) Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin & Cie éditeurs.

Guides illustrés Michelin des Champs de bataille 1914–1918. *Les champs de bataille. Verdun, Argonne, Saint-Mihiel* (2014) Boulogne-Billancourt: Michelin propriétaires éditeurs.

Harp, Stephen (2008) *Michelin. Publicité et identité culturelle dans la France du XXe siècle.* Paris: Belin.

Holguín, Sandie (2005) « National Spain invites you: battlefield tourism during the Spanish civil war », *The American Historical Review*, vol. 110, n° 5, pp. 1399–1426.

Le Soir. Paris, « Les trafiquants» Puck (01.08.1938),

Lloyd, David, *Battlefield tourism. Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919–1939* (1998). Oxford-New York: Berg.

Loez, André et Mariot, Nicolas (2008) *Obéir, désobéir*. Paris: La Découverte.

Lottman, Herbert (1998) *Michelin: 100 ans d'aventures*. Paris: Flammarion.

Mazuy, Rachel, *Croire plutôt que voir? Voyages en Russie soviétique (1919–1939)* (2002). Paris: Odile Jacob.

Miquel, René, *Dynastie Michelin* (1962) Paris: Table Ronde.

Mosse, George L. (1991) *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars.* London, New-York: Oxford University Press

Moulin-Bourret, Annie (1997) *Guerre et industrie. Clermont-Ferrand 1912–1922: la Victoire du pneu,* vol. 1 & 2. Clermont-Ferrand: Publications de l'Institut d'Études du Massif Central (Centre d'Histoire des Entreprises et des Communautés).

Norton Cru, Jean (1929) *Témoins. Essai d'analyse et de critique des souvenirs de combattants édités en français de 1915 à 1928*. Paris: Les Etincelles.

Nuñéz Seixas, Xosé Manoel (2006) *¡Fuera el invasor! Nacionalismos y movilización bélica durante la guerra civil española*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia.

Offenstadt, Nicolas (1999) *Les fusillés de la Grande Guerre et la mémoire collective (1914–1999)*. Paris: Odile Jacob.

Pack, Sasha (2006) *Tourism and Dictatorship. Europe's Peaceful Invasion of Franco's Spain,* New-York et Houndmills Basingstoke. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan editors.

Pack, Sasha (2010) «Tourism and Political Change in Franco's Spain », in Towson Nigel (ed.), *Spain transformed. The late Franco Dictatorship, 1959–75*. Londres: Palgrave Macmillan.

Preston, Paul (2006) *Franco «Caudillo de España»*. Barcelona: DeBolsillo.

Prost, Antoine (1997) «Verdun», in Nora, Pierre (dir.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, volume 2. Paris: Gallimard, pp. 1759–1760.

Rey Castelao, Ofelia (2006) *Los mitos del apóstol Santiago*. Compostela: Nigratrea.

Rodríguez, Mari Carmen (2012a) « El turismo de guerra y Suiza. Un estudio de la propaganda exterior franquista », Antoni Segura, Andreu Mayayo et Teresa Abellò (dir.), *La dictadura franquista. La institucionalització d'un règim*. Barcelona: Publicacions i edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, pp. 349–366.

Rodríguez, Mari Carmen (June 2013a) « Le Musée des pérégrinations au cœur de la fabrique mémorielle de l'Espagne». Revue *Culture et musées*, N° 21. Paris: Actes Sud, pp. 175–191.

Rodríguez, Mari Carmen (2012b) « Usages politiques des passés traumatiques en Espagne: muséohistoire de la guerre civile ». Frédéric Rousseau (dir.), *Les présents des passés douloureux. Musées d'histoire et configurations mémorielles. Essais de muséohistoire*. Paris: Michel Houdiard Editeur, pp. 269–303.

Rodríguez, Mari Carmen (2013b) «Du musée de la guerre à la guerre au musée. Quelques cas inédits de narrations franquistes». Julien Mary et Frédéric Rousseau (dir.), *Entre Histoires et Mémoires. La guerre au musée. Essais de Muséohistoire (2).* Paris: Michel Houdiard Éditeur, pp. 82–96.

Rodríguez, Mari Carmen, *1936–1939* (2001) *La Suisse face aux «deux Espagnes». Les relations économiques et politiques entre la Suisse et l'Espagne durant la guerre civile espagnole. Un cas d'étude des relations internationales de la Suisse au XX^e siècle* (2001) Unpublished master in Contemporary History, University of Lausanne.

Romero, Eladi (2009) *Lugares de memoria e itinerarions de la guerra civil española. Guía del viajero curioso*. Barcelona: Laertes, [3^d ed.]

Sánchez Sánchez, Esther (2006) *Rumbo al sur, Francia y la España del desarrollo, 1958–1969*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Invest. Científicas, Biblioteca de Historia.

Saunier, Pierre-Yves (02/2008) Les régimes circulatoires du domaine social 1800–1940: projets et ingénierie de la convergence et de la divergence, *Genèses,* No 71. Paris: Belin, pp. 4–25.

Seaton, Anthony V. (1999) «War and Thanatourism: Waterloo, 1815–1914» in *Annals of Tourism Research 26,* No 1., p. 131–150.

Southworth, Herbert (2008) *El mito de la cruzada de Franco.* Barcelona: Mondadori.

Southworth, Herbert (1977) *Guernica ! Guernica ! A study of Journalism, Diplomacy, Propaganda and History*. London: University of California Press.

Sui campi di battaglia. *Il monte Grappa* (1937) Milano: Touring Club Italiano, [5th ed.].

Tranche, Rafael & Sanchez Biosca, Vicente, *NO-DO. El tiempo y la* memoria (2005) Madrid: Cátedra/Filmoteca española.

Tumarkin, Maria (2005) *Traumascapes: The Power and Fate of Places Transformed by Tragedy*. Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre (2001) *La mort héroïque chez les Grecs.* Nantes: Pleins Feux.

Villares, Ramón (2004) « A segneda invención de Santiago », *Grial – Revista Galega de Cultura,* nº 161. Vigo: Editorial Galaxia, pp. 12–17.

Werner, Michael & Zimmermann, Bénédicte (2004) *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*. Paris: Seuil.

3

War Tourism in Italy (1919–1939)

Ester Capuzzo

3.1 Introduction

After the First World War, the tendency to visit the battlefields increased in some countries that took part in the conflict (Miles 2014; Battilani 2014). In some places where there was intense fighting such as Verdun on the western front, Tannenberg on the eastern front and Gallipoli on the Middle East front, and in other localities along the various fronts, touristic flows of visitors to the war zones started to develop (Walton 2013; Iles 2008).

Soon war zones became places of memory that, on the one hand, were devoted to death and mourning and, on the other hand, developed practices of tourism aimed at building social and collective memory of the First World War (Nora 1986; Winter 2009; Jansen-Verbeke and George 2015).

E. Capuzzo (✉)
Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy
e-mail: ester.capuzzo@uniroma1.it

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_3

European governments were soon aware that the arrival of visitor flows, especially of Americans (Cartwright 2018; Battilani 2001), could significantly contribute to economic recovery. Thus, European governments began to consider tourism—whose promotion in the decades preceding the war was essentially delegated to the initiative of private operators and local authorities—as a sector of direct intervention by central authorities and a means for economic recovery (Fyall et al. 2006). War tourism also turned into a cultural and political phenomenon able to express collective memory, national ideals, suffering and hopes of European society that the war marked so painfully. It also became an expression of collective and individual memory (Evanno and Vincent 2015).

In the case of Italy, war collective memory was represented not only by monuments or funerary inscriptions (Isnenghi 1996; Vidotto 2000) but also by the trips to the battlefields to pay tribute to fallen soldiers and to research their tombs (Mondini 2008; Passarin 2010; Tizzoni 2013), which became sites of memory and mourning (Winter 1995). Indeed, in the post-war period many families of Italian fallen soldiers and associations of war veterans traveled to battlefields and to military cemeteries identifying their burials under the bare earth (Poderini 1929; Winter 2010).

War veterans came back to see the places where they had fought and lost their comrades, suffering the emotional experience of mass death and linked to them by individual and collective memory, which, in war areas, was meant to become something similar to the idea of *Genius loci* in the tales by Grand Tour travelers.

Following the example of France, where the *Office national du tourisme* had already been established in 1910, national tourism offices were created in the most important European countries. These offices were in charge of coordinating and directly managing a wide range of activities, including the supervision of a network of information points for travelers located on the national territory and abroad. In Italy the promotion of war tourism was entrusted, above all, to Touring Club Italiano (TCI), which was founded in Milan in 1894 and to Ente Nazionale per le Industrie Turistiche (ENIT), established in 1919, which, in collaboration

with the TCI, celebrated the places linked to the Great War by releasing a publication called Visita ai campi di battaglia' in 1921 (1921).

In Italy the influx of foreigners to war places was partially compromised by the low quality of national structures and infrastructures, so the places of the conflict became only a destination for daily excursions organized by TCI, the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND) and many schools. These excursions were promoted as part of the "education" of patriotic values forged by the regime with the ultimate goal of cementing the consensus towards it. Moreover, TCI also intended to enhance the economic situation of the territories in the process of annexation by inviting "altri ospiti a popolare le ville e gli alberghi, [per] rinnovare la ricchezza che negli anni di guerra andò dispersa" ("other guests to populate the villas and hotels, [to] renew the wealth that was lost in the war years"), because various accommodation facilities during the conflict turned into military hospitals or were damaged by bombing (La grande escursione nazionale nella Venezia Tridentina 1919).

Since 1919 the American association Gold Star Mother (founded in 1917) organized tours for mothers and widows of US soldiers who had fallen on European battlefields, particularly in Belgium and in France where there was the highest percentage of dead soldiers on the western front (Westerman 2014; Winter 2016). After the establishment of the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) by the United States Congress in 1923, more than 20,000 US women, united by the Gold Star Mother association, went in pilgrimages to war cemeteries in France and in Belgium where their husbands and their sons were buried. Here they were escorted during the tour by retired officers of the Army's Quatermaster Corps (Budreau 2009). It is worth recalling that the United States Department of War had constructed six military cemeteries in France, one in England and one in Belgium. Later than in other European countries (France and Belgium) (Budreau 2009), American war veterans and women affiliated with the Gold Star Mother came from the United States to Italy and their pilgrimages lasted until the end of the 1930s.

As in the case of American and European soldiers, the Italian soldiers too fought in places very far from their homeland or place of birth, often experiencing their first contact with realities and countries different from their cultural and geographical horizon. For many of them the experience

of the war represented the first important journey of their life: postcards were the most widespread souvenirs, and on them, in the post-war period, the great cemeteries of war were portrayed (Tomasoni and Nuvoli 2004).

American travelers who were pushed away from Europe since the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914 used to visit the battlefields of the civil war: they were reminded of the Old Continent by the descriptions of war zones by war correspondents in a mood inspired by tourist guides about the most acclaimed European destinations.

The recovery of tourist flows from North America to Europe slowed down in the post-war period because of the restrictions on transoceanic travels imposed by US authorities—still largely in force during 1919—and because of the shortage of passenger ships, which were considerably reduced due to submarine warfare, and the conversion of many carriers into merchant ships.

3.2 "Patriotic Pilgrimage"

However, travels into war zones with pre-established itineraries and routes were not a completely new phenomenon in Europe, especially in Italy, because after the middle of the nineteenth century some tourist organizations promoted tours in Belgium and Holland, including visits to the battlefields. In 1854 the English travel agent Henry Gaze organized a trip to the battlefield of Waterloo where Napoleone Bonaparte was defeated in 1814. In 1872 the magazine of the Thomas Cook agency, *The Excursionist*, promoted a tour in Northern Italy, including a visit to the monument dedicated to fallen soldiers during the battles of Magenta, Solferino e San Martino (1859) (Hom, p. 94). After the French–Prussian war (1870), veteran's associations in France and Germany began to commemorate the anniversary of the battles (Hyriès 2016; Hertzog 2012).

During the Liberal Age, the remembrance of the Risorgimento wars was translated into tourist practices in Italy (Brentari 1902). Since the 1970s, groups of war veterans and patriotic groups visited San Martino and Solferino ossuaries (close to Brescia and Garda Lake) as symbolic shrines of Italian independence. No memorial stone, obelisk or cemetery

had ever been considered so important a war site or visited by such a large number of excursionists and organized pilgrimages until the Great War. In the early twentieth century, war veterans and patriotic associations promoted this kind of tours, often during war or battle anniversaries, to places such as Solferino, San Martino, Custoza, Curtatone, Montanara, Bezzecca, Mentana, Monterondo, Marsala, Calatafimi among others. A pilgrimage was organized by the Società dei Reduci delle Patrie Battaglie (Society of Veterans of the Patriotic Battles founded in 1866 at Belluno, a small city in North Italy) which brought patriots, war veterans and hikers to Mentana on 3 November 1877 for the tenth anniversary of the Garibaldian battle against the French and Pope's troops.

In the Liberal Age the term "patriotic pilgrimage" was used jointly by organizers and participants moved by sentiments of devotion to the nation to define a secular journey that had as its destination the places of Risorgimento battles, the tombs of the soldiers who had died and the military monuments dedicated to them. In the framework of this particular and emotional travel experience, the trips were characterized by anxious expectations and by "mystical atmospheres" provoked, in some cases, by the apparition, in the distance, of cemeteries, ossuaries and patriotic monuments (Bagnaresi 2011). The "patriotic pilgrimage" was, therefore, a kind of different touring, so conceptually far from the traditional practices of tourism and so extraneous from the amusement offered by Italian resort holidays that were opening up to bourgeois tourism. These pilgrimages were characterized by symbolic practices and rituals, and patriotic destinations were considered places of worship as sanctuaries for believers. In this regard, the analysis of the lexical element can be useful to understand the feelings that inspired the visitors who, in addition to the word "pilgrimage", also used words like "pilgrim", "martyr", "saint" and "sanctuary" in a secular sense, similar to the vocabulary of religious tours. In fact, at the beginning of the twentieth century the gradual disappearance of former combatants and reference associations contributed to a different concept of pilgrimage along the battlefields of the Risorgimento. New users, renewed rituals and different destinations marked the excursions organized by cycling clubs and associations that arose especially in the north of the country. Associations such as the Italian Touring Club, the Italian Alpine Club (CAI), the Società Dante

Alighieri (Dante Alighieri Society) and the Società Audax (Audax Society) included social programs in their excursions that became tools of aggregation and political propaganda, along with classic trips in the most famous cities of the peninsula. In the majority of cases, the actors of the excursions were no longer survivors of the battles but members of the promoting societies. It was therefore a matter of generational change. Excursionists became the new bourgeois elite, whose liberal (as in the case of TCI), masonic and irredentist (such as Dante Alighieri Society) backgrounds pushed these associations to aggregate their members around places considered sacred to create Italian identity (Bagnaresi 2011). With the birth of TCI, the new organized tours were much more frequent than the patriotic pilgrimages and they were able to involve more people. This change was evidenced by the reports that the TCI magazine published about travels to the battlefields and Risorgimento sites (Sui campi di battaglia: la gita organizzata dal consolato del Touring 1901; Touring e patria 1901).

Since the end of the nineteenth century, English tourists visited not only Venice, Milan, Turin, Florence Rome, Naples, Palermo and other important cities but also the battlefields of Risorgimento (Hom 2015). Moreover, this touristic practice was inaugurated three decades earlier by the Thomas Cook agency during its first trip to Northern Italy (Dawes 2003).

Another place often visited by patriotic pilgrimages was the island of Caprera in the years following the death of Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the greatest fathers of the kingdom of Italy. Every five years the island became the destination of a pilgrimage organized by private associations (Italian Touring Club and other societies) to visit the hero's house and tomb. In the years 1887, 1892, 1897, 1902 and 1907 the island was the main attraction of five national pilgrimages with a very heterogeneous public: war veterans, anticlerical people, anti-monarchists, irredentists and so on (Belloni 2019).

On the twentieth anniversary of the death of Giuseppe Garibaldi (2 June 1902), a patriotic pilgrimage was held to his grave in Caprera (Fujisawa 2004). For the event, a bronze medal was made with the effigy of Giuseppe Garibaldi and donated to the members of TCI who participated in the pilgrimage (Merenda 1910).

Later, in May 1910, the Club organized a commemorative excursion in Sicily on Garibaldi's military campaign from Marsala to Palermo. This excursion was called "Carovana Nazionale Commemorativa della Spedizione dei Mille". More than 650 members of TCI made the journey on bicycle (273 members Volontari Ciclisti e Automobilisti), in cars and by train, including some Garibaldi "Mille" survivors, the famous "red-shirts" (Bertarelli 2004; Cecchinato 2015). A year earlier, a similar successful tour along the Garibaldi memorial sites in Sicily was an interesting event.

In Sicily, Garibaldi veterans were received with honour by local populations and Giuseppe Cesare Abba (Garibaldian and author of the *Da Quarto al Volturno. Notarelle di uno dei Mille*, published in 1866) had the opportunity to make a speech in Catalafimi, one the most famous Garibaldian battlefields in Sicily. Luigi Vittorio Bertarelli, the president of TCI, wrote that the journey was a pilgrimage, at the peak of patriotic sentiment and demonstrated the power of touristic practice to develop and increase the Italianness (Patriarca 2010).

A year late, the 50th anniversary of the Risorgimento represented a singular event in Italian history and a top moment of patriotic sentiment in Italy. It was celebrated as the "Jubilee of the Patria" and TCI played a central role in organizing and promoting this anniversary. It sponsored a yachting cruise that circumnavigated the peninsula, beginning from Venice and ending in Rome, and promoted some patriotic excursions to Risorgimento battlefields. The "gite patriottiche" or patriotic pilgrimages were one of the most important tools to celebrate the Risorgimento and create Italian nation-building.

During the Liberal Age, patriotic pilgrimage was part of a large set of ceremonies, events, commemorations of battles, inaugurations of monuments and tombstones, which were the background to the practices linked to new mass rituals. These were also expressions of Italian identity directed to demonstrate the power of tourism praxis to embody and enact Italianness and in this particular case it was organized around a single historical event, such as the commemoration of Garibaldi's military campaign.

In the post-Risorgimento age, TCI developed touristic practices that projected Italian liberal bourgeoisie towards modernity through the use

of leisure time ((Raccagni 1994; Bardelli 2004) and different kinds of domestic tourism. Between 1910 and 1914, the devotional journey in honor of the founding fathers and fallen soldiers during Risorgimento war opened the way to pilgrimages to new Italian lands in Africa like Lybia (Capuzzo 2019).

3.3 War Tourism and Touring Club Italiano

Angelo Mariotti (one of the main protagonists of Italian tourism history in the first half of the twentieth century) understood that war zones became the goal not only for journalists, scholars, political figures and schoolchildren, but also for patriotic tourism that reminded him of the ancient tradition of pilgrimage, which was transformed in secular terms into a kind of national education (Mariotti 1923).

Moreover, in 1917 the magazine of TCI *Le Vie d'Italia* raised the idea that the end of the war could had favorable consequences on tourism with the arrival of the "sacred places bathed in blood [...] of millions of faithful pilgrims".

In the post-war period the route of the "Via Sacra del Carso" ("Sacred Way of the Carso") guided the visitor on a pilgrimage through the places of 11 battles, the cemeteries of fallen soldiers, the Italian and Austrian trenches and the ruined villages, reminding the new generations of the efforts of their own ancestors during the war (Senna 2014).

After the First World War TCI increased its interest in war tourism and organized many trips to battlefields. Indeed, in July 1919, more than a thousand members of TCI left Milan on a special train destined for some places in Trentino and Alto Adige: in these territories the war had been fought and there were many small military cemeteries (Damerini 1922: 379–382). The members of TCI who took part in the excursions came from many Italian regions demonstrating not only the desire to pay tribute to deceased soldiers but also to know new Italian territories conquered during the war (Hom 2015). They traveled "in devoto pellegrinaggio lungo i solchi sanguinosi della guerra" ("in devout pilgrimage along the bloody routes of war") overcoming all the difficulties connected with the

movement of people due to the armistice regime in these areas (La Direzione del Touring Club Italiano 1920).

Thanks to the collaboration with military authorities still present in the region, TCI transported the participants to the first "National Excursion" on military trucks along a 517 km route during which hikers lived like soldiers in a very spartan way, sleeping in military tents and eating rations (La Grande Escursione Nazionale nella Venezia Tridentina 1919).

The excursion in Trentino reached the valleys of Adige, Fiemme, Fassa, Alto Cadore, Cortina, Dobbiaco, Brunico, Bressanone, Bolzano, Merano, Valley of Avisio, Lavis and other mountainous places, some of which were tourist locations before the war, and culminated in Trento with a visit to the Buonconsiglio Castle where the "irredentists" Cesare Battisti, Damiano Chiesa and Fabio Filzi were hanged on 12 July 1916 (Andreotti and Tonezzer 2016; Albeltaro 2018). It was therefore an excursion that had a highly symbolic and patriotic value of Italianness. Later, the Castle and also the war zones and other monuments became places of memory. The full report of the excursion was published by the famous newspaper of Milan, *Corriere della Sera*, and it highlighted the enthusiastic reception received from the members of TCI during the journey. Furthermore, the report described the landscape with signs left by the war on the territory, the mountains eroded by artillery fires, the trenches, the grids, the barracks, the holes of the grenades, the ruins of the houses abandoned by their inhabitants.

In 1920 TCI organized the National Excursion in Venezia Giulia with 500 members that went from Udine to Trieste and Fiume (now Rijeka) (Bertacchi 1920: 453–459). Hikers visited the battlefields around the river Isonzo and Carso Hills, the Postojna Cave (a very popular tourist resort in the Habsburg empire), Pola (former naval base of the Austrian imperial fleet) and ended their trip in Venice (Escursione Nazionale nella Venezia Giulia indetta e organizzata dal Touring Club Italiano 1920).

During this excursion, which was defined by TCI as "now a pilgrimage among the sacred memories, now triumphal march, now risen to the peaks of hope", the poet Giovanni Bertacchi, who accompanied the hikers, performed the commemoration of the infantryman on Monte San Michele where many soldiers had died (Bertacchi 1920). The hikers also

visited the site of the martyrdom of the irredentist Nazario Sauro in Pola and concluded their journey in Fiume. After the First World War, the town on the Adriatic Sea, disputed by Italy and the Yugoslavia kingdom, was occupied on 12 September 1919 by the famous poet Gabriele D'Annunzio and his legionaries, after receiving Mussolini's consent (Serventi Longhi 2019).

The hikers arrived at Fiume on 1 September 1920 on a steamer called "Pannonia" and were enthusiastically greeted at the port by the population of the city. Their arrival in the town was captured by a series of pictures taken by Vincenzo Aragozzini, the most important official photographer of TCI.

The excursions by TCI to the battlefields had a high value and were tied to the idea of national identity build-up carried out by the most important Italian tourist organization. TCI considered that "il turismo [di guerra aveva] una funzione di rito e di affratellamento civile" tra gli Italiani ("tourism had a ritual and brotherhood function" among Italians).

After the First World War, TCI excursions to the battlefields had a military character, alternating the memory of the conflict with pilgrimages to war cemeteries (Lee 2016) and visits to tourist resorts (Italiani visitate il Pasubio 1923).

The excursions into war zones in Italy were captured by photographic reportages and contributed to creating not only a feeling of condolence for the deceased soldiers but also a shared public and collective memory of the First War World (Visintin 2007; Winter 2010). These excursions acquired an important symbolic value, becoming a tool for the construction of Italian identity (Pivato 2006). Indeed, the members of TCI who took part in the excursions came from many Italian regions demonstrating not only the desire to pay tribute to the fallen soldiers but also to discover new Italian territories conquered during the war (Battilani 2014).

Actually, in the post-war period warfare tourism had "a function of ritual and civil brotherhood among Italian people and the Italian Touring Club implemented new touristic practices in Italy such as the journeys to Trentino-Alto Adige and Venezia Giulia" (Vota 1954). In fact, among the first tasks that TCI faced in the post-war period was the diffusion of consciousness about the lands that had recently reunited with the Italian nation (Bosworth 1997).

In the 1920s, trips to the battlefields were also organized by Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche for the promotion of tourism in Italy and abroad (Berrino 2011). In 1921 Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche published a guide dedicated to battlefields entitled 'Campi di battaglia' of which 5000 copies were printed (ENIT 1921). Excursions into war zones were also promoted in schools by student pilgrimages to spread the patriotic and fascist ideals among young people (Lembo 1921; Unione Turisti Emiliani 1923).

For fascism the great military monuments were consecrated both to the national heroism of the fallen soldiers and to a victorious Italy that emerged from the conflict on which the regime lay (Capuzzo 2018). Italian domestic tourism under the fascist regime called attention to many ways that touristic representations and practices were put into service to cater to fascist politics such as war tourism. The regime exercised high control over touristic itineraries and tourist crowds, while it rebuilt the battlefields with military material such as war relics and everyday objects used by soldiers.

On the tenth anniversary of Italy's entry into the First World War, TCI organized a new excursion to the "terre sacre al culto di ogni italiano" ("sacred lands to the worship of every Italian") (Escursione nazionale ai campi di battaglia 1925). The National Excursion took place from 19 to 29 June 1925 and started from Rovereto (the second largest city in Trentino). The route was about 1200 km long and it followed the "entire front" of the war. The 300 TCI members who took part in the excursion were transported in coaches of the Atesina Society. Club members were accompanied by Ugo Tegani, a famous journalist of Corriere della Sera, who was their mentor (Tegani 1925: 878–881), and they performed "a pilgrimage of devotion and Italianness in the most memorable and significant places of the war". The patriotic pilgrimage crossed Mount Grappa, Mount Sabotino, Mount Hermada, Falzarego pass, Mount Tofane and Tonale pass and paid homage to the fallen soldiers buried in war cemeteries such as Grappa, Oslavia, Aquileia, Redipuglia and Col di Lana. Unlike the previous ones, this excursion bore an official character for the creation of an Honor Committee chaired by Mussolini (Touring Club Italiano 1925).

Moreover, in the same year, TCI emphasized its political neutrality and reaffirmed in the magazine *Le Vie d'Italia* the apolitical purpose of the association: "to let the Italian people know Italy, gathered in the tourism field like in a large family, apart from of any political party" (La Direzione del Touring 1925).

In 1925 fascism founded the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro (OND, National Opera Dopolavoro), which promoted all the aspects of the dictatorial regime through leisure activities (De Grazia 2002; Bosworth 2003; Ben-Ghiat 2001). Domestic tourism was a large part of the operation and OND, like TCI, helped the Italian people to know their country through fascistized destinations in Italy and its war zones (Opera nazionale dopolavoro-Direttorio provinciale di Gorizia, Federazione italiana dell'escursionismo-Delegazione per la Venezia Giulia 1931). Fascist organization promoted excursions that usually took place over a weekend and often included an overnight trip to a close-by city or artistic centre, or other places of cultural interest; its programme of "treni popolari" ("popular trains") offered cheap day fares for salaried workers (Cecini 2014; Maggi 2003). Between 1931 and 1939 the popular trains became an effective means to spread the practice of taking up a journey among Italian people such as visits to big cities, a trip out of town, a weekend at the seaside or in the mountains, or the Ferragosto excursion (during the public holiday in mid-August). During the period of their movement, the popular trains carried a total of 8,774,451 travelers and the numbers peaked between 1936 and 1938 when they grew from 1,195,571 to 1,226,261. The last journey of the popular trains was made on 3 September 1939 after the suspension of the service due to the outbreak of the Second World War. However, excursions to war zones were conducted by public or private buses due to their distance from large urban centres that the excursionists reached by train.

Excursions in Italy were efficiently organized, and members of OND appreciated this kind of leisure and were attracted by its numberless possibilities. To facilitate excursions OND arranged special discounts for railways, hotels and restaurants, secured free admissions to museums, provided travel insurance and offered other reductions.

OND also organized excursions to the battlefields with the objective of broadening the political consensus, creating adhesion to fascism among

larger groups of workers and avoiding forms of political opposition to the regime linked to the effects of the Great Economic Crisis of 1929 (Guerrini 2012; Vigilante 2014).

In June 1929 OND and Federazione Nazionale dell'Escursionismo, supervised by Roberto Farinacci, one of the most important fascist hierarchs, organized the "Giornata sui confini della Patria" ("Day on the border of the homeland") with visits to war zones such as Brennero, Tarvisio, Piedicolle and other cities of the eastern Adriatic annexed after the First World War such as Zara and Fiume (Notiziario del Dopolavorista 1929; Cavarra 1922). In June 1932 and in July 1933 a section of OND employees of the Chamber of Deputies in collaboration with Associazione Nazionale Combattenti e Reduci (National Association Combatants and ex Service-men) organized two pilgrimages to the battlefields in north-eastern Italy (Associazione Nazionale Combattenti-Dopolavoro fra i dipendenti della Camera dei Deputati, n.d. and 1933).

Meanwhile, the accommodation conditions in the former war zones improved and other excursions were organized by TCI, which was fully engaged in the practice of warfare tourism. With these tours, war tourism became synonymous to TCI for many Italians during the fascist regime. The Club dictated how to travel with pre-established means of transport, board and lodging and with regard to, for example, discounted tickets and hotels (about 50%).

In the two decades following the end of the conflict, tourism in war zones stressed its celebratory and heroic character while the landscape of the battlefields progressively changed, undergoing a work of rearrangement and normalization that led to the gradual disappearance of war evidence and instead the building of impressive military shrines like Mount Pasubio, Mount Pocol and Redipuglia (Dogliani 1996; Fabi 1996; Dato 2014). Indeed, the regime refurbished trenches and bunkers in war zones creating a sort of outdoor museum of the First World War (Luhr 1931: 13–16). This process of restoration was realized by Commissariato del Turismo (Commissioner for Turism), funded in 1931 (Berrino 2011) and supervised by Fulvio Suvich, who in the past was already the president of Compagnia Italiana Turismo and of Ente Nazionale Industrie Alberghiere (ENIT) (Paloscia 2006).

In a report about tourism problems in Italy, Fulvio Suvich underlined the need to develop excursions to the battlefields following the example of France, where tourist caravans departed daily from Paris to visit Chemin des Dames, Champagne, Soissons, Reims and other well-known locations of the First World War. Although Italy started later than France, Suvich was convinced that this gap could be recovered by identifying areas that need to be rearranged by restoring war equipment to perfect condition, reconstructing as closely as possible the state they were in during the years of the conflict and creating the illusion of visiting the front in a moment of quiet in a sort of open-air museum in war territories.

The exploitation of the front areas on Mount Sabotino and Mount Grappa for tourism purposes appeared to be very easy, but there were greater difficulties in the reconstruction of the war scenario on Mount Pasubio. In particular, the area of the city of Gorizia was the place that best preserved the semblance of a battlefield during the Great War and offered an image of what the regime was doing in the war zones with the construction of the Redipuglia memorial (Alegi 2001). It is the most important Italian military cemetery of the First World War where over 100,000 fallen soldiers are buried. The Italian people were attracted by big military monuments that constituted the most unequivocal sign impressed by fascism to commemorate the fallen soldiers as in the case of the Monte Grappa shrine.

Furthermore, Suvich proposed the publication of tourist guides in various languages and the creation of a "historical narrative" service to publicize war zones and tell tourists in a simple and suggestive way about the war actions that had taken place on the battlefields. According to Suvich, the reorganization of the war zones would turn them into tourist places, destination for visitors, groups, schools, members of OND and veterans, eager to find personal memories, fulfilling what the regime's mystique considered a real patriotic journey.

After the establishment of Commissariato del Turismo, Mount San Michele, Mount Grappa and Mount Pasubio were declared national monuments, thus increasing the number of tourists in war zones, and the battlefields were arranged with war materials supplied by military authorities and patriotic associations (Ordioni 1932; Zambon 1936).

In 1938, during a trip to the war zones of the "Tre Venezie" (Veneto, Trentino-Alto Adige, Friuli-Venezia) Mussolini inaugurated Redipuglia Memorial and during a political meeting in Treviso he invited the Italian people to go on a pilgrimage from the shores of the "fiume sacro alla Patria", the Piave river (the sacred river of the Fatherland takes its name from the historical events that took place on its shores during the First World War) to the Carso hills (near Trieste).

During the 1930s other excursions were organized by TCI. The first was in 1932 to the battlefields of Alto Vicentino, a geographical territory in the north-western area of the province of Vicenza on the border with Trentino where the war front ran. In 1933 another excursion was created from Passo della Sentinella to the "Strada degli Alpini" running along the paths of the Sesto Dolomites in an itinerary destined to become one of the most evocative and popular among Dolomites.

The excursion presented itself as very tiring and uncomfortable to the participants; however, despite the difficulties it offered the possibility of witnessing testimonies of war at high altitudes that had disappeared at lower altitudes or in flat areas and of imagining the hardships and pains of the soldiers in those areas.

In the summer of 1936 TCI organized a tour to Mount Grappa (that ran along the "Road of the First Army", the "Cadorna Road" and the "Via Eroica") (Zandonelli 1975). This tour reached the Asiago *plateau* where bloody battles were fought between May and June 1916 between the Italian army and the Austro-Hungarian one (Notiziario: Turismo 1936: 188–191).

Moreover, from 24 to 26 May 1935, the gathering of the Infantry took place in Trieste for the visit to the battlefields of the Isonzo river. The organization of the meeting started with the arrival of travelers in Trieste and Gorizia by military trains and accommodation for former combatants in schools and unused industrial buildings in the two towns that, before the war, belonged to the Hapsbrug Empire.

The program of the event included "sea trips and economic cruises", a sightseeing tour of the city, and tours in Abbazia, Aquileia, Grado, Portoroz, Postojna and Rijeka. At the center of this patriotic pilgrimage was the tribute to the war cemeteries and to the memorial stone of Giovanni Randaccio, an infantry officer who died in 1917 during the

war, which become a symbol of Gabriele d'Annunzio's adventure in Fiume.

During the last summer of peacetime (1939) an excursion led the members of TCI to the battlefields of the Piave river and to Mount Montello departing from Treviso and arriving in Conegliano. The itinerary ran along "Via Eroica", 'Galleria Vittorio Emanuele III' (a tunnel dedicated to the king of Italy, Vittorio Emanule III) and other military routes and combined it with a visit to some small cities in Veneto such as Asolo, Possagno and Valdobbiadene (near Treviso), which were rich in monuments, and other interesting places (Escursione ai Campi di Battaglia del Piave e del Montello: 9–11 giugno, 1939: 556).

3.4 War Tourism's Guidebooks

In the post-war period many guidebooks were published such as those of Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche (ENIT 1921) or Agenzia Italiana Pneumatici Michelin (Agenzia Italiana Pneumatici Michelin 1919) that contained motor-racing routes to visit war zones. In 1927 ENIT published four volumes entitled 'Campi della Gloria. Itinerario illustrato delle zone monumentali dei campi da Trieste a Trento'(Campi della Gloria. Itinerario illustrato delle zone monumentali dei campi da Trieste a Trento' 1927). These volumes were accompanied by ten car routs to war zones on the model of the Michelin guide published in 1919.

Itineraries and routes of war tourism were also reported by TCI, which, just as in the case following the first excursions, published two volumes of Guida d'Italia (Italy's Guide or the famous "red guides") in 1920 dedicated to Venezia Tridentina and Venezia Giulia, the regions where the conflict took place (Brusa 1984; Di Mauro 1982). The guide was the result of the inspections conducted by Luigi Vittorio Bertarelli a year earlier in the places of the battles and described the "Via Sacra" on the Carso Hill (Sartori 1919: 385–396). The military route was very interesting for the tourists because it was full of memorial stones and commemorative inscriptions dedicated to deceased soldiers.

TCI intervened in the debate that began in the post-war years about the monumentalization of war, expressing its opposition to the

construction of monuments dedicated to infantrymen and the victory in war theatres, and the consideration to transform the whole of Carso into a national monument, as some sort of long "Via Sacra" marked by memorial stones and commemorative inscriptions (like on ancient Roman roads), where "the dead continued to sleep", and preferred to maintain it as a place of unchanged sacrifice, even with time, which held an eternal memory. Later, after the inauguration of the great shrines of Mount Grappa—which was also called "Monte Sacro alla Patria" ("Sacred Mount to the Fatherland") and the Asiago Plateau—the Ministry for the Press and Propaganda opened the "Strada della Prima Armata" ("Road of the First Army"), which had operated here during the years of the conflict, and the "Strada Cadorna" ("Road Cadorna"), which was dedicated to General Luigi Cadorna, head of the Italian Army from 1914 to 1917. The excursionists also visited "Rifugio Milano" ("Refuge Milan") and "Caserma Milano" ("Base Milan"), where the soldiers had lived during the conflict and which had now become a museum of the First War World.

Five years later, a second edition of the guide, largely based on the previous one, was published, but with large references to the reconstruction and the changes made to the landscape, which was increasingly freed of the signs that the war inflicted on the environment (Jansen-Verbeke 2016). The guide dedicated ample space to war zones highlighting the gravestones, military cemeteries and several buried Italian and Austrian soldiers, which would disappear in the guides published later.

TCI also published a guide entitled Sui campi di battaglia divided into two volumes: La nostra guerra (1931–1936) and the guide Sui campi di battaglia. I soldati italiani in Francia (1931). The first guide inaugurated the production of tourist guides in war zones of the entire Italian front after the model of the 1919 Michelin guide. The second guide was written by Amedeo Tosti, an officer of the Army General Staff, and contained itineraries for visiting not only Italy's war zones but also the places of the battles and the cemeteries of the fallen Italian soldiers (on the French front) of the II Army Corps and of the Italian Garibaldi volunteers who fought in the Argonne (France) (Cuzzi 2015). In addition to the TCI and ENIT guides, with the support of the Associazione Nazionale Combattenti e Reduci (National Combatants and Veterans Association) a series of

guides were published and contributed to making the Italian people aware of First World War territories.

Between the mid-1920s and mid-1930s, the TCI magazine *Le Vie d'Italia* published numerous articles dedicated to the battlefields and to the role played by the First War World in the development of fascism (Michelesi 1938, Dal Sabotino al Quarnaro col. Touring Club Italiano. 13–17 giugno 1934: 391–394, Zambon 1936: 392–400).

For the regime, battlefield tourism had a patriotic value and exalted the rebirth of the nation produced by the First World War (Bosworth 2003). In the 1920s and 1930s the domestic tourism industry was a tool to italianize and inculcate fascism among Italian people. During Mussolini's regime tourism was entirely recalibrated with new tourist practices such as war tourism, which was put into service by fascist policy (Hom 2015).

The publications dedicated to battlefield itineraries helped to preserve the memory of the events of the First World War during the fascist reign and would experience a particular revival in the 1960s (Corubolo 1964: Cinquantenario della vittoria. Pellegrinaggio nazionale ai campi di battaglia, ai sacrari e cimiteri di guerra da Trento a Trieste 1968).

3.5 War Tourism Today

The centenary of the Great War (2014–2018) mobilized many communities, governments and tourism officers, and war- and/or peace-related organizations. Like Italy, several countries once involved in the First World War, which was also called the Great War, developed a centenary agenda.

Hundred years after the First World War, local communities of northeastern Italy gave life to numerous initiatives and projects carried out to enhance the sites of the Great War and to recover a shared history and identity of place adhering to the national one, while maintaining a European openness (Magnani 2011). The opportunity to create a great European historical-cultural itinerary that unites, through tourist itineraries, places and initiatives linked to the memory of the First World War became a tool to consolidate and safeguard the European identity (Ardito 2014; Cagnani 2014).

Today there is a renewed interest in war landscapes: battlefields, trenches, frontlines, military infrastructures and artefacts are being re-explored and redefined in the process of constructing heritage landscapes (Sørensen and Viejo 2015). The question is where and how these landscapes of memories are imbedded in the social and economic dynamics of the twenty-first century.

Currently the centenary of the conflict has raised historical, cultural and tourist interest towards the battlefields. War zones have been rearranged and opened to tourism in the form of various museums that have been set up along the old frontline. On 2014 "Il Sentiero della Pace" ("The Path of Peace") was created, a 520 km itinerary from Tonale pass to Marmolada which has a yellow dove as a trail sign. The system of paths recovered for tourist and excursion purposes in the north-eastern Alps, in places that were the scene of the First World War, is also the protagonist of a guide created by Italian Touring Club aptly entitled "Il Sentiero della Grande Guerra" ("The Paths of the Great War"). From Valtellina (Lombardia) to the Carnic Alps (Friuli-Venezia Giulia), the guide proposes 25 itineraries along equipped trails accessible to the general public, modulated with different options and aimed at tourists and trained hikers, people with walking difficulties and schoolchildren.

Former battlefields, war cemeteries, museums, visitor centres, memorial sites and events are perfect locations for interviewing visitors and recording 'live' their experiences. For many visitors, former battlefields and memorials of the Great War hold a special meaning and memories and some even consider these places sacred. Even though most of the evidence of war has been removed, temporal and spatial effects of the landscape can still create intense experiences for visitors.

The centenary helped the re-enactment of the Great War as a tourism product and as an opportunity to expand the cultural horizon of the "made in Italy" proposals even in foreign markets, which are traditionally more accustomed than ours to look at places of memory from a territorial marketing perspective, thus supporting tourist activities. Also, in this case, France is a best practice example for Italy, which faces the gap of a few decades compared to the transalpine country in which the "tourisme de mémoire" is cultivated and supported by a specific tourism system.

Many commemorative events took place attracting huge numbers of visitors in various war areas of Lombardia, Veneto, Trentino-Alto Adige and Friuli-Venezia Giulia during the centenary of the Great War. For many tourists the centenary was an opportunity to discover or rediscover the territories of the Great War made accessible by a new tourist information system that used integrated tools such as architectural installations (signage and panels), multimedia tools (totems and web portal) and coordinated communication through logo, image and editorial plan, which summarized a shared idea of territory and became elements of conjunction and recognition for citizens and visitors.

During the main events of the centenary, concerts, theatres, festivals, shows, exhibitions, gastronomic events and local festivals characterized touristic proposals to learn about or rediscover Italian war zones and the great heritage of memory present in them: ossuaries, shrines and cemeteries (254%), museums (20.5%), military forts (14.3% Austro-Hungarians and 13.8% Italians), monuments (12.1%), itineraries (11.6%), historic buildings (2.2%). The touristic proposals helped to attract a wider audience into places that transmit history, generating culture and preserving the memory of a tragic and dramatic event for generations of Europeans and that young people, today, tend to forget.

Although in 2018 there were over 3.5 million visitors to Italy among Italian and foreign tourists in war locations, memory tourism has not become, as it has in France, a mass touristic practice, also because in our country the legacy of memory is still struggling to become a widespread cultural value. However, it is not only a problem of transmission of memory but also a matter of tourist management that makes it necessary to strengthen the foreign presence as well as the services offered in war sites.

Of course, memory tourism, which represents an experience with a strong emotional impact, today qualified as ethical tourism and subject to the risks and drifts of historical manipulations and revisionism, contributes in strengthening the sense of identity, group memory and membership; moreover, for foreign tourists a visit to historical sites conveys a specific image of the nation.

The motivational impulses for memory tourism are identified firstly in historical interest, in educational aims of schools and, finally, in the link with the family history, which, by visiting war sites, reconnects with its roots. Alongside cultural, educational and emotional interests, there is the scientific interest of historians, scholars, researchers and members of armed forces who visit these places in order to acquire multidisciplinary knowledge.

Memory tourists interested in visiting war sites can now find specialized tourist agencies and customized travel offers in Italy which, in imitation of the English agencies Battlefield Journeys and Rembrance Travel, offer trips to Italy, to the sites of the First and Second World Wars, to places of memory and remembrance and in many cases pay specific attention to the material and immaterial evidences of war, such as trenches, monuments, graffiti, fortresses, cemeteries, museums and theme parks, that still allow us to relive that conflict.

The growing importance of memory tourism as an economic factor and cultural value is also attested by the fact that, since 2012, the first "Via Historica" Historical Tourism Fair held in Ferrara (the city is a UNESCO world heritage site, located in northern Italy, near Bologna) confirms that this tourist practice is losing its original connotation of niche phenomenon and is empowering its own target by increasingly attracting a focused and skilled audience and the interest of the media.

Reading books and watching programs provides a background, but nothing sheds more light on the bloodiest battles than visiting the sites (Prost and Winter 2004). Currently, tourist guides and specialists offer special itineraries on the battlefields to commemorate the soldiers who died during the outbreak of the First World War in Italy.

Furthermore, the narratives and various expressions of the intangible heritage and especially the events and commemorative ceremonies strongly support a process of understanding and appreciation.

Promoting the places of the First World War and making them accessible to tourists is one of the tools used to communicate the memory of this event to future generations.

Bibliography

Agenzia Italiana Pneumatici Michelin (1919) Guida dei campi di battaglia. Fronte italiana, 4 voll. Milano: Agenzia Italiana Pneumatici Michelin

Albeltaro M. (2018) Cesare Battisti, Fabio Filzi. Milano: Corriere della Sera.

Alegi, G. (2001) Redipuglia, il cimitero perduto. Nuova Storia Contemporanea, 5 (4): 116.

Andreotti A. and Tonezzer E. (2016) Battisti 16.16. Cesare Battisti a cento anni dalla morte. Trento: Fondazione Museo storico del Trentino.

Antonelli Q. (2018) Cento anni di Grande guerra. Cerimonie, monumenti, memorie e contromemorie. Roma: Donzelli.

Ardito, S. (2014) I Sentieri della Grande Guerra, Milano, Touring Club Editore. Milano: Touring Club Italiano.

Associazione Nazionale Combattenti-Dopolavoro fra i dipendenti della Camera dei Deputati (n.d.) Pellegrinaggio ai campi di battaglia. Roma: Tip. Camera dei deputati C. Colombo.

Associazione Nazionale Combattenti-Dopolavoro fra i dipendenti della Camera dei Deputati (1933) Secondo pellegrinaggio. Campi di battaglia, Cimiteri di Guerra. Grappa, Altipiano dei Sette comuni, Pasubio (Camera dei deputati, sottosezione combattenti e sezione dopolavoro). Roma: Tip. Camera dei deputati C. Colombo.

Bagnaresi, D. (2011) I pellegrinaggi patriottici nell'Italia liberale. Linguaggi e luoghi. Storicamente 7: 1–16 DOI: https://doi.org/10.1473/stor113

Bagnaresi D. and Wedekind M. (eds.) (2012) Turismo di truppa, vacanze, nazionalismo e potere. Trento: Fondazione Museo Storico del Trentino.

Bardelli, D. (2004) L'Italia che viaggia. Il Touring Club, la nazione e la modernità (1894–1927). Roma: Bulzoni: 162–163.

Battilani, P. (2001) Vacanze di pochi vacanze di tutti. L'evoluzione del turismo europeo. Bologna: il Mulino.

Battilani, P. (2014) L'impatto della guerra sull'immagine turistica dei luoghi: il caso de Trentino e dell'Alto Adige In: Gasser, P. Leonardi, A. Barth-Scalmani, G. (eds.) Krieg und Tourismus im Spannungsfeld des Ersten Weltkrieges. Guerra e Turismo nell'area di tensione della prima guerra mondiale. Innsbruck, Wien, Bozen: Studien Verlag: 249–270.

Belloni, E. (2019) Quando si andava in velocipide: Storia della mobilità ciciclistica in Italia (1870–1955). Milano: FrancoAngeli.

Bertacchi, G. (2020) Da Udine a Fiume. L'escursione nazionale del Touring nella Venezia Giulia. Le Vie d'Italia, 26 (10): 453–459.

Ben-Ghiat, R. (2001) Fascist modernities: Italy 1922–1945. Berkely, University of California Press.
Berrino A. (2011) Storia del turismo in Italia. Bologna: il Mulino: 111.
B[ertacchi], G. Da Udine a Fiume. L'escursione nazionale del Touring nella Venezia Giulia. Le Vie d'Italia, 26 (10): 453–459.
Bertarelli, L. V. (2004) Insoliti viaggi, Clerici, L (ed.), Milan: Touring Club Italiano: 51–53 and 162–63.
Bosworth R. J. B. (1997) Tourist planning in Fascist Italy and the limits of a totalitarian culture. Contemporary European History 6 (1): 1–25 DOI:https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777300004033.
Bosworth, R. J. B (2003, Turismo. In: S. Luzzatto, V. De Grazia (eds.), Dizionario del fascismo. vol. 2, Turin: Einaudi: 747–751.
Brentari, O. (1902) Sui campi di battaglia. La gita organizzata dal Consolato del Touring. Rassegna Mensile del Touring Club Italiano, 8 (10): 326–339.
Brusa, C. (1984) Dal Baedeker alle guide moderne. In: 90 anni di turismo in Italia: 1894–1984. Milan: Touring Club Italiano.
Budreau L. M. (2009) Bodies of War. World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919–1933. New York: New York University Press.
Cagnani, P. (2014) Che affare il turismo della Grande Guerra L'Espresso, 19 May: pp. 35–38.
Campi di battaglia (1921) Roma: Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche.
Capuzzo, E. (2018) Turismo sui campi di battaglia in Italia e in Spagna. Due esperienze a confronto. Eunomia, 7 (1): 3–14. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1285/i22808949a8n1p231.
Capuzzo E. (2019) "Italiani. Visitate l'Italia". Politiche turistiche in Italia tra le due guerre mondiali. Milano: Luni: 275–280.
Cartwright, K. (2018), "All aboard for Europe!": American Youth Travel to Europe Between the World Wars Diacronie [online] 36 (4):1–12. Available at: http://diacronie.revues.org/430.
Cavarra, O. (1922) Città adriatiche scoperte dal cielo. Impressioni turistiche Le Vie d'Italia 26 (1): 3–8.
Cecchinato, E. (2015) Camicie rosse. I garibaldini dall'Unità alla Grande Guerra. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
Cecini S. (2014) Il Treno per tutti. I viaggi degli italiani con i treni popolari. 1931–1939. Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica 2 (7–12): 113–139. DOI: https://doi.org/10.7376/93901.

Cinquantenario della vittoria. Pellegrinaggio nazionale ai campi di battaglia, ai sacrari e cimiteri di guerra da Trento a Trieste (1968), (without typographical notes).

Corubolo C. (1964) Dal sacrificio alla gloria. Guida ai campi di battaglia dell'Isonzo. Gorizia: Tipografia sociale.

Cuzzi, M. (2015) Sui campi di Borgogna. I volontari garibaldini nelle Argonne (1914–1915). Milano: Biblion editore.

Dal Sabotino al Quarnaro col Touring Club Italiano. 13–17 giugno 1934 (1934). Le Vie d'Italia 38 (5): 391–394.

Damerini, G. Cimiteri di guerra in montagna (1922) Le Vie d'Italia 28 (4): 379–382.

Dato, G. Redipuglia (2014) Il sacrario e la memoria della Grande guerra 1938–1993. Trieste: Istituto per la storia del movimento di liberazione nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia.

Dawes, B. (2003), *La rivoluzione turistica: Thomas Cook e il turismo inglese in Italia nel XIX secolo*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane.

De Grazia V. (2002) The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Di Mauro, L (1982) L'Italia e le guide turistiche dall'Unità a oggi. In: C. De Seta Storia d'Italia vol. 5 Il paesaggio. Turin: Einaudi: 400–402.

Dogliani, P. (1996) 'Redipuglia. In Isnenghi M. (ed.) I luoghi della memoria. Simboli e miti dell'Italia unita. Roma-Bari: Laterza: 97–100 and 377–389.

Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche (1927) Campi della Gloria. Itinerario illustrato delle zone monumentali dei campi da Trieste a Trento. Roma: Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche.

Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche (1921) Itinerari per la visita ai campi di battaglia italiani (1915–1918). Roma: Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche.

Escursione ai campi di battaglia del Piave e del Montello: 9–11 giugno (1939) Le Vie d'Italia 35 (4): 556.

Escursione nazionale ai campi di battaglia (1925). Le Vie d'Italia 31 (2): 113–114.

Escursione Nazionale nella Venezia Giulia indetta e organizzata dal Touring Club Italiano con il concorso delle Alte Autorità Militari della regione (1920). Convegno sul San Michele del Carso per la commemorazione Fante Italiano. Le Vie d'Italia, 31 (4): 1–15.

Evanno Y-M., Vincent, J. (2015) Tourisme et Première Guerre mondiale. Pratique, prospective et mémoire (1914–2014). En Envor. Revue d'histoire contemporaine en Bretagne, 6: 1–16. No DOI.

Fabi, L. (1996) Redipuglia. Storia, memoria, arte e mito di un monumento che parla di pace, Trieste: LINT.

Fyall, A, Prideaux, B., Timothy, D. J (2006) War and Tourism. An introduction. International journal of tourism research 8 (3): 153–155. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.564.

Fujisawa F. (2004) Pellegrinaggi a due luoghi sacri della religione civile italiana: Caprera e il Pantheon. In: Tesoro M. (ed.) Monarchia, tradizione, identità nazionale: Germania, Giappone e Italia tra Ottocento e Novecento. Milano: Bruno Mondadori: 65–82.

Guerrini I. (2012) L'opera nazionale dopolavoro tra turismo di massa e pratiche quotidiane del tempo libero. In: Bagnaresi D., M. Wedekind (eds.) Turismo di truppa, vacanze, nazionalismo e potere. Trento: Fondazione Museo Storico del Trentino: 127–145.

Hertzog A. (2012) Tourisme de mémoire et imaginaire touristique des champs de battaille. Via. Tourism Review 1. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.1276

Hyriès H. (2016) Guerra franco-prussiana. Milano: RCS Media Group: 95

Hom, S. M. (2015) *Beautiful Country. Tourism and Impossible State of Destination Italy.* Toronto-Buffalo-London: Toronto University Press: 94, 95, 108–111.

Iles, J. (2008) Encounters in the Fields. Tourism to the Battlefields of the Western Front. Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change 6 (2):. 141. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14766820802376200.

Il pellegrinaggio degli orfani di guerra ai campi di battaglia del Medio e Basso Isonzo. 31 agosto-1–2 settembre 1931 (1932). Livorno: Arti Grafiche S. Belforte e &.

Italiani visitate il Pasubio (1923). Le Vie d'Italia, 29 (7): 732.

Jansen-Verbeke M. (2016) An Explorative Note on Tourism Development along Former War Front Lines. Alma Tourism Journal of Tourism, Culture and Territorial Development 5: 1–25. DOI: 10. 6092/issn.2036.

Jansen-Verbeke M. and George W. (2015) Memoryscapes of the Great War (1914–1918): A paradigm shift in tourism research on war heritage. Via. Tourism Review 8. DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/viatourism.494.

La Direzione del Touring (1925) Il trentennio del Touring. Le Vie d'Italia 31 (1): 3.

La Direzione del Touring Club Italiano (1920) La grande escursione nazionale nella Venezia Tridentina. Le Vie d'Italia 26 (7–8): 163.

La Grande Escursione Nazionale nella Venezia Tridentina organizzata dal Touring col patrocinio della I Armata. 14–19 luglio (1919). Le Vie d'Italia, 25 (5–6): 97–100.

Lee, Y.J. (2016) The Relationship among emotional experience, cognition and behavioural intention in battlefield tourism. Asia Pacific Journal of tourism research 21 (6): 697–715. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/10941665.2015.1068195.

Lembo, G. (1921) La gioventù studiosa barese sul Carso, sul Grappa e sul Trentino. Un pellegrinaggio d'amore per i caduti e di fede per la patria. Bari: Casini e figli.

Magnani, E. (2011) Il turismo della memoria e i luoghi dell'Unità d'Italia. Storicamente 7. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1473/stor113

Maggi, S. (2003), *Le ferrovie*, Bologna: il Mulino, pp. 155–157.

Mariotti, A. (1923) L'industria del forestiero in Italia. Economia e politica del turismo. Bologna: Zanichelli.

Merenda, P. (1910) Vademecum del visitatore dei luoghi dove si svolsero le operazioni militari di Giuseppe Garibaldi: dall'arrivo di Renda all'assalto di Palermo. Palermo: Virzì.

Michelesi R. (1938) Trentino, Pasubio, Altipiani Le Vie d'Italia 34 (8): 947–954.

Miles S. (2014) Battlefield sites as dark tourism attractions: an analysis of experience. Journal of Heritage Tourism 9 (2): 134–147. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2013.871017

Mondini, M. (2008), Andar per i luoghi della grande guerra. Bologna: il Mulino.

Nora P. (1986) Entre Mémoire et Histoire. La problematique des lieux. In: Nora P. (sous la direction de), 1, La Nation. Paris: Gallimard: XXIII-XXV.

Notiziario: Turismo (1936) Escursione ai campi di battaglia del Pasubio, Monte Grappa e Altipiano d'Asiago, 10, 11, 12 luglio. Le Vie d'Italia 40 (6): 188–191.

Notiziario del Dopolavorista (1929) Escursionismo. Gente Nuova 1 (12) May 19.

Opera nazionale dopolavoro-Direttorio provinciale di Gorizia, Federazione italiana dell'escursionismo-Delegazione per la Venezia Giulia (1931) Dalle trincee dell'Isonzo alle rosse doline del Carso. Programmi ed itinerari di visita ai campi di battaglia. Gorizia: Tipografia sociale.

Ordioni, C. (1932) Ricordi di guerra. Il monte Sabotino nel 1915 e l'iniziativa del Commissariato per il Turismo. Turismo d'Italia 5 (7): 11–12.

Paloscia F. (2006) Il turismo nell'economia italiana: dall'Unità a oggi. Roma: Agra.

Paloscia F. (1994) Storia del turismo nell'economia italiana. Città di Castello: Petruzzi.

Passarin, M. (2010) Quale turismo nei luoghi di guerra. In Labanca, N. (ed.) Pietre di guerra. Ricerche su monumenti e lapidi in memoria del primo conflitto mondiale. Milano: Unicopli: 79–86.

Patriarca S. (2010) Italianità. La costruzione del carattere nazionale. Roma-Bari: Laterza.
Pivato, S. (2006) Politica e tempo libero. Il Touring Club Italiano. Bologna: il Mulino.
Poderini, A. (1929) Pellegrinaggio dei combattenti Pavesi ai campi di battaglia. Pavia: Istituto Pavese di Arti Grafiche.
Prideaux, B. (2007) Echoes of War. Battlefield Tourism. In: Ryan C. (ed.) Battlefield Tourism. History, place and interpretation. Amsterdam-Oxford: Elsevier-Linacre House, pp. 17–28.
Prost, A. and Winter J. (2004) Penser la Grande Guerre. Un essai d'historiographie. Paris: Éditions du Seuil:. 352.
Quendolo, A. (2015) Paesaggi di Guerra. Memoria e progetto. Udine: Gaspari Editore.
Raccagni, S. (1994) Il Touring Club e il governo del tempo libero. Cheiron, 11 (9–10): 233–296.
Sartori, A. (1919) La "Via Sacra" del Carso', Le Vie d'Italia, 25 (7): 385–396.
Senna, L. (2014) Sui campi di battaglia. Il Touring e il turismo di guerra. In La guerra che verrà/Non la prima. 2014–1914. Milano: Electa: 540–547.
Serventi Longhi E. (2019) il faro del nuovo mondo. D'annunzio e i legionari a Fiume tra guerra e rivoluzione. Udine: Gasparri Editore.
Sirjämaa, T. (1997) L'Italie: Italian State Tourist Propaganda Abroad 1919–1943: Administrative Structure and Pratical Realization. Turku: University of Turku: 75–78.
Società Audax (1908) Escursione nazionale in Sardegna: pellegrinaggio a Caprera, convegno sportivo, congresso Audax, feste caratteristiche, concorso fotografico Roma: Officine Bodoni.
Sørensen S.M.L. and Viejo Rose D. (2015) Introduction: The impact of Conflict of Cultural Heritage: A Biograpghical Lens. In: Sørensen S.M.L. and Viejo Rose D. War and Cultural Heritage. A Biographical Heritage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1–17.
Sui campi di battaglia. Guida storico-turistica (1931–1936), 6 voll. Milano: Touring Club Italiano.
Sui campi di battaglia: la gita organizzata dal consolato del Touring (1901, Rivista mensile del Touring Club Italiano, 8 (10): 326–339
Tegani, U. (1925) Ai campi di battaglia con la carovana del Touring (Impressioni di un'escursionista). Le Vie d'Italia 31 (7): 878–881.
Terzo pellegrinaggio ai campi di battaglia ed i cimiteri di guerra. Valcamonica, Cadore, Carnia, Alto Isonzo (1934). Roma: Officina grafica Bodoni.

Touring Club Italiano (1925) Congresso ed escursione nazionale ai campi di battaglia. 19–29 giugno 1925. Le Vie d'Italia 31 (4): 287–290.
E. Tizzoni (2013) Turismo di guerra, turismo di pace: sguardi incrociati su Italia e Francia. Diacronie [Online], 15 (3), doc. 3, Available at: http://diacronie.revues.org/430
Tomasoni, G., Nuvoli, N. (2004) La Grande Guerra raccontata dalle cartoline. Torino: Arca Edizioni.
Touring e patria. Gite rese famose dalle battaglie risorgimentali (1901). Le Vie d'Italia, 8 (5): 154–155.
Treccani P. (2017) Monumenti e centri storici nella stagione della Grande guerra: Milano: Franco Angeli.
Treves A. (1989) Anni di guerra anni di svolta. Il turismo italiano durante la prima guerra mondiale. In Botta G. (ed.) Studi geografici sul paesaggio. Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica: 249–299.
Unione Turisti Emiliani (1923) Pellegrinaggio nazionale studentesco attraverso i luoghi del martirio e della gloria. Giro delle Tre Venezie promosso sotto il patronato di S. E. il Sen. Prof. Giovanni Gentile dal 19 agosto al 2 settembre 1923 (no city and editor).
Vigilante E. (2014) L'opera nazionale dopolavoro. Tempo libero dei lavoratori, assistenza e regime fascista 1925–1943. Bologna: il Mulino.
Visintin, A. (2007) Dalla Grande Guerra al fascismo. L'ipostasi della Vittoria sui campi di Battaglia dell'Isonzo. In: Vinci, A.M. (ed.) Regime fascista, nazione e periferie. Udine: Istituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liberazione: 69–87.
Vidotto, V. (2000) La vittoria e i monumenti ai caduti. Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Italie et Mediterranée, 112 (2), pp. 171–183. DOI: https://doi.org/10.3406/mefr.
Vota G. (ed.) (1954), I sessant'anni del Touring Club Italiano. 1894–1954. Milano: Touring Club Italiano: 179.
Walton, J. K. (2013), War and Tourism: the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In: R. Butler and W. Suntikul (eds.) Tourism and War. New York, Routledge: 64–73.
Westerman, T. D. (2014) Touring occupied Belgium: American humanitarians at 'work' and 'leisure' (1914–1917), First World War Studies, 5 (1): 43–53. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1947502014.901181.
Winter, C. (2009) Tourism, Social Memory and the Great War. Annals of Tourism Research 36(4): 607–626, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2009.05.002.

Winter, C. (2011) Cemeteries of the First World War. Insights from visitor books, Tourism Geographies Journal 13 (3): 462–479. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2011.575075.

Winter, C. (2010) Exploring Visitor Motivations: explorations in the Great War town of Ieper, Belgium. International journal of tourism research 13 (2): 164–176. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1002/jtr.806.

Winter, C. (2016) Celebrating peace and commemorating war in the city of Ieper, in Reeves, K. Bird G. J., James L., Stichelbaut B., Bourgeois J. (eds.) Battlefield Events. Landscape, commemoration and heritage. New York: Routledge: 77–94.

Winter, J. (1995) Sites of memory, sites of mourning: The Great War in European cultural history. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zambon, F. (1936) Dal Pasubio eroico al Pasubio turistico. *Le Vie d'Italia*, 42 (3): 392–400.

Zandonella, I. (1975) Alta Via degli Eroi. Da Feltre a Bassano del Grappa. Bologna: Tamari.

4

Spanish Civil War and Francoism for Tourists: The History Told in Travel Books

Ivanne Galant

4.1 Introduction

Although the subject of the existence and the role of the Spanish tourism institutions during the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist period has already been outlined, our interest here lies in the ideas that link the key material, consisting of travel brochures, guides and travel writings, and the manner in which they spread a specific image of the country. The role of this type of literature in the construction of a national historical narrative, written from within or from the outside should be emphasized. We also suggest doing so by comparing the full range of publications in the period comprising the civil war and the first Francoist period until 1959, on both sides of the Pyrenees. This genre is not limited to providing lists of monuments to visit and itineraries to follow: it often includes a few

I. Galant (✉)
Centre de Recherche sur l'Espagne contemporaine, Paris 3-Sorbonne Nouvelle University, Paris, France

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_4

pages dedicated to the history of the place in a section usually placed in the preamble, entitled "History" or sometimes, with a certain amount of modesty, "Historical outline", "Historical overview", "A little History", "History in a few dates". The responsibility of the guides, whose scarce lines could account for the only source of historical-political knowledge for tourists before, during or after their trip, should be emphasized. The fact that the reader grants considerable credibility to these types of publications is due to some data and techniques that encourage them to consider these summaries as devoid of any subjectivity: the authorship, the publisher, as well as the tone can give importance and value to the content of the historical compendium. Overall, the *autoritas* of the guide, the highest and unchallenged figure of authority, is extended to sections where their degree of knowledge is much more doubtful.

The corpus under study brings to light the various ways of telling history. There are books that tend to prefer the "little history" of Théodore Gosselin a.k.a. G. Lenôtre, creator, according to Bernard Lerivray, of a history manufactured from anecdotes and sensational subject matters: "History seen through small facts, anecdotes, sharp events, the sensational" (Lerivray 1975, p. 100[1]). If the critics of the French collection Michelin disregarded such taste for anecdotes, Marc Francon, who dedicated a doctoral thesis and a book to this collection, specified than under no circumstance were these books history books, and that the anecdote served to add a dash of flavor to the visit, offering to the neophyte a conventional access to history (Francon 2004, pp. 145–158). Some authors were content with telling the minimum, resorting to noun phrases or a list of dates. This lack of explanation and relation between events can create confusion, as Manuel Hijano del Río and Francisco Martín Zúñiga pointed out in their research on seven Andalusian guides published between 1920 and 1970:

> *In general, the analyzed guides used historical narrative resources that lack analysis and that are purely descriptive, exclusively using the chronological timescale as a means to organize diverse events in a very synthetic manner, and in*

[1] "L'histoire vue à travers les petits faits, les anecdotes, les événements piquants, le sensationnel" (Lerivray 1975, p. 100). All translations are from the author.

many cases, overwhelming the reader with a sequence of dates of our past. (Hijano del Río and Martín Zúñiga 2007, p. 98)[2]

The most scientific vocabulary and style, a canon of the guides, found in the geographical and artistic descriptions, are transposed to the historical sections. Nevertheless, no matter how overwhelming or scarce the historical data are, the discourse offers a glimpse of the ideology of the author, with more or less clarity.

To understand what type of history about the civil war and the first Francoist period was given to the tourists, we will first present the full range of publications related to traveling in Spain and France. Afterwards, we will describe the array of stances proposed by this historical discourse, as well as the strategies utilized to continue presenting the country as an attractive tourist destination for domestic tourism as well as foreign tourism despite the terrible conditions at the time.

4.2 Presentation of the Corpus

The corpus collected for this work consists of thirty publications,[3] among which we find travel writings, guides and brochures. Fifteen of them are written in French—we also include the translation of a German one, Baedeker. Nine were published in Spain by private publishers, while seven were published by the tourism institutions in place (a book and six brochures, in Spanish or French) (Fig. 4.1).

The French part of the corpus consists of personal travel writings, guides and publications that are hybrids between both genres. It is not about explaining the nuances and connections between these genres (Galant 2016), but about emphasizing the presence of the main guides on the corpus, guides that were frequently republished, such as the ones

[2] "En general, las guías analizadas utilizan el recurso del relato histórico carente de análisis y de manera puramente descriptiva, usando exclusivamente el eje cronológico como medio para ordenar sucesos diversos, de forma muy sintética y, en muchos casos, abrumando al lector con una sucesión de fechas de nuestro pasado" (Hijano del Río and Martín Zúñiga 2007, p. 98).

[3] The three reprints of the *Bleu* guide, the six from French Michelin and the six brochures of the series about the destruction of the artistic treasures in Spain count as one publication.

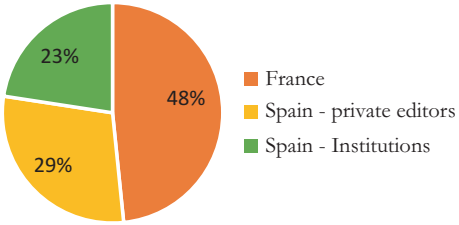


Fig. 4.1 Number of publications

by Hachette and Michelin. These publishers enjoyed a near monopoly in the French market as early as the nineteenth century for the former and at the start of the twentieth century for the latter. As for the private part of the Spanish market, no reprints of a same guide have been found. In fact, a monopolistic collection edited by a private publisher did not exist in Spain as in France, Germany or England. This is why the market appears to be more fragmented, with a publishing pause during the Spanish Civil War and the first years of the Francoist regime, as a result of the armed conflict and the economic situation of the publishing houses and the population itself. However, the phenomenon of the reprint was practiced by what would become the most important publisher in Spain, the State, through its institutions dedicated to tourism, via official publications with aesthetic and formats that changed in the period of our interest. However, the text was kept without any alterations except for some minor edits. For example, the Spain travel guide published by the Dirección General de Turismo (DGT), around 1945—with an illustrated cover of a woman with a fan, created by Serny—was reprinted at least once, in 1959, and included the text from a guide published around 1935 by the Patronato Nacional de Turismo (PNT). This same text was also cut and used in various brochures. As for the publication dates, in France, the guides were published especially starting in the 1950s, while some had already been published in Spain in the 1940s, although not by the same author. This is due, first, to the start of the Second World War, in which France was involved, and later due to the relationships between France and Spain once the war ended: we should remember than on May 26, 1945, the French Advisory Assembly asked the allies to cease relations

with Francoist Spain on ideological grounds. The victory of the left after the elections on October 21, 1945, increased the hostility toward the neighboring country, not to mention the execution of Cristino García, a Spanish fighter and commander of the French Interior Forces during the Resistance, resulting in the closing of the French–-Spanish border between March 1, 1946, and February 10, 1948.

As for the authorship of these publications, three guides in French are anonymous: the publications by Michelin Guide, Baedeker and the Arimany guide, for which we do not know if the editor (Miguel Arimany (1920–1996)), a Catalan poet and novelist, was also its author. Not much is known about Doré Ogrizek, editor and author of various guides found in the collection *Le monde en couleurs* and also the author of the *À la page* guide, which was found in our corpus. However, in a handwritten note by Luis Antonio Bolín, we found that the French writer did not have the support of the Director of the DGT. Thus, in the "Nota acerca de una proposición verbal hecha por Doré Ogrizek para la publicación de un volumen sobre España de la colección *Le monde en couleurs*", dated May 13, 1948, the general directorate of tourism criticized the collection of the "juggler", denouncing him:

> *[the] palpable lack of seriousness, due to the fakeness of its brochure and the pretentions of its proponent, these books remind me of those patriotic publications, commemorative books or tributes, etc., that with different masks, are simply a plot for the benefit of he or those who exploited, relying on vanity or candor, or on the shyness of those who are not brave enough to reject his contributions.* (AGA, (3)49.2 TOP 22/44.203-52.704, Box 12107)[4]

On the contrary, Bolín emphasized the quality of the Michelin guides in his correspondence with the co-director of the company, Robert Puiseux, and did not hesitate to help him, facilitating the sending of maps (AGA, (3)49.2 TOP 22/44.203-52.704, Box 12107). The

[4] "[la] patente falta de seriedad, por lo camelístico de su prospecto y por las pretensiones del proponente estos libros me hacen recordar esas publicaciones patrióticas, libros conmemorativos o de homenajes etc. que, con distintas caretas, son simplemente un tinglado a beneficio de quien o quienes los explotan apoyándose en la vanidad o la candidez, o en la cortedad de quienes no se atreven a negar su óbolo" (AGA, (3)49.2 TOP 22/44.203-52.704, Caja 12107).

anonymity of the Spanish publications from private publishers seems to be more frequent, with five books without authors among a total of ten books (Michelin (c. 1936–1938); *La madre patria* 1945; *España, guía de arte, paisaje, folklore* (c. 1947); *Guía práctica de España* (c. 1952); Vespa 1958), while in official publications, the signature of the artist tends to appear, such as Ángel Esteban, Josep Morell or Ricardo Summers Isern, better known as Serny, although the author's name was omitted. Nevertheless, the guide to Spain from 1945 from the DGT overlooked the name of the author of the main text, but part of the book proposes a plural view of Spain thanks to, national or not, contemporary or not, authors, among whom we find King Alfonso el Sabio (Alfonso "the wise"), English novelist William Somerset Maugham (1874–1965), also the author of the well-known *On human Bondage* (1915), *Rain* (1921) and *Don Fernando*, a book published in 1935 whose story takes place in Seville, as well as French hispanist Marcel Carayon aided by his brother Jean (1895–1987), a military man.

In total, seventeen books include the names of the authors, and even if in some instances time has erased some personal and professional data from memory, some of them can still be identified, sometimes with elements related to their political leanings or commitments. Some publications present their authors as if to settle and reinforce their scientific quality. Such is the case of the *Guide du touriste lettré,* which is composed of a group of authors among whom we find the writer Gonzalo Torrente Ballester (1910–1999)—at the time when he was close to the falangist and Francoist movements—and Francisco Esteve Barba (1908–1968), a historian and a librarian at the University of Madrid, who also had a Francoist and falangist stance (Pasamar Alzuria and Peiró Martín 2002, p. 233). Under the denomination of "Men of letters", we also find collaborations by Demetrio Castro Villacañas, a doctor in Law, a journalist, a poet and a falangist fighter in the Blue Division (División Azul), Maurice Junqua, Emile Brellot, Antonio Fernández Galiano and Antoine Massia. Individuals linked to the government, such as Eduardo Moya, a counsellor in the Ministry of Commerce, and Agustin Palau, a librarian in the Ministry of the Navy, are also mentioned. As for the historical section, it was authored by Henry Charbonneau (1913–1983), the director of the publication, along with Jean Carlan. Charbonneau was a member

of the extreme right: he was indeed a member of the *Action française*, the *Comité National* and the *Légion tricolore* before becoming a member of the African Falangists. At the time of the liberation, he was judged for his collaboration and intelligence with the enemy, without being convicted. He was able to continue his activities as a member of the extreme right and dedicated his time to tourism books.

The figure of the French Hispanist is underlined in this range of publications, sometimes in the academic sense of the word, such as in the case of historian Yves Bottineau (1925–2008), a specialist in Spanish and Portuguese art from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who spent some time at the *Casa de Velázquez* before working at the University of Nanterre, and Jean Sermet (1907–2003), an academic who specialized in the geography of Andalusia. Georges Pillement (1898–1984) was a writer and translator and a specialist of Spanish and Latin American literature. He wrote several books about art and tourism, and collaborated in various newspapers and magazines. French essayist Dominique Aubier (1922–2014), who participated in the writing of the *Petite Planète* (1956) guide, wrote about bullfighting, proposed an esoteric reading of Quijote in *Don Quichotte prophète d'Israël*, which was controversial among the specialists of Cervantes, and translated, among other works, *Fuente Ovejuna* by Lope de Vega and the *Historia de la conquista de México* by Bernal Díaz del Castillo. His co-author, Manuel Tuñón de Lara (1915–1997), a member of the communist party and a member of the union of free intellectuals, moved to France after becoming a victim of the Francoist repression, and studied at the *École pratique des Hautes Études* under the direction of Pierre Vilar. He was appointed Professor of Spanish history and literature at the University of Pau in 1965, before returning to Spain in 1981 as an extraordinary professor of the University of the Basque Country. The personality of the professor is a recurring feature among the authors of our corpus, and these were not only specialists from Spain, as shown by the figure of Félix de GrandCombe (1880–1961), whose real name was Félix Boillot, a Professor of French Studies at the University of Bristol who published a series of travel books entitled *Tu viens* under a pseudonym, with volumes dedicated to England, France, America and Spain (1953). Another prolific writer of prose and poetry with a particular taste for travel was Albert T'Sertevens

(1885–1974). Aside from his *Itinéraire espagnol* (1933 for the first version, and 1951 for the augmented one), he published travel books about Yugoslavia, Portugal, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Turkey.

For others, travel writing seemed to be a complementary activity aside from their other professional tasks, which were often, although not always, related to art and culture. Luis Feduchi (1901–1975) was a Spanish architect, who besides the guide on Spain also wrote one on Madrid, for the Afrodisio Aguado collection. Likewise, we learned in his guide that Mateo González Martínez worked as a lawyer in Seville, was the Director at a Savings Bank in the province of Seville and participated in the Spanish Civil War, for which he received a Campaign Medal, two Red Crosses for Military Merit, the War Cross and the Medal for Suffering for the Country. As for Geneviève Baïlac (1922–2019), she was a playwright who, aside from her story about her travels to Spain, also wrote about day-to-day life in Algiers, focusing on the French community. Edgar Neville Romrée (1899–1967) was also a playwright. He was known for his novels, his movies and his paintings. His political trajectory varied, as he moved from a republican stance to the opposite one when he was a war reporter with the nationalist faction, and produced propagandistic films such as *Juventudes de España* (1938), *La Ciudad Universitaria*, (1938), *Vivan los hombres libres* (1939) and *Frente de Madrid* (1939), based on one of his books.

Later on, writing a guide could also serve to disseminate a controversial ideology, such as in the case of Spanish paleontologist Ignacio Olagüe (1903–1974), to whom we owe a guide in French. This member of the royal society of natural history of Madrid, who was not dependent on any university, raised a controversy when he published a book entitled *Les Arabes n'ont jamais envahi l'Espagne*, which defended the idea of a religious convergence that resulted in the birth of a unique Andalusian culture, and not the Islamization of the region. He was also a friend of Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, the founder of the JONS.

As for the French collections, collective writing was practiced with various collaborators, as the publishers were convinced, in the case of Hachette, that "[a] good guide can only be the common work of many

minds" (Monmarché 1935, p. VI[5]). Starting in 1927, under the direction of Marcel Monmarché, in the *Bleus* guides, the names of the collaborators are mentioned. Marcel N. Schveitzer, an *agrégé* of history and geography, who had been a member of the Casa de Velázquez in 1919–1920, was in charge of the volume dedicated to Spain with the help of his wife Marcelle, a composer, for the references on music, Emile Bertaux, an art history professor at the Sorbonne for the art section, and travel writer Claude Dervenn for the descriptions of the Canary Islands. As for the Michelin guides, the authors were not named, but we know that they were not specialists, although a history or geography degree was sometimes required, according to Herbert Lottman (1998, p. 411).

As for history and guides, the work by Manuel Hijano del Río and Francisco Martín Zúñiga has already been mentioned. It was created from a corpus of seven Spanish publications that were edited between 1929 and 1961. The authors observed that the history of the Muslim presence in Andalusia was always described, while the references to the Spanish Civil War were scarce, until they disappeared completely in the 1960s. Their explanation for this is that authors and editors wished to present a place that would correspond to the expectations of the travelers, pointing out that in the corpus, this desire to attract the tourist was more important than the historical truth:

> *History is utilized as a resource for the construction of an Eastern Andalusia that the traveler needs. It is not that recalling episodes of the civil war between Andalusians bother the traveler, but that they show a population that is divided into two "factions", and that it is only a synonym of destruction and violence that is very recent in time.* (Hijano Del Río and Martín Zúñiga 2007, p. 101)[6]

[5] "Un bon guide ne peut être que l'œuvre commune de nombreuses volontés" (Monmarché 1935, p. VI).

[6] "La Historia es usada como recurso para la construcción de la Andalucía orientalizada que necesita el viajero. No se trata de rememorar episodios de guerra civil entre andaluces que intranquilizan al viajero, muestran una ciudadanía dividida en dos bandos y que sólo es sinónimo de destrucción y violencia muy reciente en el tiempo" (Hijano Del Río and Martín Zúñiga 2007, p. 101).

4.3 Different Stances

Among the publications that mention the political events, we also took into account the ones that alluded to a particular event in the body of the text, and not in a section dedicated to history. In the corpus of travel writings, guides and brochures, eleven did not have any references to the Spanish Civil War or Francoism. These represented ten Spanish publications as compared to a single French guide, although the latter was written by a Spanish person. This does not imply that all the other French guides explained the conflict and the dictatorship in detail, as we will see later, but it can be understood in various ways (Fig. 4.2). Either the Spanish authors and editors wanted to differentiate the history of relaxation implied by tourism, or they wanted to silence the politics in order not to take sides. It is no coincidence that the only French guide that does not mention the war and the dictatorship was written by a Spaniard, Ignacio Olagüe, who stopped his historical narrative of Spain in the nineteenth century, thereby corroborating the thesis by Hijano del Río and Martín Zúñiga. Indeed, the author put a lot of effort in presenting Spain as it was observed by nineteenth-century romantics, as if it had not changed from the period when those writers described its picturesque, exotic and different qualities. The book by the DGT in 1945, as well as the official brochures, proceeded in the same manner, without moving beyond the nineteenth century, the golden period of romantic travel, in

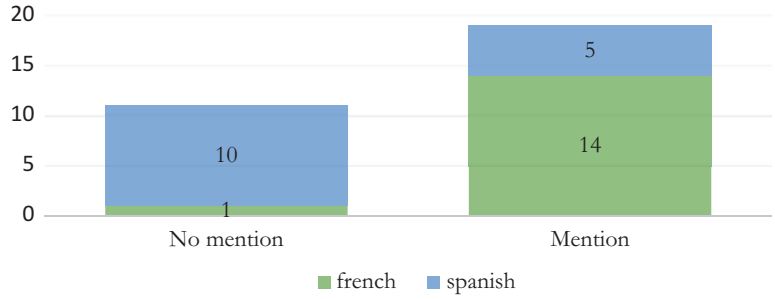


Fig. 4.2 Publications that mention the Spanish Civil War and Francoism

which the clichés were to continue to seduce many generations of travelers, and which the institutions preserved and utilized to disseminate the image of the country:

> *During the nineteenth century, Spain loses geographical and political volume, and in turn, re-evaluates that which had been greatly unnoticed: the beauty of their fields and Spanish towns, the character and customs of their people, who together with the great works of art, provide attractions for visiting the country where most diverse cultures took shelter and grew.* (Esteban [1938–1951])[7]

Likewise, the *Guide of art, landscape and folklore*, published in 1947 in Barcelona, ends the historical narrative with the reign of Alfonso XIII. The other publications that silenced the political situations were composed of the guide edited by Vespa, the Spanish version of Michelin, the books by Mateo González Martínez, the *Guía práctica* (Practical Guide), in which the organization according to the itinerary or the description of the city prevails. The one by Manuel Carballo, organized by region and in alphabetical order, included, in the descriptions of the city, a summary of the local history that scarcely included a reference to the armed conflict, as in the case of Toledo (Carballo 1952, p. 724, volume I). As for the publications that mentioned the historical events, one of them merely mentions brief phrases and facts without any type of explanation (Feduchi 1958, p. 53): "1936–1939 – Civil war; 1937 – General Franco, proclaimed Head of State".[8]

We see that it was mainly the French guides that linked the discourse of the Spanish Civil War and Francoism, constructing a Spanish historical narrative sometimes with the help of the natives, but overall from the point of view of the foreigner, either sympathizers or anti-Francoists. In *Guide du touriste lettré*, edited in 1952, Henry Charbonneau subscribes to the Francoist ideology, accusing the Second Republic of being

[7] "Durante el siglo XIX, España pierde volumen geográfico y político, y, en cambio, revaloriza aquello que había pasado inadvertido en horas de mayor predominio: la belleza de los campos y de los pueblos españoles, el carácter y la costumbre de las gentes, que unidos a nuestras grandes obras de arte, llenan de atractivos la visita al país donde se albergaron y crecieron las más diversas culturas" (Esteban [1938–1951]).

[8] "1936–1939.- Guerra civil; 1937.- El general Franco, proclamado Jefe del Estado" (Feduchi 1958, p. 53).

responsible for the political and social disturbances and utilizing the expression "good forces" when referring to the Francoist army. He claims that he does not want to introduce the regime, leaving judgment to history, and this is merely rhetorical, as he speaks of the great work when summarizing the General's deeds, who is described in a positive manner with a plethora of adjectives ("upright", "austere", "victorious", "skilful", "tenacious", "hard-working"), through a binary structure and rhythm that evoke equilibrium:

> *[The Second Republic] lasted only five years and soon led to such political and social unrest that in July 1936, the country's army and healthy forces rose up against this republic that led to communism. After three years of civil war, the National Movement definitively triumphed. It is not within our subject to present the new regime; history will judge the Generalissimo Franco and his already considerable work in all fields impartially. Let us just say that this upright and austere man, a victorious and skilful soldier and politician, this tenacious and hard-working Galician, has managed to keep his country out of the horrors of the last war, and ensures his country an era of stability that will certainly bear fruit, and that, most recently, he has just brought Spain back into the fold of great nations.* (Charbonneau 1952, p. 51)[9]

He praised Francoist policies and politics with terms such as "healthy", "stability", "bear fruit", predicting a return to the international stage, "in concert with the other great nations", an expression that conjures up harmony and power and that is related to the end of international ostracism.

In the Michelin collection, the facts are presented with an obvious objectivity, reenforced by the use of short phrases and the historical present, without resorting to the habitual anecdote, but in such a synthetic manner

[9] "[La Seconde République] ne durera que cinq ans et entraînera bientôt de tels troubles politiques et sociaux qu'en juillet 1936, l'armée et les forces saines du pays se dresseront contre cette république qui conduit au communisme. Après trois années de guerre civile, le Mouvement national triomphe définitivement. Il n'entre pas dans notre sujet de présenter le nouveau régime; l'histoire jugera impartialement du Généralissime Franco et de son œuvre déjà considérable dans tous les domaines. Disons seulement que cet homme droit et austère, soldat victorieux et politique habile, ce Galicien tenace et travailleur, a réussi à maintenir son pays en dehors des horreurs de la dernière guerre, et assure à sa patrie une ère de stabilité qui ne manquera pas de porter ses fruits, et que, tout récemment, il vient de faire rentrer à nouveau l'Espagne dans le concert des grandes nations" (Charbonneau 1952, p. 51).

that it avoids analysis. Marc Francon remarked that the historical sections of this collection seemed to be from a school book, more or less easy to understand, and that the discourse was also dependent on the reader imagined by the author or editor. The geographer subjected the collection to a readability test, which revealed that the texts from this collection were similar, in terms of difficulty of comprehension, to a textbook from a *sixième* class, equivalent to the sixth grade in primary school (Francon 2004, p. 156). The Michelin guide contains a panel with relevant dates, and in our case, it mentions the Spanish Civil War and the emergence of Franco as the Head of State, but it also develops the narrative in a paragraph:

> *THE CIVIL WAR. – In February 1936, the Popular Front won the elections. Incidents started increasing. On July 12, 1936, the monarchist leader Calvo Sotelo was assassinated. On July 18, the "National Uprising" tried to put an end to revolutionary attempts. The civil war began. It lasted until 1939, merciless, aggravated by foreign interventions. On January 26, Barcelona was conquered by national troops. On February 27, General Franco's regime was recognized by France and England. On 28 March, Valencia and Madrid, the last remaining rebel cities,* surrendered. (Michelin 1952, p. 39)[10]

In this case, the electoral victory of the Popular Front is associated to terms such as "incidents", "murdered", "revolutionary", "rebels", as if the result was the cause of the 1936 conflict. There is a certain ambiguity about foreign interventions—it is not clear if two factions are defined—but the vocabulary of the first sentence, as well as the mention of the recognition of the Francoist regime by France and England, can make us think that it was about the International Brigades. This small paragraph insists on the legitimacy of the regime, since, by suppressing the destiny of the republicans, the reading of the conflict seems to be guided and biased.

[10] "LA GUERRE CIVILE.- En février 1936, le Front populaire est vainqueur aux élections. Les incidents se multiplient. Le 12 juillet 1936, le leader monarchiste Calvo Sotelo est assassiné. Le 18 juillet, le "Soulèvement National" tente de mettre un terme aux tentatives révolutionnaires. La guerre civile est commencée. Elle dure jusqu'en 1939, impitoyable, aggravée par des interventions étrangères. Le 26 janvier, Barcelone est conquise par les troupes nationales. Le 27 février, le régime du général Franco est reconnu par la France et l'Angleterre. Le 28 mars, Valence et Madrid, dernières villes rebelles, se rendent" (Michelin 1952, p. 39).

The other great French collection, Hachette, with the *Bleus* guides, whose level of reading is more similar to secondary school teaching (Francon 2004, p. 156), presents the events in more detail:

> *In the municipal elections of April 12, 1931, the first national consultation in eight years, the republican-socialist coalition obtained an overwhelming majority in all major centers. On April 14, the republic was spontaneously proclaimed in cities and villages, while the king was renouncing power and withdrawing to France. These days of effervescence and delirious excitement took place without any excess; a provisional Government, presided by D. Niceto Alcalá Zamora (later elected President of the Republic) was formed and the elections to the Constituent Parliament on 28 June 1931 clearly confirmed the republican and socialist orientation of the country; this assembly gave Spain a constitution with very democratic tendencies, declared the separation of the Church and the State, organized the autonomy of Catalonia and tried to achieve agrarian reform. Having accomplished most of its task, it was dissolved in November 1933. The Cortes who succeeded reacted sensibly; the Left resorted to insurrection, without success, and the government moved to a coalition of moderate republicans (radicals and Popular Action).* (Monmarché 1950, p. XXXVI, 1935 text)[11]

Despite looking factual, events are missing in the text; for example, the timid invocation of the change of biennium in 1933 and the revolution of Asturias. In 1950, the 1935 version was again published, with the addition of a few rose-colored pages that updated the narrative:

[11] "Aux élections municipales du 12 avril 1931, première consultation nationale qui eut été faite depuis huit ans, la coalition républicaine-socialiste obtint une écrasante majorité dans tous les grands centres. Le 14 avril, la république était spontanément proclamée dans les villes comme dans les villages, tandis que le roi renonçait au pouvoir et se retirait en France. Ces journées d'effervescence et d'exaltation délirante se déroulèrent sans aucun excès; un Gouvernement provisoire, présidéar D. Niceto Alcalá Zamora (élu plus tard président de la République) fut constitué et les élections aux Cortes constituantes du 28 juin 1931 confirmèrent nettement l'orientation républicaine et socialiste du pays; cette assemblée dota l'Espagne d'une constitution à tendances très démocratique, prononça la séparation de l'Église et de l'État, organisa l'autonomie de la Catalogne et tenta de réaliser la réforme agraire. Ayant accompli l'essentiel de sa tâche, elle fut dissoute en novembre 1933. Les Cortes qui lui ont succédé ont marqué une réaction sensible; les gauches ont eu recours à l'insurrection, sans succès, et le gouvernement est passé à une coalition des républicains modérés (radicaux et Action populaire)" (Monmarché 1950, p. XXXVI, text from 1935).

> *The surprising victory of the popular front in the February 1936 elections brought Manuel Azaña back to power with a revolutionary action program that only succeeded in plunging the country into almost complete anarchy: riots, looting, church fires, political murders, agrarian unrest, plots, etc.* (Monmarché 1950, p. 4)[12]

Here the term "surprising" refers without a doubt to the relative weakness of the left in 1934. However, if the creation of a Popular Front resulted in a tight outcome in terms of votes, the victory in terms of seats was broad in 1936: 263 members of Parliament for the Popular Front, 156 for the National Block and 54 for the centrists (Canal (dir.) 2009, p. 188). The narrative appears afterwards as a caricature and is incomplete, speaking about the "anarchy" of the Azaña period and as if the violence was only due to the leftists. Now, we know well that violence was the method of action for both factions:

> *Thus, the mass movement that welcomed the victory of the Popular Front responded to the attitude of Gil Robles, who wanted to prevent the new government from forming, and of some generals, such as Franco, Goded or Fanjul, all future coup leaders, who wanted to declare martial law: according to Paul Preston, a military coup would have been close to taking place just after the victory of the Popular Front.* (Canal 2009, p. 188)[13]

Indeed, the existing tension in the agriculture sector was palpable, as the day workers demanded the application of agricultural reform, but this tension was not higher than in previous years, according to Jordi Canal. What occurred was that the social conflicts were not viewed in the same light by the conservative press, which perceived the violence in that period to be the first indications of a revolution, just like the socialist

[12] "La surprenante victoire du front populaire aux élections de février 1936 fit revenir au pouvoir Manuel Azaña avec un programme d'action révolutionnaire qui ne réussit qu'à plonger le pays dans une anarchie presque complète: émeutes, pillages, incendies d'églises, meurtres politiques, agitation agraire, complots etc." (Monmarché,1950, p. 4).

[13] "Ainsi, au mouvement de masses qui saluait la victoire du Front populaire répondit l'attitude de Gil Robles qui voulait empêcher le nouveau gouvernement de se constituer, et de certains généraux, comme Franco, Goded ou Fanjul, tous des futurs putschistes, qui voulaient déclarer la loi martiale: selon Paul Preston, il s'en serait fallu de peu pour qu'un coup militaire eût lieu juste après la victoire du Front populaire" (Canal 2009, p. 188).

press (Canal 2009, p. 188). As for the political executions evoked in the guide without a clear reference, it can be supposed that they referred to the execution of José del Castillo, a socialist activist and an MP belonging to the Assault Guard (also known as the Assault Corps), by some "right-winged assassins" (Canal 2009, p. 190), and whose death was avenged with the assassination of José Calvo Sotelo. While the guide evokes these events in a suggestive manner, it is a subject matter that was already widely written about by some historians, who showed that the coup was planned before the death of Calvo Sotelo, and others considered it as the trigger of the Spanish Civil War. The same guide specifies that "les troupes gouvernementales s'internent en France avec de nombreux réfugiés entraînés dans le repli (400 000 environs)" ("government troops are interning in France with many refugees dragged into withdrawal [approximately 400,000]"). The choice of the verb "s'interner" seems to be a hispanism: if in Spanish "internarse" simply means "enter" or "penetrate", in French, the turn of phrase gives the impression that the troops came into Spain, when in fact it was the refugees. The reference to the republican exile was not clearly explained either. And, if we compare this phrase with reality, meaning that what the *Retirada* and "acogida" (hosting) truly were (to what historiography named internment camps), the use of the verb "interner" in French was particularly badly chosen. Moreover, in 1957 Roland Barthes had highlighted the *Guide bleu* vision of history in *Mythologies*, his collection of essays with a "double theoretical framework: on the one hand, an ideological critique bearing on the language of so-called mass-culture; on the other, a first attempt to analyse semiologically the mechanics of this language" (Barthes 1972 [1957], p. 8). According to Barthes, the latent Francoism is tangible in this travel guide:

> *It is true that in the case of Spain, the blinkered and old-fashioned character of the description is what is best suited to the latent support given by the Guide to Franco. Beside the historical accounts proper (which are rare and meagre, incidentally, for it is well known that History is not a good bourgeois), those accounts in which the Republicans are always "extremists" looting churches – but nothing on Guernica – while the good "Nationalists", on the contrary, spend their time "liberating", solely by "skilful strategic manoeuvres" and*

"heroic feats of resistance", let me mention the flowering of a splendid myth-alibi: that of the prosperity of the country. (Barthes 1972 [1957], pp. 76–77)

Logically, *La madre patria*, a guide aimed at Latin American travelers, the "sons beyond the seas and frontiers" (1945), presents the Francoist regime in a glowing manner in order to compensate for the lack of existing publications and to stress the value of being Hispanic: "On July 18th, 1936, the civil war began in Spain, a fight that ended on April 1st, 1939 with the triumph of the army led ('acaudillado', in Spanish) by the Generalissimo Franco, who was named Head of State by the Governing Board that met in Burgos" on Oct 1st, 1936. The choice of the verb "acaudillar" refers to Franco's title, warlord, to whom the words "triumph" and "generalissimo" are associated. We also find this partial and imprecise view of reality in later years in *L'Espagne* by Doré Ogrizek (1951), which tends to soften reality. Evoking simple "querelles" ("quarrels") he does not mention the dictatorial character of the regime, proposing a guided reading:

> In 1936, all the Spanish quarrels resulted in a thirty-month war without a truce or mercy, a war that was said to be the last one in which man played an individual role. At the head of the "national movement" and the Spanish army that had [been] raised, Generalissimo Franco took control of the situation: as early as October 1936, he had been proclaimed head of the Spanish state. Under his government, Spain remained on the fringes of the Second World War and organized itself, in the spirit of its "law of succession", into a kingdom whose dynastic continuity will be determined in the future. (Ogrizek 1951, p. 107)[14]

The terms "kingdom" and "law of succession" refer to the 1947 law according to which Franco had to choose his successor to prevent Don

[14] "En 1936, toutes les querelles des Espagnols aboutirent à une guerre de trente mois sans trêve ni merci, une guerre dont on a dit que c'était sans doute la dernière où l'homme ait joué un rôle individuel. À la tête du "mouvement national" et de l'armée espagnole qui s'était soulevée, le généralissime Franco se rendit maître de la situation: dès octobre 1936, il avait été proclamé chef de l'état espagnol. Sous son gouvernement, l'Espagne s'est maintenue en marge de la seconde guerre mondiale et s'est organisée, selon l'esprit de sa "loi de succession", en un royaume dont la continuité dynastique sera déterminée dans l'avenir" (Ogrizek 1951, p. 107).

Juan of Borbon from naming himself as the legitimate successor of the dictator, in order to contain the anti-Francoist impulses that were expressed in the 1945 Lausanne Manifest. The guide does not clearly define the nature of the regime imposed by Franco. Is it due to ignorance, sympathy or carefulness? We should bear in mind that this author advised tourists to avoid political or religious subjects when conversing with a Spanish citizen, so that his stance makes one think that his strategy is based on concealment: he considered the country as a place of leisure, as a "pleasure periphery" (Turner and Ash 1975).

Under an apparent neutrality, the reviews could be imbued with ideology, like in the French guide edited by Miguel Arimany in 1952:

> *During the 1914–1918 War, Spain remained neutral. Later, the endless Moroccan war and social conflicts brought to power a dictator, General Primo de Rivera, whose fall in 1931 brought about the fall of the dynasty. The Republic was proclaimed and lasted until 1936. At that time, the National Uprising took place, led by General Franco; the civil war ended in 1939 with the victory of his troops. Spain remained neutral during the Second World War.* (Arimany 1952, p. 263)[15]

Within these lines, we find historiographic inaccuracies. Likewise, the arrival of Primo de Rivera is not perfectly understood: the choice of the verb "amener" (to bring, in French) is similar to a euphemism related to the term of dictator, but it could be a way of stating that after the coup d'état, the King Alfonso XIII named Primo de Rivera president of the government, making the regime a "dictatorship with a King", according to the expression by Santos Juliá (1999, pp. 63–64). Without reproaching the omission of the period of General Berenguer, as it is usually understood as the closing period of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, we notice that with the use of short sentences, the author of the Arimany guide appears not to take sides, tending toward the synthesis, and

[15] "Pendant la Guerre de 1914–1918, l'Espagne resta neutre. Par la suite, l'interminable guerre du Maroc et les conflits sociaux amenèrent au pouvoir un dictateur, le général Primo de Rivera, dont la chute, en 1931, entraîna celle de la dynastie. La République est proclamée et elle dure jusqu'en 1936. À cette époque se produit le Soulèvement National avec, à sa tête, le Général Franco; la guerre civile se termine en 1939 par la victoire de ses troupes. L'Espagne est restée neutre pendant la seconde guerre mondiale" (Arimany 1952, p. 263).

evoking the facts as if they were all connected by themselves, with the use of passive structures that reinforce the impression of the irremediable nature of the situation, as if there was no other role except as a spectator of history.

On the contrary, in 1956, Dominique Aubier and Manuel Tuñón de Lara show a radically different stance: the fondness toward the republic and its anti-Francoist ideology. They are the only ones who take sides in such a manner, but it corresponds to their ideology and the purpose of the collection by Chris Marker, edited by the publisher Seuils between 1954 and 1958: "not a guidebook, not a history book, not a propaganda brochure, not a traveler's impressions, but instead equivalent to the conversation we would like to have with someone intelligent and well versed in the country that interests us" (Colin Marshall 2017). They perceive the Spanish Civil War as the prelude to the World War, and compare Francoism with strangulation and the end of political life. Picasso's *Guernica* occupies two pages, as if to show the war wounds are still open: "it's hard not to get your fingers in blood again" (Aubier and Tuñón 1956, p. 90[16]). They refuse to silence the situation, which would mean, according to them, accepting the regime: "to take sides of silence on this war which still fascinates imaginations and intelligence would be to strangely betray the country one claims to present" (Aubier and Tuñón 1956, p. 90[17]). Thus, the regime is compared to the black legend, where Franco would be the shadow of Phillip II and his Escorial. It should be specified that this collection was less disseminated than the others, proposing from the start a different approach to the places presented.

4.4 Promoting Tourism in Times of War

Aside from the publications during the Spanish Civil War published by the two tourism administrations, where the patrimony is linked to violence on both sides, there were some that did not mention the political

[16] "il est difficile de ne pas mettre encore les doigts dans le sang" (Aubier and Tuñón 1956, p. 90).

[17] "prendre parti de silence sur cette guerre qui fascine encore les imaginations et les intelligences serait étrangement trahir le pays qu'on prétend présenter" (Aubier and Tuñón 1956, p. 90).

situation of the country in the history sections. In these, we are interested in the techniques utilized to present a trip to Spain that is not muddied by the conflict and the regime in place.

4.4.1 The Disasters of War

The institutions on both sides denounced the destruction caused by the war and both published propagandistic material based on this reality, but with a clearly different objective. During the war, the republican side published brochures and posters with the slogan "Fascism destroys Spain's art-treasures". The six brochures of the series were published in Spanish and French—as they could be found in the Spanish Tourism Office in Paris—and each one of them focused on a monument: The Palace of El Infantado in Guadalajara, the Baptismal Font of Cervantes and the Tomb of Cardinal Cisneros, the Prado Museum, the Courtyard of the University of Alcalá, the Palace of the Duque of Alba and the National Palace. They served to denounce the places "damaged by war, whose responsibility is attributed to the bombing by the national troops" (*El fascismo destruye los tesoros artísticos de España*, 1937, Vol 1).[18] On their part, the nationalist faction accompanied the creation of the War Routes with a brochure entitled "Visit the War Routes of Spain", which also existed in French, English, Italian and Portuguese, and explained how the Servicio Nacional de Turismo organized routes to discover the "traces, still burning, of an unbelievable period", "in luxurious tour buses and 1st class accommodation".[19] The brochure's text presents the reconstruction work performed by the nationalist faction—"bridges destroyed and immediately re-built by the national troops"[20], the heroic character of the city of Oviedo but also the nice weather of the region and the architectural jewels such as the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, resorting to words

[18] "dañados por la guerra, cuya responsabilidad se imputa a los bombardeos de las tropas nacionales" (*El fascismo destruye los tesoros artísticos de España* 1937, Vol. 1).

[19] "huellas, aún ardientes, de una época inverosímil", "en autocares de lujo y hospedándose en 1ª clase" (Visitad las rutas de la guerra en España, Ruta n° 1, El Norte, 1938).

[20] "puentes destruidos e inmediatamente reconstruidos por las tropas nacionales" (Visitad las rutas de la guerra en España, Ruta n° 1, El Norte, 1938).

by William Somerset Maugham. All of this together with photographs by the Marquis of Santa Maria del Villar, Diego Quiroga Losada, of the destruction caused by the war as well as scenes from everyday life, contrasted with the climate of tension: "chicas y dulce" (girls and sweets), "saludo emocionado" (excited greeting), "entusiasmo en Santander" (enthusiasm in Santander).

As for the guide by Neville, literary and personal, published in 1957, it does not offer a historical compendium but contains a reference to the violence of the Civil War.

> *In this village, they had a custom that was primitive and beastly, [which] consisted in the running of a bull that was tied by its horns, and then making it fall off a cliff. During the civil war, it seems that they did the same with some poor individuals who did not think as the communists, and based on this, Mr. Hemingway wrote the admirable chapter of his book "For whom the bell tolls", which describes the scenario.* (Neville 1957, pp. 98–99)[21]

The idea of violence is underlined, and Neville, who supported the nationalist faction, employed the adjectives "primitive" and "beastly" to describe the violence perpetrated by the republican faction. Also, the use of the reference to Ernest Hemingway has a twofold consequence: first, it allows Neville to resort to a direct witness of the conflict, giving weight and veracity to his commentary—as Hemingway was a war correspondent—and second, citing the book, it suggests that a cultural and artistic object could be considered a source of memory as well as history.

Lastly, twenty years after the conflict, hispanist Yves Bottineau remembers these disasters caused by the Spanish Civil War without inquiring about the origin of the conflict or mentioning the dictatorship in the section dedicated to the historical summary. However, throughout his book, there are references to traces of the conflict. The author seems to pay tribute to the nationalist faction, underlining the role of General

[21] "En este pueblo tenían una costumbre primitiva y bastante bestia, que consiste en correr un toro atado por los cuernos y luego despeñarlo por un barranco. Cuando la Guerra Civil parece ser que hicieron lo mismo con unas pobres gentes que no pensaban como los comunistas, y de ahí sacó el señor Hemingway el admirable capítulo de su libro "Por quien doblan las campanas", en el que se relata la escena" (Neville 1957, pp. 98–99).

Moscardó at the Alcázar de Toledo, pointing to his "heroic resistance"(Bottineau 1959, p. 134), as well as the national resistance at the sanctuary of the Virgen de la Cabeza in Andujar: "during the civil war it was held by a few nationalists besieged for months, and their resistance is one of the most famous episodes of this terrible conflict" (Bottineau 1959, p. 187).[22]

4.4.2 Maintaining the Romantic View or Striving for Progress

In some cases, the Civil War is alluded to as an event that could rescue the Romantic image of Spain that had seduced nineteenth-century travelers. Thus, Albert T'Serstevens who, as he recounts, also visited the war places with Colonel Moscardó (T'Serstevens 1951, p. 273), presents a book that contains many references to stories about seduction and flirting, evoking the memory of a woman with whom he visited the battlefields:

> *First there was Marie Jeanne. It is with her that I did almost all my trips to Spain. She followed me through the civil war and into the battlefields where I was a correspondent for a major Parisian newspaper. (…) I heard her laugh in the middle of a shooting in León, she walked around Toledo under shellfire.* (T'Sertevens 1951, pp. 16–17)[23]

It should be mentioned that this is the only reference to the conflict, a memory marked by the strength and the sensuality of a woman who seems to be as happy as she is courageous. Three years later, Geneviève Baïlac reacted in a similar fashion in her *Impressions d'Espagne*. Already in the introduction, a light tone is perceived: "This trip was undertaken with no other purpose than to have a great vacation. It was not prepared

[22] "il fut pendant la guerre civile tenu par quelques nationalistes assiégés pendant des mois, et leur résistance est un des plus fameux épisodes de cette lutte terrible" (Bottineau 1959, p. 187).

[23] "Il y avait d'abord Marie Jeanne. C'est avec elle que j'ai fait presque tous mes voyages en Espagne. Elle m'a suivi à travers la guerre civile et jusque sur les champs de bataille où j'étais correspondant d'un grand journal parisien (…). J'ai entendu son rire au milieu d'une fusillade de León, elle s'est promenée dans Tolède sous les obus" (T'Sertevens 1951, pp. 16–17).

and the tourist interest presided over its development".[24] The author is aware of the history of the country visited, but clearly relates it with the supposed national character: "Struggles have always dominated and, like the geographical harshness of the entire peninsula, they have forged a pure and conquering soul for the country" (Baïlac 1954, p. 31[25]). She keeps on mentioning the "splendid isolation", lightly referring to the dictatorial character of the regime and attributing the situation to the soul of Spain:

> *Spain has lived in splendid isolation and, when fashions mix across the rest of Europe, it continues to live only on itself, cut off from contacts with other countries not only by the totalitarianism of its political regime, but also by the disdainful indifference of its most profound soul.* (Baïlac 1954, p. 32)[26]

She defines it with adjectives suggesting severity and fierceness, presents the country as a place that is far from standardized modernity, the "homeland of the Authentic and the True" (Baïlac 1954, p. 32),[27] maintaining the idea of the supposed Spanish backwardness that is considered attractive here, in keeping with the style of the French romantics of the nineteenth century. The French were not the only ones who wanted to associate Spain with this stereotypical image, of brass bands and tambourines (in other words, festivities), exotically traditional, as the brochures published by tourism institutions, whose exact publication dates are not known with certainty, encouraged the same idea. Their text did not include any symbols of contemporaneity, and enthusiastically described the Spanish traditions, relying on drawings that only disseminated some well-known *images d'Épinal* that were very stereotyped such as Mudéjar architecture, the couple dancing, the flamenco dancer and the bull.

---

[24] "Ce voyage a été entrepris sans aucun autre but que de passer de belles vacances. Il n'a pas été préparé et l'intérêt touristique a présidé à son déroulement" (Baïlac 1954, p. 31).

[25] "Les luttes ont toujours dominé et comme la rudesse géographique de la péninsule entière, elles ont forgé au pays une âme pure et conquérante" (Baïlac 1954, p. 31).

[26] "[L']Espagne a vécu d'un splendide isolement et elle continue, quand les modes se mélangent à travers le reste de l'Europe, à ne vivre que sur elle-même, coupée des contacts avec d'autres pays non seulement par le totalitarisme de son régime politique, mais aussi par la dédaigneuse indifférence de son âme la plus profonde". (Baïlac 1954, p. 32)

[27] "patrie de l'Authentique et du Vrai" (Baïlac 1954, p. 32).

> *Besides taking up the "positive" clichés of the previous century, a few lines tended to be added to point to the good state of the hotel and the transportation networks, key arguments to facilitate the trip and to fight the pre-conceived negative comments about the lack of comfort in Spain inherited from the nineteenth century: "The hotels in Spain today are very comparable, in their respective categories, with the best in the world, and comparably, their prices are the cheapest. (…) The transports (trains, buses, plan[e]s and ships) are abundant and excellent, as well as the highways".* (Esteban [1938–1951])[28]

Therefore, one of the strategies used for attracting visitors to Spain is the reference to progress in the country, trying to invalidate the idea of Spanish backwardness in many areas. Thus, Ignacio Olagüe in *Pour voir et comprendre l'Espagne* (1952) does not mention Spanish politics after the nineteenth century, but insists on progress with transport, electricity and the propagation of the industry which allowed Spain to conduct a "gigantic turnaround". He continues: "That is why the visitor to Spain must not forget that the peninsula is the head of a bridge of a gigantic association of peoples that are today in full transformation towards progress" (Olagüe 1952, p. 82).[29]

4.5 Conclusions

This study has shown that an object of mass dissemination that is theoretically apolitical, such as a travel guide, always has an underlying ideology, even if it is subdued, established with euphemisms or expressed directly. Various authors lean toward an apparent objectivity, but as much as they outline history, they can provide inaccurate information and leave other dates or events out. The proximity to the time of war could invite the travel professionals, many of whom are authors of guides, to omit it

[28] "Los hoteles de España hoy son comparables, en sus categorías respectivas, con los mejores del mundo y, comparativamente, sus precios son los más baratos. (…) Los transportes (trenes, autobuses, aeroplanos y vapores) son abundantes y excelentes, así como las carreteras" (Esteban [1938–1951]).

[29] "C'est pourquoi le visiteur en Espagne ne doit point oublier que la péninsule est la tête d'un pont d'une gigantesque association de peuples qui se trouvent aujourd'hui en pleine transformation vers le progrès" (Olagüe 1952, p. 82).

in order not to disturb or deter the possible tourist. In fact, only one guide from the corpus pauses at the war and presents a point of view that is contrary to the regime's (Aubier and Tuñón 1956). Tourism under an authoritarian regime was encouraged in Spain especially during the 1950s when the country wanted to become part of the international institutions. The greater the democratization of tourism, the more it becomes an industry, and it seems that the authors and editors took a superficial stance in their text: the censorship of Spanish authors is easy to understand at the time of Francoism, and we could think that French authors silenced the events because their editors wanted to continue selling. The development of tourism coincided with the loss of freedom of the authors, as they had obligations of form and depth. The standardization of the genre of the guides, with their impersonal voice of *autoritas*, sometimes completely anonymous—which seems to have changed somewhat, as we are now returning to the need to present the author to legitimize the advice, as if we were dealing with a friend—tends to erase the ideology of this genre on the surface. Nevertheless, after reading a few lines, we have observed that the guides contain traces of an ideological discourse, which allows us to protect ourselves from another stereotype: the existence of a unique model of travel guide. Also, the importance of the selection of the information should be highlighted: if historical and political events have an influence on the images of Spain, the latter would not only be conditioned by these events, but also by the discourse that is constructed with them.

The lack of historical and political rigor and the scarce criticism could be associated to the tourist's disregard, considered to be "frivolous and irresponsible" (JFS 1967, p. 11) but we should not forget that on the one hand, the publishers of guides want their publication to sell, hence the need to present the possibility of a nice trip, and on the other hand, the Spanish institutions could promote the image of a country in peace through their tourism publications.

In fact, the official publications could also take advantage of their dissemination to extol the merits of the regime within and outside the country. This was the case in 1964, in *España para usted (Spain for you)*, published by the Ministerio de Información y Turismo. It existed in French, English and German, and it had been written and illustrated by

the artist Máximo. With the humoristic tone typical of the author, the clear intention of an apology of the regime is noted, through an exacerbated patriotism, as well as the will to convert historical milestones into markers of national identity (the taking of Granada or the era of Phillip II). As for the Spanish Civil War, it is presented as if it was the only solution for finding peace and a "crusade" in the section "A war for peace":

> *One day, in 1936, hate exploded. The world still remembers that three-year war which the Catholic Church named Crusade. (…) [B]ut we do attest the victory of part of the people that preferred a Spanish Spain, and not a Spain as a Russian subsidiary or branch.* (Máximo 1964, p. 54)[30]

Furthermore, the author attributes the mission of "renovating the Spanish society and placing it in conditions to truly cohabit in peace" to the National Movement and the year 1939 is perceived as the beginning of a "period of peace, still present, overcoming the old hate" (Máximo 1964, p. 54[31]). Under this paragraph, the drawing of a dove, the universal symbol of peace, is here to confirm the ideological discourse presented here, according to which Franco would be "the winner of the war and the architect of peace".[32] The presence of a national narrative is a cultural object disseminated in a subject matter that is particularly fecund.[33] We

[30] "Un día, en 1936, estallaron los odios. Todavía recuerda el mundo aquella guerra de tres años a la que la iglesia católica dio el nombre de Cruzada. (…) Pero sí afirmamos que ganó la guerra la parte del pueblo que prefería una España española a una España filial o sucursal de Rusia" (Máximo 1964, p. 54).

[31] "renovar la sociedad española y ponerla en condiciones de convivir realmente en paz"; "período de paz, aún vigente, superador de los viejos odios" (Máximo 1964, p. 54).

[32] "vencedor en la guerra y artífice de la paz" (Máximo 1964, p. 54).

[33] Along the same line, the existence of a Ph.D written by Juan Estaban Rodríguez Garrido should be mentioned. The thesis explored the content of history textbooks in a synchronic and diachronic manner. The conclusions of the work point to the change in tone and ideology between the 1970s and 1990s across four publishers (Anaya, Edelvives, Santillana and Sm). Thus, if the narrative pointed to a certain fondness for the nationalist faction, this changed in the next decade, with a more neutral tone, or even with "praise to the leftist governments" and stronger criticism to the Francoist regime. According to the author, who focused a great part of his study on differences between the history books published by the different autonomous regions, the Catalan Eldevives or Santillana were the most anti-Francoist in the 1990s. See Rodríguez Garrido, J.E. (2012) *Trato y maltrato de la Historia de España en los libros de texto: Desde 1970 a nuestros días*. Ph.D from the Complutense University of Madrid, Faculty of Education, Department of Didactics and Social Sciences, defended on March 14, 2012.

hope this study helps in the fight against the stereotype of the travel guides following a single model, only repeating the same text superficially, so that we value the unsuspected power to intentionally or discreetly influence a type of book that is often thought of as disposable.

Bibliography

AGA (3)49.2 TOP 22/44.203-52.704, Box 12107

(c. 1936–1938) *Guía Michelin, España y Portugal*, Paris: Despacho de Turismo de los Sres. Michelin y Cía.

(1952) *Espagne, Guías Arimany*. Barcelona: Arimany.

(c. 1945) *La madre patria: guía general de España*. Madrid: Imprenta de la viuda de Juan Pueyo.

(c. 1947) *España, guía de arte, paisaje, folklore*. Barcelona: J.M Massó.

(c. 1952) *Guía práctica de España: seis itinerarios para recorrer España*. Madrid: Edaro.

Aubier, D. and Tuñón de Lara, M. (1956) *Espagne. Petite planète*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Baedeker, K. (1959) *Espagne, Portugal, Iles Baléares, Tanger.* Paris: Flammarion.

Baïlac, G. (1954) *Impressions d'Espagne*. Alger: impr. de F. Fontana.

Barthes, R. (Eng. 1972) *Mythologies*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Bertrand, L. (1937) *Espagne*. Paris: Flammarion.

Bottineau, Y. (1959) *L'Espagne.* Paris-Grenoble: Arthaud.

Canal, J. (dir) (2009) *Histoire de l'Espagne contemporaine de 1808 à nos jours. Politique et société*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Carballo, M. (c. 1952) *Guía turística de España, indicador de itinerarios y viajes a las ciudades y lugares de España.* Madrid: Dossat.

Carlan, J., Charbonneau, H. (1952) *Guide du touriste lettré, À la découverte de l'Espagne*. Paris: Éditions touristiques et littéraires.

DGT. (1945) *España*. Bilbao: Dirección General del Turismo.

Esteban, Á. (1938–1951) *España*. Madrid: Dirección General del Turismo.

Esteban, Á. (1955) *Rutas de España*. Madrid: Dirección General del Turismo.

Feduchi, L. (1958) *España guía turística.* Madrid: Afrodisio Aguado.

Francon, M. (2004) « Les lieux du drame: l'histoire théâtralisée du guide Vert », in Bertho-Lavenir, C. (ed.) *La visite du monument*. Clermont Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, pp. 145–158.

Galant, I. (2016) *Séville dans les guides de voyages XIX–XX*, Ph.D in Hispanic studies, Grenoble – Paris: Université Grenoble Alpes, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3.
González Martínez, M. (c. 1951) *Guía turística de España*. Sevilla: Unión gráfica.
GrandCombe, F. (1953) *Tu viens en Espagne*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
Hijano Del Río, M. and Martín Zúñiga, F. (2007) "La construcción de la identidad andaluza percibida y proyectada como reclamo turístico: los libros de viaje y las guías turísticas del siglo XX (1920–1970)", *HMiC: Història Moderna i Contemporània*, 5, pp. 95–108.
JFS (1967) « Les guides et l'histoire », *Le Monde*, 4 July, p. 11.
Juliá, S. (1999). *Un siglo de España. Política y sociedad*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.
Lerivray, B. (1975) *Guides bleus, guides verts et lunettes roses*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
Lottman, H. (1998) *Michelin, 100 ans d'aventure.* Paris: Flammarion.
Manufacture française des pneumatiques Michelin (1952, 1954–1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959) *Espagne*. Nancy: Berger-Levrault.
Marshall C. (2017) Petite Planète: Discover Chris Marker's Influential 1950s Travel Photobook Series, 27 February, Available at: http://www.openculture.com/2017/02/petite-planete-discover-chris-markers-influential-1950s-travel-photobook-series.html. Accessed 06/07/2019.
Máximo (1964) *España para usted*. Madrid: Ministerio de Información y Turismo.
Monmarché, M. (1935, 1951, 1952, 1954) *Espagne, Guide Bleu*. Paris: Hachette
Morell, J. (c. 1940) *España*. Madrid: Dirección General del Turismo.
Moreno Garrido A. and Villaverde, J. (2019) "De un sol a otro: turismo e imagen exterior española (1914–1984)", Ayer, 114, Madrid, pp. 95–12.
Neville, E. (1957) *Mi España particular*. Madrid: Taurus.
Ogrizek, D. (1951) *L'Espagne*. Paris: O.D.E.
Ogrizek, D. (1953) *Espagne, le guide à la page*. Paris: O.D.E.
Olagüe, I. (1952) *Pour voir et comprendre l'Espagne*. Paris: Mayfe.
Pasamar Alzuria, G. and Peiró Martín, I. (2002) *Diccionario Akal de historiadores contemporáneos*. Madrid: AKAL.
Patronato Nacional del Turismo (1936–1939) *El fascismo destruye el tesoro nacional.* Serie de 6 volúmenes. Madrid: Service d'Information de l National Espagnol du Tourisme.
Rodríguez Garrido, J. E. (2012). *Trato y maltrato de la Historia de España en los libros de texto: Desde 1970 a nuestros días*. Ph.D from the Complutense University of Madrid, Faculty of Education, Department of Didactics and Social Sciences, defended on March 14, 2012.

Sermet, J. (1953) *L'Espagne du Sud*. Paris-Grenoble: Arthaud.
Servicio Nacional de Turismo (1938?) *Visitad las rutas de guerra en España*. Madrid: Servicio Nacional del Turismo.
T'Serstevens, A. (1951) *Le Nouvel itinéraire espagnol, entièrement refondu et augmenté de 15 chapitres inédits sur l'Andalousie et l'Espagne du Nord*. Paris: SEGEP.
Turner, L. and Ash, J. (1975) *The Golden hordes: international tourism and the pleasure periphery*. London: Constable.
Vespa Club de España (1958) *España, Espagne, Spain, Guía y plano de carreteras.* Madrid: Gráficas Ruan.

5

Tourism Policy in Post-war Spain: The Dirección General de Turismo, 1939–1951

Carmelo Pellejero Martínez and Marta Luque Aranda

5.1 Introduction

The decade of the 1940s, remembered in Spain as "the hunger years" , was marked by the serious consequences of the civil war that had faced the Spaniards between 1936 and 1939 and had ended with the victory of General Franco, the failure of the autarchic policy applied by its governments, the Second World War, the new international economic order born in Bretton Woods and the political isolation of the Franco regime which the United Nations Organisation (UN) recommended at the end of 1946 and officially lasted for the following four years. In other words, a scenario little inclined towards tourist activities and in which the

This work is part of the HAR2017-82679-C2-1-P project, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities and ERDF funds of the European Union.

C. Pellejero Martínez (✉) • M. Luque Aranda (✉)
Department of Theory & Economic History, University of Málaga, Málaga, Spain
e-mail: cpellejero@uma.es; martaluque@uma.es

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_5

political leaders were slowly, but not without difficulties, giving support to the idea that the leisure tourist industry, which had already reached a promising level in the first third of the twentieth century (Esteve Secall and Fuentes García 2000; Fernández Fúster 1991; Moreno Garrido 2007; Pellejero Martínez 1999; Vallejo and Larrinaga 2018), could be one of the pillars to support the urgent economic development of the nation. It was worthwhile seeking growth in domestic and incoming tourism in the country both for its political potential as an instrument of external propaganda and economically for its contribution of needed foreign currency and its by no means negligible influence on different commercial and industrial activities. This responsibility would fall on the Ministerio de la Gobernación and, more specifically, on the Dirección General de Turismo (DGT) until 1951. With few means and in a very unfavourable framework, this organisation worked so that Spaniards and foreigners would decide to spend their holidays in Spain: an arduous task. How could this be achieved while the world bled? How could a country, so impoverished that it needed to ration food and petrol, be made attractive? How could a nation stigmatised by the UN be promoted? Undoubtedly, it was not easy but the number of foreigners entering Spain with a passport multiplied eightfold between 1946 and 1951 (Información Comercial Española 1960, pp. 101 and 102; Tena 2005, p. 641).

5.2 Tourist Administrative Organisation

The advent of the civil war had brought about the disappearance of the Patronato Nacional del Turismo (Moreno Garrido 2010; Pellejero Martínez 2002, 2018). However, official tourism would resurface in full flight in Franco-controlled Spain. The January 30, 1938, Law integrated the Servicio Nacional de Turismo into the Ministerio del Interior, and the February 16 Decree appointed Luis Antonio Bolín Bidwell the chief of this organisation. But, a new Law, of December 29 of the same year, approved that the Ministerio del Interior would be renamed Ministerio de la Gobernación, and the Interior, Public Order, and Press and Propaganda undersecretaries would be part of this, the Servicio Nacional de Turismo remaining in this last undersecretariat.

The August 8, 1939, Law converted the Servicio Nacional de Turismo into the DGT. This new organisation was divided into a series of sections covering aspects related to information, propaganda, publications, accommodation, communication, transport, sports activities, national parks, art and the Rutas Nacionales (Correyero Ruiz and Cal 2008, pp. 239–240), with the objective of spreading knowledge about Spain in every respect. It had to properly organise the propaganda of Spain's natural, historical and artistic beauty; provide the traveller with information and guidance; contribute to the improvement of accommodation, transport and the like, and inspect them; open up national and foreign tourism, both through commercial organisations established for this purpose, inside and outside Spain, and through the management and exploitation of transportation means aimed exclusively at the touristic knowledge of the nation; promote sports and provide main tourist attraction centres with the appropriate means for leisure and entertainment; and in general promote and encourage any initiatives that would develop tourism (Correyero Ruiz 2005, p. 58). In short, an ambitious task that was the responsibility of Bolín for more than a decade and, to a lesser extent, of Ramón Serrano Súñer, Valentín Galarza Morante and Blas Pérez González, the three Ministers of the Interior that followed him until the summer of 1951: a point when a new phase of official tourism would start in Spain. By the Decree Law of July 19, of the aforementioned year, the services of the DGT would be assumed by the new *Ministerio de Información y Turismo*. Gabriel Arias Salgado would be appointed in charge, and Bolín would continue as Director General of Tourism until the summer of 1952, when by the June 14 Decree he was replaced by Mariano de Urzáiz y Silva.

The tourist administrative organisation under the Ministry of the Interior was also supported by the Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería y Similares, the Juntas Provinciales y Locales de Turismo and the Federación Española de Sindicatos de Iniciativa y Turismo. With regard to the first organisation, the Laws on Trade Union Unity of January 26, 1940, on Trade Union Organisation of December 6, 1940, and on Classification of Trade Unions of June 23, 1941, made it the only organisation with enough identity to represent and discipline the interests of that part of the economy formed by everything relating to lodging, catering, cafes

and spas. The Union, recognised as a Public Law Corporation from March 14, 1942, and also directed by Bolín, had a very productive Statistical Service, edited the *Hospes* y *Hostal* magazines and managed the Central School of Hospitality in Madrid, which in January 1945 came to join the Professional School of Hospitality in Seville, which had been inaugurated in 1938 (Statistical Trade Union Service 1947, pp. 93–94).

As for the Juntas Provinciales y Locales, it was by the February 21, 1941, Decree, recovering an old initiative of the Patronato Nacional del Turismo, that their creation in the provincial capitals and towns declared to be of tourist interest by the DGT was agreed. These Juntas, being made up of political and sector representatives, would study and develop anything related to the promotion of tourism within their scope of action, under the prior approval of the DGT; they would also advise the latter on matters on which they were consulted and would inspect tourist services by delegation. To this effect they were financed by donations or grants from Councils, Town Halls and agencies related to this purpose, and contributions from the DGT, and they would contribute, when necessary, to bear the expenses of the information offices of the DGT.

The initiative and tourism unions played a leading role in the period. Following the example of what had been happening in countries such as France, Switzerland and Italy from the end of the nineteenth century, these non-profit entities, with limited financing and with gains from mainly, but not exclusively, private initiative, had been born throughout the first third of the twentieth century in order to enhance the tourist development of a particular town or region. Despite being treated with a certain indifference on the part of public authorities during the aforementioned period, the unions had published periodic bulletins, edited and distributed posters announcing celebrations, provided free information to tourists, organised excursions, conference cycles, exhibitions and congresses and repeatedly intervened before the authorities and businessmen with the aim of improving access, transport and accommodation for their towns (Luque Aranda and Pellejero Martínez 2019). In addition, they had succeeded in establishing the Federación Española de Sindicatos de Iniciativa y Turismo in 1932, and three years later, when the number of members was around 70, they were declared a public utility by the

Administration. However, this project was suspended during the Civil War.

Thus, it was decisive that in February 1941 it should be ordered that the creation of the Juntas Provinciales y Locales would not be necessary in the few provinces where, after the armed conflict, unions continued to exist—that is, the Balearic Islands, Valencia, Zaragoza, Tarragona, Guipúzcoa, Tenerife, Valladolid, Burgos and Madrid—since these unions had been carrying out the work entrusted to them. Authority was also given to the DGT to suspend the Juntas from their duties whenever initiative unions were created in their geographical area, if they were declared to be of public interest and assumed their responsibilities correctly. On the contrary, the DGT could decide to establish new Juntas when the unions did not carry out their duties effectively and could remove their official status as a representative of the State agency. A year later, the federation regained its pre-war tradition and from then on held annual assemblies in different Spanish cities in which the unions praised the positive actions of the Administration, but also took advantage of the events to make their complaints, requests and suggestions to improve the sector. In addition, after many requests in this regard, from 1948 onwards, it received an annual grant of 20,000 pesetas from the DGT (Luque Aranda 2015, 2017).

5.3 Bad Times to Travel

Attracting tourists was not an easy task in the decade following the Spanish Civil War. The situation neither in Spain nor in the main countries where tourists came from was favourable. It is clear that the winds of change did not blow in favour of international tourist activities until August 1945. In fact, they only started to become favourable as the reconstruction of much of post-war Europe materialised in the latter part of the decade, stemming from the conference held in Bretton Woods in 1944 and being fuelled four years later thanks to the European Recovery Program. This programme decisively aided all the Western European countries that had participated in the Second World War, to exceed, by the end of 1950, the maximum pre-conflict per capita product (Carreras

2003; Comín 2011; Eichengreen 2006; Findlay and O'Rourke 2007; Marichal 2010; Zamagni 2005). All in all, this was a very difficult decade for the international leisure tourist industry. Fortunately, there were some diplomatic stimuli in the second half of the same decade that helped (Pack 2013). In 1947 the constituent assembly of the International Union of Official Tourist Organisations was held, and a year later the European Tourism Commission was born. In 1951 both organisations admited the DGT as an effective member (*ABC*, 12 September 1951, p. 7). In addition, in December 1948 the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Paris, whose article 24 recognised that everyone had the right to rest, to enjoy leisure time, to have a reasonable limitation of working hours and to periodic paid holidays.

The domestic scene did not make things easier for the DGT either—an impoverished country, sanctioned by the UN, with an overvalued currency, and a country in which internal access and movement were very complicated. In the 1940s, in a framework of economic autarchy and under the totalitarian direction of the State, production, real wages, commercial exchanges and the level of consumption in Spain collapsed (Barciela López 2002, 2003; Barciela López et al. 2001; Carreras and Tafunell 2018; Catalán 1995a, b; Comín and Hernández 2013; García Delgado and Jiménez 1999; Maluquer de Motes 2014; Martínez Ruiz 2003; Serrano Sanz 1997). The nation would have to wait until 1951 to reach the Gross Domestic Product of 1935 and until 1954 to exceed the pre-war maximum per capita income level, that of 1929 (Carreras and Tafunell 2018, p. 220). The shortage was so dramatic that on May 14, 1939, the authorities extended the rationing regime for certain food products that had been approved on March 5, 1937, in Republican Spain to the entire national territory. The restrictions on fuel, which affected nationals as well as foreigners, were rolled out from May 13, 1940, and were maintained throughout the period studied (Fernández Fúster 1991, pp. 464–467).

Nor did the difficulties in obtaining passports, visas and safe passage, the diligent and uncomfortable inspections that tourists suffered at the borders or the existence of the Triptych—a document with which the police sought to control when a traveller arrived at a certain location,

where they stayed, what day they left the hotel or the house where they had resided, and where they were heading—act as incentives when planning a trip to Spain. Another disincentive to attracting inbound tourists, during the whole decade, was Franco's exchange policy with an overvalued peseta. The value of the peseta to the dollar was 10.95 until the summer of 1946 (Martín Aceña 1989, p. 391). But from that moment on, and after the approval of the preferential exchange rates applicable to tourism operations on August 25, the price for this activity was 16.40 pesetas. And it would reach 25.00 pesetas to the dollar on January 21, 1949. However, by the July 21, 1950, Decree such exchanges would be unified when a free foreign exchange market was established on the Madrid Stock Exchange. At that time, the official value of the peseta, 10.95 per dollar and 30.66 per pound sterling, remained very far from the price reached in the unofficial market: 52.52 and 146.60, respectively (Martín Aceña 1989, p. 391).

Another obstacle that faced tourists coming to Spain was the requirement of a minimum amount of expenses per day of stay. The regulations of December 6, 1947, and January 30, 1948, determined this to be 200 pesetas, obtained at the so-called tourist exchange rate, for travellers staying in the country for a period longer than 1 day and less than 16 days. And if the stay exceeded the period of 16 days, the minimum amount of expenses was calculated according to the following scale: from 16 to 30 days, 150 pesetas per day; from 31 to 60 days, 125 pesetas per day; and from 61 days onwards, 100 pesetas per day. In addition, it was stipulated that these limits would not apply to children up to three years old and that the limits would be reduced by 50 per cent for minors travelling in the company of their parents, relatives or legal guardians. This was carried out until the Order of May 7, 1948, set the minimum amount of expenses, regardless of the length of stay, at 100 pesetas per day, a requirement that would finally be repealed on April 25, 1949.

Likewise, the serious problems suffered because of means of transport were a headache for tourists. The road network remained stagnated at around 115,000 kilometres during the period (Gómez Mendoza and San Román 2005, p. 553). In addition, the lack of resources made it impossible to undertake needed repairs and indispensable maintenance work on the road surfaces. Thus, travelling by car or bus in Spain was a very

complicated experience. The only attempt to alleviate this situation, which did not arrive until December 18, 1950, was when the Spanish Highway Modernization Plan was enacted into Law, having been approved by the Government on June 23 of the same year.

Rail transport was monopolised under the January 24, 1941, Law, by the state company Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles (RENFE), which had to undertake the reconstruction of the damage caused during the civil war and suffer serious difficulties in supplying solid fuel, engines and rolling stock (Comín et al. 1998; Lentisco 2005; Muñoz Rubio 1995; Wais and San Martín 1974). The stagnation was such that, with a wide gauge network of 12,777 kilometres in 1947, which barely exceeded the 1935 level by four per cent (Gómez Mendoza and San Román 2005, p. 533), the Plan General de Reconstrucción y Reformas Urgentes was approved on May 20, 1949. This provided investments aimed at the renewal of the network and equipment, both locomotives and passenger cars and wagons to provide RENFE services with minimum standards of economy, efficiency and safety for its normal operation. The fruits of this plan were the growth of the wide gauge and electric rail network, which in 1951 reached 12,961 and 1644 kilometres, respectively (Gómez Mendoza and San Román 2005, p. 533), and the inauguration of the commercial Talgo train service in 1950, which would become the crowning star of the Spanish railway in later decades.

With regard to air transport, the airline company Iberia, which as per the June 7, 1949, Law enjoyed exclusivity in the air transport of people, correspondence and all kinds of merchandise between airfields located in Spanish territory provided it did not form part of an international line, was nationalised by the November 17, 1943, Decree (Various Authors 1998; Vidal Olivares 2008; Viniegra Velasco 1996). Difficulties in the supply of fuel, spare parts and equipment had seriously constrained its operation until that moment and had even caused its commercial activities to cease during most of 1943. However, thereafter it gradually got its services normalised and expanded its network of flight coverage by acquiring several American planes and securing new supplies of fuel. Thanks to Iberia and other foreign companies, traffic at Spanish airports experienced a remarkable growth in the second half of the decade, unlike what happened with the railways, which did not gain any customers

during the same period. If in 1940 there were 10,500 planes that landed in Spain carrying 81,000 passengers, in 1951 there were 48,400 planes carrying 971,000 passengers (Gómez Mendoza and San Román 2005, pp. 558–559).

And if these impediments were not few, Bolín and his team had to promote tourism in a hostile post-war international environment. France kept its border with Spain closed between February 1946 and February 1948. Resolution 39 (I) of the United Nations General Assembly, adopted on December 12, 1946, recommended that its members withdraw their ambassadors and plenipotentiary ministers accredited in Madrid and that the Spanish Government be excluded as a member of its international agencies. Thus began a political isolation of Spain that would not be revoked until November 1950 when Resolution 386 (V) was approved (Sánchez González 2015).

5.4 Extensive State Intervention

The exacerbated economic interventionism is a hallmark of the Franco regime. The Minister of Finance Joaquín Benjumea Burín, who would be in office from 1941 to 1951, used the adjective "broad" in the Congreso de los Diputados when assessing state intervention in the key production processes (*Boletín Oficial de las Cortes Españolas*, 29, diciembre, 1943, 33, p. 581). And of course, the tourism sector was not left out of it. The Francoist authorities reckoned that their rigid control would contribute to improving the quality of the services provided. Therefore, all subsectors were subject to strict regulation. But, this exhaustive legal control failed to prevent the different tourist entities from frequently breaking the state regulations that were in force.

The activities of *Intérpretes and Guías* were regulated on December 15, 1939, and May 23, 1947. The requirements that those who wanted to engage in such activities would have to meet, as well as their areas of activity and the fees they could charge for their services, were set. The former group, the *Intérpretes*, were required to master Spanish and at least one other foreign language. The latter, the *Guías*, had to possess sufficient knowledge about the artistic heritage, the natural beauty and other

tourist attractions in the territory where they wanted to work, as well as have knowledge of communication, accommodation, restaurants, folklore and so on. But if in addition they spoke a foreign language, they could act as *Guías-Intérpretes*. Lastly, those who, because of their knowledge and experience, were empowered to accompany travellers across the country on behalf of travel agencies or individuals could work as *Correos.* Also, travel agencies, transport agencies, hotels and the initiative and tourism unions could only provide employment, in the four previously mentioned job categories, to authorised people in accordance with the provisions of both regulations.

Advertising for tourist purposes, regardless of the procedure or place used, as well as advertising of any kind in which advertisements or posters were located in places attractive to tourists, was regulated on April 9 and 11, 1949. The DGT, from that moment on, was empowered to intervene in any kind of outdoor advertisement or poster as well as to prohibit or order modifications to existing ones and to predetermine the creation of other new ones. In addition, it could ensure the protection and respect of tourist interests and places in Spain worthy of such protection, encourage the placement of billboards for the public announcement of tourist propaganda, and regulate and inspect their placement, form and use when installed by private individuals. Lastly, it was forbidden to put up posters and to write, print or label advertisements or inscriptions of any kind on public monuments or buildings, or on private ones that had the corresponding sign on their façade. The making of posters larger than 62 by 100 centimetres was also prohibited following a directive of the Union of Official Organisations of Tourist Propaganda.

As regards travel agencies, in point of fact it was the Francoist authorities that first approved their regulation. The February 19, 1942, Decree stipulated that the aforementioned commercial activity consisted of selling tickets and reserving seats on all types of regular transport, booking rooms and services in hotels and organising combined trips, collective excursions and city visits. Furthermore, it established that the agencies could be classified into two groups. Group A would be formed by those meeting the following requirements: be holders and retailers of ticketing for the International Union or, failing that, ticketing for three European Nations, so long as the amount of the bond was the same as that required

to possess the equivalent from the International Union; to be concessionaires for the sale of RENFE tickets, as well as for the Spanish airline and shipping companies; and to have arranged the appropriate civil liability insurance. For their part, the agencies that served as intermediates between the public and those integrated into Group A would be included in Group B and only provided the tickets and vouchers issued by them. Lastly, the regulations made it very clear that the right to promote and organise pilgrimages lay solely with the legitimate ecclesiastical authority, which could choose, from the legally constituted agencies, the one it deemed most appropriate with which to entrust the technical and commercial organisation of its trips.

The main provisions regarding hotel management were the orders of April 8, 1939, to intensify its control by the authorities, and of May 30, 1944, which approved the Reglamento Nacional de Trabajo para la Industria Hotelera y de Cafés, Bares y Similares. This latter regulation left the one approved on May 1, 1939, ineffective and would later be slightly modified on November 11, 1944, January 17, 1945, and March 27, 1948 (Esteve Secall and Fuentes García 2000, pp. 59–62). It was the authorities themselves who soon after, in August 1939, made it very clear that the regulations had been passed in response to complaints heard inside and outside Spain about the chronic deficiencies in the Spanish hotel industry and for the industry's overall good (Pack 2009, p. 64). From that moment on, and under the pretext of national duty, control of the hotel industry was very extensive. The Administration reserved the authorisation to open companies dedicated to the hospitality industry, classifying them by categories, inspecting their operation and setting their prices (Pellejero Martínez 1999, pp. 49–51), and as such opted for the cheapness of hotel services.

In 1940, and as established by the Order of April 8 of the previous year, the prices in hotels and *pensiones* for both accommodation and full board in all categories were those in force in 1936. In the following year there was a slight rise in prices, but from then on and until 1947 inclusive, the only modification that the DGT authorised was in 1944 and resulted in a slight reduction in the cost of served meals. Only in the 1948–1950 triennium, and in light of the criticism emanating from, among others, the Federación Española de Sindicatos de Iniciativa y

Table 5.1 Prices of accommodation per person in hotels (pesetas in 1950)

Year	Luxury	1ª A	1ª B	2ª	3ª
1940	134	74	59	39	18
1941	137	80	57	34	23
1942	128	75	53	32	21
1943	129	75	54	32	21
1944	123	72	51	31	20
1945	115	67	48	29	19
1946	88	51	37	22	15
1947	75	43	31	19	12
1948	91	52	41	26	19
1949	111	66	44	28	22
1950	100	70	50	35	25

Source: Escorihuela (1954; p. 51); Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (1990). Own figures

Turismo, which requested that the authorised prices grow in line with the standard of living (Spanish Federation of Initiative and Tourism Unions 1943), did the authorities give approval to annual price increases (Escorihuela 1954). However, in real terms, prices in 1951 would remain, in most categories, lower than those charged in 1940, which is something logical considering the inflationary outbreaks suffered in 1940–1941, 1946–1947 and 1950–1951 (Carreras and Tafunell 2018, p. 474) (Table 5.1).

In the words of the Servicio de Estadística del Sindicato Nacional de Hostelería, tough state intervention (Escorihuela 1954, p. 54) was not liked by hotel businessmen, nor was the approval on July 17, 1946, of the Law that created the Póliza de Turismo. It was argued that the promotion of tourism should be nurtured, in part, by equity obtained from special State taxes, and thus as of April 1, 1947, a policy was set for the separate act of checking into hotels or *pensiones.* The amount covered would vary between three pesetas in Luxury and First A category hotels and one peseta in Third category hotels and First category *pensiones*, with those *pensiones* in the Second and Third categories being excluded from the tax. It also indicated that the amount collected, after the appropriate deductions were taken, would be made available to the DGT; however, the result was not what the authorities seemed to have expected. It is true that in the first month of its implementation a total of 238,146 *pólizas* were charged for an amount of 271,044 pesetas. However, by the end of the

same year, revenues had dropped by 50 per cent, mainly due to fraud in terms of charging the amount (Correyero Ruiz 2016, p. 226). Therefore, and on suspicion of breach of the provisions of the Regulatory Law, the monitoring of the policy was transferred to the Cuerpo de Inspectores Técnicos del Timbre on February 24, 1951.

In the face of all this state control, an attempt was made to stimulate the private sector. The orders of March 27 and May 13, 1942, authorised the Industrial Credit Bank to establish a hotel credit service with the purpose of stimulating and assisting in the construction and set up of suitable hotels, or similar, as well as facilitating the transformation and improvement of existing accommodation in towns and places that the DGT judged to be of national or tourist interest. The maximum total amount that could be invested in the loans was initially set at 25 million pesetas, but the growing demand for requests made it advisable to increase this to a limit of 50 million pesetas in 1948 (Escorihuela 1956, p. 65) and to 100 million pesetas on May 17, 1949. However, the hotel credit service did not satisfy the sector, which considered it insufficient. Throughout the period 1942–1951 businessmen requested 212.7 million pesetas, the Administration granted 108.3 million pesetas but delivered only 90.3 million pesetas to the beneficiaries, and the capacity, financed by the hotel credits, climbed to 2103 rooms and 3734 hotel beds (Brú Serrano 1964). The period 1947–1951 was the most dynamic with 90 per cent of the credit reaching the applicants during this period.

5.5 Red de Establecimientos Turísticos del Estado

The Gredos Parador had been inaugurated on October 9, 1928, and was the first hotel establishment that the Spanish State would have. Its opening had been the starting point of a new initiative, inspired by Benigno de la Vega-Inclán, who had been at the head of the Comisaría Regia del Turismo y la Cultura Artística Popular between 1911 and 1928. This initiative consisted of offering, at reasonable prices, public tourist establishments in places attractive to tourists and where the presence of private initiative was scarce or non-existent. Therefore, the first step had been

taken by the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera through the Patronato Nacional del Turismo. But, the governments of the Second Republic (1931–1936) had also supported the initiative, so that in 1936, on the eve of the civil war, the Administration had on offer the Hotel Atlántico (Cádiz); the Hostería de Alcalá de Henares (Madrid), located in the Trilingual Courtyard of the University in the city and dedicated exclusively to catering; the newly constructed mountain refuge of Áliva (Cantabria), located at an altitude of 1780 meters and intended for hunters, fishermen and mountaineers; the *paradors* in Gredos (Ávila), Oropesa (Toledo), Úbeda (Jaén), Ciudad Rodrigo (Salamanca) and Mérida (Badajoz); and the *albergues de carretera* of Bailén (Jaén), Manzanares (Ciudad Real), Medinaceli (Soria), Aranda de Duero (Burgos), La Bañeza (León), Benicarló (Castellón), Quintanar de la Orden (Toledo) and Almazán (Soria). As regards the *paradors*, only the one in Gredos had been newly built, with the others being created after the rehabilitation of old monumental buildings, such as palaces, castles, convents and manor houses. In all of them, the capacity was reduced and ranged between 16 and 47 beds. The *albergues de carretera*, for their part, had been the result of a national competition convened in 1929 to build 12 identical establishments outfitted with accommodation for 12, dining service for 30 people, telephone, petrol pump, first aid kit and 3 independent garages (Pellejero Martínez 2015, 2018).

Naturally, this public offering suffered serious damage during the war, but these setbacks did not diminish the confidence of the Franco authorities in the project. From very early on they wagered on the Red de Establecimientos Turísticos del Estado. It deserved to be protected, restored and grown. On November 5, 1940, the first objective saw the order that no company dedicated to the lodging or food service industry could use the terms *parador de turismo*, *albergue de turismo*, *hostería de turismo* or *refugio de turismo* as the name of its establishment without authorisation from the DGT. As regards the recovery of the pre-war offering and increasing it, the Administration had, by the end of 1942, already reopened the establishments in Mérida, Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcalá de Henares, Bailén, Manzanares, Medinaceli, Aranda de Duero, La Bañeza and Benicarló to the public and had incorporated the *albergue de carretera* in Antequera (Málaga). This was the first following the civil war and was

inaugurated in 1940. Two years later the facilities in Gredos, Oropesa, Úbeda, Áliva, Cádiz and Quintanar de la Orden were already operational, as well as the *parador* in Andújar (Jaén), which had opened its doors in 1942, offering accommodation for 18 in a new building attached to the Sanctuary of the Virgen de la Cabeza. In the biennium 1945–1946 the network grew thanks to the *albergues* of Puebla de Sanabria (Zamora) and Puerto Lumbreras (Murcia), and the *paradors* in Granada, located in an old convent within the Alhambra, and Santillana del Mar (Cantabria), established in a stately home, and both equipped with accommodation for about 30. In addition, the capacities of the *parador* in Gredos and the *albergue* in Bailén were expanded. Lastly, between 1947 and 1951 the DGT inaugurated the *hostería* in Malaga and the newly constructed *paradors* in Cruz de Tejeda (Gran Canaria), Riaño (León), Santa Cruz de la Palma (La Palma) and Arrecife (Lanzarote); in and after refurbishing part of the Real Monasterio de Santa María de El Paular, located in the Madrid town of Rascafría, the DGT opened a *parador* with accommodation for 41 (Moreno Garrido and Pellejero Martínez 2015; Pellejero Martínez 2015).

This chain, as will be seen later, absorbed a good part of the DGT's available budget and was never thought to be a serious competitor to private enterprise in regards to its locations or its accommodation capacity. At the height of 1951, its share of the national hotel offering was barely around two per cent of establishments and one per cent of the accommodation available (Información Comercial Española 1960, p. 112; Pellejero Martínez 2015, pp. 198–199). But, from very early on, it knew how to win the accolades of its clients, both intellectuals like W. Somerset Maugham (*La Vanguardia Española*, June 12, 1948, p. 8) and Edgar Neville (*ABC Sevilla*, November 5, 1946, p. 7) who praised the idea and made record of their pleasant stays in several establishments, as well as different personalities in the sector. Lloyd F. George, representative of American Express in Europe (*La Vanguardia Española*, 23 March 1947, p. 10), Arnold Ith, president of the Swiss Association of Initiative Unions (*La Vanguardia Española*, 30 October 1947, p. 9), and the Belgian publication *L´Écho de la Bourse* (*Aragón*, 1947, 205, p. 81) applauded the work of the DGT in this regard in 1947. Two years later, *The Times* (*ABC*, August 20, 1949, p. 10) and the Royal Automobile Club of

Brussels (*La Vanguardia Española*, July 24, 1949, p. 8) would do the same—the former highlighting the stimulus that the inauguration of the *paradors* had had on private initiative and the latter very positively valuing the decoration, furniture and catering of the public offering as well as the fact that they had opened in places where good hotels were scarce.

Finally, the direct management of the DGT was not limited to the public network of establishments. It was also responsible for the administration and commercialisation of different national hunting and fishing preserves. Among the former group were those establishments located in Gredos and the Picos de Europa, which had been created on April 9, 1932, and in Ronda, operational under the Law of December 23, 1948. And as for the latter, the DGT requested and obtained the concession of different preserves from the Administration as follows: on January 26, 1944, that of the Nansa River (Santander); on November 10 and 25, 1944, those of the Deva (Oviedo) and the Cares (Santander) and of the Ulla (La Coruña) rivers, respectively; and on May 16, 1945, those of the Narcea (Oviedo), the Eo (Lugo) and the Tormes (Ávila).

5.6 Rutas Nacionales and Autotransporte Turístico Español

The agency led by Bolín converted the Rutas de Guerra into the Rutas Nacionales, under an initiative that had been put into operation by the May 25, 1938, and the October 29, 1938, Decrees. In April 1940, the press published the offer of two excursions organised by the DGT, whose starting point was Madrid. The first, called Andalusia, lasted 14 days and visited the cities of Guadalupe, Mérida, Sevilla, Ronda, Jerez, Cádiz, Algeciras, Málaga, Granada and Córdoba, while the second lasted 8 days with stops in Toledo, Guadalupe, Mérida, Cáceres, Salamanca and Ávila (ABC, April 7, 1940, p. 18). Another highly demanded route was that of the North. Starting from Madrid, Barcelona and San Sebastián, it would tour the Cantabrian coast and the Galician region, visiting Bilbao, Santander, Covadonga, Oviedo, Gijón, Pontevedra, La Toja, La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Vigo, León, Zaragoza, Valladolid, Burgos and

Salamanca (*La Vanguardia Española*, June 20, 1944, p. 13; ABC, August 21, 1949, p. 17). In addition, the DGT offered frequent radial trips from Madrid to Toledo, El Escorial, Aranjuez, Ávila, Segovia and La Granja, among others (*ABC*, April 7, 1940, p. 18), between Seville and Ronda (*ABC Sevilla*, April 24, 1940), and, from the summer of 1947, from San Sebastián, Irún, Santander, Gijón and Vigo (Moreno Garrido 2007, p. 173), as well as trips for those interested in learning about the celebrations of El Pilar de Zaragoza, the Seville Fair or the Andalusian Holy Week (*ABC*, February 28, 1940, p. 1; April 7, 1940, p. 18; February 26, 1950, p. 22), among others.

Naturally, the organisation of tourist routes in post-war Spain was not an easy task. The appearance of Spanish roads was bleak, the existing rolling stock was insufficient, outdated, uncomfortable and unsafe, the chance of getting spare parts was very small, fuel was scarce and very few companies were able to offer collective trips. However, the authorities were aware that being able to travel comfortably by car or coach on the roads and routes of a country was decisive for the development of tourism. Therefore, in the mid-1940s, the DGT considered it necessary to create a commercial company that would be in charge of organising collective road trips using its own or external means: either by a private enterprise, by the State or by any other private or official person. It would have capital of five million pesetas, the State would provide the material owned by the Department of National Routes and the contribution of private capital would be admitted.

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers held on July 22, 1949, it was considered advisable for the state entity the Instituto Nacional de Industria (INI), which had been created in 1941, to prepare a study on the possible creation of a joint venture to carry out tourist transport by road. Shortly after, on September 27, the aforementioned Institute presented a report stating that in order to enhance the flow of tourism to the country it was essential to organise a road transport system that, duly coordinated with rail, sea and air transport, ensured comfortable, fast and safe access for travellers to places of greatest interest: a proposal that found an immediate response from the Government. On November 2, Autotransporte Turístico Español, S.A. (ATESA) was established with a share capital of 50 million pesetas, represented by 50,000 shares of 1000

pesetas each. In the act of granting the constitutional deed, the INI underwrote 26,000 shares, disbursing 40 per cent of its amount. The remaining 24,000 shares remained in the portfolio to be put into circulation when the General Shareholders' Meeting so agreed.

Once ATESA was created, its management team, with Luis Bolín as president, judged that the new entity should offer its clients a network of national and regional tourist routes and fixed radial trips using coaches, as well as using a rental car service with or without a driver, and buses. These activities required the immediate acquisition of coaches, cars and a series of complementary facilities, such as offices, garages and workshops. This was an expensive and difficult task given the low national production of vehicles. The best proof of how complicated the company's first steps were was that it could not begin to offer its services until the spring of 1951.

During 1950 the delivery of contracted rolling stock was made at a lower rate than originally planned. Around 50 coaches and about 20 cars from the Lincoln and Ford brands were acquired. But, at the end of that year, only 8 of the Büssing brand touring buses and 1 of the 30 Pegaso buses entrusted to the Empresa Nacional de Autocamiones had been received. These investments, as well as those destined to the purchase of several venues in Madrid to be allocated to general offices and garages, absorbed almost all the capital underwritten by the INI when the company was incorporated. In view of this, on November 13, 1950, the Board of Directors of ATESA requested that the INI disburse the capital that had been pending in the constitutional deed, namely 15,600,000 pesetas, and that, given the lack of prospect for private capital to underwrite the shares at that time, the INI should underwrite the 24,000 shares that remained in the portfolio. After studying this petition, the INI agreed to the requested disbursement and the procurement of 19,000 shares. The Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles would acquire the remaining 5000 shares in April of the following year.

Throughout 1951, ATESA was slowly increasing its fleet of vehicles. At the end of the first quarter, it already had 20 passenger cars (18 *Ford* and 2 *Lincoln*), which it purchased the previous year. The delivery rate for the buses did not intensify until the summer months, reaching 29 units in October (20 *Büssing* and 9 *Pegaso*). Thanks to this growth in rolling

stock, the company was finally able to offer the rental of cars and coaches to its clients, along with several trips in first class coaches. It set up three regular national routes in the image of the Rutas Nacionales. The first, of 2522 kilometres, covered Irún, Burgos, Madrid, Córdoba, Sevilla, Cádiz, Algeciras, Málaga, Granada, Murcia, Alicante, Valencia, Tarragona and Barcelona. The second covered the same route but in the opposite direction. And the third, of 2358 kilometres, departed and ended in Madrid and covered Burgos, San Sebastián, Bilbao, Santander, Covadonga, Gijón, Oviedo, La Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Vigo León, Zamora, Salamanca and Ávila. The company also offered the so-called Circuito Regional de Andalucía, although only in the summer months, which covered a distance of 859 kilometres, had Seville as the departure and arrival point, and would visit Córdoba, Granada, Malaga, Algeciras and Cádiz. Three radial routes, Madrid-El Paular, San Sebastián-Loyola and San Sebastián-Pamplona (Pellejero Martínez 2000), were also offered.

5.7 Visit Spain

The promotional trips of Bolín abroad were one of the instruments used by the DGT in propaganda material. During the Second World War they were limited to ideologically close countries. In October 1939, in Rome, he met with the Minister of Foreign Affairs Gian Galeazzo Ciano and with the Director General of Tourism to discuss tourism issues affecting both countries, and especially on maritime communications between Italian and Spanish ports (*La Vanguardia Española*, October 5, 1939, p. 5). Five years later he was received in Lisbon by the Portuguese Prime Minister A. Oliveira Salazar, entertained by the directors of tourist centres in Estoril and by the National Secretary of Información y Cultura Popular Antonio Ferro and invited to visit some *Pousadas* (*ABC Sevilla*, June 21, 1944, p. 12). After committing to improve tourism between Portugal and Spain once the armed conflict ended, Bolín was in favour of both being the fundamental basis for his indispensable Atlantic tourism (*ABC*, June 22, 1944, p. 13; ABC *Sevilla*, June 22, 1944, p. 15).

But after the Allied victory the geographical framework of his visits was much broader, despite the isolation decreed by the UN, especially at

the end of the decade: Switzerland (*La Vanguardia Española*, February 11, 1949, p. 4), Denmark (*ABC Sevilla*, September 7, 1949, p. 5), the United Kingdom (*ABC*, November 12, 1949, p. 18; *ABC Sevilla*, June 30, 1950, p. 8), the United States of America (*ABC*, November 23, 1949, p. 10; February 9, 1950, p. 8; November 5, 1950, p. 22), Cuba (*ABC*, January 31, 1950, p. 14), Mexico (*ABC*, December 2, 1950, p. 27), France, Italy and Greece (*Aragón*, 1951, 220, p. 6), among other countries. These trips generally culminated with the opening of tourist offices. In contrast to what happened during the Second Republic, when budget cuts caused five of the existing eight offices to close (Pellejero Martínez 2018), the DGT worked to increase its external presence by opening offices in Buenos Aires, Paris (*ABC*, March 20, 1949, p. 18), London (ABC, November 12, 1949, p. 18), Zurich, Rome, New York (*ABC Sevilla*, December 14, 1949, p. 5), Stockholm (*ABC*, June 5, 1950, p. 17), Lisbon (*La Vanguardia Española*, August 10, 1950, p. 10), Chicago, San Francisco (*ABC*, November 5, 1950, p. 22), Mexico and Havana (*ABC Sevilla*, August 24, 1951, p. 11), among other cities.

In all of them, including those on national territory, the editorial work of the DGT could be offered to those interested. Being very constrained by scarce resources, for example, the annual budget for tourist propaganda was 1,250,000 pesetas in 1948 (Moreno Garrido 2015, p. 162), it published posters in which, along with drawings and, especially in the second half of the decade, photographs, authors such as José Morell, Teodoro Delgado, Ricardo Summers Ysern (Serny), Cecilio Paniagua, Joaquín del Castillo (Kindel), Guy Georget, Bernard Villemont, José Ortiz Echagüe, among others, embodied traditions, celebrations, landscapes, beaches, traditional costumes, folklore, monuments and sports from the different Spanish regions (Herrero Riquelme 2012, pp. 318–329; Lázaro Sebastián 2015, pp. 154–161). And with campaigns such as *Visit Spain*; *Bellezas de España*; *Spain is beautiful and different. Visit Spain*; and *Spain is "different". Visit Spain* the DGT wanted to highlight that what made Spain different was the abundance and beauty of tourism resources linked to nature, art and history (Ramón Gabriel and García Álvarez 2016, pp. 396–397). Likewise, among its extensive literary work, the *Boletín de Información*, which appeared in 1947 (*ABC*, April 6, 1947, p. 29), and above all the *Apología Turística de España*, published in 1943

by the Sección de Propaganda y Publicaciones, stand out. In the latter's almost 300 pages, 439 photographs of landscapes, monuments and typical elements are compiled, along with a preamble written by Rafael Calleja, Chief of the aforementioned Sección, in which the main tourist attractions of Spain are described and extolled, emphasising regional diversity and exalting the differences or exceptionality of Spain with respect to Europe (Ramón Gabriel and García Álvarez 2016, pp. 391–406).

The DGT also tried to promote tourist bounties by inviting people from foreign travel agencies to visit Spain. For example, on February 10, 1949, a tour made up of the directors of Metropolitan Travel, Cook Son, Madison Square Travel, Almiral Travel Service and Hollyday Travel Agency, among others, arrived (*La Vanguardia Española*, February 11, 1949, p. 4); a month later, 11 directors of English tourist agencies landed in Madrid (*ABC*, March 18, 1949, p. 10); on September 30, 1950, about 12 leaders from agencies in different American countries arrived from France (*ABC Sevilla*, October 1, 1950, p. 23); and on September 3, 1951, 7 representatives from South American travel agencies would be invited to visit Spain by the DGT (*ABC*, September 4, 1951, p. 10). These invitations from the DGT also extended to different figures linked to the tourism sector, such as F. Towle, president of the International Hospitality Association (*La Vanguardia Española*, February 25, 1947, p. 1), Edith Turner (*ABC*, October 24 1945, p. 12), hotel general manager, Stanley Norman Bliss, director of outstanding American tourist services (*Aragón*, 1947, 205, p. 81), or Lloyd F. George and Ralph T. Redd, executives of the American Express Company (*La Vanguardia Española*, March 23, 1947, p. 10; April 18, 1951, p. 1). Likewise, in 1948, it was a showcase for the nation to host the celebration of the II Congress of the International Hospitality Association (*ABC Sevilla*, October 10, 1948, p. 12), an organisation that had admitted Spain in February 1947 (*La Vanguardia Española*, February 25, 1947, p. 1), and the XXII International Congress of Travel Agencies, attended by almost one hundred representatives from various nations (*La Vanguardia Española*, November 26, 1948, p. 3).

The result of the state promotional work was, in Bolín's judgement, quite positive. While returning from a promotional trip to several American countries, in February 1950, the director of the DGT declared that he believed that the foundations of foreign tourism to Spain had

been not only completely standardised but also prepared for further expansion in those countries, and for that reason he felt satisfied and full of optimism (*ABC Sevilla*, February 15, 1950, p. 4).

5.8 Few Economic Resources

Rickety and insufficient are some of the adjectives that the budgetary policy of Franco has deserved (Barciela López et al. 2001, p. 59; Comín and Hernández 2013, p. 306; Comín and Martorell 2013, p. 176). In a scenario in which public expenditures decreased in relation to national income, the DGT was no exception. Until 1943 the budgeted appropriations remained more or less stable, at figures very similar to those allocated during the years of 1934 and 1935: 4.5 and 3.8 million pesetas (Pellejero Martínez 2018), respectively. But as of 1944 the trend was clearly increasing, quadrupling in seven years. Thanks to this, the average relative weight of the ordinary appropriations granted to the DGT within the total budget of the country, which had been 0.04 per cent in the period 1940–1944, increased to 0.10 per cent in the second half of the decade—percentages not too far from, although slightly lower as of, 1948, for the contribution of receptive tourism to the Spanish Gross Domestic Product (Table 5.3). However, due to inflationary episodes, the evolution left much to be desired in constant terms. In 1950's pesetas, the purchasing power of the DGT experienced setbacks in the biennia 1941–1942, 1946–1947 and 1949–1950 and a growth of 127 per cent in the triennium 1943–1945. Consequently, the comparison between the years 1940 and 1950 provides an increase of 440 per cent in nominal terms but only 82 per cent in real terms.

A considerable part of the budget was allocated to the categories *Personal*, with a decreasing relative share over the second half of the decade, and *Gastos de carácter general*, with an opposite trend. This last category, which multiplied by seven in the last five years of the decade, included, among other things, travel, propaganda, exchange differences for payments abroad, installation and maintenance of offices and

dependencies abroad, transport expenses for diverse material used by the DGT and used in establishments that depended on it, unprofitable public offerings, and the organisation and development of national hunting and fishing grounds.

The state network, a great recipient of the DGT's resources, was also nurtured by other budget categories—on the one hand, through the *Adquisiciones y construcciones ordinarias,* referring exclusively to those related to the public offering and with an upward trend during the period, and on the other hand, through extraordinary credits approved until 1944 and whose primary recipient was the aforementioned chain. By the Law of June 12, 1940, 500,000 pesetas were provided to finish the construction work in progress on the *paradors*, *albergues* and *hosterías* and to repair the extraordinary damage caused to DGT buildings and facilities by the war. The following year, and through the Laws of March 8 and October 17, this aforementioned category was increased to 1,900,000 pesetas, with reference to repairs from military damage being removed. In 1944, under the Law of December 13, 1943, 3,750,000 pesetas were budgeted to be allocated for the purchase of land and buildings, construction work, repairs, the completion and preservation of public establishments, and the acquisition of furniture and all kinds of products that were necessary for the operation of the same. Another 35,000 pesetas was budgeted, this time under the Law of November 25, 1944, for expenses related to the national hunting and fishing reserves and for the transport of furniture, equipment, files, office machinery, clothing and other goods of the DGT and its establishments. And, finally, with the inclusion in 1945 in the ordinary budget of the concept of *Construcciones, adquisiciones e instalaciones extraordinarias o de primer establecimiento*, which contributed around 5.5 million pesetas annually—a category that from 1948 until 1957 had to be recorded in the State Budget, under the Law of December 27, 1947, in the amount of five million pesetas annually. This money was intended to specifically meet the construction costs of 12 *paradors* and to carry out expansions to lodgings of the same class that were, at that time, open to the public (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 DGT budget (in thousands of pesetas)

	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
1	923	1.196	1.202	1.391	1.622	1.882	2.184	2.566	2.531	2.562	2.944
2	187	194	288	442	338	394	541	546	574	574	600
3	128	168	213	263	183	438	396	455	421	460	508
4	1.508	753	1.098	1.035	816	1.050	2.688	2.967	3.056	6.838	7.188
5	200	149	300	200	300	300	350	400	0	400	400
6	75	75	1.075	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.375	1.710	1.710	1.510	1.910
7	50	63	75	75	75	45	65	65	100	100	200
8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4.047	0	0
9	0	0	0	0	0	5.600	5.600	5.550	5.450	5.450	5.550
10	3.071	2.598	4.251	4.406	4.334	10.709	13.199	14.266	17.889	17.894	19.300
11	500	1.900	21	0	3.785	47	0	0	0	0	0
12	3.571	4.498	4.272	4.406	8.119	10.757	13.199	14.266	17.889	17.894	19.300
13	10.613	10.282	9.138	9.482	16.725	20.718	19.376	17.790	20.894	19.826	19.300

Source: *Boletín Oficial del Estado*; Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (1990). Own figures

1. Staff 2. General Material 3. Property rental 4. General expenses 5. Aid, grants and subsidies 6. Regular acquisitions and construction 7. Preservation and repair work 8. Debt repayment 9. Extraordinary acquisitions, construction and installations or first establishment 10. Total regular budget 11. Total extraordinary budget 12. Total Budget 13. Total budget in pesetas in 1950

5.9 A Promising New Stage

Bolín was always optimistic about the touristic future of Spain. In the middle of the Second World War, he declared that when the military conflict ended, foreigners of different nationalities would arrive in the country eager to enjoy the landscape, the climate and all the charms that Spain could offer, and hence, they had to be prepared to welcome them. The nation could not forego the foreign currency that tourists could contribute or the positive propaganda effects that the leisure travel industry would cause abroad (*Aragón*, 1943, 185, pp. 107–108)—ideas that grew and materialised throughout the post-war period. In 1949, after meeting with different international tourism and transport organisations in the United States, Bolín said that he had ascertained their recent interest in Spain and he considered that a new and promising stage had begun (*ABC Sevilla*, December 14, 1949, p. 5). And the following year he congratulated himself on the ease with which a tourist could obtain their travel visa at the Spanish consulates in the United States (*ABC*, February 9, 1950, p. 8) and was hopeful that in 1951 he would double the number of English tourists visiting Spain (*ABC Sevilla*, June 30, 1950, p. 8).

But Bolín was not the only optimist as regards the touristic possibilities in Spain. As the second half of the decade progressed, the number of foreign agencies in the sector increased accordingly. In March 1947 Lloyd F. George, of American Express, declared that Spain provided an unquestionable interest for the American tourist because of its beauty and the richness of its folklore (*La Vanguardia Española*, March 23, 1947, p. 10). That same year, Stanley Norman Bliss, director of important North American tourist services, said that Spain awaited a bright future regarding tourism since, both in the United States and in the American and European countries in which he had travelled, he had seen that a keen interest had awakened in visiting Spain because better prospects could be offered than in other destinations (*Aragón*, 1947, 205, p. 81).

It seems that both were not wrong. It can be deduced from the few quantitative indicators that exist that inbound tourism experienced an undoubted dynamism in Spain during the second half of the analysed decade. The arrival of foreigners with a passport did not stop growing

Table 5.3 Spain foreign tourism

Años	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1931	276.3	187.2	89.1			131.1	0.39
1932	278.6	201.9	76.7			161.0	0.49
1933	261.4	200.3	61.1			136.3	0.43
1934	275.6	190.8	84.8			142.1	0.41
1940		18.9				58.0	0.11
1941		30.8				49.3	0.09
1942		30.6				33.7	0.05
1943		72.1				30.6	0.04
1944		34.3				52.1	0.06
1945		39.2				34.6	0.04
1946		83.5				85.8	0.08
1947		136.8				189.8	0.16
1948		175.9				302.1	0.24
1949		283.9				410.1	0.30
1950		457.0				640.1	0.38
1951	1263.2	676.2	325.2	189.1	72.7	1.174.0	0.54

Source: *Información Comercial Española* (1960, pp. 100–102); Tena (2005, p. 641–643)

1. Tourists (in thousands) 2. Foreigners with passport (in thousands) 3. In-transit foreigners in ports (in thousands) 4. Foreigners with 24-hour authorisation (in thousands) 5. Spanish residents abroad (in thousands) 6. Income from incoming tourism (current pesetas in millions) 7. Tourism services exportation over GDP (percentages)

after the end of the Second World War and in 1949 managing to surpass the pre-war levels. Also, and despite the extensive black market that prospered due to Franco's exchange policy, the income generated by cross-border tourism, which contributed although extraordinarily modestly to the Spanish Gross Domestic Product, had also been increasing since 1946. In the period 1947–1950 the relationship between tourism income and Spanish exports grew from 7 to 11.6 per cent and in the case of imports from 6 to 10.5 per cent, and thanks to foreign tourism it was possible to finance between 44 and 52 per cent of the trade deficit (Vallejo Pousada 2015, p. 96) (Table 5.3).

In addition, foreign demand was characterised by a notable concentration, in terms of both the countries where tourists came from and the time of the year chosen to visit. As had happened during the Second Republic, the French market continued to be decisive (Fernández Fúster

1991, pp. 277–278). In 1951, the neighbouring country contributed 41.2 per cent, followed by Portugal, the United Kingdom and North America, with 19.2, 10.6 and 4.6 per cent, respectively (Información Comercial Española 1960, p. 103). With regard to seasonality, that same year 23 and 48.7 per cent of the foreign tourists arrived in spring and summer, respectively. Most of them came by road: 58 per cent. The railway was chosen by 27 per cent, and the remaining 14 per cent was divided equally between air and sea transportation (Ministry of Information and Tourism 1963).

Another revealing fact about the revival of tourism is the increase in information provided by the DGT offices, which went from 4690 (*Páginas de Turismo Nacional*, 1945, marzo, p. 4) in 1941 to 1.2 million (Arrillaga 1955; p. 61) ten years later—a remarkable growth that accelerated in the second half of the decade and that focused especially on the foreign public. In the period 1947–1951 the informative work carried out in the headquarters located in Spain and abroad as well as work provided to foreign and national citizens multiplied by 2.1, by 100.9, by 1.1 and by 16.2, respectively. Consequently, the relative share of the international clientele grew from 15.8 to 73.1 per cent.

We will try to approach the reality of internal tourism through what happened in the *Obra Social de Educación y Descanso*, in the network of public establishments and in spas. In the first case, the so-called social tourism, workers could benefit from reduced rates on means of transport, stays in summer residences and trips and tours at reasonable prices. The option of enjoying, on average, two weeks of holidays in a summer residence was, over time, attracting followers. In fact, between 1940 and 1951 establishments owned by trade unions and open to the public went from 15 to 36, and their clients from 3565 to 18,435, respectively. However, interest in their organised trips, which increased significantly in the first half of the 1940s, showed a clearly decreasing trend over the subsequent five years. Between 1940 and 1944 the number of travellers grew from 61,604 to 290,124. But thereafter the demand slowed, registering 82,395 travellers in 1951 (Fernández Marcos 1959).

In public tourist establishments, with a mostly native clientele and especially until the middle of the decade, the trend was markedly increasing during these years: 39,211 stays in 1943, 55,790 in 1946 and

119,000 in 1951 (Statistical Trade Union Service 1947, pp. 75–76; Pellejero Martínez 2015, p. 192). On the other hand, the dynamism in the spas was much lower where the offering remained stagnant. In 1940, there were 116 open to the public, 43 less than in 1930 and 5 more than in 1951. Their trend increased slightly between 1940 and 1947, with the number of customers going from 61,292 to 74,746, respectively. However, from then on the demand stagnated, such that 74,231 customers were registered in 1951, an even lower figure than the 81,196 customers who went in 1930 (Escorihuela 1952, pp. 62–64; Servicio Sindical de Estadística 1947, pp. 61–62; Fernández Fúster 1991, pp. 462–464).

As for the accommodation companies, at the beginning of 1947 the Servicio Sindical de Estadística counted 1171 hotels, 7550 *pensiones* and 2879 *posadas* (Statistical Trade Union Service 1947, p. 100). Four years later, the aforementioned service considered 1038 hotels and 280 *pensiones* of tourist interest, equipped with 70,825 and 7946 places, respectively (Escorihuela 1961, pp. 48–49), and highlighted that the hotel offering was characterised by a notable geographical concentration. Around 54 per cent of the establishments were distributed in 13 of the 50 Spanish provinces, with relative quotas of: Madrid, 10.4; Barcelona, 6.9; Guipúzcoa, 6.7; Gerona, 5.4; Santander, 3.1; Malaga, 2.9; Valencia, 2.9; Jaén, 2.9; Oviedo, 2.7; Pontevedra, 2.7; Cádiz, 2.5; Alicante, 2.4 and Baleares, 2.3. (Escorihuela 1951, p. 54). It also accounted for another 134,928 places offered in 11,244 second- and third-level *pensiones*, rooming houses and *posadas* (Información Comercial Española 1960, p. 112). Lastly, Spain began the decade of the 1950s with 20 travel agencies in operation (Office of Economic Studies 1970, p. 25), one more than they already had in 1946 (Statistical Trade Union Service 1947, pp. 68–70).

5.10 Conclusions

In the decade of the 1940s, in a very unfavourable political and economic context, both internally and internationally, the Franco administration tried to strengthen the leisure travel industry. With this it intended to obtain the foreign currency that the nation badly needed to boost the poor economy and improve the bad image that Spain had abroad as a

result of Franco's dictatorial regime. Franco created the DGT for this purpose, and put Bolín at its head.

As could be expected, the work of the DGT was constrained by interventionism and scarcity of resources that characterised the first Franco regime. From the hospitality industry to travel agencies, and through to advertising, there was no activity that was not strictly regulated by the State. The agency led by Bolín was no exception within the miserly Franco political budget. Its financing, growing in nominal terms, was not very stimulating in pesetas terms. It barely accounted for between 0.04 and 0.10 per cent of the General State Budgets, which during the whole period were characterised precisely by their manifest insufficiency.

The DGT's efforts focused primarily on three objectives. With the hotel sector controlled and obliged to offer its services at low and unchanged prices until 1947, Bolín continued to rely on. He recovered after the effects of the civil war and increased the public offer framed in the Red de Establecimientos Turísticos del Estado. Following the prevailing philosophy since its creation in 1928, the DGT did not intend at any time to compete with the private initiative. Its objective continued to be to create a series of small public establishments that were attractive to customers and were located in places with tourist interest and where the hotel industry was scarce or insufficient.

The DGT also worked to improve and expand the knowledge that people abroad had of Spain. The varied climatic and artistic, geographical and cultural assets of the country had to be made known. In this vein we must highlight the interesting publishing work of posters and publications, the invitations addressed to agents in the sector so that they visit the nation, the opening of tourist information offices nationally and abroad and the visits Bolín made to several countries, which had a potential to send tourists, with the intent of capturing cross-border tourism.

Finally, the DGT did not forget about an item as decisive as the organisation of trips and tours. In a country where the activity of travel agencies had been regulated for the first time, Bolín transformed the original Rutas de Guerra into Rutas Nacionales, offering tours to different parts of Spain. In addition, in a country in which rail and air transport were nationalised, and in which road travel was an ordeal, he proposed and succeeded in creating the public company ATESA in 1949. Owned by

the state entity INI, this new company was born, in principle, with the mission of creating a network of national and regional tourist routes, as well as fixed radial trips, and of offering a car and bus rental service.

Did Spain get to promote international tourism in a world at war? Did the DGT improve domestic and receptive tourism in a country that was impoverished and repudiated by the UN? The scarce quantitative data on the matter indicates that the sector notably revived after the Second World War. It is quite significant that the 83,500 foreigners with a passport who crossed the Spanish borders in 1946 became 676,200 five years later. Also significant were the growing international interest in obtaining information about Spain, the advances experienced by the sector in terms of tourism offered, and the still timid but exciting response of national demand.

Bibliography

Arrillaga J.I. (1955) *Sistema de política turística*. Madrid: Aguilar.

Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (1990) *Informe Económico 1989*. Bilbao.

Barciela López, C. (2002) "Guerra civil y primer franquismo (1936–1959)", en Comín, F., Hernández, M. y Llopis, E. (eds.) *Historia económica de España. Siglos X-XX*. Barcelona: Crítica, pp. 331–367.

Barciela López (ed.) (2003) *Autarquía y mercado negro. El fracaso económico del primer franquismo*. Barcelona: Crítica.

Barciela López, C. et al (2001) *La España de Franco (1939–1975)*. Madrid: Síntesis.

Brú Serrano, J. (1964) *El crédito hotelero en España.* Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Turísticos.

Carreras, A. (2003) "El siglo XX, entre rupturas y prosperidad (1914–2000)", en Di Vittorio, A. (coord.) *Historia económica de Europa. Siglos XV-XX*. Barcelona: Crítica, pp. 302–433.

Carreras, A. y Tafunell, X. (2018) *Entre el Imperio y la Globalización. Historia económica de la España contemporánea*. Barcelona: Crítica.

Catalán, J. (1995a) *La economía española y la segunda guerra mundial*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Catalán, J. (1995b) "Sector exterior y crecimiento industrial. España y Europa, 1939–1959", *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 8, pp. 99–145.

Comín, F. (2011) *Historia económica mundial. De los orígenes a la actualidad*. Madrid: Alianza.

Comín, F. y Hernández, M. (eds.) (2013) *Crisis económicas en España, 1300–2012*. Madrid: Alianza.
Comín, F. y Martorell, M. (2013) *La Hacienda Pública en el Franquismo. La guerra y la autarquía (1936–1959).* Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales.
Comín, F. et al (1998) *150 años de historia de los ferrocarriles españoles*, Madrid: Anaya.
Correyero Ruiz, B. (2005) "La Administración Turística española entre 1936 y 1951. El turismo al servicio de la propaganda política", *Estudios Turísticos*, 163–164, pp. 55–79.
Correyero Ruiz, B. (2016) "La reorganización del turismo español (1939–1953). Del inicio de la posguerra a la creación del Plan Nacional de Turismo", *Revista de la Historia de la Economía y de la Empresa*, X, pp. 219–249.
Correyero Ruiz, B. y Cal, R. (2008) *Turismo: la mayor propaganda de Estado. España. Desde los orígenes hasta 1951*. Madrid: Vision Net.
Eichengreen, B. (2006) *The European Economy since 1945. Coordinated Capitalism and Beyond.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Escorihuela, E. (1951) "Nuestros hoteles figuran en la vanguardia de la industria hotelera mundial", *Revista Sindical de Estadística*, 21, pp. 52–56.
Escorihuela, E. (1952) "Las curas de aguas tienen ahora pocos adeptos", *Revista Sindical de Estadística*, 26, pp. 61–64.
Escorihuela, E. (1954) "Los precios en la industria hotelera", *Revista Sindical de Estadística*, 36, pp. 49–54.
Escorihuela, E. (1956) "El servicio de crédito hotelero", *Revista Sindical de Estadística*, 43, pp. 64–67.
Escorihuela, E. (1961) "La industria turística española", *Revista Sindical de Estadística*, 64, pp. 40–56.
Esteve Secall, R. y Fuentes García, R. (2000) *Economía, historia e instituciones del turismo en España.* Madrid: Pirámide.
Federación Española de Sindicatos de Iniciativa y Turismo (1943) *VIII Asamblea. Pamplona*
Fernández Fúster, L. (1991) *Historia general del turismo de masas.* Madrid: Alianza.
Fernández Marcos, A. (1959) *El turismo social en España.* Madrid: Tesis Doctoral.
Findlay, R. y O'Rourke, K. (2007) *Power and Plenty. Trade, War and the World Economy in the Second Millenium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Gabinete de Estudios Económicos (1970) "Ensayo sobre valoraciones de las inversiones turísticas en los distintos sectores económicos españoles", *Estudios Turísticos*, 28, pp. 5–52.
García Delgado, J. L. y Jiménez, J. C. (1999) *Un siglo de España. Economía*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.

Gómez Mendoza, A. y San Román, E. (2005) "Transportes y comunicaciones", en Carreras, A. y Tafunell, X. (coords.) *Estadísticas históricas de España. Volumen II*. Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, pp. 509–572.

Herrero Riquelme, R. (2012) "Madrid, destino turístico de posguerra. Los carteles de Madrid editados por la Dirección General de Turismo 1939–1951", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie VII, Historia del Arte, 25, pp. 313–332.

Información Comercial Española (1960) "El turismo en el comercio exterior de España", 322, pp. 100–117.

Lázaro Sebastián, F. (2015) "El cartel turístico en España. Desde las iniciativas pioneras del Patronato Nacional del Turismo hasta los comienzos del desarrollismo", *Artigrama*, 30, pp. 143–165.

Lentisco, D. (2005) *Cuando el hierro se hace camino, Historia del Ferrocarril en España*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Luque Aranda, M. (2015) *El desarrollo del sector turístico durante la Segunda República y el Primer Franquismo: la Federación Española de Sindicatos de Iniciativa y Turismo*. Tesis Doctoral. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Luque Aranda, M. (2017) "La FESIT y su influencia en el desarrollo turístico español: 1932–1959", *Revista de la Historia de la Economía y de la Empresa*, XI, pp. 237–261.

Luque Aranda, M. y Pellejero Martínez, C. (2019) "La promoción turística privada en la España del primer tercio del siglo XX: los Sindicatos de Iniciativa y Turismo", *Investigaciones de Historia Económica*, 15, pp. 38–46.

Maluquer de Motes, J. (2014) *La economía española en perspectiva histórica*. Barcelona: Pasado y Presente.

Marichal, C. (2010) *Nueva historia de las grandes crisis financieras. Una perspectiva global*, 1873–2008. Barcelona: Debate.

Martín Aceña, P. (1989) "El sistema financiero", en Carreras, A. (coord.) *Estadísticas históricas de España, siglos XIX-XX*. Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, pp. 363–394.

Martínez Ruiz, E. (2003) *El sector exterior durante la autarquía. Una reconstrucción de las balanzas de pagos de España (1940–1958*). Madrid: Banco de España.

Ministerio de Información y Turismo (1963) *Anuario de Estadísticas de Turismo*, Madrid.

Moreno Garrido, A. (2007) *Historia del turismo en España en el siglo XX*. Madrid: Síntesis.

Moreno Garrido, A. (2010) "El Patronato Nacional de Turismo (1928–1932). Balance económico de una política turística", *Investigaciones de Historia Económica*, 18, pp. 103–132.

Moreno Garrido, A. (2015) "Los otros <<años vitales>>. Luis Bolín y la España turística (1948–1952)", *Ayer*, 99, pp. 151–174.

Moreno Garrido, A. y Pellejero Martínez, C. (2015) "La red de establecimientos turísticos del Estado (1928–1977), ¿necesidad hotelera o política turística?", *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 59, pp. 147–178.

Muñoz Rubio, M. (1995) *RENFE (1941–1991), Medio siglo de ferrocarril público.* Madrid: Fundación de Ferrocarriles Españoles.

Pack, S.D. (2009) *La invasión pacífica. Los turistas y la España de Franco*. Madrid: Turner.

Pack, S.D. (2013) "Turismo en la Europa de la postguerra: de la diplomacia esterliniana al consumismo de masas", *Transportes, Servicios y Telecomunicaciones*, 24, pp. 138–166.

Pellejero Martínez, C. (dir.) (1999) *Historia de la economía del turismo en España.* Madrid: Civitas.

Pellejero Martínez, C. (2000) *El Instituto Nacional de Industria en el sector turístico. ATESA (1949–1981) y ENTURSA (1963–1986).* Málaga: Universidad de Málaga.

Pellejero Martínez, C. (2002) "La actuación del Estado en materia turística durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera", *Revista de Historia Económica*, 1, pp. 149–158.

Pellejero Martínez, C. (2015) "La Red de Establecimientos Turísticos del Estado en la España autárquica (1939–1959)", *Revista de la Historia de la Economía y de la Empresa*, IX, pp. 179–205.

Pellejero Martínez, C. (2018) "La política turística durante la República, 1931–1936", en Vallejo, R. y Larrinaga, C. (dirs.) *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico, 1900–1939.* Madrid: Sílex, pp. 345–380.

Ramón Gabriel, M. y García Álvarez, J. (2016) "Fotografía, turismo e identidad nacional en el primer franquismo (1939–1959): Rafael Calleja y la *Apología Turística de España*", *Cuadernos de Turismo*, 38, pp. 385–410.

Sánchez González, I. (2015) *Diez años de soledad. España, la ONU y la dictadura franquista, 1945–1955*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla.

Serrano Sanz, J.M. (1997) "Sector exterior y desarrollo en la economía española contemporánea", *Papeles de Economía Española*, n° 73.

Servicio Sindical de Estadística (1947) *La hostelería en España*, Madrid.

Tena, A. (2005) "Sector exterior" en Carreras A. y Tafunell, X. (eds.) *Estadísticas históricas de España. Siglos XIX-XX*. Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, pp. 573–644.

Vallejo Pousada, R. (2015) "¿Bendición del cielo o plaga? El turismo en la España franquista, 1939–1975", *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 37, pp. 89–113.

Vallejo, R. y Larrinaga, C. (dirs.) (2018) *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico, 1900–1939*. Madrid: Sílex.

Varios Autores (1998) *Origen y desarrollo del transporte aéreo en España*. Madrid: Fundación AENA.

Vidal Olivares, F.J. (2008) *Las alas de España. Iberia, Líneas Aéreas (1940–2005)*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia

Viniegra Velasco, J. B. (1996) *Aquella Iberia que hemos vivido. Cronología de seis décadas*. Madrid: J.B. Viniegra.

Wais y San Martín, F. (1974) *Historia de los Ferrocarriles Españoles*. Madrid: Editora Nacional.

Zamagni, V. (2005) *Historia económica de la Europa contemporánea*. Barcelona: Crítica.

6

Tourism Advertising and Propaganda During the Postwar. The Case of Barcelona

Saida Palou and Beatriz Correyero

6.1 Presentation of the Topic, Objectives and Sources

During the postwar period, there was a discrete rebirth of the tourism sector in some Spanish communities which had enjoyed prosperous tourist activity before the start of the civil war. To incentivize the entry of visitors, Franco's government and the local and provincial

This work is part of the HAR2017-82679-C2-1-P project, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities and ERDF funds of the European Union.

S. Palou (✉)
Institut Català de Recerca en Patrimoni Cultural, University of Girona, Girona, Spain
e-mail: saida.palou@udg.edu

B. Correyero (✉)
Journalism Department, Catholic University of Murcia, Murcia, Spain
e-mail: bcorreyero@ucam.edu

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_6

administrations conducted an intense advertising and propaganda campaign that cannot be analyzed separately from the political and socio-economic issues of the postwar period. Tourism advertising and propaganda are constructed starting from an ideology and to serve an ideology, in order to appraise the resources of the territory from the point of view of tourism and, at the same time, to legitimize new political structures.

To understand the model of tourism that was developed in Spain starting in the 1940s, it is necessary to understand the geo-economic, political and socio-cultural situation of the country at that time, as well as of the main sending countries that, with the end of World War II and the entrance into the free market and the welfare society, transformed their consumption and production habits at a rapid pace. The revolution of petroleum-related industries, the promotion of paid vacation and the right to leisure allowed millions of individuals to abandon their obligations and everyday environments summer after summer to enjoy their vacations. The economic differences of Spain as compared to the sending markets as well as the climatological conditions and a *picturesque* cultural and natural landscape exerted a strong tourist attraction. However, mass tourism that developed throughout the decades of Francoism cannot be understood without having in mind the interest and the permissiveness of the regime in favor of the new tourism phenomenon. Propaganda and advertising was used to encourage the growth of the demand and the development of this sector and at the same time to nurture the official image of the regime. The postwar period was the prelude to Fordism development; the regime installed its structures in an atmosphere of economic recovery and international isolation and started to discern tourism as the engine for economic growth and the backdrop for a discourse of peace and freedom. The preferred places of the Fordist tourist were essentially the coastal destinations, while the medium and large cities lost their capacity to attract; the industrialization processes made them dead zones with scarce reasons and places for tourist leisure.

The objective of the present text is to present the Spanish tourism context that was forged between the years 1939 and 1959, as well as the political, institutional and administrative framework that nurtured it. More specifically, the image of the brand and the advertising and

propaganda strategy promoted by Franco's government will be analyzed, considering them as political and ideological instruments and tools. Afterward, the case of Barcelona will be analyzed in depth, focusing on the administrative and political structures that drove the development of tourism of the city during the postwar period and its fit—and prompt dissidence—with the framework of the state.

The chapter brings together the results from two complementary lines of research: on the one hand, the studies on tourism advertising and propaganda of the State, and on the other, the works on political and social history of tourism in Barcelona. As for primary sources, documents published by the institutions analyzed during the period studied were utilized.

6.2 Historical, Political and Tourism Context

To explain the political and tourism context within which the postwar advertising is framed, it is necessary to divide the period analyzed into two sub-periods. The first refers to the 1940s, which represent the first years of the autarky and international isolation. The second period being in the 1950s, coinciding with the start of the Cold War and the recognition of Spain at the international level.

6.2.1 The Beginnings of the Postwar Period

The political and historical circumstances experienced by the country between 1939 and 1945 motivated state interventionism and control of the economic activities. The economy of scarcity was prioritized, and the exchanges with the exterior were paralyzed. Without consumption or production, an economic stagnation was produced (Clavera et al. 1973). When the war ended, a phenomenon of regression was unchained and the country was not able to recover until the mid-1950s.

On the other hand, the tourism initiative of the 1940s, both private and public, and the development of the tourist sector were conditioned by political circumstances: the consequences of the civil war, the world war, the ostracism of Franco's regime (1945–1946) and the

re-positioning of Spain among the Western nations (1948), as well as the direction of the general economic policy of the first Francoist period.

Nevertheless, in the 1940s, a legislative and economic structure was designed that would frame tourism activity until the 1960s. Luis Antonio Bolín, the head of the Dirección General de Turismo (General Directorate of Tourism, DGT in Spanish), was in charge of designing the institutional framework needed for executing the practice of tourism in a country full of technical difficulties, which also lacked basic products and services. Thus, in these years, guidelines were approved related to housing, advertising, transport, hotel credit, hotel trade syndicate and the entry of foreigners (Pellejero 2000).

From 1952 onward, the DGT started to depend on the newly minted Ministerio de Información y Turismo (Ministry of Information and Tourism). Its director was also replaced, and Bolín was substituted by Mariano Urzáiz, Duke of Luna; its organizational chart was structured, according to the Decree of August 8, 1958, into a General Secretariat, a Technical section, Seven Sections (within which we find Propaganda and Publications) and a series of autonomous organizations (Correyero and Cal 2008, p. 443).

Tourism policy during the first years of the postwar was inspired by totalitarian models from Italy (Opera Nazionale del Doppolavoro) and Germany (Kraft durch Freude -KdF) based on converting tourism into an instrument of strengthening the national sentiment, to show the virtues of the government and to mobilize the masses through social vacations (Walton 2005, cited in Moreno 2007, p. 151).

Toward the end of 1939, the Delegación Nacional de Sindicatos (National Delegation of Syndicates) created the Obra Nacional Alegría y Descanso (National Endeavor for Happiness and Rest), which on January 3, 1940, was renamed Obra Sindical Educación y Descanso (Education and Rest, OSED in Spanish). Although this organization was created to provide workers with possibilities of leisure that were similar to those enjoyed by the more privileged classes, there was an underlying objective, and this was to awaken sympathy of the working class toward the regime (Carcelén 2016). The OSED included a Departamento de Viajes y Excursions (Department of Travel and Tours), on which the section of Ciudades Sindicales y residencias y Albergues (Syndicate Cities and

Residencies and Hostels) was dependent. These, along with the *Paradores de Turismo* (*parador* hotels), were the main modes of national tourist accommodation. In 1941, there were 12 residencies, and in 1948, the Network of Residencies and Hostels comprised 28 establishments, as all the Spanish provinces, through the provincial, county and local Delegations, could depend on this type of residential tourism (Del Río 2016, p. 461).

In Catalonia, the social and political problems that resulted from the civil war abruptly interrupted the development achieved in the 1930s. The Francoist repression was especially tough and violent with a people that for the new regime represented a summary of all the dangers: republicanism, anarchism and catalanism.

The policy applied in Catalonia by the Francoist authorities was directed toward the elimination of all that which differentiated Catalonia from Spain, that is, the language, the culture, the symbols and the signs of identity. The triumph of the national faction paralyzed the activity of the Oficina de Turisme de Catalunya (Catalonia Tourism Office), and therefore, it ended the autonomous management of the sector. At the end of the 1940s, an international blockade was put in place which especially affected the Catalan territory, when the French government closed the frontier with Spain in 1946.

The civil war and the start of World War II cut short the advances achieved until then in the process of expansion of Spanish tourism, on the interior as well as the exterior. Around 20,000 tourists entered Spain in 1940, whose contributions totaled 0.1% of the GDP, with a total of 284,000 foreign tourists by the end of 1949, but their numbers did not exceed the maximum entries registered in 1930 alone (278,000 tourists) (Vallejo 2015, p. 91).

As for the international context, after World War II, tourism was already an established sociological and economic phenomenon that formed part of the political agenda for European reconstruction (Pack 2013). In a "pre-Fordism" period, the irruption of jet-engine airplane based air transport from aviation to reaction, the boosting of car tourism—with the appearance of cheap cars such as the Renault 4CV, the Citroën 2CV or the SEAT 600 in 1957, the social achievement of paid vacations and the growth of the standard of living, motivated in great

part by the political stability created by the Cold War, would have great repercussions in the development of tourism. Rullán (2008) explained that in this context, necessary conditions were created for the growth of tourist destinations such as the Mediterranean Sea, which discerned the start of the change toward a model of sun and sea, with a notable generalization of the following enclaves: Turkey, Sardinia (Emerald Coast), Egypt (Alexandria), Tunisia (Djerba), southern France (Languedoc-Roussillon), and even the Atlantic coast of Morocco (Agadir), and especially Spain, with the growth of destinations such as the Balearic Islands, the Canary Islands, the Costa del Sol, Costa Blanca, Costa Dorada and Costa Brava, where the tourism of secondary residencies started to develop (Esteve and Fuentes 2000).

During this period, and after the approval of the Plan for Tourism in 1953, the Plan of Paradors and Hostels continued in an upward trend, as the construction of twenty new establishments was authorized, becoming forty by the end of the 1950s (Moreno and Pellejero 2015, p.157), but, curiously, none of them in Catalonia. It could be that this province had an offering of hotels that was superior to other regions in Spain, or perhaps due to political reasons, as in some cases the construction of these accommodations responded to interests that were purely governmental, or of image, so that most of the establishments built in this period were found in Andalusia.

Also in the 1950s, Education and Rest (OSED) embarked on the promotion of exterior tourism, operating trips and tours to France, Belgium, Scandinavian countries, Germany, the United Kingdom and Italy, which is a testimony of the commitment of the work by the syndicates in the political and tourist opening of the regime toward the main European countries (Del Río 2016, p. 461).

6.2.2 The Beginnings of the Economic Recovery

What occurred in Spain after World War II, after the defeat of the fascist axis powers and the victory of the democratic countries, should be interpreted in the geopolitical context of the Cold War and in light of the subsistence needs of the Spanish fascist regime itself.

The Cold War was, for Spain, a tank of oxygen. Communism became the new enemy in the Western world, and in a world divided into two, Spain was clearly positioned against this ideology, with its strategic geographical placement being greatly interesting for the winning countries, with the USA at the helm.

The cultural relations between Spain and the USA in the period comprising the end of World War II and the signing of the Madrid Pacts in 1953 were contingent upon the political strategy designed by the US Department of State and the attitude of the Francoist government. These relationships were mirrored in the contemporary North American press as shown by Maestro and Sagredo (2010, p. 2016), who affirmed that between 1945 and 1952 "the idea prevailed that it was possible and necessary to bring the American values closer to the segment of the Spanish population prone to cultural and political convergence". In this sense, in the first years, until 1948, the North American cultural initiatives with respect to Spain were preferably directed toward the illustrious middle classes, little or non-committed with the Francoist regime. It is in this context that the Americans initiate an "autonomous" cultural penetration by means of institutions such as the Casa Americana, inaugurated in Madrid in 1942 and later in Barcelona in 1949. These organizations tried to "popularize the United States among the Spanish population" to obtain a clear political objective: to ensure the support of the Spanish government in a future war (León-Aguinaga 2009; Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla 2009).

Nevertheless, there were also unfavorable testimonies about the Spain in that period, such as the works by Richard Wright, *Pagan Spain* (1957), and by the Australian photographer Inge Morath—the wife of the American playwright Arthur Miller—with the work entitled *Guerre à la Tristesse* (1955).

Between 1947 and 1955, Francoism also resorted to "cultural diplomacy" as an instrument of international legitimization, projecting a positive image of the country through external politics to obtain a favorable public opinion that could facilitate the achievement of its more specific political objectives and utilizing culture and tourism to forge relationships and construct connections for the exchange of ideas (Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla 1992).

In 1950, the resolution of the UN of 1946 was repealed, which exhorted the international community to break ties with the regime. The same year, the Red Nacional de Ferrocarriles Españoles (National Network of Spanish Railways, RENFE in Spanish) class 350 locomotive began to work, composed of four units, along with the Talgo II coaches that were built in the USA by the American Car and Foundry (ACF). With an *art deco* exterior aspect, these locomotives had a maximum speed of 120 km/h, and their design was based on the wagons used by North American express trains in the period 1930–1950. In 1951 the first American ambassador arrived after the retreat in 1944, and in 1953 the military pacts with the USA were gestated; its entry into the UNESCO in 1953 and its admission in to the UN in 1955 facilitated the country's apparent opening. All of these will become the triggers of the ulterior liberalization and openness of the Spanish economy, which will be solidified with the agreement of economic help from the USA in 1954, the so-called Spanish Marshall plan. Four years later, in 1958, Spain became part of the International Monetary Fund.

While all of this was occurring, Spain recorded the fastest rhythm of industrial growth known until then. But a strong exterior disequilibrium also occurred: between 1950 and 1958, the value of imports increased to around 15% a year, with the exports only increasing by 7%. This deficit was canceled in 1953 with the American loans and afterward, until 1956, with the currencies from tourism (Nadal 2003, pp. 237–238). But in 1956, these were practically exhausted. There was no other solution than to face the Stabilization Plan, which, among other measures, "devaluated an artificially over-valued peseta, eliminated the barriers for exports and facilitated the arrival –already massive- of tourism" (Montero 2012, p. 222). The plan allowed for the development of new middle classes who were the basis of the society of consumption of the 1960s and supported a new tourist "Fordist" model, with a predominance toward standardization and uniformity and the loss of personality of the tourism product starting in the 1960s (Moreno 2007).

In 1950, Spain possessed more than a modest quota of the world's tourist market: 1.8% of the total tourists and 0.8% of the income due to international tourism. In that year, Spain received 0.43 million tourists, who in 1955 became 1.38 million (4.8% of the Spanish population),

which contributed 1.36% to the GDP. This number increased to 2.86 million in 1959 and 4.3 million in 1960 (14% of the population) (Vallejo 2015, p. 91).

The tourists who visited Spain came mainly from France and Portugal, followed, with great differences, by Americans, British and Germans. According to the data by Arrillaga (1999), in 1951, the French market was the largest in Spain, with 37% of the total, followed at some distance by the British and the Portuguese, both with 12% of the market. The German market only constituted 2% of the total. In this period, the access routes also changed. Arrillaga (1999) states that in 1951, the arrivals through roads, trains and ports had similar percentages (44%, 19% and 32%, respectively), while the entries through airports only comprised 4% of the total. In 1959, the entries through roads were clearly the majority (68% of the total), followed at a great distance by ports (15%), trains (8%) and air (8%). Thus, if the state wanted the country to become a tourism power and thus take advantage of the new source of income, it had to improve its infrastructure. A set of laws were thus enacted to put into effect the Plan for Modernizing the Roads in 1950. The affected network, whose retrofitting was conducted between 1951 and 1955, covered a total distance of 10,909 kilometers.

In this context, the search for economic objectives through tourism became just as important as trying to obtain the political or ideological revenues.

As for Catalonia, we have already mentioned that at the end of the 1940s, the Catalonian territory had remained blocked to the entry of visitors. Nevertheless, Garay-Tamajón (2007) affirms that it is in the period between the 1940s and 1950s that a new wave of French visitors appeared who did not come for business purposes but for a weekend stay with their families in the Comarques Gironines that were closer to the frontier. Costa-Pau (1966) explains that these first French tourists (mostly Occitanians) came to eat with their families at restaurants located in the province of Girona and to the mock bullfighting in Figueres, the Planas of Empordà or the Vall d'Aran. Lastly, those who had more disposable income could decide to continue their journey to Barcelona, although for this they would need a travel document or passport and to go deep into badly shaped roads (Garay-Tamajón 2007, p. 125).

The first wave of French tourists was joined by another wave of European visitors from farther away, who took advantage of the reconstruction of the roads in Europe to reach the Mediterranean. It is at the start of the 1950s that the private sector reprised its role in the promotion of Catalonian tourism and the first tourist accommodation was developed in the Catalonian coast (Vila-Fradera 1961). The infrastructure was essentially financed by local capital, in many occasions coming from the sale of agricultural land (Cals 1989, cited in Garay-Tamajón and Cànoves 2010). In this context, the Francoist government maintained a "laissez faire" with respect to the regulation of this activity, paving the way to the speculative investments that will shape the tourist residential model in the Catalonian and Spanish coasts (Garay-Tamajón 2007: 303). Vila Fradera (1961) estimated the number of visitors (hikers and tourists) that arrived in Catalonia in 1959 to be around 1.2 million, which comprised about 28% of the national demand.

As for the city of Barcelona, despite being the node of aerial, port and train communications, during the 1950s it did not reach an average number of stays higher than 2.5 days. As indicated by Vila Fradera (1961), it was not an attractive city for the tourists due to the scarce signage, the image of decay, the lack of promotion and the lack of cultural events. The city had specialized in the tourism of "fairs and congresses", greatly losing other markets. Nevertheless, its accommodation capacity (including hotels and pensions) was comparable to the main European cities, and it was quantified to be higher than 15,000 beds at the end of this period (1959) (Garay-Tamajón 2007, p. 135). It could be said that the hotel industry in Barcelona had a more professional management than the then emerging coastal industry. Also, in this decade, the reform and modernization of the hotel infrastructure, especially in the higher class categories, was undertaken.

6.3 Tourism Publicity and Advertising

After the civil war, the advertising activity shrank in Spain to the levels reached in the 1920s and 1930s, and the campaigns were focused on the "Spanish character" of the products. The sector began to recover in the

late 1950s. In the mid-1950s, the Osborne wineries "linked the abstract concept of Hispanism in their advertising campaign to the visual symbol of the bull, thus becoming the first brand image in the history of Spanish advertising" (Madrid-Cánovas 2007, pp. 96–101). Another important case of this period was the González Byass Wineries, with the famous ad "Bottled Andalusian Sun", where wine bottles dressed in typical Cordoba suits danced with a winetasting cup. This advertising spot, which won the Palm d'Or in the Cannes advertising festival, became so popular in Europe that it was copied by the English and the French to advertise a whiskey and a cognac (Montero 2012, p. 223). In the mid-1950s, an expansion of the American products was initiated as well, with Coca-Cola becoming permanently installed in Spain in 1953.

The city of Barcelona, through the founding of the Gremio Sindical de Agencias de Publicidad (Syndicate Guild of Advertising Agencies) (1948), was one of the pillars of the re-activation of the advertising activity through the organization of events such as the 1st World Advertising Week (1952) and the V International Congress of Advertising Clubs (1954) and the creation of the Club de Dirigentes de Ventas (Sales Managers Club) (1959) and the current Club de Marketing de Barcelona (Marketing Club of Barcelona).

As for tourism advertising, it should be mentioned that during the Francoist period, culture, propaganda and tourism remained as tools at the service of the achievement of political and economic objectives. In the first years of the postwar, the objectives were "to recover the Spanish unity and identity, re-catholicize Spain, convert the movement into the only party, and, in political economy, to establish the autarky and close borders" (Fusi 2012, p. 269). Nevertheless, starting at the end of the1940s and the beginning of the 1950s, tourism was utilized not only as a sign of modernity, but also as a useful element to show a type of regime policy that was more "open". The final aim of this "policy of openness" was to achieve the re-start of international relations (Correyero 2003). The tourist campaigns in these years were directed toward a high-class cultural tourism without a specific season or specific geographical location, and comprised the first example in Spain of a modern brand-place institutional policy, although it limited the promotion of tourism (Bernabeu and Rocamora 2010).

Between 1939 and 1950, the Dirección General de Turismo began to print new signs that abandoned the avant-garde design and instead focused on popular and traditional scenes and local celebrations that popularized the romantic stereotypes spread by the travelers from the nineteenth century. The Catalan José Morell garnered almost all of the orders for tourist posters from the DGT starting in the 1940s until his death in 1949, although other artists should be highlighted as well, such as: Teodoro Delgado, Ricardo Summers Ysern "Serny", José García Ortega, Guy Georget, Bernard Villemot or the photographers José Ortiz Echagüe, Joaquín del Palacio "Kindel", Francesc Catalá-Roca, Otto Wünderlich and the Marquis of Santa María del Villar.

Bill Baker, the president of Total Destination Marketing, considered Spain as being one of the first countries to initiate a strategy of tourism branding in general (Baker 2012) and thinks back to the 1940s when the slogan "Spain is beautiful and different" started to be utilized. Calleja, Chief of the Section of Advertising and Publications of the DGT until his death in 1958, was the greatest Spanish tourism advertiser and popularized this slogan. Although it was not used constantly or systematically, it was able to personalize the image of Spain, rescuing the romantic stereotypes and highlighting the variety and richness of the Spanish character; moreover, "being different" converted the Spanish personality into a virtue and not into an element of exclusion (Herrero 2012, p. 317).

In 1943, the DGT published the *Apología Turística de España (Tourism Advocacy for Spain)*, a work that contained a selection of 439 photographs of landscapes, monuments, sceneries and people from different Spanish historical regions. Calleja was the one responsible for the artistic direction, the selection of photographs, the composition of the text and the creation of a preamble, where key issues of the official tourist discourse of the regime as well as the concept of the Spanish national identity were outlined. The connections established between the arguments related to the differential characteristics of Spain and the tourist posters published by the DGT starting in 1948 allowed for highlighting the importance of this work within the tourist discourse at the time.

Calleja expressed himself in these terms in the book's preamble: "Among the great tourist values of Spain, we still keep pompous seams of this enormous metal: the different" (Calleja 1943, p. 45). The word

"different" always appeared in italics in the original text, and this difference precisely comes from the abundance and beauty of the tourist resources summarized in the trilogy of Nature, Art and History, as was being done in the promotional campaigns of Spain during the first third of the twentieth century (Ramón and García 2016).

Fourteen years later, Calleja presented a new re-impression, with the aim of showing the transformations of the country and the tourist sector that had been operating since the first version and to update the details about tourist activities that could be undertaken in the country, accommodations and means of transport. The *Nueva Apología Turística de España (New Tourist Advocacy for Spain)* was published with a greater quality and in a larger format, but conserved the same structure as the 1943 edition with some new sections.

Andalusia and the two Castilles were the most-represented regions in the tourist advertising of the period, as these regions marked this Spanish "difference": Andalusia for being the best-known region at the international level and the two Castilles for being the symbol of national unity (Ramón and García 2016). As mentioned by Isabel del Río (2016, p. 464), "this generalization in the appraisal of the places and the landscape is the result of the cultural and political homogenization that the new regime imposes to the entire country", with regions such as Catalonia not feeling identified with.

To promote the image of the nation, tourist marketing of the period was utilized. Aside from the publishing of pamphlets and posters based on drawings and photographs of landscapes, monuments and people—with the series of posters "Bellezas de España" (1945–1946) and "Spain is different. Visit Spain" (1948–1949) being two of the most important—magazines and monographs were also published. Among these, in addition to the two works by Calleja, we find the *Boletín Oficial de la Dirección General de Turismo* (*Official Bulleting of the General Directorate of Tourism*) and the magazine *Hostal*. Numerous tourism offices were open outside of Spain at the same time that promotional campaigns were designed in the exterior (Rosendorf 2014, p. 22).

In October 1949, Bolín sent Calleja to initiate an international tourist promotional campaign in New York and in various European countries such as France, the UK, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy. The campaign in

the continent had an expected duration of eighty days distributed in the following manner: twelve in France, twelve in the UK, twenty in Belgium, twenty-six in Switzerland and eight in Italy (Lázaro 2015, p. 163). Bolín himself travelled abroad and not only did he make the *National Geographic Magazine* dedicate a forty-two-page article that described the Spanish tourist attractions (Marden 1950) but he also opened fifteen new tourism offices in Europe and America (Buenos Aires, London, Frankfurt, Paris, Rome, Lisbon, Zurich, Brussels, Stockholm, Tangier, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Mexico and Havana).

During this period, visits from illustrious personalities were promoted, as well as visits from foreign journalists and tour operators; public relations campaigns were designed with independent advisers such as Cecric Salter and/or Toby O' Brien (Rodríguez-Salcedo 2015; O'Brien 2000; Pearson and Turner 1966)—the last was especially in charge of the promotion of the Costa Brava among the British, apart from the creation of a more favorable opinion of the Spanish nation among the British press-. When Cedric Salter left the country in 1958, he commented in an interview in the newspaper *Madrid*: "My mission is finished. Spain has enough friends now" (Viktorin et al. 2018, p. 136). In 1951, Spain was able to enter the International Union of Official Advertising Organizations, the current World Organization of Tourism.

The fourteen years (1950–1964) in which O'Brien performed his promotional activities of the Costa Brava in Great Britain coincided with the first drive of British tourism in Spain, which saw the number of tourists grow to one million (Pearson and Turner 1966, p. 181). As explained by his son, "Toby therefore had to make Spain 'respectable' as well an attractive, starting from the low base of 20.000 British people who visited Spain each year" (O'Brien 2000, pp. 81–82). O'Brien not only invited influential friends to spend their holidays in S'Agaró (Costa Brava) but was also able to have prestigious magazines such as *Vogue* publish articles about Spain and arrange *fam trips* with British journalists. The story of Spain as a country of sun, parties and beaches strongly permeated into the international imaginary—many publications of the period provided proof of this global imagination. Thus, for example, at the end of the 1950s, the *Revista de Barcelona (Barcelona Magazine*) considered that the real motive for visiting Spain was the "soleil", the black legend, the

Mediterranean, the rough landscape, the bulls, the wine, the beaches and the age of its rocks, more specifically, "an attractive cluster, which, even apart from the exchange rate, gives reason and justifies the call to 'Visit Spain!'". The article warns about the danger of showing performances that are not so authentic to tourists; bullfighting or singing could only be witnessed in their own surroundings, not in improvised spaces and built only to satisfy the tourists.

All of these campaigns contributed to the increase in the entry of foreign tourists. Thus, from the 457,000 tourists in 1950 the number increased to 2,800,000 in 1959. Foreign tourism in 1950 contributed around 0.4% of the GDP, while in 1954, this increased to 1.6%, a value that slightly improved in 1959, up to 1.7% (Vallejo 2015). However, while the number of tourists increased, the currency contributed by tourism decreased, as the high exchange rate resulted in the foreigners acquiring the money they would spend in Spain abroad. Thus, there was a need for a Plan of Stabilization that fixed the new parity of the peseta to 60 pesetas per dollar. In this period, tourism stopped being a mere instrument of propaganda to become one of the most essential elements of the Spanish economic system.

6.4 Politics, Administration and the Tourism Sector in Barcelona during the Postwar Period

Without a doubt, one the most interesting products of tourism developed in the postwar was the Rutas Nacionales (National Routes), heirs of the Rutas Nacionales de Guerra (National War Routes) (Holguín 2005; Correyero and Cal 2008). These have survived, with variations, to the present day, as the places selected as tourist destinations posteriorly determined the consolidation of the localities that were presented in the tours as tourism referents. Barcelona was never part of the War Routes, but in the mid-1940s, it was the starting and arrival point of the summer tours organized by the DGT in the north of the country, so that it was found within the network of tourist itineraries of the government.

During the war, the tourist activity in Barcelona had become paralyzed—some hotels were seized by the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo)-FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica) and by the POUM (Partido Obrero de la Unificación Marxista) and the industries, transports, businesses, exhibition rooms, hotels, restaurants and coffee shops were collectivized (Miguelsanz 2009). The Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros (Society for the Attraction of Foreigners), the syndicate of initiatives that from 1908 had performed a vast amount of tourist promotion, was absorbed by the Conselleria d'Economia from the Generalitat de Catalunya at the start of 1937, definitely ceasing its activity. According to the *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya* (DOGC 1937), in order to meet the requirements of the Conselleria d'Economia for tourist propaganda materials, it was decided that the Conselleria should take over the Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros, thus taking over all the Premises and dedicating the archives, library, files and all the syndicate's documents to the service of the department. Josep M. Llunazzi was named as the person responsible for these actions. After the Civil War, the administration of tourism was centralized, and the activity of local and provincial institutions was de facto stripped of autonomy and reduced to a testimonial character. The Francoist administration started to legislate for the sake of organizing a sector, which, around that time, did not have any activity. Some agents who had played a relevant role in the tourist institutions in the first third of the century re-appeared starting in the 1940s within the frame of new local tourist organizations; the continuity of these agents allowed thinking about the connection between the tourist system that was built at the beginning of the century and the one that started during the postwar period, which was, in this occasion, heavily influenced by the central government.

In 1940, Barcelona had a million residents in the census. In a few years, the city grew, expanded and diversified. The processes of industrialization and urbanization attracted large contingents of individuals. Thus, between the years of 1950 and 1959, the city received around 200,000 new inhabitants. According to Carreras (1993), the expansion of the metropolitan area constituted the urban change, with the greatest significance in Barcelona during the first half of the 1950s. Miguel Mateo was the first Francoist Mayor of the city, and with him the first chapter of

unorganized urban growth of Barcelona was inaugurated. In the 1940s, a tourist orientation was not planned; however, already in 1941, in the middle of the postwar and in a context of international isolation, Barcelona and other cities in Spain had created tourist organizations with the aim of promoting the attraction of visitors. Thus, through the Decree of February 21 of 1941, the central government promoted the creation of the Juntas Provinciales de Turismo (Provincial and Local Tourism Boards), which at first were part of the Subsecretaría de Prensa y Propaganda del Ministerio de Gobernación (Sub-secretariat of the Press and Propaganda of the Ministry of Government), and later on, starting in 1951, became a part of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. These new structures tried to provide continuity to the labor undertaken by the old syndicates of initiatives created during the first decades of the twentieth century. On November 12, 1941, the Junta Provincial de Turismo de Barcelona (Provincial Tourism Board of Barcelona) was constituted, comprised by the representatives of the living forces of the city.

During the years of 1945 and 1954, the Board re-published the magazine *Barcelona Atracción*, which, from 1912 until the middle of 1936, had been published monthly and without interruption by the Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros. In this new appearance, the magazine was presented as a propagandistic instrument at the service of the regime, was published every quarter, had a high content of commercial inserts and published many reports about the Catalonian landscape, heritage and traditions, dressed in folklore and identity-based clichés. The new edition of the magazine represented the most visible action of the Board. The style of the new season had nothing to do with the original (Blasco 2005).

The first issue, number 302, was published in May 1945, granting continuity to the series that started in 1912 by the Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros and presenting itself evidently as a propaganda instrument to the service of the Caudillo and the dictatorship. The first page of the magazine offered a picture of General Franco and a text authored by Bolín. Tourism was represented as a favorable factor for the development of the economy, a pacifier of cultures and a factor for bringing countries closer together. In some manner, and paradoxically, Francoist Spain participated in the modern discourse of Europe post-1945, which, as described by Pack (2009), assimilated tourism to the idea of peace and

was seen as an agent that drove European federalism. Thus, the Francoist government disguised a tourist movement that was encrusted within a context of repression, control and coercion with peace, folklore, amusement and prosperity. *Barcelona Atracción* became a testimony and product on a par with the *tourist ideology of the regime*. Starting in the 1950s, a transformation of the role of Franco in the official discourses of the regime was produced, so that he was no longer identified with the image of the winning dictator but was instead represented with the image of development (Afinoguénova 2010). *Barecelona Atracción* was the spokesman of this discourse, with was more political than tourist-related. A few well-known Catalan intellectuals and cultural leaders authored articles during the period, such as Josep Pla, Josep M. Huertas, A. Cirici Pellicer or Sempronio.

Between the years of 1941 and 1951, the Dirección General de Turismo (General Directorate of Tourism) took on the management of an office located at 658 José Antonio Avenue (before the war, Gran Via of the Catalan Courts). It was the same place where the Oficina de Turismo de Cataluña (Office of Tourism of Catalonia), created by the Generalitat of Catalonia, had their offices during the Second Republic, which had been previously owned by the National Board of Tourism. Starting in 1951, this office, directed by Jorge Vila Fradera, was dependent on the Ministry of Information and Tourism.

Jorge Vila Fradera was the secretary of the Provincial Tourism Board of Barcelona and the director of the Office between the years of 1955 and 1964. He was one of the most important characters in Barcelona tourism during these decades, and was even considered as the "Secretary of State" of tourism in Catalonia. He dedicated his professional life to the world of tourism: from 1942 on, he was a state employee of the Provincial Delegation of Popular Education, and between the years of 1951 and 1953, Provincial Secretary of Information and Tourism of Barcelona, being named Director of the Office of Tourism of Catalonia later on. The Office collaborated in the creation of different promotional materials and in the organization of visits by celebrities, journalists, travel agents and writers, and counseling tourism businessmen; it also participated in the organization of tests for becoming part of the tourist guides corps and in the undertaking of events and conferences about the tourist industry. In

1958, the Office of the Ministry took over as the publisher of the magazine *Barcelona Atracción*, re-naming it *Turismo*, which ultimately moved it away from its original soul.

Also, City Hall created the Delegación de Asuntos Generales y Turismo (Delegation of General Affairs and Tourism): Juan Torra-Balari Llavallol was the first Deputy Mayor of this delegation, but remained in charge of the management of tourism for a short time. His successor was Mateo Molleví, who occupied the office between 1955 and 1959. Molleví manifested his ideological ascription to the regime and this had a great influence on the institutions and the tourist sector. Molleví was a restless politician who tried to provide the visitors with all the resources necessary to guarantee their attraction and enjoyment; he designed a plan for the promotion of tourism with the main axis being the celebration of festivities, fairs, activities, congresses and meetings. According to Molleví, the most important tourism milestones in the city were the Gothic Quarter and the vestiges of the Roman city that were found underground, the Museum of the City of Barcelona and the Museum Marés; he proposed that the cathedral, the Tinell, the Santa Águeda Chapel and City Hall become part of the so-called Baroque Quarter, along with other spaces and buildings on the right side of the Rambla.

City Hall deployed a network of tourist information offices with the objective of fulfilling the demands of the visitors. At the end of the 1950s, a total of seven offices were created: one, and the oldest, was located in the San Jaime Plaza (in the same building as City Hall); the others were located in the ground floors of Plaza Cataluña, the Station of France and the Poble Español, at the Airport, in the Maritime Station and the Portal del Angel Avenue. Likewise, the publication of different promotional materials were encouraged which were designed to satisfy the tourist information needs, such as guides, pamphlets and maps. In 1953, a campaign was promoted from City Hall to quietly extol, without childish banalities or insolences, the merits and virtues of the city. As sustained by the Report on the work by the municipal offices of tourism and information (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona 1953), the mission of these offices did not consist in pondering the importance of the city, as the judgment belonged to the visitor. The state employees from these offices were limited, as ensured by the Report, to indicating the most important places

and institutions of the city in order to promote an experience and a point of view that was far from the stereotypes:

> The City possesses museums, parks and gardens, monuments, buildings with great archeological value, 1000-year old temples, such as the San Pedro de las Puellas Monastery, and others so modern and original as the Sagrada Familia…It is in the interest of the city that the visitors do not forget any of this, distracted by their outings in the city center, and in search of small typical souvenirs that, in general, little have to do with what is truly from Barcelona and Catalan, as they answer to a false and antiquated sense of what is Spanish, which the cliché leaves circumscribed to make believe Andalusian culture. (de Barcelona 1953, p. 8)

In 1959, the municipal Department of Tourism and General Affairs was renamed the Department of Public Relations and Tourism, and declared that its aims were to advertise the city and promote efforts of urban improvement and public ornamentation, dissemination of culture, sport activities and regulation of transit.

The local administration and private sector coalesced in the same interests and agents. Thus, City Hall tried to promote the hospitality sector in order to encourage tourism development of the city. In 1950, the Deputy Mayor of General Affairs, Esteban Sala Soler, Provincial Head of the Sindicato de Hosterlería y Similares (Syndicate of Hospitality and Related), along with the Heads of Urbanización y Eixample, Obras Públicas y Cultura (Urbanization, Public Works and Culture), incorporated into the Special Commission for the study of the hospitality problem, created the Report *El problema de la escasez de hoteles en la ciudad de Barcelona (the problem of scarcity of hotels in the city of Barcelona)*. It describes the small number and bad quality of the hotels, as well as the need for public intervention and the expansion toward the so-called modern areas of the city. In 1950, according to official City Hall documents, Barcelona had available a total of 28 hotels (Ayuntamiento de Barcelona 1953). The Report sustains that "Barcelona, at present, has a smaller quantity of usable beds than in 1936" (in 1936, a total number of 3542 beds were counted, and in 1939, 3002). No news about the implementation of this plan was found. In the end, the pressure for hotels tended to concentrate on the coastal areas.

6.5 Places, Resources and Tourist Events

After the war, the administration made economic efforts toward the recovery and reconstruction of specific urban heritage, which linked it to the official narrative of the regime. Monuments of the republican and Catalan past were removed; the obelisk placed in the crossing between Avenida del Caudillo with Paseo de Gracia was remodeled, and it was erected as the symbol of the new regime. Starting in 1939, the reconstruction of the areas affected by the war propitiated the government of the dictatorship to re-invent the monuments that symbolized the glorious past of Spain, identifying the Iberians, the re-conquest and the Catholic Kings as the periods when the Spanish nation was forged (Cocola-Gant 2014). The City Hall of Barcelona provided continuity to the construction of the Gothic Quarter following the monument policy in the context of the Exposition of 1929; according to Cocola-Gant, the drive for the re-activation of the Gothic Quarter public works, although linked to the definitions of the Catalan historiography of the beginnings of the century, was argued for due to the need for possessing a brand image of the city. Thus, the power once again utilized the restoration of style, demonstrating once again that when the re-interpretation of monuments is needed, the ideological meaning is superimposed to its historical authenticity (Cocola-Gant 2014). In agreement with Afinoguénova (2010), the heritage intervention will especially be related to the *invention* as opposed to *conservation*.

Medieval history is exalted, but abstaining from the vindictive plans and associated to political Catalonianism (Fabre 2016). It is interesting to point out that when faced with a modern cultural phenomenon such as tourism, the tourist image that a city emanates evokes a view to the past; heritage aspects of the past are isolated with the idea of generating an atmosphere, a specific vision of the urban complex (Afinoguénova 2010). According to Cocola-Gant, this is how the recovery of one of the desires of the liberal Catalan bourgeoisie at the beginnings of the century was achieved, by constructing a singular neighborhood associated to the historical prestige of the city with the objective of attracting international tourists. The strategy of continuous re-creation of the Gothic Quarter had the objective of appraising the antiquity of the city, creating a picturesque

space and promoting a resource for favoring the commercialization of the destination. In some way, the triangulation between urban reforms, the creation of an image and the attraction of foreigners was reproduced.

During the first decades of Fordism, part of the Barcelona modernist legacy was devaluated. With the arrival of José María de Porcioles at the helm of City Hall, starting in the year 1957, the modernist architecture succumbed to a considerable disregard and even irreparable damages, as the destruction of buildings with unquestionable heritage value was authorized, under liberal and speculative criteria (Huertas and Fabre 1995). As opposed to what had occurred at the start of the twentieth Century, the Francoist period was characterized for being an authentic paradise of legal vacuums that favored the small-scale Catalan speculators (Hughes 1993). Urbanism and architecture were not considered significant for the tourist experience.

In mid-1952, the XXXV International Eucharistic Congress was celebrated, and although it was not a direct tourist strategy, it is undeniable that it was utilized with propagandistic aims (by the city as well as the regime that promoted it). In fact, according to Fabre, the 1952 congress became, as the expositions of 1888 and 1929, a landmark in the political and urbanistic history of the city: as Fabre points, it allowed the first notable opening of the city to massive groups of visitors, creating accommodation needs that had been ignored until then and giving way to a certain urban transformation of the city inherited from the civil war. According to Carreras (1993), the Eucharistic Congress of 1952 implied the first great celebration performed during the dictatorship. It took place between May 27 and June 1. The city was filled with people even a few months prior (the magazine *Barcelona Atracción* informed that during the month of March, around 4500 foreign tourists had arrived to the city along with 8000 national visitors; during the month of April, almost 10,000 foreigners and 20,000 nationals were tallied).

The city's mayor, Antonio M. Simarro, was one of the most visible faces of a Congress that was determined by a specific political situation; as highlighted by Fabre (2016), the Vatican facilitated Franco's regime the possibility of organizing events with international projection and, consequently, allowing the re-establishment of the diplomatic relations with capitalist countries. The following year, the United States signed the

agreement for the military bases: this marked the end of the blockade and the start of a new era in the opening of the country. Thus, as remembered by Fabre, hundreds of marines disembarked in Barcelona, filling the streets closest to the port and becoming one of the most common sights in Barcelona in the 1950s. It is undeniable that the Eucharistic Congress colored the Barcelona atmosphere with evident contrasts: American marines, apostolic masses and the unexpected tourists.

The urban reforms undertaken under the pretext of the Congress were not small. The Diagonal Avenue was opened toward the west of the city, some restorations to monument were performed and, for the first time, some barracks were demolished. The aerodrome Muntades became the Prat Airport (Huertas and Fabre 1995). Coinciding with the Congress, the works in the Sagrada Familia that were paralyzed during the war were re-started, and as described by Fabre, the Sagrada Familia temple became one of the main stages in the acts of the Congress as well as Montjuic, where some restorations were also performed. The council promoted diverse civil works related to the network of highways and provincial roads with the aim of improving communications. However, these urbanistic operations lacked an integrated and global plan. The accommodations sector grew and a dozen new hotels opened, among which the Avenida Palace and the Colon stand out (Fabre 2016).

City Hall, as well as other publishing houses, published guides and other types of propaganda-related material with the aim of guiding the visitor. As a group, these publications evoked the image of a Barcelona that was sober and sweetened by folkloric elements and memories of a glorious past. The publication by the emblematic guide *Barcelona. La ciudad. Los museos. La vida* (*Barcelona, The city, The museums, The life*) should be underlined. It is a volume containing 338 pages that are illustrated in color, whose author is Agustí Duran i Sanpere, a key name in the historiography of Barcelona. This guide grants value to the historical past of Barcelona and different urban nodes, such as the Gothic Quarter, the works by Gaudi, parks and gardens, the zoo, the Montjuic Mountain and the Tibidado, the museums and popular culture and the popular calendar. In Barcelona, points Duran I Sanpere (1962), "the old does not cease to survive; the modern does not venture into destroying it due to the need that it represents for the continuation of tradition".

In May 1952, the I Semana Mundial de la Publicidad (I World Advertising Week) was organized in Barcelona at the behest of the Círculo Publicitario de Barcelona (Publishing Circle of Barcelona) and the International Union of Advertising. Two years later, in 1954, the Club Publicitario de Barcelona (Advertising Club of Barcelona) organized the V International Congress of Advertising Clubs in the Chamber of Commerce and Navigation of Barcelona. During this decade, a great disembarking of the multinational agencies took place—attracted by tourism advertising-. Barcelona thus recovered its leadership as a business capital, which had been lost during the postwar period.

In 1955, the Mediterranean Games were celebrated, becoming a new occasion for the tourist opening of the city. Thus, 1135 athletes, along with a relative multitude of spectators, arrived at a Barcelona that had just left international isolation (Fabre 2016). The event took place between July 16 and 25 and its main stage was the stadium and the Olympic pool in Montjuic (legacies from the Exposition of 1929). On this occasion, the city was also subjected to an overhaul, especially the monuments and access point to Montjuic, so that it became a sight for the visitors and the locals as well. Thus, Frabe sustains, the city recovered a new visibility that in some manner exceeded the isolation of the 1940s. The improvements in the international communications at the start of the 1950s were notable: in the month of July 1953, the airport was extended, and in 1955, the old military aerodrome became an international airport that could receive transoceanic flights and all types of airplanes; these were landmarks for the development of tourism. In the month of February 1954, the first Super Constellation airplane arrived, a four-engine aircraft with regular flights from the United States (Fabre 2016). However, according to Fabre (2016), the recovery of this port's activity was clearly slower, in part because the recovery of the ships sunken during the war was very laborious.

The III Hispano-American Art Biennial celebrated in Barcelona in 1955 signified a triumph of the abstract tendencies and the absolute official recognition of Spain. The exposition was surprising due to its great artistic qualities (March 2015), and the city recovered, in some way, its avant-garde image and the cosmopolitan culture that had made it so popular in the 1930s. Franco visited Barcelona in September 1955 to

inaugurate the Biennial—an excuse, as per Fabre (2016), for the re-opening, as a museum, of the old Ciutadella Artesanal building, the ancient site of the Parliament of Catalonia, which had been closed since the Civil War.

In 1959, the Ministry of Information and Tourism designed the National Plan of the Festivals in Spain and created the "Festival of the Mediterranean Song", which was organized in Barcelona for nine years, until 1968, when it lost popularity to Eurovision. Its objective was to attract tourists and to advertise Spanish artists as well as artists from other Mediterranean countries.

In general, the places, resources and tourist events created in Barcelona in the postwar period were framed within the official politics and narrative of the regime and an emergent Fordist model, corresponding to the ideology and representation of tourism of the regime itself. Even then, the entry of tourists during the 1940s and 1950s was discrete in Barcelona; the use of the city by the tourists tended to be concentrated in the nodes that were expressly prepared for their visit, ignoring its *complete and total* reality.

6.6 Final Discussion: The Postwar as the Prelude to the Fordism Tourism Brand

In the tourism framework of developmentalism, heritage acquired a political value and tourism was glorified as a new crusade for Spain; thus, as mentioned by Afinoguénova (2010), propaganda represented the continuity between the origins of the regime and the new development; an image of cultural unity was constructed with the objective of negating and hiding diversity, utilizing the heritage as an artifact to nurture the narrative of cohesion. It could be stated, following Afinoguénova, that in Barcelona during the postwar period, the heritage that was valued in tourist terms acquired an economic and ideological function at the same time. The resources and references that *comprised* the image of the city brand pointed the view to the past and the identity-based unity,

constructing and legitimizing a specific version of the history of the city and Spain. In this way, the phenomenon of tourism contributed to the creation of the urban landscape, prioritizing nodes and spaces of interest and evoking a semiotic reading for the tourist to use.

During the postwar, the local and central administration collaborated in tourism promotional materials in Barcelona; likewise, the interests of the private sector were seconded by City Hall. Nevertheless, neither the offer of services nor the heritage and urban resources garnered the attention of the tourist demands, as they tended to disperse to the coastal communities. During the 1940s and 1950s, Barcelona received a passing tourist, who did not stay overnight in the city and who absorbed from it the stereotypes projected during the period of state-sponsored propaganda and advertising.

Bibliography

Afinoguénova, E. (2010) "Unity, stability, continuity: heritage and the renovation of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, 1975–1969", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (6), pp. 417–433.

Arrillaga, J.I. (1999) "Primeras experiencias. 1950–1962". En: Bayón, F. (dir.). *50 años del turismo español: un análisis histórico y estructural*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces, pp.45–70.

Ayuntamiento de Barcelona (1953) *Resumen de las actividades desplegadas por estas Oficinas (julio – septiembre 1953)*. Barcelona: Oficinas Municipales de Turismo e Información.

Baker, B. (2012) *Destination branding for small cities*. Portland: Creative Leap Books.

Bernabeu, A, and Rocamora, R. (2010) "De Spain is different a "I need Spain". La función apelativa en campañas turísticas españolas", *Revista de investigaciones turísticas*, 2, pp. 83–100.

Blasco, A. (2005) *Barcelona Atracción (1910–1936): una revista de la Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros.* Tesi doctoral, direcció de Josep Termes. Universitat Pompeu Fabra. Institut Universitari d'Història Jaume Vicens Vives.

Calleja, R. (1943) *Apología Turística de España*. Madrid: Dirección General de Turismo.

Cals, J. (1989) "El turisme i la segona residencia". En: Nadal, J. (dir.), Cabana, F. (coord.) *Història Econòmica de la Catalunya contemporània*, vol VI, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, págs. 321–335.

Carcelén, R. (2016) "La ordenación del reposo en la España del régimen franquista: las ciudades sindicales y la cualificación para el descanso". En: VIII Seminario Internacional de Investigación en Urbanismo, Barcelona-Balneário Camboriú, junio 2016. Barcelona: DUOT.

Carreras, C. (1993) *Geografia urbana de Barcelona: espai mediterrani, temps europeu*. Vilassar de Mar: Oikos-Tau.

Clavera, J. et al. (1973) *Capitalismo español: de la autarquía a la estabilización (1939–1959).* Tomo I. Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Diálogo.

Cocola-Gant, A. (2014) *El Barrio Gótico de Barcelona. Planificación del pasado e imagen de marca*, Barcelona: Madroño.

Correyero, B. (2003) "La propaganda turística española en los años del aislamiento internacional". *Historia y comunicación social*, 8, pp. 47–61.

Correyero, B. and Cal, R. (2008) *Turismo: La mayor propaganda de Estado*. Madrid: Vision Libros.

Costa-Pau, M. (1966) *Turistes, sirenes i gent del pais*. Barcelona: Ariel.

Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, L. (1992) *Imperio de papel. Acción cultural y política exterior durante el primer franquismo.* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Delgado Gómez-Escalonilla, L. (2009) "La maquinaria de la persuasión. Política informativa y cultural de los Estados Unidos hacia España". *Ayer*, 75, pp. 97–132

Del Río Lafuente, M. I. (2016) "Cultura y paisaje en la política turística del primer franquismo (1939–1956)", *Estudios geográficos*, 77 (281), pp. 443–467.

Duran i Sanpere, A. (1962) *Barcelona. La ciudad. Los museos. La vida.* Barcelona: Ed. Labor.

DOGC (1937) *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya,* dijous 1 d'abril de 1937, 91, p. 6.

Esteve, R. and Fuentes, R. (2000) *Economía, historia e instituciones del turismo en España.* Madrid: Ediciones Pirámide.

Fabre, J. (2016) "Quan es feia barcelonisme". En Palou Rubio, S. (coord.) *Destinació BCN. Història del turisme a la ciutat de Barcelona.* Barcelona: Edicions Efadós i Ajuntament de Barcelona, pp. 228–239.

Fusi, J. P. (2012) *Historia mínima de España*. Madrid: Turnes.

Garay-Tamajón L. A. (2007) *El Ciclo de Evolución del Destino Turístico. Una aproximación al desarrollo histórico del turismo en Cataluña*. Tesis inédita. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament d'Economia i Història Econòmica. Facultat de Ciències Econòmiques i Empresarials Bellaterra.

Garay-Tamajón, L.A. and Cànoves, G. (2010) "Un análisis del desarrollo turístico en Cataluña a través del ciclo de evolución del destino turístico", *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles,* 52 pp. 43–58.

Herrero, R. (2012) "Madrid, destino turístico de posguerra. Los carteles de Madrid editados por la Dirección General de Turismo 1939–1951", *Espacio, tiempo y forma,* 25, pp. 313–332.

Holguín, S. (2005) "National Spain Invites You: Battlefield Tourism during the Spanish Civil War", *The American Historical Review,* 110 (5), pp. 1399–1426.

Huertas, J. M. and Fabre, J. (1995) "La imatge de la ciutat als anys del Franquisme (1939–1973)". En Garcia Espuche, A.; Navas, T. *Retrat de Barcelona*, Vol II Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona: Institut Municipal d'Història. Ajuntament de Barcelona, pp. 75–85.

Hughes, R. (1993) *Barcelona.* Barcelona: Anagrama.

Lázaro, F.J. (2015) "El cartel turístico en España. Desde las iniciativas pioneras del Patronato Nacional del Turismo hasta los comienzos del desarrollismo (2015)", *Artigrama*, 30, pp. 143–165.

León-Aguinaga, P. (2009) "Los canales de propaganda norteamericana en España, 1945–1960", *Ayer,* 75, pp. 133–158.

Madrid-Cánovas, S. (2007) *Los signos errantes: estrategias de la publicidad gráfica española, 1950–2000.* Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.

Maestro, J. and Sagredo, A. (2010) "Destellos culturales entre España y Estados Unidos a través de la prensa estadounidense (1945–1952)", *Revista Complutense de Historia de América*, 36, pp. 103–126

March, E. (2015) "Franquismo y vanguardia: la III Bienal hispanoamericana de arte", *Espacio, tiempo y forma*, Serie VII historiadel arte (3), pp. 33–54.

Marden, L. (1950) "Speaking of Spain", *National Geographic,* April 1950, pp. 415–456.

Miguelsanz, À. (2009) *Parada i fonda. L'hostaleria de la ciutat. Dels origens als nostres dies*. Barcelona: Labeltur.

Montero, M. (2012) "La publicidad española durante el franquismo (1939–1975): de la autarquía al consumo", *Hispania. Revista española de Historia*, 240, pp. 205–232.

Moreno, A. (2007) *Historia del turismo en España en el siglo XX*. Madrid: Síntesis.

Moreno A. and Pellejero, C. (2015) "La red de establecimientos turísticos del Estado (1928–1977), ¿necesidad hotelera o política turística?", *Revista de Historia Industrial*, 59, pp. 147–178.

Nadal, J. (ed.) (dir.), (2003) *Atlas de la industrialización de España 1750–2000*. Barcelona: Fundación BBVA/Crítica.

O'Brien, D. (2000) *Fringe Benefits. The good, the bad, the beautiful... and the O'Briens,* London: Bene Factum Publishing.

Pack, S.D. (2013) "Turismo en la Europa de la postguerra: de la diplomacia esterliniana al consumismo de masas", *TST: Transportes, Servicios y Telecomunicaciones*, 24, pp. 138–166.

Pack, S. D. (2009) *La invasión pacífica. Los turistas y la España de Franco*, Madrid: Turner Noema.

Palou-Rubio, S. (2012) *Barcelona, destinació turística. Un segle d'imatges i promoció pública,* Bellcaire d'Empordà: Edicions Vitel·la.

Palou-Rubio, S. (2016) "Dels ideals de la II República als tòpics del franquisme". En Palou Rubio, S. (coord.) *Destinació BCN. Història del turisme a la ciutat de Barcelona.* Barcelona: Edicions Efadós i Ajuntament de Barcelona, pp. 123–139.

Pellejero, C. (2000) *La intervención del Estado en el sector turístico: de la Comisión Nacional a la Empresa Nacional de Turismo.* Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía.

Pearson, J. and Turner, G. (1966) *The Persuasion Industry.* London: Readers Union Eyre & Spottiswoode Publishers Ltd.

Ramón, M. and García, J. (2016) "Fotografía, turismo e identidad nacional en el primer franquismo (1939–1959). Rafael Calleja y la Apología Turística de España", *Cuadernos de turismo,* 38, pp. 389–414.

Rodríguez-Salcedo, N. (2015) "El comienzo del turismo español: una aproximación a los precedentes de las relaciones públicas institucionales (1900–1950)", *Revista Internacional de Relaciones Públicas,* 9 (5) pp. 5–24.

Rosendorf, N. M. (2014) *Franco Sells Spain to America. Hollywood, Tourism and Public Relations as Postwar Spanish Soft Power.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rullán, O. (2008) "Reconversión y crecimiento de las zonas turística. Del fordismo al postfordismo". En Troitiño Vinuesa et al. (coord.) *Destinos turísticos: viejos problemas, ¿nuevas soluciones?*. Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, pp. 587–624.

Vallejo, R. (2015) "¿Bendición del cielo o plaga? El turismo en la España franquista, 1939–1975", *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 37, pp. 89–113.

Viktorin, C. et al. (ed.) (2018) *Nation Branding in modern history.* Oxford: Berghahn.

Vila-Fradera, J. (1961) *Hoteles, hoy.* Barcelona: Editur Ediciones.
Vidal-Casellas, D. (2005) *L'imaginari monumental i artístic del turisme cultural. El cas de la revista Barcelona Atracción*. Tesis inédita. Univerisidad de Girona. Departamento de Geografía, Historia e Historia del arte.
Walton, J.K (ed.) (2005) *Histories of Tourism*. London: Channel Views Publications.

7

Tourism as a Tool for Territorial Cohesion: The Cassa per il Mezzogiorno in Italy During the 1950s

Patrizia Battilani and Donatella Strangio

7.1 Introduction

As is well known, Italy unites regions characterized by a profound economic gap, which over 150 years of national unity has failed to reduce. During this century and a half, there was only one period in which the income of the southern regions increased towards the national average, that of the economic miracle of the 1950s and 1960s (Felice 2013; Cao-Pinna 1979; Battilani and Fauri 2014). This was the time of the Cassa del

This work is part of the HAR2017-82679-C2-1-P project, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities and ERDF funds of the European Union.

P. Battilani (✉)
University of Bologna, Bologna, Italy
e-mail: patrizia.battilani@unibo.it

D. Strangio (✉)
Sapienza University of Rome, Rome, Italy
e-mail: donatella.strangio@uniroma1.it

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_7

Mezzogiorno (Casmez), one of the most innovative and extensive development projects for underdeveloped areas ever undertaken in Europe. Partly financed by the European Investment Bank, the Fund for the South, for 34 years, carried out a complex incentive plan for private entrepreneurship and investment in infrastructure aimed at the modernization of southern Italy and the narrowing of the gap between north and south (Strangio 2011, pp. 61–78; Lepore 2012). In fact, in Italy, as in France and the United Kingdom, tourism took root in regions with a good degree of economic development, even in locations on the margins of the industrialization process (Battilani 2009). This is because the tourism products that established themselves in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (spa, sea and mountain) required landscapes untouched by the physical infrastructure of industrialization, such as smoking chimneys, precisely because the demand for tourism originated primarily in large industrialized urban centers. Therefore, it is not surprising that already in 1933 the map of the tourist presence in Italy mirrored that of the distribution of wealth in the country: the tourist flows were directed towards the northern regions such as Liguria, Emilia Romagna and Veneto (bathing), Trentino (mountains) and Lombardy (with its own historical specialization in business tourism). In 1933, 62% of tourists went to the north (ENIT 1935). The central regions, thanks to the multifaceted attractiveness of Tuscany (including Florence and the coast around Viareggio) and Rome, accounted for a further 26% of visitors. In the south, it was the islands that tourists found most appealing, especially Taormina, Capri and Ischia (Berrino 2011). In fact, the only two southern regions to attract a relatively substantial share of tourists were Campania (4%) and Sicily (5%), while Sardinia (1%) and Puglia (1%) remained practically unknown (see Table 7.1).

For the post-World War II period, the earliest reliable data on hotel stays dates to the early 1950s. The picture that surveys paint of 1955 is fairly predictable: there were four million more tourist nights than in 1933, of which the north took a 59% share, as against 62% twenty years previously. The numbers going to the central regions were static, while the south increased its share from 11% to 16% (ISTAT 1955). Basically, between the investment of the 1930s, the destruction of war, reconstruction and the start of a new phase of growth, Campania and Sicily had

Table 7.1 Hotel overnight stays (regional market share)

Regions	1933	1955	1960	1965	1970
Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta	5%	8%	8%	7%	7%
Lombardy	9%	11%	11%	10%	9%
Liguria	14%	11%	11%	10%	8%
NORTH-WEST	**28%**	**30%**	**30%**	**26%**	**24%**
Trentino Alto Adige	10%	5%	6%	6%	8%
Veneto	9%	9%	11%	12%	12%
Friuli	3%	2%	2%	3%	2%
Emilia Romagna	12%	13%	14%	16%	15%
NORTH-EAST	**34%**	**29%**	**33%**	**37%**	**37%**
Tuscany	12%	11%	10%	9%	9%
Umbria	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Marche	3%	1%	2%	2%	3%
Lazio	8%	11%	10%	9%	9%
Abruzzi and Molise	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%
CENTER	**26%**	**25%**	**23%**	**22%**	**24%**
Puglia	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%
Campania	5%	6%	5%	6%	5%
Basilicata	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Calabria	0%	1%	1%	2%	2%
Sicily	4%	6%	5%	3%	3%
Sardinia	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%
SOUTH AND ISLANDS	**11%**	**16%**	**14%**	**14%**	**14%**
TOTAL (millions lire)	**42,7**	**46,9**	**74,5**	**97,5**	**125,4**

Source: ENIT, Tourism Statistics. Monthly Bulletin of the National Organization of Tourist Industries, no. 3, March 1935

managed to increase their market share by 3%. The rate of convergence decreased and the north–south gap widened. In the south, the main centers of attraction were in the area of Naples (including the islands) in Campania, and Taormina in Sicily.

This is the context in which the Casmez began its work on modernizing agriculture and promoting industrialization. Under the remit of this huge scheme, tourism was assigned only a marginal role.

This is understandable in the sense that it was poorly developed in the south, and neither scholars nor politicians considered it a potential driver of large-scale growth. The first great surge of tourism occurred between 1955 and 1965, hotel nights doubling to 98 million. At this point, the northern regions were extraordinarily competitive, with Emilia Romagna and Veneto alone taking 29% of all tourists. The southern market share

stabilized at around 14%, confirming the marginal position it had occupied in the 1930s. The Campania region was the south's most successful destination, attracting 6% of the market.

In summary, in the 1950s and 1960s, as the GDP divide between north and south decreased, the gap in the share of the tourism sector widened. Overnight stays in the south were lagging behind. While Campania (around 6%), Puglia (2%) and Sardinia (1%) maintained their positions, Sicily's market share collapsed from 6% to 3%. Calabria, however, as an emerging tourist destination, grew its share from practically nothing to rival Puglia at 2%.

In this context, it is particularly important to understand why Casmez interventions in the south did not prompt a flood of tourism and a convergence with the north in a manner similar to that which occurred in the manufacturing sector.

7.2 Casmez Policies

Policies intended to stimulate growth were introduced to target Naples specifically in 1904 and then the south more generally in 1906, but these did not lead to the implementation of any longer-term, wide-ranging organic system of intervention. Closely connected problems were addressed in a fragmented rather than unitary fashion. It was not until 1950 that the government moved to introduce a bold social policy for the Mezzogiorno, developing a vast and complex program, the realization of which would have created the conditions to make a valuable contribution to the solution of the thorny "issue of the South" (D'Antone 1997, p. 599). The establishment of the Casmez involved the provision of funds for the transformation of southern economy and society. A large proportion of the fund, equal to 720 billion lire, was established to facilitate the development of southern agriculture. However, it was also pointed out that "economic and social improvement could be obtained if the public program was properly integrated by private initiative: this could only

bring the southern economy to a higher productive development".[1] Article 17 of the legislation provided for a series of credit interventions in favor of private enterprises and the subsequent integration of the original act with law n.166 of March 22, 1952. Under law n.166 the Casmez was authorized to grant loans to manufacturers, contracting loans abroad when the necessary resources were not available domestically. Among the objectives of the law establishing the Casmez was the strengthening of tourist facilities, but this was by no means a central aim. Above all, the law was concerned with the improvement of the environmental conditions necessary for the rebirth and economic development of the south.[2] The restructuring of agriculture and the building of infrastructure were expected to have consequences on the natural environment that would then set the question of tourism development in a new context.

New tourist infrastructure would have to be "at the level of the most modern demands", stimulate tourists to visit "the great variety of Southern regions' natural attractions" and finally bring the balance of payments into equilibrium "through the international tourist revenues" […]. The balance of payments was considered crucial for long-term economic development. A persistent negative balance, once the generous American contributions stopped, would have put the country in a very painful and in some respects dangerous condition, undoing all the previous efforts to situate the Italian economy in the wider ambit of the free market world (Creaco 2015, pp. 93–136).[3]

In general, the forty-two years of the Casmez intervention can be divided into two phases. The first, 1950–1970, was marked by certain successes. Emanuele Felice identified three distinct stages within this phase: pre- industrialization, 1950–1957; industrialization, 1958–1965; and the insertion (or attempted insertion) "of regional politics in the broader national plans", 1965–1970 (Felice 2007, p. 77). In contrast, the second phase, 1971–1992, was marked by failure. From 1971 to 1976

[1] Historical Archive of the Bank of Italy, Studies Pratt., n. 268, fasc. 1, Tourism Group, Commission for the elaboration of an organic scheme of national employment and income development, President Prof. Guglielmo Tagliacarne, First Report, Rome, September 1961, p. 18.

[2] Historical Archive Bank of Italy, Pratt. n. 334, fasc. 3. List of interesting tourist works by the Committee of Ministers on 31 July 1952.

[3] Chamber of Deputies, 1950, p. 1.

administrative decentralization saw the transfer of competences to the regions. The result was the end of the previous strategy of concentrating industrial settlements in underpopulated areas in favor of carrying out special projects, giving contributions to industrial companies and promoting participation in capital risk ventures by small and medium enterprises. From 1976 to 1984 the Casmez provided for industrialization interventions through subsidized loans, capital grants, technical assistance to companies, professional training, scientific research and tax breaks. This included the agricultural sector and youth employment schemes. Creaco points out that "in the twenty years between 1950 and 1970, in the Southern regions tourist policies took place essentially through four types of actions: study, planning and promotion activities; interventions of tourist, historical and archaeological interest; infrastructural interventions; and financial incentives". To carry out this policy, the Casmez committed 5843 billion lire, of which only 4.4% went to the tourism sector (Creaco 2015), as we shall see in the next paragraph. From February 1951 to the end of June 1961, 644 projects were presented to the Casmez requesting a total of 46,174 million lire. Demands for adjustments meant this figure was subsequently reduced to 41,665 million lire (Svimez 1961, p. 178; Della Porta et al. 1962, p. 351). Overall, the Casmez spent about 24,000 billion lire between public works (4559 billion), agriculture (3520 billion), infrastructure (1543 billion), industrial incentives (6691), tourism (148), depressed areas (1.119), special programs (3.027), technical progress and civil development (705), and other interventions (2.077). A small part (403 billion) went to crafts, fishing, school construction, hospitals, vocational education, development assistance and scientific research (Paganetto and Scandizzo 2000, p. 98).

7.3 Casmez Tourism Policies at the Beginning of the Age of Mass Tourism: 1951–1965

The Italian body politic was aware that the north–south divide was not limited to industrial activities but also concerned tourism. Until the late 1950s, however, tourism was never prioritized. Casmez stated this very clearly in its budget report for 1950–1951, its first year of operation:

> While being aware of tourism as an important source of income for the South, the "Casmez" program must give precedence to works more capable of immediately absorbing labor and deeply modifying the natural environment. The reason is that these are the preconditions for not only more intense productive activity among the southern populations, but also for the rehabilitation of the countryside, improvement of urban and rural water supplies, and finally the opening of the southern regions to a vast and continuous tourist flow.[4]

Two key factors limited Casmez intervention in tourism: the impossibility to grants substantive loans to a sector that was not considered a good strategic fit for its purposes[5] and the lack of a national plan within which to include projects to finance.

The 1953 budget report again claimed that "the Casmez program for tourism was not yet ready because its definition depended on the completion of works Casmez was carrying out in other sectors of activity (especially roads and aqueducts) and the consequent environmental transformations".[6]

Above all, the agency was not able to identify crucial driving factors and lacked a strategic vision for tourism development. It selected projects on the basis of four typologies: enhancement of archaeological sites and works of art; road construction in order to improve accessibility to tourist destinations; building of aqueducts and sewers in tourist destination where they were still lacking; and enhancement of hydrothermal sources situated in southern regions (the latter was declining as a tourist product, but growing in popularity as a medical treatment).[7]

There was also a fifth line of direction that emphasized the strengthening of the hotel product. This took the shape of awarding loans. During 1952 the Casmez restricted the aim of its intervention in the accommodation sector to "the improvement of the environmental conditions in areas of tourist interest". The board of directors believed the strategy

[4] Casmez Archive, *Report on the budget for the year 1950–51*, Revenue in the Casmez tourism sector and in agricultural and industrial credit.

[5] Casmez Archive, Report on the budget for the year 1951–52, p. LXI.

[6] Casmez Archive, Report on the budget for the year 1952–53, p. 111.

[7] Casmez Archive, Report on the budget for the year 1952–53, p. 113.

could stimulate the development of productive activities, as it aimed at increasing the volume of national and foreign visitors through the enhancement of natural, artistic, archaeological and historical complexes.[8] Credit was granted for the construction of 35 Jolly hotels in 1954 as part of this strategy.[9]

The tourism sector began to obtain more funding only after the enactment of law 634 on July 29, 1957, which extended the remit of Casmez. This was partly in response to new evidence emerging from the experiences of northern regions, where various marginal areas had started their own economic development programs focusing on tourism. This gave rise to a different attitude towards the sector, which Casmez began to see as worthy of increased investment. However, tourism continued to receive only a small proportion of funds (less than 4%) as shown in Table 7.2.

The Casmez continued to fund selected projects in the absence of a strategic vision for the sector until the early 1960s. Unsurprisingly in this context, funded projects could involve contradictions and weaknesses. Consider the fact that in the years in which seaside tourism was becoming the key product of mass tourism (Battilani 2015, pp. 603–610), the Casmez chose to focus on thermal and cultural tourism, despite the presence of long stretches of coastline in almost all the targeted regions, along

Table 7.2 Industry breakdown of Casmez annual average expenditure

Sectors	1951–65	1966–70	1971–75	1976–80
Agriculture	84%	33%	26%	25%
Industry	8%	56%	68%	70%
Tourism	4%	3%	4%	4%
Craft and fishing	2%	5%	2%	–
Participation of institutions	2%	3%	1%	1%
Total (billions of liras 1980)	522	805	1480	1683

Source: Our data processing of *Report by P. Saraceno to the conference of the South*, Rome, 22, 23, 24 March 1983

[8] Casmez Archive, Report on the budget for the year 1951–52.

[9] Casmez Archive, Report to the financial statements 1953–54, p.20

with two islands. This indicated that it was projecting only moderate growth in tourism. A further element of weakness was the lack of planning for access routes. Despite the elongated shape of the country and the distance from the south to the large industrial centers which were situated not only in northern Italy but above all in central and northern Europe, the focus was almost exclusively on enhancing road and motorway connections. At the time the government had chosen to concentrate on mechanics and construction as the key industrial strategic sectors at the national level. Tourism development based on mass motorization was in tune with this strategy. This could explain why in the first phase of its life, from 1951 to 1965, Casmez financed only a single airport (Bari), which was never actually linked to tourist development.

Instead, Casmez assumed that tourists would arrive in the south after long road journeys involving overnight stays with accommodation providers that it was funding.

> *To facilitate the descent of the tourist movement towards the South, increase the vitality of the new tourist destinations and ensure that the large-scale flux of motorized tourists distributes its benefits even to areas remaining at the fringes, it will finally be necessary to organize itineraries connecting the points of greatest landscape or cultural interest to the rest of the South. Along these ideal routes it will be possible for the Casmez to facilitate the creation of comfortable accommodation, for short daytime stops or for overnight stays (campsites (caravan parks or camping grounds), motels, restaurants, bars, small hotels, gas stations,* etc.*).*[10]

Consequently, between 1951 and 1965, the scarce resources allocated to tourism were concentrated above all on road infrastructure and the restoration and conservation of sites of historical interest. The only exception was the provision of credit facilities to encourage the renovation of many hotels and the construction of new properties (this represented 24% of funds dedicated to tourism) (Table 7.3).

Thus, in the Campania region, the Casmez contributed to the restoration of the park and the Royal Palace of Caserta, to the archaeological

[10] Casmez Archive, Budget 1964–1965, p. 32.

Table 7.3 Casmez investment in the tourism sector, 1951–65

	Million Lire	Million euro	%
Road conditions, piers	41,648	21.51	39%
Aqueducts and sewers	5660	2.92	5%
Archaeological settlements, excavations and restoration of monuments and museums	12,511	6.46	12%
Valorisation of speleological complexes	310	0.16	0%
Valorisation of thermal areas	274	0.14	0%
Accommodation facilities (credit facilities)	45,831	23.67	43%
Total	**106,234**	**54.87**	**100%**

Source: Annual Casmez Budgets

excavations of Paestum, Cuma, Baia, Ercolano and Pompei and to attempts to alleviate water supply problems in Capri and Ischia. In Calabria, the Casmez helped to build roads and aqueducts and to develop the Mancuso and Gambarie holidays resorts, among others (Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri 1986).

In essence, a variety of projects were grouped under the tourism label in the absence of a clear development strategy. At the same time, an attempt was made to stimulate the provision of an adequate accommodation offering in the south, both by granting concessions to a wide range of small and medium-sized enterprises, and by supporting the formation of some large complexes in the form of holiday resorts (Battilani 2016, pp. 85–107).

Credit was extended to hotels in a protracted fashion, with the only two exceptions being the Jolly Hotels and the Italian Automobil Club. The Jolly Hotel business was founded in 1949 under the name of the Italian Tourist Hotels Company and backed by the textile entrepreneur, Gaetano Marzotto. Prompted by the growth of the sector and the credit available for investment in the south, Marzotto entered a completely new sector for him. Casmez provided Jolly Hotels with substantial financing, covering 27% of the cost of new buildings in the first decade of the new enterprise (Rispoli and Mella 2007). The first hotels were inaugurated in Catanzaro and Trani in 1950, in Trieste in 1951, and in Caserta and Mantua in 1954. In total, 35 Jolly hotels were built in 1954.[11]

[11] Casmez Archive, Report to the financial statements 1953–54, p. 20.

The ACI, founded in 1905, entered the accommodation sector in 1950 with the creation of facilities dedicated to travelers, specifically car drivers. Motels were built along the roads to offer support to motorists.

From a geographical point of view, most of the credit facilities benefited the Campania and Abruzzo regions. Abruzzo was well-funded even though it did not seem to have widespread tourist appeal. Sardinia, with more obvious tourist appeal, received a significant proportion of hotel-dedicated credit facilities (Tables 7.4 and 7.5).[12]

In the early 1960s, however, awareness grew that successfully supporting tourism would require its positioning in a wider and more complex design. In 1964–1965, the creation of new tourist development hubs in the south became one of the objectives of the Casmez.

> If you want to avoid foreign tourists gradually leaving Italy behind in favour of the new neighbouring Mediterranean tourist destinations it is

Table 7.4 Credit facilities granted by Casmez for the restructuring and new construction of hotels, 1951–65 (number)

Region	Projects	Rooms	Beds	Bathrooms
Tuscany	27	943	1843	889
Marche	25	1347	2384	1218
Abruzzo	167	7174	13,019	6084
Molise	6	190	274	120
Lazio	86	2780	5202	2436
Campania	218	8213	14,977	7295
Puglia	60	2527	4311	2015
Basilicata	20	749	1232	600
Calabria	69	2890	5244	2491
Sicily	54	2157	3813	1851
Sardinia	43	2779	4959	2508
Total	**775**	**31,749**	**57,258**	**27,507**

Source: Casmez Archive, *Budget year 1951–65*

[12] The "Rinascita" (Rebirth) economic and social revival plan, among other influences, made Sardinia the object of much attention. It was a large organic development program expressly formulated for Sardinia which came into force in 1962, after a gestation of 11 years, and was then refinanced in 1974. It aimed to transform the social and economic structure of the island through a series of extraordinary public interventions (not substitutive but additional to those of the Casmez), which covered all sectors, from education, to industry, to fishing, etc.

Table 7.5 Credit facilities granted by Casmez for the renovation and new construction of hotels, 1951–65 (millions of lire)

	Costs of the works		Deliberated Loans		Loans		Disbursements	
Regions	N.	Amount	N.	Amount	Amount	%	Amount	%
Tuscany	37	3442	37	1316	946	2%	477	2%
Marche	31	3663	31	1472	1222	4%	877	4%
Lazio	106	10,942	106	3482	2483	8%	1774	8%
Abruzzi and Molise	214	22,582	214	8052	5233	19%	4103	19%
Campania	274	29,540	274	10,584	7486	27%	5872	27%
Puglia	83	8353	83	3633	2478	10%	2111	10%
Basilicata	28	2668	28	899	548	2%	419	2%
Calabria	100	9481	100	3741	2415	7%	1616	7%
Sicily	71	7878	71	3291	2423	8%	1668	8%
Sardinia	55	13,275	55	4410	3093	13%	2709	13%
Total	999	111,824	999	40,880	28,327	100%	21,626	100%

Source: Casmez Archive, *Budget year 1964–65*

> necessary and urgent to add to the already established seaside resorts of central and northern Italy, now close to saturation or even congested, new coastal centres able to offer a comfortable and pleasant stay. And these centres can be, to a large extent, identified and organized in the South and in the Islands, where among other things, a particularly favourable climatic condition, makes it possible to rely on a longer tourist season.[13]

The management of Casmez was well aware of the many difficulties to be overcome:

- the geographic position of the south was rather distant relative to the Alpine region and the Po Valley area which traditionally catered for European tourist demand.
- the difficulties in accessing many southern and island areas, deriving from inadequate railway communications, as well as from an absolute deficiency of airports, ports and small ports for small tonnage boats.
- lack of adequate accommodation facilities.

[13] Casmez Archive, *Budget 1964–1965* (p. 32).

However, a proper solution to these problems was not always found. In general, from the early 1960s, Casmez sought to overcome the spotty approach adopted until then through the identification of tourist areas (hubs) in which to concentrate the action. The first 15 years of life of Casmez ended with the commitment to identify "the areas deserving special attention". That meant areas in which to design an intervention based on a general plan for the safeguarding of landscape, and, finally, cultural and historical values, and which included the necessary training for managers and staff as well as the organization of propaganda".[14]

This requirement was given full recognition in law n.717 in 1965, which marked the introduction of the concept of the tourist development area: 29 were identified.[15] With the identification of the tourist development areas there began a new phase of Casmez policies, that of integration between extraordinary intervention and national programming (Paganetto and Scandizzi 2000, p. 98). The first National Economic Program, containing the strategic development plan for tourism, was approved by the Council of Ministers in January 1965.

7.4 The Instruments of Intervention in the South: The Case of the Insud

In order to facilitate its operation, Casmez was connected to various public bodies and finance companies. The first group assisted Casmez in the training of human capital, the second in finding private capital to partner on projects. The creation of the INSUD in 1963 (and the appointment of financial manager Ernesto Breda) was part of this scheme. Although it focused on manufacturing, it could acquire up to 40% of shares in companies operating in the tourism sector (Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri 1986). In 1964 the INSUD shareholding structure changed due to the entry of various financial institutions and of EFIM, a state-owned

[14] Casmez Archive, *Budget 1962–1963* (p. 63).

[15] Among other legislative interventions, Law n.717 identified the most important players in the hospitality sector. It provided support for the construction, extension and adaptation of properties for use by hotels, pensions and numerous other types of accommodation.

body that held the majority shares of INSUD itself. INSUD was not the only state-owned company operating in the tourist sector. There were also Cit, the network of travel agencies created in 1927 by the ENIT and by the Ferrovie dello Stato, and Semi, the holding company belonging to the ENI group, which in the 1980s owned the Motel Agip hotel chain, some important tourist companies, such as Pugnochiuso in the Gargano and Rocca Ruja in Sardinia, and a tour operator, the Grantour (Atti Parlamentari 1987). The purpose of the new entity was to promote industrial and tourist initiatives in the south. It formed part of the more comprehensive design of an extraordinary public intervention aimed at the economic development of the southern regions and the overcoming of regional gaps.

The INSUD contributed to the localization of economic activities in the south by investing in new ventures and providing technical support and management. In addition to offering a considerable share of start-up capital, it helped the nascent companies in dealing with the banking world, with tax practices and credit facilities, and in administrative organization. In this capacity, the INSUD oversaw the setting up of numerous industrial and tourist enterprises. Between 1964 and 1986, this involved 50 new companies with fixed investments of over 400 billion and employment in the order of 10,000 units. INSUD also engaged in the forestry sector. In 1986, when the rationalization of the intervention program in the south started with the assignment of specific sectors to the single agencies (article 6 of law n.64, 1 March 1986), INSUD was assigned "the promotion and development of the tourism and spa business" while industrial investments were progressively sold to private shareholders. To the end, INSUD had to support the risk capital of companies acting in the sectors of traditional or new-type accommodation, services, infrastructure and the exploitation of thermal resources. In 1991 INSUD began a policy of gradual sale of its shareholdings in order to acquire resources to be used in new initiatives.

As for the tourist activity in its almost forty-year history, the INSUD was committed to the creation of real tourist centers, promoting not only accommodation facilities but also recreation facilities, such as sports structures, commercial services and entertainment. Through specific purpose companies, INSUD acquired areas valuable from the naturalistic or

artistic point of view, and designed development projects in partnership with private companies.

This strategy started in 1968, with the task of managing holidays resorts. The first two were opened in Ostuni (Puglia) and Capo Rizzuto (Calabria), followed by two in Sicily in 1972. The 1973 opening of a resort in Turkey (later to be sold in 1976) marked penetration of the foreign market. Meanwhile, the penetration of the Italian market continued with the opening of a resort in Trentino and another in Val d'Aosta.[16]

7.5 Conclusions

Overall, the intervention of the state in favor of tourism in the southern regions was characterized by the presence of a plurality of protagonists; in the final analysis, however, it failed to stimulate the creation of a widespread tourist offering capable of fully exploiting the many resources of the southern regions.

There is a need for more in-depth evaluation of individual investments, such as the creation of new holidays resorts in areas where there had been no previous investment. In any case, between 1950 and 1970, as regional GDP converged, the north–south tourist divide widened. Public intervention failed to get the tourism sector off the ground in the south, where local forces had failed. The financial commitment of the State in these first years of extraordinary intervention in favor of tourism in the south stimulated the birth of a large number of receptive facilities, mostly small medium-scale enterprises, while large-scale initiatives, mostly the construction of coastal holiday resorts, were in the minority.

Local institutions were unable to develop organic tourism development projects and to establish collaborative relationships with the local economic system; moreover, private entrepreneurship, also lacking an effective planning capacity, was financially weak and, above all, disinclined to seek partnerships that would have allowed it to make wider investments. Furthermore, the effectiveness of Casmez action was

[16] The internationalization of the 1980s crossed the borders of the Mediterranean and of Italy with the opening of villages in the Ivory Coast (1980) and the Maldives (1983).

undermined by the lack of coordination on a horizontal level that manifested itself both at the level of public and private operators and at the vertical level, where, pending the establishment of regional bodies, there was a need for an intermediate body capable of proposing supra-municipal development plans (Pollice 2002, p. 275).

The major limitation of all these interventions was that they failed to identify and eliminate the weaknesses of the southern regions and incentivize the realization of structures and attractions in any order. There was no overarching strategic plan for tourism which linked hospitality and accessibility. Casmez continued to build roads without facing up to the problem of the remoteness of the south from the large areas of central and northern European tourist demand. Roads continued to be financed when it was charter flights and airports that were needed.

The underlying deficiency of all the initiatives that have taken place since the early 1960s (up to and including the time of writing) has been a lack of consideration for the specificity of the territorial context and the lack of an objective assessment of the "territorial response" they produced. Indeed, public intervention appears to have been fragmented and devoid of effective territorial coherence.

Bibliography

Atti Parlamentari, IX legislatura, Camera dei deputati (1987), *Indagine conoscitiva sulle partecipazioni pubbliche nel settore turismo*, Servizio commissioni parlamentari, Roma.

Battilani Patrizia and Francesca Fauri (2014 and 2019 sd edition), *L'economia italiana dal 1945 a oggi*, Bologna, Il Mulino.

Battilani Patrizia (2009; sd edition 2011), *Vacanze di pochi, vacanze di tutti. L'evoluzione del turismo europeo,* Il Mulino, Bologna.

Battilani Patrizia (2015), *Dal turismo di massa al turismo relazionale: la Riviera romagnola*. In Mariuccia Salvati - Loredana Sciolla (edited by), *L'Italia e le sue regioni. L'età repubblicana. I Territori*, vol. 2, pp. 603–610, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana Treccani, Roma.

Battilani Patrizia (2016) L'industria alberghiera italiana fra Ottocento e Novecento: la fragilità di lungo periodo della grande impresa. *Revista de la historia de la economĺa y de la empresa*, vol. 10, pp. 85–107.

Berrino Annunziata (2011), *Storia del turismo in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
Cao-Pinna Vera (Edited by) (1979) *Le regioni nel Mezzogiorno. Analisi critica dei progressi realizzati dal 1951 al 1975*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
Creaco Salvatore (2015) *Turismo e intervento straordinario nel Mezzogiorno,* in *Turismi e Turisti. Politica, innovazione, economia in Italia in età contemporanea*, Paola Avallone and Donatella Strangio (edited by), Milano, FrancoAngeli, pp. 93–136.
D'Antone Leandra (1997) *«Straordinarietà» e Stato ordinario* in Fabrizio Barca (edited by*) Storia del capitalismo italiano dal dopoguerra a oggi*, Roma, Donzelli, pp. 579–616.
Della Porta Glauco, Angelo Mariotti, Mario Besusso (1962) *Industria, servizi e scuola in Cassa per il Mezzogiorno. Dodici anni 1950–1962, Bari, Laterza.*
ENIT, 1935, Statistica del turismo. *Bollettino mensile dell'Ente nazionale delle Industrie turistiche*, n.3, marzo.
Felice Emanuele (2007) *Divari regionali e intervento pubblico. Per una rilettura dello sviluppo in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
Felice Emanuele (2013), *Perché il Sud è rimasto indetro*, Bologna, Il Mulino.
ISTAT (1955) *Movimento turistico*.
ISTAT: *Enit, Statistica del Movimento turistico italiano*, several years.
Lepore Amedeo (2012) La Cassa per il Mezzogiorno e la Banca mondiale: un modello per lo sviluppo economico italiano, *Quaderni Svimez*, numero speciale, Roma ottobre.
Paganetto Luigi, and Pasquale L. Scandizzo (2000) *La Banca mondiale e l'Italia: dalla ricostruzione allo sviluppo,* Bologna, Il Mulino.
Pollice Fabio (2002) *Territori del turismo. Una lettura geografica delle politiche del turismo,* FrancoAngeli, Milano.
Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Dirigenza generale delle informazioni, dell'editoria e della proprietà letteraria artistica e scientifica (1986) *L'intervento straordinario nel mezzogiorno (1950–1984)*, Roma, Istituto poligrafico.
Rispoli Maurizio and Sara Mella (2007) Jolly Hotels. Il percorso strategico di una grande impresa famigliare (1949–2006), Bologna, Il Mulino.
Strangio Donatella (2011) *La rinascita economica dell'Europa. Dall'European Recovery program all'integrazione economica europea e alla Banca europea per gli investimenti,* Sovera Mannelli (CZ), Rubbettino editore.
Svimez, (1961) *Cassa per il Mezzgiorno*, Bilancio 1960–61, Relazione Roma 1961.

8

Emigration and Cruises: The Transatlantic Shipping Companies After the Second World War (1945–1960)*

Gaetano Cerchiello and Annunziata Berrino

8.1 Introduction

The development of steam navigation throughout the nineteenth century gave rise to a systemic transformation of maritime transport. Travelling by sea became quicker, safer, more comfortable and, for the first time, it had a calendar with departures and arrivals (Armstrong and Williams 2011). When engines came into being with the consequent regularity of

This study is the result of a joint research project by the two authors within the framework of the Project HAR2017-82679-C2-1-P (National Programme for Fostering Excellence in Scientific and Technical Research of Spain's Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness).

G. Cerchiello (✉)
University Institute for Tourism Research, University of Alicante, Alicante, Spain
e-mail: gaetano.cerchiello@ua.es

A. Berrino (✉)
Department of Humanities, University Federico II of Naples, Naples, Italy
e-mail: annunziata.berrino@unina.it

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_8

crossings, the first shipping lines were created and with them passenger transport was born (Zanini 2013). The new sector expanded considerably from the end of the century as a result of the growing demand of European emigration, particularly on the Atlantic routes (Coye and Murphy 2007). For example, it is estimated that in the three decades preceding the First World War, more than 19 million European emigrants moved to the United States alone (Keeling 2010).

As well as transporting passengers in first, second and third class (or equivalent accommodation) on the line operations, the transatlantic shipping companies also began to promote pleasure cruises (Dawson 2000; Quartermaine and Peter 2006; Faraldo and Rodríguez-López 2013, pp. 98–101). The primary objective of this activity, which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century, was to compensate for the low season of the scheduled services, and, in this way, address the excess capacity of their fleets (Williams 2000; Dickinson and Vladimir 2008). The involvement of the shipping companies in the organisation of cruises usually varied depending on the changes in line traffic, and, more precisely, depending on the emigration demand, which accounted for the majority of long-distance maritime passengers (Keeling 1999). This dependent relationship with respect to transatlantic services marked the evolution of cruise activity until the 1960s (Cerchiello 2017). Before the First World War, for example, the transatlantic companies were fully committed to the line services for which there were exceptionally high levels of demand (Feys 2013). Therefore, cruises were given less importance. In fact, tourist expeditions in the Mediterranean were not very frequent during this time (Cartwright and Harvey 2004). The majority of them took place between the end of autumn and the beginning of spring, that is, during the lower seasons of the passenger services on the main transatlantic routes. During this first phase, the tourist cruises also had a promotional role: the shipping companies organised occasional pleasure trips to promote their line services among wealthier clients (Berneron-Couvenhes 2007, p. 49).

The cruise activity increased notably during the period between the two world wars. A strong fall in emigration demand from the mid-1920s led to a radical shift in the business strategy of the transatlantic shipping companies (Cerchiello 2018). Cruise activity increased exponentially,

spreading out throughout the year. At the same time, the frequency of the scheduled services diminished. Supply was exceptionally high in the first half of the 1930s. The port of Naples recorded the transit of 82 *transatlantici in crociera* in 1931, with a total of more than 30000 passengers (*Il Mattino,* 26 April 1932). Barcelona reached an annual average of 70 stopovers between 1933 and 1935, and cruises became the dominant form of tourism in Palma de Mallorca, with an annual movement of over 50,000 passengers (Barceló 1966). This spectacular expansion of cruises reveals their autonomy with respect to the general trend in international tourism (Cerchiello and Vera-Rebollo 2019). While the latter paid the consequences of the economic crisis with an overall reduction in the demand for travel (Ogilvie 1933; Vallejo et al. 2018), cruises were experiencing their first "golden age".

This article analyses the evolution of the transatlantic passenger shipping companies in the fifteen years following the Second World War. It focuses on the cruise activity of these companies, paying particular attention to the impact and repercussions experienced in Spain. From a chronological point of view, it covers a relatively brief but highly intense and complex period that includes three different phases of the business activity of these companies: the reactivation of the transatlantic services after the disaster of the war; a brief expansion phase until the mid-1950s; and the beginning of the irreversible crisis at the end of the decade. After the 1960s, many transatlantic shipping companies abandoned the line services to gradually become tourist cruise operators. Our research is mainly based on publications on cruise activity. There have been developments in the study of cruise history in recent years, thanks to monographic publications by Steel (2013), Zaccagnino (2014), Cerchiello (2014, 2017), Cerchiello and Vera-Rebollo (2019), together with the pioneer studies by Williams (2000, 2003), Cartwright and Harvey (2004) and Berneron-Couvenhes (2007). With different approaches and from national perspectives, the authors analyse the historical periods that led to the formation of the modern cruise industry in the last third of the twentieth century. The studies on transatlantic shipping companies and maritime transport by Forcignanò (1956), Hyde (1975), Castillo and Ybarra (2004), Keeling (1999, 2010), Doria (2009), Feys (2013) and Zanini (2013), among other authors, provide us with an in-depth insight into

the activity and work of these companies. We believe that this type of study is important in order to conduct a historical reconstruction of cruise activity. While being a tourist activity, it should be emphasised that cruises developed until the beginning of the 1970s within the shipping business and, more precisely, as a secondary activity to the line services. In other words, it is difficult to understand the historical evolution of cruises without taking into account the changes that took place in the maritime transport sector. The bibliographic analysis has been completed with several contributions that help to contextualise the object of study and explore its tourist dimension in greater depth. In this sense, the studies conducted by Esteve and Fuentes (2000), Correyero and Cal (2008) and Pack (2009) among others have been highly useful.

Together with the bibliographic review, the methodology of this study has involved working with several primary sources. As the reader progresses with the text it will become clear that most of the sources are journalistic and include two documentary sources: promotional advertisements and port chronicles. The former help us to shed light on the organisation of the trips, their destinations, duration, types of services, tariff levels, type of vessels, etc. This advertising material has been gathered from several virtual newspaper libraries in accordance with the corresponding geographical area. The information referring to the Spanish cruise activity has been mainly drawn from the superb virtual newspaper library of *La Vanguardia*, then known as *La Vanguardia Española*, with Barcelona being the principal port of departure, together with Bilbao. In the case of Italy, two of the most diffused national newspapers have been used, *La Stampa* and *Il Corriere della Sera*, while the valuable online newspaper library of the British Newspaper Archive has enabled us to compile all the information relating to the British market. The second documentary press source is less known: the port chronicles, which provide information about the daily arrivals and departures of the vessels in a certain port. In the same way as other newspapers published in coastal areas, *La Vanguardia* informed about the port traffic of Barcelona. Its section "Maritime News" of 12 August 1954, for example, indicated that the English transatlantic liner, the *Chusan*, had made a port call in Barcelona with "almost a thousand tourists" aboard, before continuing to the following port of Genoa. A promotional advertisement previously published by the British

newspaper the *Western Mail* (16 January 1954, p. 6) informed that the company P&O had programmed several tourist trips from the British Isles with a port call in Barcelona in the spring-summer season of 1954, including that made by the *Chusan* on 11 August. As well as confirming the information of the advertising material—there were usually many inaccuracies in the transcription of the port operations with foreign terms (cities, vessels, shipping companies, etc.)—the port chronicles had the advantage of often including the number of passengers in all sea journeys, from line trips to tourist cruises. The combined use of the two documentary sources has enabled us to compile the volume of cruise traffic in Barcelona during the 1950s, as shown in the final section of this article. This is aimed at compensating, although only partly, for the serious scarcity of quantitative data on cruise movements for the period considered.

Including this introduction, our work is divided into six sections. The following section provides a brief account of the critical situation of maritime transport at the end of the war. The third section describes the evolution of the sector during the period under study and addresses the reasons that caused the crisis suffered by the transatlantic lines in the second half of the 1950s. The fourth section analyses the resuming of cruise traffic after the war and focuses on the Spanish case. The fifth examines the cruise products offered and highlights the large differences between the Spanish cruises and those organised in other countries. The article closes with some brief reflections based on a quantitative estimate of the cruise traffic in Barcelona.

8.2 Maritime Passenger Transport in the Post-War Period

The Second World War constituted a major setback for European merchant shipping. Almost 40% of the tonnage existing in 1939 was destroyed (Aldcroft 2003, pp. 141–142). The fleets of the defeated nations suffered the most damage. Germany lost practically all of its large-scale passenger ships. Of the 125 passenger cargo vessels of over a thousand gross registered tonnes (hereafter, GRT), which were calculated in September 1939, only three remained (*The handbook of merchant*

shipping statistics through 1958, p. 17). In May 1945, the Italian merchant fleet had 50 passenger cargo ships of over 100 GRT, as opposed to the 215 units that operated in September 1939 (Forcignanò 1956, p. 36). For the Italia Line or Società di Navigazione Italia, one of the principal European transatlantic shipping companies, the war meant the loss of 33 vessels and almost 90% of its tonnage (Doria 2009, p. 158). The sinking of one of the symbols of fascist Italy, the *Rex*, one of the largest and fastest transatlantic ships at the time, was highly significant (Piccione 2013; Zaccagnino 2014). The famous vessel, immortalised by Federico Fellini in the film *Amarcord*, was sunk and stripped in the waters of the Adriatic. The Italian authorities invested around 3.5 billion former liras in order to recover some of the sunken vessels close to the coast (Doria 2009). But the war also incurred heavy losses for the victorious nations. The large English passenger shipping companies were not spared from the catastrophe. Seven transport units of Cunard-White Star were destroyed while they were serving the British navy, including the vessels *Laconia*, *Carinthia* and *Lancastria*, which had operated many cruises during the inter-war years (Hyde 1975, p. 26). In the autumn of 1939, the fleet of the Royal Mail Lines was made up of 31 vessels; six years later there were only 10 units left (Miller 2017).

Many transatlantic liners that had been saved from the disaster were still under the command of the military authorities to transport troops, refugees, prisoners or carry out other logistic tasks. Furthermore, there were other surviving units that needed extensive reforms due to the damage suffered, but the overall lack of steel and other construction materials hindered the work of the shipbuilders until the end of the decade. It is not without reason that the passenger fleet on a global level in 1950 represented a little over 60% of the tonnage recorded in September 1939. Of the principal European passenger fleets, only the British had levels similar to those before the war as shown in Table 8.1. On the other hand, those of France, Italy and particularly Germany continued to suffer from the severe effects of the war. In the case of Spain, the Civil War had caused the destruction of a fifth of the merchant fleet. Its recovery was very slow and progressed with enormous difficulty. The tonnage levels prior to Franco's coup were not obtained again until 1953. This recovery was also hindered by the prohibition imposed on the Spanish shipping companies to purchasing vessels abroad (Valdaliso 1998, pp. 4–8).

Table 8.1 Number of vessels and gross tonnage of the principal European passenger fleets (1939, 1950)

	Number of ships		Gross Tonnage (in thousands)		
Country	1939	1950	1939	1950	Change %
France	134	72	1.140	657	−42
Germany	125	7	1.199	20	−98
Italy	151	48	1.096	395	−64
Netherlands	133	89	895	636	−29
United Kingdom	359	279	3.598	3.086	−14

Source: *The handbook of merchant shipping statistics through 1958*, pp. 16–28
Data are based on cargo–passenger oceangoing ships of more than 1000 GRT

In addition to the damage suffered by the shipping companies, the port infrastructures also sustained damage, as they constituted one of the preferred targets of enemy aircraft. The Italian ports, among others, suffered many bombings, both before and after the Armistice of 8 September 1943. A good part of the infrastructures was left "practically unusable" and was also "infested" with unexploded mines (*La ricostruzione dei porti marittimi nazionali* 1953). Among those affected was the port of Naples, the most important port of the maritime routes with the colonies in North Africa (Monda 2006; Berrino 2011). "Almost" its entire infrastructure was destroyed and reduced to "a landscape of rubble", with "sunken ships, ripped up cranes and demolished buildings" (Mazzetti 2006, p. 75).

8.3 Emigration and Line Services

At the end of the war, the panorama of passenger maritime transport was frankly devastating. The sector was characterised by an insufficient tonnage to cover the new traffic needs. The end of the war had generated a new flow of emigration from the Old Continent. Between 1946 and 1950, more than 620,000 Europeans emigrated to the United States, that is, almost double those who had done so during the whole of the 1930s (*Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service* 1955). The Italian transoceanic emigration, which mostly went to South America, grew from 7200 passengers in 1946 to 145,000 in 1950 (ISTAT 2011).

The movement of Spanish emigrants was similar with respect to the evolution and destination, although with lower absolute values. They increased from 5500 passengers travelling in third class or similar accommodation in 1946 to 55000 in 1950 (Nicolau 2005). Spanish demand remained high during the first half of the 1950s, reaching a maximum figure of 62,000 emigrant passengers in 1955. Although far from the values prior to the First World War, maritime passenger traffic on the North Atlantic international route, which was used as a reference for trade and transport, constantly increased until 1957, as we can observe in Fig. 8.1 (black line).

As well as reactivating the transatlantic services, the new increase in emigration demand boosted ship building. After the difficulties of the early years of the post-war period, the European fleets gradually recovered. In the first half of the 1950s, the global tonnage of cargo-passenger vessels with more than 1000 GRT recorded an increase of over 25% (*The handbook of merchant shipping statistics through 1958*). The shipyards worked at full steam. Around 170 vessels of more than 1000 GRT were

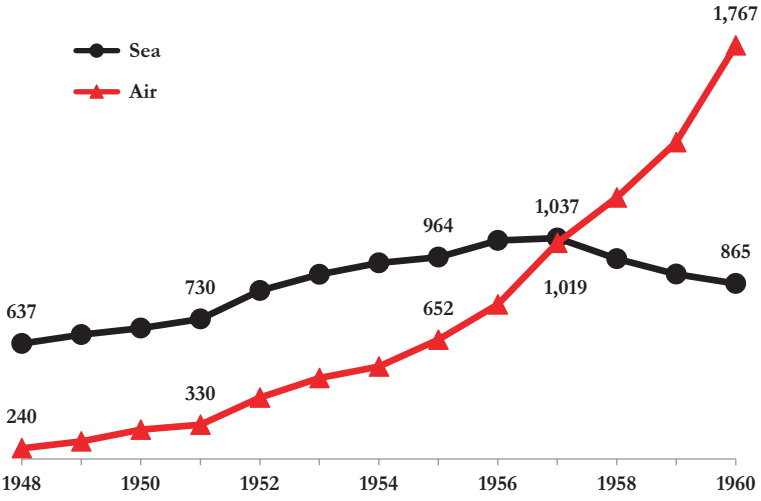


Fig. 8.1 The evolution of passenger demand to cross the North Atlantic according to the means of transport. Thousands of passengers (1948–1960). (Source: Cerchiello (2017))

launched in West Germany between 1956 and 1957 (*Vida Marítima*, 1 February 1958, p. 81). The British shipping company P&O carried out a broad modernisation of its fleet by incorporating six newly built transatlantic liners (Howarth and Howarth 1987; Poole and Sassoli 2013). In July 1956, La Compagnie Générale Transatlantique ordered the construction of the *France*, the largest passenger ship thus far (Cassagnou 2002). When the French ship was brought into service years later, it had an average of over 66000 GRT and a length of 316 metres. The Italian merchant navy, thanks mostly to the public subsidies for shipyards and shipping companies, recorded an increase of a little under 90% in terms of tonnage in the first half of the 1950s (Doria 2009). In 1955, the Italian fleet had 81 cargo-passenger vessels, that is, 35 units more than it had when it operated at the beginning of 1950. The incorporation by the Società di Navigazione Italia of the transatlantic liners *Augustus*, *Andrea Doria*, *Cristoforo Colombo and Giulio Cesare*, all with a capacity of over 1000 passengers, is another indicator of the extraordinary development experienced by the transatlantic passenger lines at this time. The testimonies of the day talk about an overall situation of "true paroxysm", highlighting the "unprecedented increase" in the construction of large passenger vessels (Compañía Trasatlántica Española, *Annual Report,* 1956).

While the continuity of ship building and the constant increase in the demand for travel were the principal arguments fuelling the new optimism that reigned over the maritime sector, the concomitant progress of commercial aviation represented its biggest threat. In 1957, air traffic accounted for practically the same volume of passengers as North Atlantic maritime traffic due to a much higher growth rate (Fig. 8.1, red line). Fears of a "decline" of the shipping lines due to the "hard" competition of the airlines had spread at the beginning of the 1950s, according to an analysis of the reports of the specialised Spanish publication, *Vida Marítima.* However, as the figures regarding the rising trend of maritime traffic and the expansion plans of the passenger fleets were made public, the expressions of concern dissipated, giving rise to even promising perspectives. Several analysts coincided in that the two modes of transport would coexist in "all" of the world routes, even when air transport reached its "maximum development" (e.g. *Vida Marítima*; 1 January 1955, p. 11; 15 February 1958, p. 123; 15 August 1958, p. 517). The coexistence was

based on a supposed market sharing. The plane constituted the best mode of transport for those who valued speed as the "preponderant factor" of their trip and, of course, for clients with a high purchasing power. Conversely, maritime transport was aimed at travellers who gave priority to comfort and safety, but particularly at those with fewer resources with the emigrant being the central focus of its strategy. The directors of the Compañía Trasatlántica Española (*Annual Report*, 1959) shared these assessments and expressed full confidence in the "permanence" of Spanish emigrants, who, due to their low purchasing power, were not attracted by the airlines. The design of many newly built ships reflected this new trend, which was spreading across most European countries.

> The design of the new type of passenger vessels sought to simplify the diversity of classes in the facilities, greatly reducing the space allocated to luxury cabins and, instead, increasing the number of tourist class passengers. (*Vida Marítima*, 1 January 1955, p. 11)

This optimistic scenario changed abruptly from 1958. Within a context of overall improvement in the western economies, the European transoceanic emigration demand began to experience a sharp fall, while there was a deviation of the emigrant traffic towards other regions of the Old Continent (Cerchiello 2014). In just three years, maritime traffic in the North Atlantic decreased by more than 16% (Fig. 8.1, black line). The analysis of the directors of Naviera Aznar (*Annual Report*, 1963) is revealing:

> The reduction in emigration to the countries of South America has affected this line negatively. The preference of the Spanish emigrant for European countries and the increase in employment that Spain's growing economic development is causing, has led to a reduction by one-third of Spanish emigration to ports traditionally served by our South American line.

As well as the reduction in the transport of emigrants, the impossibility of competing with the airlines was becoming increasingly evident. The extraordinary technological advance of aviation not only favoured the commercialisation of the first non-stop intercontinental flights but also

the possibility of operating with safer and larger aircrafts (Gilbert and Perl 2010). With more space, the airlines began to adopt a new and efficient cabin distribution policy with a resulting reduction in the sale prices. Together with the first class and tourist class services, the airlines began to introduce the so-called economy class, which was an instant success (*Vida Marítima*, 15 August 1959, p. 516; Vidal 2008). The development of charter flights, meanwhile, contributed to the popularisation of air travel among tourists with a limited budget due to even more affordable tariffs (Pack 2009, p. 22). This had tragic consequences for the shipping sector. Suddenly, a severe imbalance was generated between the demand and supply of transport, and to mitigate the short-term damage, as we shall see later, many transatlantic shipping companies turned to pleasure cruises. The offer of cruises soared as it had done before the war, but with the difference that the new crisis of the transatlantic lines was irreversible (Cerchiello 2014). Before analysing this further, however, it is necessary to take a step back and focus on the resuming of the cruise activity after the end of the war, in order to place the facts within the historical context in Spain.

8.4 Spanish Maritime Tourism

In the light of what we have seen in the second section, it should not be surprising that the first European cruise of the second post-war period was organised by a country that had remained neutral. Leaving Gothenberg on 26 October 1946, the Swedish shipping company Svenska Lloyd and the travel agency Thomas Cook & Son organised a "marvelous" four-week pleasure cruise to southern Europe (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 27 August 1946, p. 2). The vessel *Saga*, a small transport unit with a capacity for 376 passengers was chosen, which was usually used on the line services between Sweden and England (*Swedish Lloyd Presents "Saga"* 1946). As well as making port calls at Madeira, Tenerife, Casablanca, Malaga, Cadiz and Lisbon, the Swedish ferry made a double stopover in London to give the English clientele the opportunity to enjoy a trip of "recreation, comfort, rest and excellent gastronomy" (*The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury*, 11 September 1946, p. 5). Around 260

passengers participated in this first tourist initiative, 75 of whom embarked in the London port (*Birmingham Gazette*, 29 October 1946, p. 1).

From the Spanish perspective, this first tourist event was particularly important, taking into account the historical and political circumstances in which the country was immersed. In autumn 1946, Spain remained marginalised by the new international order, fruit of the nature of the regime and its collaboration with the Nazi-fascist forces (Pérez-Sánchez 2009). The country was excluded from the recently created United Nations Organisation, and the borders with France remained closed (Crespo-MacLennan 2004). In December of that year, the UN Assembly had harshly condemned the Spanish government with the subsequent removal of almost all foreign ambassadors (Fusi 1985). But despite the international ostracism and the widespread ideological aversion to the Franco regime, the organisers of the project chose Spain as the principal destination of the trip. It is difficult to determine the reasons that justify this choice. One hypothesis is that it would be logical to think that the internal stability and relatively good conditions of the port and land infrastructures played a decisive role in the decision taken by the organisers. This assumption would be validated by the fact that another two port calls of the cruise were made in Portuguese territory, that is, in another country which had not directly suffered the harsh consequences of the World War (Gómez de las Heras and Sacristán 1989). We should also add that Tenerife, Malaga and Cadiz were not new destinations in the international cruise circuits. In the period between the two World Wars, their ports had been consolidated as tourist stopovers (Cerchiello and Vera-Rebollo 2019).

The passage of the vessel *Saga* through the Spanish ports was followed closely by the local and national press. The monthly journal *Tenerife Gráfico* (November 1946, p. 44) reported the visit of the "first tourist expedition" after the war, including a large image of the vessel. *La Vanguardia Española* (8 November 1946, p. 2) used the words of the Canary Islands press, emphasising the presence of a "large" crowd which "gave the tourists a cordial reception". The Madrid edition of the *ABC* echoed the success on two occasions. The first mention (7 November 1946, p. 22) celebrated the arrival of a cruise to Spain after a decade,

ignoring the fact that foreign cruises had actually passed through Spain during the Civil War, at least in the Canary Island ports (Cerchiello 2017). One week later, the same newspaper published a large photo showing a group of cruise passengers visiting the Alhambra during the stopover in Malaga (ABC, 15 November 1946, p. 5).

The media coverage of this event was not an isolated case, but formed part of a widespread and frequent practice in Franco's Spain. In general, any news on the visit of foreigners received wide media attention (Correyero and Cal 2008, p. 421). For the propaganda machine of the regime it was a way to transmit a message to the Spanish people of normality in terms of foreign relations. Likewise, it was important to ensure that the details of the trip were taken care of and that the tourists were diligently catered to so that they would take home a good impression of the country. In this way, the risk of any negative propaganda was reduced. During their brief stopover in Tenerife, for example, the cruise passengers of the Saga were "given a gift" by the island's local government and enjoyed "different hospitality events prepared in their honour" (*ABC, 7 November 1946*, p. 22; *La Vanguardia Española*, 08 November 1946, p. 2). The care and attention multiplied with the arrival of the first American cruises in March 1950. In a very different context, due to the evolution of the Cold War and the subsequent improvement of relations with Western powers, the directors of the Directorate General of Tourism (hereafter DGT) went to great lengths to avoid any mishaps or upset for the visitors. For example, before the vessel *Caronia* entered the port of Malaga on 21 March 1950, the land excursion programme in the Andalusian town had been organised for some time (Archivo General de la Administración, Cultura, box 16067, letter from Viajes Bakumar to the DGT of Málaga, 21 February 1950). According to the plan agreed to with the local authorities, an "extensive" tour of the town had been organised including the visit to the "principal" wineries, among other activities. All of this was carried out under the supervision of Luis Antonio Bolín, the director of the DGT, who had even travelled between Barcelona and Malaga on board the transatlantic vessel of the Cunard (*La Vanguardia Española*, 21 March 1950, p. 12; *ABC*, Seville, 22 March 1950, p. 10).

Tourist traffic was not only important for propaganda purposes. Equal or even greater importance was given to its financial returns. Over the

years, the profits that could be gained from foreign tourism through the capture of currencies became increasingly evident, constituting a way to mitigate the deficit in the balance of trade (Esteve and Fuentes 2000). It should be remembered that, at the end of the World War, the marginalisation of Spain was not limited to the political dimension. Towards the end of the 1940s, the country was also excluded from the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and, particularly the Marshall Plan. The latter constituted the "hardest blow" to the Franco regime at a time when it "desperately" needed economic aid (Crespo-MacLennan 2004, p. 28; Moreno 2018, p. 81). As observed by the historian Sasha D. Pack (2009, pp. 70–76), the opening up of Franco's Spain to foreign tourism was fundamentally based on this economic need, which enabled it to overcome the reluctance and bias of the most conservative sectors of the regime.

The report titled *Estudios para un Plan Nacional de Turismo* (1952, p. 78), the first important report of the Franco regime on tourism (hereafter, National Tourism Plan), expressly referred to the "evident" economic impact that cruise tourists represented, particularly due to the "profit derived from currency exchange". For this reason, there was pressure to sign agreements with foreign companies "engaged in the organisation of cruises" in order to include Spanish ports in their itineraries on a "regular basis" (Ibidem). The achievement of this latter objective required the fulfilment of two conditions: to enliven the visits of the cruise passengers and to facilitate the disembarkation operations. In the first case, the responsibility corresponded to the local governments whose principal task was to "enhance the value" of everything related to popular customs and traditions. The central government stressed that folklore had become one of the "elements most desired" by foreign tourists, even more than seeing architectural monuments or works of art:

> The expansion of civilisation, with its advantages and drawbacks, is giving the world a uniform nature, stripping it of its varied local district and therefore national facets, resulting in all countries, however far apart they are, having (…) an almost identical profile, with hardly any differentiations or contrasts (Ibidem).

The arrivals of the tourist expeditions were usually received with all types of spectacles and popular festivals. The local chronicles mostly highlight the flamenco dancing and music and bull festivals, even referring to the presence of university "*tunas*" (musicians). The cruise passengers of the *Andrea Doria* attended a flamenco show organised in the Port of Cadiz at the beginning of 1953 (*Diario de Cádiz*, 4 January 1953, p. 2). The "magnificent" transatlantic liner of the Società di Navigazione Italia, whose sinking a few years later profoundly affected Italian public opinion, on its inaugural cruise passed through Palma de Mallorca and Las Palmas (*Il Corriere della Sera*, 3 January 1953). In Puerto de la Luz, a *tuna* participated in the official reception on board, together with the "highest" authorities of the Canary Island. According to the local chronicles (*Falange. Diario de la tarde*, 30 December 1952, p. 2), the musical group played an "extensive repertoire" which delighted the "800 or so" passengers. The bullfighting events were particularly abundant in the Monumental bullring of Barcelona irrespective of the nationality of the passengers (Cerchiello 2017; Vizcaíno 1978, p. 370). The journalistic chronicles of 11 April 1951 informed of a bullfighting event "dedicated" to the Italian cruise passengers of the vessel *Pace*, who had left the port of Genoa a few days earlier (*La Vanguardia Española*, 11 April 1951, p. 12). More than 600 British passengers aboard the *Orcades* of Orient Line participated in a "magna" bullfight which took place on 15 July 1951 (*La Vanguardia Española*, 17 July 1951). A year later, precisely on 26 March 1952, the North American cruise passengers of the *Independence* attended a training fight organised in their honour in the famous bullring of Barcelona (*La Vanguardia Española*, 25 March 1952, p. 16 and 27 March 1952, p. 10).

The other requirement for capturing tourist maritime traffic resided in the need to facilitate the port call operations. In other words, the bureaucratic formalities relating to passport and visa controls had to be streamlined in order to reduce the delays and inconveniences that usually occurred in Spanish ports. Since the arrival of the first post-war expeditions, the DGT attempted to grant the requests of the foreign shipping companies who complained about the laboriousness of these procedures (Archivo General de la Administración, Cultura, box 16067, memorandum from the DGT of October 1949). However, it was a highly complex

issue that was difficult to resolve given that it did not fall within the competencies of the tourism administration. At the beginning of 1950, with the increasing tourist traffic and the arrival of the first cruises from New York, the Spanish authorities discovered a system that enabled them to reduce the time of the operations but did not affect the control of the travellers' documents. According to the agreement, the police registration would not take place in the port offices but on board the ship itself. Before disembarking, the passengers would receive a replacement document for their passports which would be returned to them at the end of the excursions (Cerchiello 2017). In any case, the bureaucratic formalities were not exclusive to the Spanish regime. Years beforehand, the cruise companies had encountered very similar difficulties in the Italian ports. In the edition of 26 April 1932, the daily newspaper *Il Mattino* published an article under the meaningful title of *Il turismo da crociera disturbato da troppe formalità di sbarco* ("Cruise tourism hindered by too many bureaucratic controls"). The leading Neapolitan newspaper reported that many British shipping companies, such as Royal Mail, White Star, Cunard and Blue Star were excluding the majority of the Italian ports from their tourism circuits. The registration operations had become "so long" that the planned excursions suffered delays and even cancellations, with consequent inconvenience to passengers and organising companies. This situation was particularly serious in Naples, where the annual economic impact of cruise tourism was valued between 8 and 10 million liras (between 120000 and 150000 pounds). The publication of the article generated displeasure and concern among the upper echelons of the local fascist power, as revealed by the abundant correspondence kept in the State Archive of Naples (Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Questura, Archivio di gabinetto, Gabinetto seconda parte, Disposizioni di Massima, box 61/1251).

8.5 Elitism and Popular Cruises

The promotion of maritime tourism in Spain during the period following the Second World War was not limited to receiving traffic. The aforementioned National Tourism Plan (1952, pp. 79–80) encouraged Spanish

companies to become involved in this activity by implementing their own initiatives. Behind this recommendation was an economic intention. In practice, it was hoped that the cheap Spanish prices would attract foreign tourists, in accordance with the general framework of the regime's tourism strategy (Esteve and Fuentes 2000). When organising pleasure trips, therefore, the Spanish companies had to target foreign markets instead of national markets. In this way, it was believed that Spanish cruises could become another "estimable" source of income (*Plan Nacional de Turismo* 1952, pp. 79–80). Following this standpoint, the importance of designing "short" itineraries was emphasised, which would make the Spanish supply even more competitive in terms of price.

As a model to follow, a project undertaken by the Compañía Trasatlántica Española in the summer of 1952 was expressly mentioned. Departing from Bilbao and arriving in Barcelona, the first Spanish cruise since the military coup of 1936 included a total of nine stopovers (*La Vanguardia Española,* 13 July 1952, p. 16). Five of them were on foreign soil (Southampton, Lisbon, Funchal, Casablanca and Tangiers) and the rest in national ports (La Coruña, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and Palma de Mallorca). The initiative received the "technical" collaboration of the travel agency Marsans (Compañía Trasatlántica Española, *Annual Report*, 1952). But a detailed analysis of this project reveals a certain contradiction in the recommendations of the central government. Taking it as a reference was not the most appropriate course of action. Neither the characteristics of the trip or its sale prices conformed to these recommendations. The cruise of the *Explorador Iradier* of the Compañía Trasatlántica involved a total of three weeks of sailing. For all intents and purposes, it was not a "short" trip, being much longer than the average foreign cruises as we shall see below. Due to the length of the trip, the minimum RRP per person was established at 5000 pesetas.[1] At

[1] It is very difficult to give an approximate value of the peseta in terms of another currency during the first two decades of the Franco regime. It is well known that the Spanish government established an "absolutely unreal" official exchange rate (Martín-Aceña and Pons, 2005, p. 647; Moreno, 2018, p. 81). It was fixed at 10.95 pts. per 1 US dollar, while during the 1950s one Sterling pound was officially worth 30.66 pts. But in the free market of Tangiers, which had become a "strategic centre for negotiating the Spanish currency", the rates were very different (García and Serrano, 2000, p. 121). In 1952, the Sterling pound traded at 140 pts. on average, while the exchange rate of one US dollar was more than 48 pts.

least for the national market it was not exactly a low price; rather it was unaffordable for the majority of the population. The presence of foreign tourists on the Transatlántica cruise was very low. According to the chronicles and travel reviews, the 195 passengers were "almost all" Spanish, including several managers of the organising companies and their "many" relatives (Calle Iturrino 1952; *Falange. Diario de la tarde*, 26 August 1952, p. 4; *La Vanguardia Española*, 22 August 1952, p. 7).

Contradictions aside, if we analyse the Spanish cruise offer during the 1950s, we can deduce that the guidelines established by the central government almost always remained unheeded. With the exception of some coastal excursions undertaken by the public company Elcano aboard small ferries (Cerchiello et al. 2018, pp. 1278–1280), the Spanish cruises had a distinctly elitist nature. During the second half of the decade, their average duration was 30 days (Cerchiello 2017). The Spanish companies selected very distant destinations: La Havana, New York, Beirut and Haifa are the main examples of this trend. The ships of the Compañía Trasatlántica for example, operated three long cruises from the north of Spain to Central and North America. The agency Marsans and the shipping company Aznar, undertook three pleasure cruises around the Eastern Mediterranean and the Holy Land (Archivo Foral de Bizkaia, Fondo Sota and Aznar, box 2725). And irrespective of the destination, the length of the trip, the organising entity or the unit of transport chosen, the cruises were marketed with very little differences in the price levels. In the case of trips to the Holy Land on the *Monte Ulía*, the prices ranged from a minimum of 5000 to a maximum of 10000 pesetas per person (see note 1). On this basis, it was inevitable that only a very small minority could afford these types of initiatives. A chronicler of the newspaper *La Vanguardia* (22 June 1955, p. 19) wrote, not in vain, that "a good number" of the participants were always the same. In general, the Spanish cruises during this period attracted very few people and the occupancy rates were very low. The agency Marsans, for example, was unable to sell even 40% of the places on its three expeditions to the Holy Land.

The exceptions to this trend only arose when the organisers began to offer a much more affordable product. Marsans hung up the sold-out sign for the Easter cruise of 1956 (*La Vanguardia Española*, 4 March 1956, p. 1). On this occasion, the Catalan company organised an

eleven-day trip in the Western Mediterranean on board the old ship of the company Ybarra. This shipping company promoted two mini cruises in August 1957 to celebrate the launch of the new transatlantic vessel, the *Cabo San Roque*. The first was a seven-day trip between Bilbao and Barcelona with intermediate stops at the minimum price of 2000 pesetas per person; the second was a six-day trip around the Balearic Islands and the Costa Brava from 1750 pts. (*La Vanguardia*, 7 August 1957, p. 14). At the end of the decade, responding to the signs of crisis for the transatlantic services, Ybarra decided to firmly commit itself to the tourism activity, gradually increasing the number of initiatives (Cerchiello 2014).

The evolution of the Spanish cruise sector during the period of study displays specific features that are very different to those of other European countries, such as France, Italy and the United Kingdom. The difference has many facets and is due to several reasons, including the limited cruise experience of the Spanish companies and the inadequacy of their transport units, in terms of both number and size. However, the most notable perhaps resides in the socio-economic characteristics of their clientele and the customer attraction strategy. Although there was no lack of exclusive trips for the upper classes, such as the trips on the small Norwegian vessel *Stella Polaris*, many of the products offered abroad sought to integrate other social classes with fewer economic resources. For example, the transatlantic vessels *La Marseillaise* and *Champollion* of the French company Messageries Maritimes, that operated several pleasure trips from 1949, had two types of accommodation, the *prèmiere* and the *touriste*. They were both sub-divided into many different categories of cabins with their respective sales prices. According to Berneron-Couvenhes (2007, p. 53), with this system, the shipping company was able to extend the socio-economic range of its clientele and foster a "democratisation" of French tourist cruises.

With respect to the Italian companies, from the outset they decided to offer many medium- or short-length trips. The first Italian post-war cruise had a duration of 12 days (*Stampa Sera*, 11 October 1947, p. 2; *Il Corriere della Sera*, 7 November 1947, p. 2). Due to the disastrous situation of the Italian transatlantic fleet, the trip was carried out at the end of 1947 through the charter of a foreign transport unit. One of the most active vessels in the Italian market was the *Giulio Cesare*. Its inaugural

cruise in October 1951 lasted one week. For this project, which was marketed in the Italian press as "the greatest tourist and worldly event of the post-war period", the passengers were distributed through a broad tariff range, from a minimum of 55000 liras (about £34) in tourist class to a maximum of 175000 (about £109) in superior first class (*La Stampa*, 23 September 1951, p. 3). Thanks to this course of action, the Italian transatlantic ship carried almost 1000 people on board (*La Vanguardia Española*, 13 October 1951, p. 12). And it was not an exception. At the end of the summer of the following year, the same ship transported 820 passengers on a five-day "luxury cruise for all" (*La Stampa,* 20 July 1952, p. 2; *La Vanguardia Española*, 14 September 1952, p. 15).

But the cruise passengers with a lower economic level mostly captured the attention of the British companies, which followed a policy that had been implemented in the 1930s (Cerchiello and Vera-Rebollo 2019). The shipping company P&O and the subsidiary Orient Line constitute the most relevant case due to the size of their supply and the "attractive" choice of itineraries (Cooper 1953, p. 62). Their ships operated 19 cruises in the summer season of 1953 and 26 cruises two years later (Cooper 1955, p. 49). Although their vessels departed from London, Southampton or other English ports, a good part of their crossings to the Mediterranean had a duration of no more than two weeks. Both companies separated the two classes in the pleasure trips, from a minimum of 3 pounds per person/night in tourist accommodation (*Eastbourne Gazette*, 1 October 1952, p. 6). The trips on the *Southern Cross* were even more competitive. This transatlantic ship had no first class (Plowman 2006). Its high occupancy density enabled the company Shaw Savill to sell its cruises from 2.5 pounds per person/night (*Leben Mail*, 17 November 1954, p. 1). Also "very popular" were the cruises around the British Isles organised by Coast Lines. In the summer of 1953, the Liverpool-based shipping company organised a total of 13 pleasure trips of between six and 13 days (Cooper 1953, p. 62).

According to the port chronicles, it is evident that these shipping companies knew how to tap into the huge potential of the British middle and working classes, who by then were enjoying paid holidays. The majority of the English cruises stood out for being multitudinous and for their high level of occupancy. Here are some examples. Passing through

Barcelona in July 1953 as part of a thirteen-day pleasure cruise, P&O's transatlantic vessel the *Himalaya* transported 1104 passengers, having a total estimated capacity of 1159 places (*La Vanguardia Española*, 25 July 1953, p. 13). Two months later, the ship *Chusan* of the same company transported 1093 cruise passengers, which in practice was equivalent to 100% of its accommodation capacity (*La Vanguardia Española,* 15 September 1953, p. 13). An identical situation occurred in July 1955, with one of the first cruises of the *Southern Cross* when it visited several ports of the Mediterranean with almost 1100 passengers (*La Vanguardia Española*, 22 July 1955, p. 14).

8.6 Epilogue

One of the main problems when addressing the history of the cruise sector, including the period following the Second World War, is the lack of statistical series that would enable us to appreciate its significance and evolution. We are not aware of any figures having been published referring to this traffic during the period of the study, on either a local or national level. In the case of Spain, the port authorities did not provide any data on the movement of cruise ships and passengers. This type of information, in fact, did not become widely available in the respective annual reports before the 1990s, and in some cases it is presented in a confusing way. The tourism statistical yearbooks of the DGT and the Ministry of Information and Tourism are of little help. Their historical series on the transit of foreigners in Spanish ports do not make any distinction between line passengers and cruise passengers. Aware of these limitations and in order to provide a general idea of the size of the phenomenon, a quantitative estimate of the traffic of Barcelona has been made. The port of Barcelona was chosen for two reasons: its importance in the international tourist circuits and the availability of complete historical series of the daily maritime chronicles of *La Vanguardia*.

Under these premises, Fig. 8.2 shows the annual number of cruise stopovers throughout the 1950s (black line). The analysis does not cover the previous five-year period, given that the transit of cruises in Barcelona was practically non-existent. The graph enables us to make some

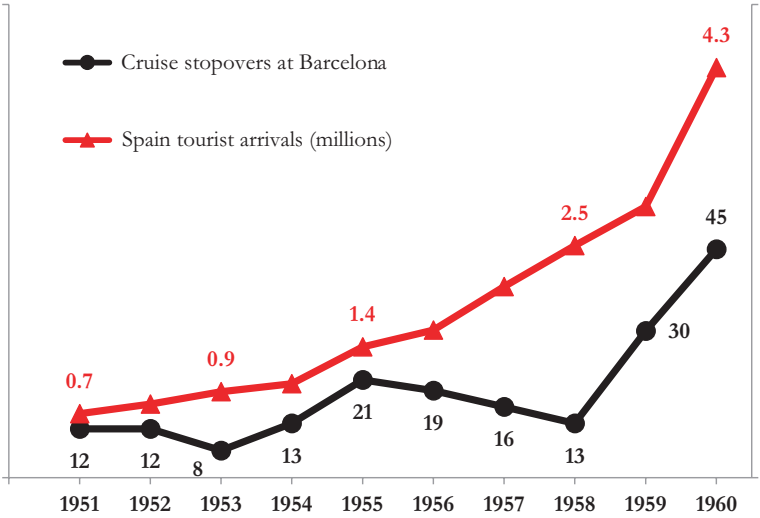


Fig. 8.2 Evolution of inbound tourism in Spain. Number of cruise stopovers at Barcelona and millions of foreign tourists in Spain (1951–1960). (The figures referring to the number of foreigners do not include travellers in transit. Source: *La Vanguardia Española,* daily editions, 1951–1960; *Anuario de Estadísticas de Turismo de España*, 1960)

revealing indications and provide some new conclusions. First, the analysis reveals that cruise activity remained at relatively low levels until well into the second half of the 1950s. We use the term "relatively" taking into account two very important factors: the concomitant development of international tourism and the size that the cruise business had reached in the 1930s. As mentioned in the introduction, cruise traffic before the Civil War had reached an annual average of 70 stopovers in Barcelona. The volume recorded during the 1950s was, on the other hand, much more contained, with an annual maximum of 21 transit operations in 1955 (Fig. 8.2). Furthermore, after this slight growth in the middle of the decade, cruise activity resumed its previous course in 1958 when only 13 stopovers were recorded. With respect to the origin of the cruises, a good part of them departed from the British Isles and, to a lesser extent, the Italian ports and New York. Around 44% of foreign cruises stopping in Barcelona in the 1950s had departed from the United Kingdom, while 23% and 19% sailed from Italy and the United States respectively

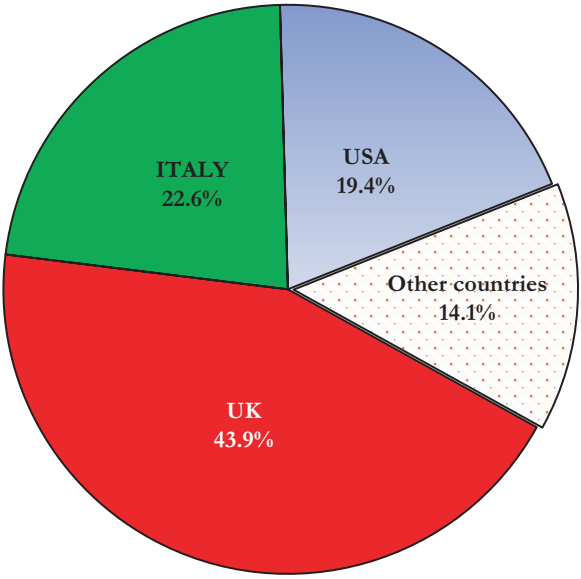


Fig. 8.3 Evolution of the inbound cruise traffic in Barcelona according to the nationality of the port home. Percentages (1951–1960). (Source: *La Vanguardia Española,* daily editions, 1951–1960)

(Fig. 8.3). In light of these percentages, and taking into account the high transport capacity of the English vessels and the occupancy rate that they reached, it can be deduced that the majority of the cruise passengers of the 1950s were British.[2]

The trend in cruise traffic contrasts sharply with that of the tourist movements as a whole, at least until 1958. If we analyse the figures of the arrivals of foreign visitors to Spain, according to Fig. 8.2 (red line), no relationship between the flows can be observed. The number of foreign visitors increased constantly and relentlessly and was infinitely higher than before the Civil War. In light of these data, it is relevant to ask why these differences existed; or, how we should interpret the different evolution of cruise activity. The scarcity of vessels could partly justify the

[2] Although most travellers embarked at the cruise itinerary's homeport, several companies also offered (and continue to offer) the opportunity to embark at other ports that in many cases were located in other countries. At the same time, there is no evidence to indicate that all passengers had the same nationality as the respective port of departure.

small number of recreational cruises, but this argument is only valid when referring to the early 1950s. In the middle of the decade, the supply of passenger ships had, in fact, reached an appropriate level to cover the new traffic needs as well as being widely modernised. In reality, we believe that the real and only reason resides in the very nature of the cruises. While it was a vacational form of activity, maritime recreational travel remained differentiated due to its dependence on long-distance scheduled services. It is worth repeating that, at that time, there were no cruise companies as such, only transatlantic shipping companies, whose principal line of business was line traffic. Therefore, while migration flows remained at high levels, the supply of cruises was very low. This trend only changed at the end of the decade. Within a context of overall expansion of the European economies, with the subsequent reduction and deviation of emigration demand, the transatlantic shipping companies were obliged to reduce the frequency of their services and make up for this with an increase in pleasure trips. As we can see in Fig. 8.2, the number of stopovers in Barcelona grew from 13 to 45 operations in just two years.

From the 1960s, as the crisis of the maritime lines became irreversible due to the extraordinary advances made in air traffic, many transatlantic shipping companies gradually became cruise companies. After many vicissitudes and changes in their business structure, some of them still operate in the market today: Cunard, P&O, Costa and Holland America are only a few examples. Other companies took the same path but with less success, such as the Spanish shipping company Ybarra. At the same time, the first cruise companies were created, both in Europe and most of all in the North American market: Princess, NCL, Royal Caribbean, Carnival, among others. However, that is another story.

References

ABC, daily editions: 7 November 1946; 15 November 1946; 21 March 1950.

Aldcroft, D.H. (2003) *Historia de la economía europea 1914–2000*. Barcelona: Crítica.

Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1955.

Anuario de Estadísticas de Turismo de España, 1960.
Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Questura, Archivio di gabinetto, Gabinetto seconda parte, Disposizioni di Massima, box 61/1251.
Archivo Foral de Bizkaia, Fondo Sota y Aznar, box 2725.
Archivo General de la Administración, Cultura, box 16067.
Armstrong, J. and Williams, D.M. (2011) *The Impact of Technological Change: The Early Steamship in Britain.* St. John's Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association.
Barceló, B. (1966) 'El turismo en Mallorca en la época de 1925–1936', *Boletín de la Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación de Mallorca*, 651–652, pp. 47–61.
Berneron-Couvenhes, M.F. (2007) 'La Croisière: Du Luxe au Demi-Luxe: Le Cas des Messageries Maritimes, 1850–1960', *Entreprises et Histoire*, 46, pp. 34–55.
Berrino, A. (2011) *Storia del turismo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
Birmingham Gazette, 29 October 1946.
Correyero, B. and Cal, R. (2008) *Turismo, la mayor propaganda de Estado. España: desde sus inicios hasta 1951*, Madrid: Vision Net.
Calle Iturrino, E. (1952) *A bordo de una nave española. Rutas del Explorador Iradier,* Bilbao: Compañía Trasatlántica Española.
Cartwright, R. and Harvey, C. (2004) *Cruise Britannia. The story of the British cruise ship.* Brimscombe: Tempus Clive.
Cassagnou, B. (2002) *Les grandes mutations de la Marine marchande française (1945–1995)*. Vol. I. Vincennes: Institut de la gestion publique et du développement économique.
Castillo, A. and Ybarra, I. (2004) *La Naviera Ybarra*. Sevilla: Ybarra y Cía.
Cerchiello, G. (2014) 'Cruise market: a real opportunity for transatlantic shipping lines in the 1960s – the case of the Spanish company Ybarra', *Journal of Tourism History*, 6(1), pp. 16–37.
Cerchiello, G. (2017) *La evolución de los cruceros marítimos en España. Desde sus comienzos hasta la actualidad (1848–2016)*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia.
Cerchiello, G. (2018) 'El turismo marítimo: un placer no sólo elitista, 1900–1936', in Vallejo, R. and Larrinaga, C. (eds.) *Los Orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico 1900–1939*. Madrid: Silex Universidad, pp. 799–839.
Cerchiello, G., Berrino, A. and Salazar-Vinicio, M. (2018) 'Entre turismo, política y folclore popular: el excursionismo marítimo en España en la primera mitad del siglo XX', Actas del XIV Congreso de la Asociación de Historia

Contemporánea (AHC) «Del siglo XIX al XXI. Tendencias y debates», Alicante, 20–22 September 2018, pp. 1263–1280. Available at: https://dhcon.ua.es/es/congresoahc2018/documentos/xix-congreso-ahc-actas.pdf (Accessed: 10 September 2019).

Cerchiello, G. and Vera-Rebollo, J.F. (2019) 'From elitist to popular tourism: leisure cruises to Spain during the first third of the twentieth century (1900–1936)', *Journal of Tourism History,* 11(2), pp. 144–166.

Compañía Trasatlántica Española, *Annual Report,* 1952, 1956, 1959.

Cooper, G. (1953) 'Summer holiday afloat', *The Sphere,* 10 January, p. 62.

Cooper, G. (1955) 'Travel', *The Sphere,* 1 January, p. 49.

Coye, R.W. and Murphy, P.J. (2007) 'The golden age: service management on transatlantic ocean liners', *Journal of Management History*, 13(2), pp. 172–191.

Crespo-MacLennan, J. (2004) *España en Europa 1945–2000. Del ostracismo a la modernidad.* Madrid: Marcial Pons.

Dawson, P.S. (2000) *Cruise Ships. An Evolution in Design*. London: Conway Maritime Press.

Diario de Cádiz, 4 January 1953.

Dickinson, B. and Vladimir, A. (2008) *Selling the Sea. An inside look at the cruise industry*. 2ª ed. New Jersey: Wiley and Sons.

Doria, M. (2009) 'Dal trasporto degli emigranti alla crociera. La travagliata storia della Società di Navigazione *Italia*' in Massa, P. (ed.) *Andar per mare.* Genova: De Ferrari, pp. 147–175.

Eastbourne Gazette, 1 October 1952.

Esteve, R. and Fuentes, R. (2000) *Economía, historia e instituciones del turismo en España.* Madrid: Pirámide.

Estudios para un Plan Nacional de Turismo. Madrid: Presidencia del Gobierno, 1952.

Falange. Diario de la tarde, daily editions: 26 August 1952; 30 December 1952.

Faraldo, J.M and Rodríguez-López, C. (2013) *Introducción a la historia del turismo*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Feys, T. (2013) *The Battle for the Migrants: The introduction of steamshipping on the North Atlantic and its impact on the European exodus*. St. John's Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association.

Forcignanò, G. (1956) *La marina mercantile.* Roma: 5 lune.

Fusi, J.P. (1985) *Franco. Autoritarismo y poder personal.* Madrid: El País.

García, J.L. and Serrano, J.M (dirs.) (2000) *Del real al euro. Una historia de la peseta*. Barcelona: Caixa.

Gilbert, R. and Perl, A. (2010) *Transport revolutions. Moving people and freight.* Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.

Gómez de las Heras, M.S. and Sacristán, E. (1989) 'España y Portugal durante la segunda guerra mundial', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie V, H.ª Contemporánea*, 2, pp. 209–225.

Howarth, D. and Howarth, S. (1987) *The Story of P&O: Peninsular and Oriental Steam.* London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.

Hyde, F.E. (1975) *Cunard and the North Atlantic, 1840–1973: A History of Shipping and Financial Management*. London: Macmillan.

Il Corriere della Sera, daily editions: 7 November 1947; 3 January 1953.

Il Mattino, 26 April 1932.

ISTAT (2011) *L'Italia in 150 anni. Sommario di statistiche storiche 1861–2010.* Roma. Available at: https://www.istat.it/it/archivio/228440 (Accessed: 12 September 2019).

Keeling, D. (1999) 'The transportation revolution and transatlantic migration, 1850–1914', *Research in Economic History*, 19, pp. 39–74.

Keeling, D. (2010) 'Repeat migration between Europe nd the United States, 1870–1914', in Cruz, L. and Mokyr, J. (eds.), *The Birth of Modern Europe: Culture and Economy, 1400–1800. Essays in Honor of Jan de Vries*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 157–186.

La ricostruzione dei porti marittimi nazionali. Roma: Servizio Marittimo Centrale, 1953.

La Stampa, daily editions: 23 September 1951; 20 July 1952.

La Vanguardia Española, daily editions 1951-1960; 8 November 1946; 21 March 1950.

Leben Mail, 17 November 1954.

Martín-Aceña, P. and Pons, M.A. (2005) 'Sistema monetario y financiero', in Carreras, A. and Tafunell X. (eds.) *Estadísticas Históricas de España, Siglos XIX y XX*. Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, pp. 645–706.

Mazzetti, E. (2006) *Mare. La natura, gli uomini, i porti, le flotte della storia nell'economia, nella cultura.* Napoli: Guida.

Miller, William H. (2017) *Royal Mail Liners 1925–1971.* Gloucestershire: Amberley.

Monda, L. (2006) 'Napoli durante la II guerra mondiale ovvero: i 100 bombardamenti di Napoli', *Atti del Congresso: Napoli durante la II guerra mondiale*. Napoli: Istituto di Studi Storici Economici e Sociali. Available at: http://www.isses.it/Convegno050305/Monda.pdf (Accessed: 14 September 2019).

Moreno, A. (2018) 'Nacimiento y consolidación del turismo español. Su evolución en el siglo XX', in Berrino, A. and Cerchiello, G. (eds.), *Storia del Turismo Annale 11*, Milano: Franco Angeli, pp. 75–90.

Naviera Aznar, *Annual Report,* 1963.

Nicolau, R. (2005) 'Población, Salud y actividad', in Carreras, A. and Tafunell, J. (eds.), *Estadísticas Históricas de España. Siglos XIX y XX*, Vol. I, Bilbao: Fundación BBVA, pp. 77–154.

Ogilvie, F.W. (1933) *The Tourist Movement. An Economic Study*. London: P.S. King & Son Ltd.

Pack, S.D. (2009) *La invasión pacífica. Los turistas y la España de Franco.* Madrid: Turner Noema.

Pérez-Sánchez, G.A. (2009) 'La larga marcha hacia la Europa comunitaria: la política europeísta durante el franquismo' in *Hacia un mundo sin fronteras. La inserción de España en la Unión Europea. Aspectos económicos y culturales.* Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, pp. 29–50.

Piccione, P. (ed.) (2013) *Transatlantico Rex. Il mito e la memoria*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana.

Plowman, P. (2006) *Australian Migrant Ship 1946–1977*. Kenthurst: Rosenberg.

Poole, S. and Sassoli Walker, A. (2013) *P&O Cruises. Celebrating 175 Years of Heritage*. Gloucestershire: Amberley.

Quartermaine, P. and Peter, B. (2006) *Cruise. Identity, design and culture*. Singapore: Laurence King.

Steel, F. (2013) 'Cruising New Zealand's west coast sounds: Fiord tourism in the Tasman world c. 1870–1910', *Australian Historical Studies* 44(1), pp. 361–381.

Stampa Sera, 11 October 1947.

Svenska Dagbladet, 27 August 1946.

Swedish Lloyd Presents "Saga", 1946. Gothenburg: Mezata. Available at: https://www.oxfam.org.uk/shop/product/swedish-lloyd-presents-saga-1946-hd_101311013 (Accessed: 07 September 2019).

Tenerife Gráfico, montly edition, November 1946.

The handbook of merchant shipping statistics through 1958. Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce and Maritime Administration.

The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Mercury, 11 September 1946.

Valdaliso, J.M. (1998) *La Empresa Nacional "Elcano" de la Marina Mercante y la actuación del INI en el sector naval durante la presidencia de J.A. Suanzes*. Madrid: Fundación Empresa Pública.

Vallejo, R., Lindoso, E. and Vilar, M., (2018) 'La dimensión económica del turismo en España: la oferta turística, 1900–1939', in Vallejo, R., Larrinaga, C. (eds.), *Los Orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico 1900–1939.*, Madrid: Silex Universidad, pp. 213–265.

Vida Marítima, biweekly editions: 1 January 1955; 1 February 1958; 15 February 1958; 15 August 1958; 15 August 1959.

Vidal, J. (2008) *Las alas de España. Iberia, líneas aéreas 1940–2005.* Valencia: Universidad de Valencia.

Vizcaíno, F. (1978) *La España de la Posguerra 1935–1953*. Barcelona: Planeta.

Western Mail, 16 January 1954.

Williams, D.M (2000) 'Market Pressures and Innovation: The Orient Steam Navigation Co. and the Development of Pleasure Cruising, 1888–1900', *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du Nord,* 10(4), pp. 1–12.

Williams, D.M (2003) 'The Extent of Transport Services Integration: SS Ceylon and the First "Round the World" Cruise, 1881–1882', *International Journal of Maritime History*, 15(2), pp. 135–146.

Zaccagnino, V. (2014) *Storia delle crociere.* Milano: Mursia.

Zanini, A. (2013) 'Grand Hotel Rex. I servizi alberghieri e il personale di bordo sui transatlantici italiani', in Piccione, P. (ed.), *Transatlantico Rex. Il mito e la memoria*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, pp. 203–213.

9

Conclusions

Carmelo Pellejero Martínez

During the Belle Époque, confidence in the fledgling pleasure travel industry did not stop growing. The economic well-being reached by the European and North American bourgeois class, investments in the sector and continuous innovations in the means of transport led to an increase in the number of people who temporarily abandoned their places of residence and moved, within their own country or even beyond its borders, to visit spas, beaches, mountain resorts and cities with outstanding artistic heritage.

Naturally, this international tourist dynamism was slowed down during the Great War, but the conflict did not mean its complete disappearance. As Rodriguez points out, various French organisations and businessmen promoted the so-called tourisme des champs de battaille (battlefield tourism) in the middle of the armed conflict. The National Tourist Office, the Touring Club of France and André Michelin led a

C. Pellejero Martínez (✉)
Department of Theory & Economic History, University of Málaga, Málaga, Spain
e-mail: cpellejero@uma.es

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1_9

project that, in 1917, during the third anniversary of the Battle of the Marne, materialised in the first Tour de Guerre (War Tour). In addition, those interested in knowing the official historical narrative of the war were able, from that same year, to consult the Michelin guides for the visit to the battlefields of France. Therefore, an experiment with economic and political objectives had been launched that would have its continuity during the post-war period.

This tourism model would also occupy a prominent place throughout the twenties and thirties in Italy. According to Capuzzo, the Ente Nazionale per le Industrie Turistiche and the Touring Club Italiano, after the signing of the Peace Treaties, began organising excursions to the battlefields and cemeteries where those who fell in battle rested. He also points out that the coming to power of fascism in 1922 did not mean any significant change; in fact, the complete opposite. This tourist practice continued to be spread among the Italians by the aforementioned organisations, by the mass organisations created by the regime, such as the Ópera Nacional Dopolavoro, and by the increasing number of tourist guides aimed at those attracted by pilgrimage to the graveyards and military sanctuaries. In addition, fascism considered memorial tourism in war zones to be an instrument that favoured the nationalism of the masses and the patriotic education of citizens.

In Spain, which remained neutral during the First World War, this touristic product was also used. As Rodriguez shows, in 1938, a year before the end of the Civil War that started in 1936, the so-called Rutas de Guerra (War Routes) were offered in the area controlled by the Franco-led army. Following the French model, and with an undoubtedly propaganda objective, various excursions were organised from that moment on so that those interested could learn about the artistic heritage, the countryside and daily life in the geographical area occupied by Franco's troops. And as happened in Italy and France, the end of the conflict did not mean the disappearance of these activities; the Rutas de Guerra became Rutas Nacionales (National Routes) during the post-war period.

After the Second World War, the winds of change only started to blow in favour of cross-border tourism as post-war reconstruction materialised in much of Europe in the last part of the decade, taking root at the Conference held at Bretton Woods in 1944, and fuelled four years later,

thanks to the European Recovery Program. As the fifties progressed, the number of European and North American households with the economic and provisional capacity to engage in tourist activities increased and travelling for pleasure became a mass phenomenon. This was possible due to, among other factors, the prosperity experienced by the world economy, the increase in personal income of increasingly larger sectors of the population, the spread of paid vacations, the increase in free time and the progress experienced by transportation means.

Accordingly, it is unquestionable that the extraordinary technological progress made in commercial aviation paralleled the decline experienced by the transatlantic passenger transport companies in general, and in particular, by tourist cruises. Cerchiello and Berrino have contributed to alleviate the serious shortage of data on these movements during those years. After reconstructing the volume of cruise traffic and using the Port of Barcelona as a reference, they have confirmed the predominance of British activity with a high occupancy rate. Their work also reveals a certain divergence between growing international tourism and stagnant cruise tourism. The transatlantic shipping companies only became fully involved in the tourist market from the end of the fifties in order to alleviate the serious decline in line passage.

The tourist boom in the Euro-Mediterranean area was on a massive scale with Italy and Spain being two of the most favoured destinations. In both cases, tourism was part of the reconstruction and economic recovery policies. In Italy, the development of tourism was undeniable, with the north of the country being the beneficiary. In contrast, as Strangio and Battilani have indicated, success in the south was very limited. It seems that public intervention in the interest of tourism was fragmented and lacked effective territorial cohesiveness. It is true that many receptive facilities opened their doors, but small and medium enterprises predominated. Additionally, there was no global strategic plan linking hospitality and accessibility. Charter flights and airports were needed; meanwhile road construction was financed. In short, the weaknesses of southern regions were not identified and eliminated, and public intervention could not get the tourist sector off the ground in places where local powers had failed.

In post-war Spain, the responsibility of promoting the tourism industry fell to the Dirección General de Turismo. In an economic framework conditioned by a strong state intervention, a rickety budget policy and the repudiation of the United Nations Organisation between 1946 and 1950, the work of this body focused on, as pointed out by Pellejero and Luque, the recovery and expansion of the state chain Red de Establecimientos Turísticos del Estado, the organisation of trips and excursions, the creation of a public company which was dedicated to creating touristic routes by road and the rental of cars and buses, and in advertising the touristic attractions of the country. In this respect, Franco's tourist advertising was, for Palou and Correyero, an instrument not only to attract tourists but also to contribute to the achievement of the political and economic objectives of the regime. They give the city of Barcelona as an example, where the local and national public organisations developed a propaganda and advertising endeavour in order to attract new visitors through the dissemination of resources that fed the political and identity discourse of the Franco government. Additionally, and according to Galant, most of the travel guides and brochures published in Spain since the civil war, but oddly enough also in France, omitted the political circumstances of the dictorial regime or informed readers of the circumstances of the civil war and the characteristics of the Spanish political system under an apparent objectivity that, in reality, conveyed the acceptance of Francoism.

Index

C. Pellejero Martínez, M. Luque Aranda (eds.), *Inter and Post-war Tourism in Western Europe, 1916–1960*, Palgrave Studies in Economic History,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-39597-1