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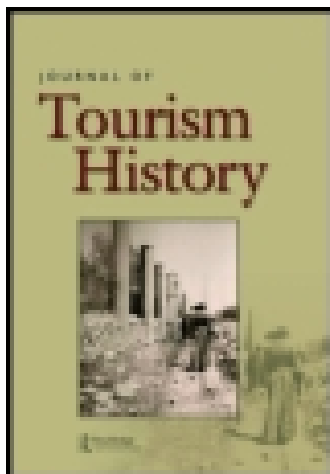
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The rise of autotourism in Danish leisure, 1910–1970

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The automobile has achieved a central position in modern everyday life as an essential artefact of mobility. This raises the question of how automobiles have been mediated for mass consumption. The thesis is that the culture of Danish automobilism was substantially constructed around leisure activities, primarily tourism. The main actor on this scene was the automobile consumer organisation Touring Club de Danemark (FDM) who acted as spokesperson of car owners and car drivers and mediated between production, state regulation and consumption. The general purpose of the consumer organisation was to create a cultural identity and a material reality linking car, leisure and tourism. This is basically the story of unlimited access to Sunday driving or the day-trip, and facilitation of autotourism and autocamping during the holidays. The article demonstrates the manner in which automobilism in Denmark was invented, constructed, represented, and appropriated as a touring culture after 1900.

Keywords: grand tour; holidays; tourists; transport; technology; destinations

The automobile is more than a means of transport. It is the intermediary of a new type of consumption for leisure. It represents so many possibilities in daily leisure, at the weekends and on vacation. When the number of car owners becomes so numerous that practically every family during the next decade will be motorised, the broad majority of the population will achieve new *possibilities* for leisure. The big question is whether we are prepared to exploit them. In short: where are we going to drive to – and how can we exploit the new possibilities the car gives us?¹

Automobilism, defined as the culture of individual mobility based on private transportation, represents a form of leisure produced through the consumption of durables, the construction of infrastructure and the provision of services that carry drivers on a voyage of discovery. Proponents long offered narratives of adventure and dreams of a ‘good life’ on the road as encouragement. Early automobile clubs launched the formation of a new car-based culture packaged to appeal to a middle-class vision of life based upon leisure and consumption. In due course, it came to include high and low, rich and poor, and adult

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¹Niels Gustav Bardenfleth, ‘Hverdagens og fritidens transportmiddel [Everyday Life and the Means of Transportation for Leisure]’, *Motor*, no. 20 (1966): 30. Interview with Henning Riis, Director of The Institute for Social Research with reference to a large survey of leisure habits and consumption in the Danish population.

and child. It thrived on the ideals of freedom and of mobility for everyone. There is an ironic element in this dream as the promise of freedom sometimes brought entrapment. As the number of automobiles rose dramatically in the post-Second World War years, inadequate infrastructure brought congestion and traffic jams; on weekends and during the summer season automobiles had to queue for access to mobility. Today everybody has some relationship with the automobile. Cars at once free people for leisure and restrict the freedom and mobility of those who do not own one. The automobile inspires both love and hate.

From the outset automobilism was an international movement. The cultural appropriation of the automobile had national repercussions and generated variations on the theme of touring at home and abroad. We can speak of a European automobile culture that was initiated, developed and mushroomed along similar lines of consumption whether for leisure, for individual mobility or for tourism. 'Mediation' and the notion of a 'consumption junction' offer useful concepts for understanding the development of car culture. Consumer access to the automobile is regulated by legal restrictions, by taxes and by the availability of proper infrastructure and each of these is a matter for political negotiation and for mediation between representatives of the industry and other parts of the automobile interest, consumer organisations, and officials from the state apparatus. Understanding the cultural appropriation of the automobile demands knowledge of the actors involved and of how these groups and individuals present themselves and their ideas to the public. Meanwhile, a 'consumption junction' is the arena or marketplace where producers and dealers meet consumers with representations of their products using exhibitions, advertisements and tales of adventure in the printed press to promote sales. Sellers and buyers, producers and consumers, meet and it is here that consumers decide which product they prefer to purchase:


Not until the twentieth century was there a specialised field of mediators that sought to actively shape consumption. New actors and institutions made systematic attempts at coordinating mass-scale consumption in novel ways. These social actors articulated and aligned product characteristics and user requirements to mediate the realms of production and consumption.²

In an interview with *Motor* magazine following completion of a large survey exploring the leisure and consumption patterns of the Danish population, Henning Riis, director of the Institute for Social Research, noted that most already recognised automobilism as an element of mass consumption by the 1960s. It was turning into a leisure movement based upon consumerism and Riis worried that available mediators might not be up to the challenge of addressing the needs of millions of motorists. But his main concern was whether producers could meet the rising demand in order to exploit the rapidly growing call for tourism products. Would there be enough offers of adventure to satisfy the legions

²R. Oldenziel and A. Albert de la Bruhèze, 'Theorizing the Mediation Junction for Technology and Consumption', in *Manufacturing Technology, Manufacturing Consumers. The Making of Dutch Consumer Society*, ed. A. Albert de la Bruhèze et al. (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2009), 13; Michael F. Wagner and Adri Albert de la Bruhèze, 'Det europæiske fritidsmenneske -Forbruger- og forhandlingskrydsfelter i det 20. århundredes fritidsliv [European Leisure Man – Consumption and Mediation Junctions in 20. Century Leisure Life]', *Den jyske Historiker*, no. 127–128 (2012): 7–31.

of new drivers anxious to spend their holidays doing something new and exciting? He need not have worried. The rapidly expanding tourism sector was more than ready, able and willing to facilitate the booming number of tourists who were going on vacation either on package tours or with the private car as their preferred means of transport.

Til en ønskeferie
hører en ønskevogn . . .




- alt taler for TAUNUS

Tænk Dem at kunne kaste hverdagen af Dem, suse ud i verden og opslå Deres teltpæle netop der, hvor der er allerdejljest - blæse på formaliteterne og bare nyde livet og friheden. I Deres nye komfortable Taunus Combi er der masser af plads til det hele - både børn og bagage. Det er simpelthen den vogn, De altid har ønsket Dem.

Lad os lige i farten nævne teleskop-affjedringen, rummeligheden, den indre luksus og det besnærende ydre . . . for slet ikke at tale om den kraftige 67 HK motor, hvis imponerende acceleration gør Dem overlegen i trafikken.

Tal med Deres Ford-forhandler allerede i dag om en prøvetur i Taunus Combi.



- det flyvende tæppe fra FORD

Figure 1. 'A dream car belongs to a dream vacation'; '- everything speaks for a Taunus'; 'The flying carpet from Ford'. This Ford advertisement expressed the idea of the good life very concisely: 'Imagine being able to throw everyday life away, race out into the world and pitch your tent just at the most beautiful spot – not give a damn about formalities and just enjoy life and freedom (*Motor* 1962).

The aim of this article is to discuss the introduction and promotion of the automobile in Denmark between 1910, when the Danish touring club (FDM) was founded, and 1973, when the international oil crisis hit the country prompting a prohibition on Sunday driving as a leisure tool. The prohibition marks the psychological shift from leisure to everyday mobility as the primary purpose of automobilism.³ The main question is how Danish automobile culture developed an infrastructure for leisure car travel and a mentality celebrating automotive wandering. The era of automobilism in Denmark spans more than a century. This era is sharply divided by the two world wars into three periods, with shortages and prohibitions on driving in private automobiles shaping the evolution of events. The first period bears witness to the emergence of an elitist culture of automobilism based on sport and other recreational leisure activities. The interwar years saw the emergence of a popular culture of individual mobility based on leisure consumption of the automobile. This leisure culture turned the automobile into a means for achieving the good life. During this period automobilism was exposed to American ideas and ways of combining touring at home and abroad through autocamping. Of greatest importance was the passing of a law in 1938 that gave all wage earners two weeks paid vacation every year. This event laid the foundation for mass tourism but the war impeded further development. The first decade after the Second World War was a period of scarcity and very slow economic recovery hampering the expansion of automobilism. But from the end of the fifties growing prosperity enabled large numbers from the working class to buy a used or small car and to take up this middle-class version of the good life. Sunday drives, holiday touring and autocamping emerged as new fields of mass consumption. The leisure culture of automobilism is not well researched or described in Danish historiography. As a consequence of this deficiency, contemporary motor magazines and automobile literature are the primary sources for understanding the history of leisure and automobilism in Denmark.⁴

Here we shall investigate the efforts of the Danish Touring Club (FDM), the leading Danish motoring organisation, to promote autotourism. The group was founded in 1909 as a consumer lobby organisation concerned with 'everything that runs on a motor' and *Motor* magazine (founded in 1906) was turned into the members' magazine.⁵ An editorial in the very first issue of *Motor* stated that it was the publication's mission to fight for permission 'to have full access to drive on all roads twenty-four hours a day'.⁶ Enthusiasts founded the touring club in the hope of influencing revision of the traffic law and of lifting restrictions on automobilism, especially prohibition of driving after

³René Meilby and Michael F. Wagner, 'De bilfrie søndage 1973–74 – Den psykologiske overgang fra fritidsbilisme til samfundsbilisme [The Car Free Sundays 1973–74 – The Psychological Transition from Leisure Driving to Everyday Driving]', *Den jyske Historiker*, no. 127–128 (2012): 239–63.

⁴Michael F. Wagner, 'Transport and Mobility in Danish Historiography', in *Mobility in History*, Vol. 4., ed. Peter Norton et al. (New York: Berghan, 2013), 115–28; Michael F. Wagner, 'Alting som kører paa motor [Everything that Runs on a Motor]', *Den jyske Historiker* 127–128 (2012): 32–83.

⁵FDM recruited members in a ratio of 1 to 4 out of the total number of private automobiles, at least until the oil crisis hit in the winter 1973/74 when memberships culminated around 290.000 the year before. The circulation of the magazine *Motor* corresponded directly to the membership ratio. Frank C. Motzkus, *100 år i bilistens tjeneste. Historien om FDM* [100 Years in Service of the Automobilist] (København: FDM Forlag, 2009).

⁶F. Schmitto, 'Motorismen gaar sin Sejrs gang gennem Verden! [Motorism Goes from Strength to Strength through the World]', *Motor* 1 (1906): 1.

sunset and on back-roads. The attempt was unsuccessful in itself but it did assure that FDM was accepted as a valid mediator and the organisation has represented, negotiated and lobbied for the interests of motorists in tripartite commissions ever since. The magazine also initiated the development of a new consumption junction by promoting autotourism through publication of articles that discussed the ideals of automobile wandering as well as advertisements and equipment reviews. An editorial in *Motor* clearly stated the purpose of automobile wandering:

When the modern automobile tourist is travelling, as already expressed by the term, it is to get to look around, to get to know new people and new conditions. To what degree this is possible by automobile, we don't have to tell our readers. Everyone who's tried Grand Touring by automobile knows how differently and much more intimately you get to know nature and the population from the open seats of the tourist automobile than from the long corridors of the international express train. Internationalism is the essence and the most important characteristic of modern automobilism.⁷

The state railway company Danske Stats Baner (DSB) represented a serious obstacle to the automobile. The company strongly opposed the development of private transport advocated by FDM and it fought the expansion of car usage with every tool at its disposal. For the automobilist, trains crossing roadways represented a real threat of death and disaster. It was not an isolated risk; roads and rail lines typically followed the same routes, assuring numerous crossing points. Consequently, the FDM lobbied for a better security system with guarded crossings. By contrast, the DSB saw little problem with existing safeguards and refused to cooperate until the death rate was so high that the Minister of Traffic and Transportation ordered the railways to devise a solution in 1929. The planned construction of a railway bridge connecting the mainland to the island of Fionia generated a second area of vigorous conflict immediately after the Great War. The FDM lobbied hard that the bridge should include facilities for automotive travel as well as for trains. Naturally, the state railway was vehemently opposed. As General Director Knudsen stated to the commission: 'We do not build bridges for our competitors'. In 1926 it was decided that the projected bridge should be built as a combination of train and automotive bridge and a new law was passed in parliament accordingly.⁸

Automobilism was invented by Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century and was culturally appropriated by Europeans during the *interwar* years. It boomed on a mass scale as a culture of consumption after the Second World War. The ideological turn from production to consumption as the key to economic progress transformed *Western* society during the Cold War period into what historian Lizabeth Cohen dubs the 'Consumers Republic'.⁹ In a Fordist economic system, mobility of goods and freedom of choice is essential and it served to mediate the leisure culture of automobilism: 'the Americanised or Fordist vision foresaw a whole new nexus of institutions revolving around the rationalised distribution networks of major corporations. This outlook

⁷A. Schmitto, 'International', *Motor* 3 (1908): 438.

⁸'Lov om Udvidelse af den i Lov Nr. 75 af 29. Marts 1926 omhandlende en dobbeltsporet Jernbanebro over Lille Bælt med en Færdselsbro [Law on the extension of the in law no. 75 concerning the double-track railway bridge over Little Belt with an automobile bridge]', *Lovtidende*, 1926.

⁹Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers Republic. The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, Random House Publishers, 2003).

emphasised low unit costs, standardised goods, high turnover, and consumer choice'.¹⁰ The expensive automobile was at first a supplement to cheaper means of individual transport such as motorcycles and bicycles. In this respect modern middle-class family life comes into focus as it came to be organised around leisure and consumption with the primary purpose of recreation. The family car was a central technology for leisure and consumption, used to enhance mobility in the private sphere and as a symbol of social status. As the price fell the private automobile grew evermore common during the second half of the century, reaching a volume that had gigantic influence on the development of mobility in late modern societies.¹¹

One of the outstanding questions inherent in the history of twentieth-century European leisure and consumption is the extent to which American ideas were imported directly from the USA without alteration, or were culturally appropriated, reconfigured and domesticated to match the specific needs and wants of individual European states. The story of automobilism offers a useful window onto this issue. Two Danish case studies are especially applicable, illustrating the development of a Fordist consumption regime relative to the automobile. The first case tells the story of touring by automobile as a narrative strategy to mobilise an ever-growing number of car owners to use their vehicle for leisure and pleasure by enhancing the possibilities for automobile wandering. The second case demonstrates how FDM in close cooperation with Ford Motor Company created an extension to the consumption junction of automobilism by promoting auto-camping as a new leisure activity. This innovation began in the 1920s and mushroomed during the Cold War period.

Touring in and out of Denmark

By touring the countryside and going abroad people could get away from it all, leaving the drudgery of everyday life behind, reaching unfamiliar destinations, going to strange and unknown places and gazing at spectacular views which one might only have dreamed of before going on the road. Any prior knowledge might come from reading articles with tales of touring written by travelling automobilists or professional journalists in the motor magazines, or from guidebooks. Conquering traditional barriers of time and space, touring by automobile meant the ultimate experience of freedom from conventional life. It gave access to the feeling of liberty, of independence and of omnipotence. One could go anywhere as fast and as far away as desired, speed enabling a clean break with the routines of work and trivialities of everyday life.¹²

¹⁰V. De Grazia, 'Changing Consumption Regimes in Europe, 1930–1970: Comparative Perspectives on the Distribution Problem', in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, ed. S. Strasser et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 73.

¹¹James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988).

¹²Tim Cresswell, *On the Move. Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey. The Industrialisation of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Jean Baudrillard, *America* (London: Verso, 1989); Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies. Decolonisation and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge MA: The MIT Press, 1996); Jörg Beckmann, *Risky Mobility. The Filtering of Automobility's Unintended Consequences* (Copenhagen: Sociologisk Institut, 2001); and Bente Jensen et al., eds., 'Hastværk – moderne fart og tempo [In a Hurry – Modern Speed and Tempo]', *Den jyske Historiker*, no. 108 (2005).

Nu er det Tid at anskaffe

Week-end-Telt

for Deres Auto- og Baadudflugter.

Højde af Sider 200 cm. — Taghøjde 230 cm.
 Tagstørrelse 190 × 190 cm. — Grundflade 210 × 210 cm.
 Sammenfoldet kun 140 × 27 cm. — Vejer kun 20 kg.
 Pris Kr. 165.50 — frit tilsendt.



Autogarniture (Bord og 2
 Stole, sammenklappet i eet).
 Vejer 9 kg. — Pris Kr. 17.85.

Felt-Klap-Seng.
 Vejer 8 kg.
 Pris Kr. 18.25.

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Figure 2. As a novelty this advertisement from *Motor* magazine, published in spring 1927, introduced the American concept 'Week-end' to the Danish public. The advertisement features both price and weight of the tent and 'autogarniture'. Camping equipment was still very costly and beyond reach for most members of the working class. Furthermore, Saturday was a normal working day in Denmark until 1970 (*Motor*, 1927).

Automobile touring can be divided into two distinctive types of leisure: short term and long term. Short trips consist of a single day's tour, finding recreation and adventure away from home but returning within only a few hours of departure. This kind of activity is sometimes referred to as 'Sunday driving' and it is often spontaneous. The participant

may not have a clear destination in mind, hoping simply for a different experience and having little idea of what to expect. Before automobiles, railways and shipping companies encouraged this kind of trip by offering packages featuring Sunday travel by rail and/or boat to some destination. Upon arrival, excursionists (as they were sometimes called) could wander for a set period before returning home. New personal travel technologies such as bicycles and later motorised vehicles such as motorcycles and cars enhanced individual mobility tremendously and freed people to travel whenever and wherever they wanted. During the early years, motoring clubs often arranged excursions and groups of cars travelled to pre-set destinations celebrated in guidebooks and magazine articles.¹³

Longer trips or 'Grand Touring' are journeys taken for recreation, for education and/or for adventure that last more than one day. This type of leisure activity requires greater planning and creates a need for overnight accommodation and the development of an infrastructure such as good roads, service stations, restaurants, hotels and motels and camping sites to service tourists when they are not on the move. In other words, Grand Touring generated a new service sector that was premised on the provision of proper accommodations and that helped to showcase unusual sights and destinations along popular tour routes.¹⁴ The result was a lucrative network of leisure places and spaces of tremendous value to the economy and of great importance to policy-makers.¹⁵

In Denmark, FDM heavily promoted the idea of touring by car as a desirable form of individual leisure consumption to its members beginning before the First World War. Frederik Bagge, vice-president of FDM and Appointed Printer to the Royal Danish Court, was a leading figure in this effort. In the summer of 1907 he embarked on his first Grand Tour of Europe with his wife in the backseat and in the company of four other automobiles.¹⁶ Rolling through the beautiful Rhine Valley in Germany and with a fine road ahead, one of the drivers suggested a race. Bagge refused. 'Gentlemen, we do not make this tour to drive', he informed the others, 'We drive to do the tour'. *Motor* reported the incident with the conclusion that it was 'a redemptive remark of cleverness' and a 'flaming truth'; what it meant really was that the infant culture of automobilism began to refuse the automobile as a basis for competitive sport by stressing the tourist perspective

¹³Rudy Koshar, ed., *Histories of Leisure* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002).

¹⁴James Buzard, *The Beaten Track. European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture 1800 – 1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze. Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990); Chris Rojek et al., eds., *Touring Cultures. Transformations of Travel and Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997); Orvar Löfgren, *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley, 1999); Diane P. Koenker, 'Travel to Work, Travel to Play: On Russian Tourism, Travel and Leisure', *Slavic Review* 62, no. 4. Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union (2003); Bente Jensen, 'Det danske Schweiz – Da Bornholm blev opdaget som turistmål [Danish Switzerland – The Invention of Bornholm as a Tourist Destination]', *Den jyske Historiker*, no. 65 (1993) 49–79; and Bente Jensen, 'Mellem gammelt og Nyt. Diskussionen af den tidlige turisme på Bornholm 1860–1902 [Between Old and New. The Discussion of Early Tourism on Bornholm 1860–1902]', *Bornholmske Samlinger* III, no. 16 (2002).

¹⁵*Denmark in the Culture and Experience Economy – 5 New Steps* (Ministry of Business and Growth Denmark, 2003). <http://www.evm.dk/arbejdsomraader/vaekst-og-konkurrenceevne/vaekstteams/turisme-og-oplevelsesokonomi>.

¹⁶The tour from Copenhagen to Frankfurt as well as the Taunus races (Kaiserpreisrennen) in Frankfurt is described in detail in Alfred Nervø. Ti Aar bag Rattet. Fra Automobilernes og Motorcyklernes Barndomsaar [Ten Years behind the Wheel. From the Childhood Years of Automobiles and Motorcycles] (København: Pio, 1917), 90–162. Nervø continued with his equipment to Belgium after the races were over.

of leisure, freedom and adventure instead.¹⁷ Increasingly, the car represented a means through which to reach a goal, not an end in itself. From the start, FDM was firm in its policy not to promote races and only to facilitate individually based leisure mobility. As stated by the director in the organisation's first annual report: '... as this association has absolutely no social or sportive purpose, we do not require anything from our members except this one thing: while driving to exercise the outmost consideration towards other wayfaring'.¹⁸ Automobile races were left to the elitist organisation KDAK (Royal Danish Automobile Club) to arrange. The editor of *Motor* confirmed the policy in 1929: 'Automobile tourism has always been first in line in FDM's programme, we have been agitating for it and through a massive practical effort we have given a helping hand to thousands of newcomers in this beautiful discipline'.¹⁹

Formal restrictions such as heavy tax barriers and harassment from customs officials represented the greatest obstacle to Frederik Bagge and his fellow Danes when they sought to travel abroad to Germany and the rest of Europe. At first, FDM focused primarily on altering traffic laws in Denmark that hindered automobilism by limiting access to back roads and making driving at night illegal. Ten years of intensive lobbying ultimately paid off in 1919. In 1909, FDM joined the Alliance Internationale de Tourisme (AIT) under the official name Touring Club de Danemark. The group immediately took up lobbying for an international drivers licence certified by AIT. In May 1914, after heavy lobbying by FDM, the Danish government finally signed an international convention allowing unrestricted touring in foreign countries. Bagge quickly seized the opportunity and embarked on his fifth summer motoring through Europe in a new Daimler, covering more than 8000 kilometres, crossing nine national borders, and traversing nine mountain ranges along the way. Afterward, he told *Motor* magazine: 'It was a wonderful trip from one end to the other, it can't be recommended strongly enough to anyone who owns an automobile, that the best outcome you can get of the summer vacation is by touring in a car; you will get to see the more interesting aspects of popular living and especially the small cities, that you will miss by travelling in a train'.²⁰ Apart from commenting on the limitations of railway travel, Bagge used the interview as an opportunity to stress the lack of restrictions on use of back roads or on night driving elsewhere in Europe. In addition he offered readers advice concerning where to buy petrol in big cities, how to get quickly through customs at the border, how to find the most spectacular routes through the mountains of central Europe and where to wine and dine. It was common fare for *Motor*.

Bagge's Daimler was a sophisticated and very expensive automobile that only the very wealthy could afford. This type of vehicle was a luxury completely out of reach for an emerging middle class that demanded a modest car at a much lower and more accessible price. Already in 1908 the editor of *Motor* called for a 'People's automobile', a democratic car sold at a low cost. Such a machine would be accessible to ordinary families who would surely consider spending a couple of thousand Danish kroner. 'If it was possible to build such a car', the magazine predicted, 'then the automobile would

¹⁷H. Rothenborg, 'Den første internationale Automobil-Udflugt fra Danmark [The First International Automobile Tour from Denmark]', *Motor* 2 (1907): 276–77.

¹⁸FDM Annual Report 1910. The Directors Archive, no. 268, 1910–19 FDM Archives. National Business Archives. SA.

¹⁹E. Boesgaard, Editorial, 'Automobil-Turisten [The Automobile-Tourist]', *Motor* 23 (1929): 397.

²⁰F. Schmitto, 'En Automobilfart gennem Europa. Hofbogtrykker Bagge fortæller [Touring by Automobile through Europe. Royal Printer Bagge Tells His Story]', *Motor* 11 (1914): 590–5.

soon overcome all resistance'. Existent luxury taxes, strict traffic regulations, and widespread fear of automobiles would be no hindrance to the rise of the car. The wait was not long. Only six years later the editor triumphantly announced the miracle of the mass produced Ford Model T, the answer to all his prayers. Henry Ford was 'the greatest fantasy story teller ever – next to Hans Christian Andersen', the editor enthused. Ford had kept the promise he made in 1903, that he would 'construct an automobile for the masses. It ought to be so cheap, that people who don't want to spend large amounts of money can own one and enjoy touring with their families enjoying happy times in God's great open nature'.²¹

Despite positive steps towards the democratisation of car ownership and the opening of borders, the outbreak of the First World War only a couple of months later closed Germany to tourists and temporarily halted the development of auto-touring in much of Continental Europe. At the same time, however, the war prompted drivers to discover Norway as a new destination for holiday touring.²² Travel in Sweden was already very popular, but the poor condition of roads in Norway previously prevented tourism development. By 1914, the young state was making great strides in road improvement and the number of both private and commercial vehicles was on the rise.²³

Automotive journalism also continued to evolve during and after the war. The numerous articles on touring the countryside and going abroad which previously appeared in every volume of *Motor* were mostly narratives written by members of the touring club. They told tales of the pioneer-seeking adventure, the explorer detecting foreign and unknown places, the daredevil reaching distant sublime destinations by his own wits and the sportsman enduring all manner of hardship, driven only by a will to succeed. During the interwar years there was growth in professional journalism that produced articles on automobile touring for the magazine as well as the publication of handbooks for the automobilist.²⁴

Autocamping in the interwar years

When Ford Motor Company Dansk Monteringsfabrik A/S opened a factory in a rented building in Copenhagen to produce cars for the northern European market in 1919, American automobile culture emerged as a major force in Danish life. Using parts shipped in wooden cases from Detroit, the factory produced 140 cars each day. Demand for the Model T was such that the original building was soon inadequate and a new factory was built in the Southern Harbor in Copenhagen by Albert Kahn, the company's chief architect who was responsible for the construction of most of Ford's factories, including his flagship plant at Highland Park in Detroit. The new plant represented the largest capital investment in Danish industry at that time and it opened to great fanfare and public attention in August 1924. Not surprisingly, the social democratic government was quick to show political support. Events started when the Lord Mayor of Copenhagen pushed a button and started the assembly line. At the grand dinner the same evening

²¹F. Schmitto, 'Folkeautomobilet [The Peoples Car]', Editorial, *Motor* 2 (1908): 562; 'Ford. Et Automobil-Eventyr ["Ford". An Automobile-Adventure]', *Motor* 11 (1914): 56. The occasion to celebrate the Model T was the announcement of the 5 dollar day.

²²'Et nyt Automobil-Turistland [A New Automobile-tourism Country]', *Motor* 9 (1915): 644–7.

²³Per Østby, *Flugten fra Detroit* [The Flight from Detroit] (Trondheim: NTH, 1999), 94–5.

²⁴Ejnar Boesgaard and Robert Olsen, *Bilistens Rejse-Raadgiver* [Travel Advice for the Automobilist] (København: Jespersen & Pio, 1939).

Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning gave the keynote speech. As leading social democrats they were each drawn to the idea of Fordism as a path to increased working-class prosperity. They were not alone. Fordism as a system for mass production and as an ideology of mass consumption had its finest hour during the 1920s, introducing abrasive American business methods. Advertisers used aggressive and creative methods to construct a national historical and cultural frame around the automobile. They organised parades of Model T's down the streets. Two years after the new factory opened, automobile number 100,000 rolled off the assembly line in Copenhagen: decorated with flowers it was sent on tour across the country. Ford did not hesitate to declare this moment: 'A great triumph for Danish industry, the Danish workers and Danish exports'. In many advertisements Ford presented the Model T as virtually a Danish automobile, placing it close to various historical monuments and cultural sites.²⁵

Although Automobilmism started as an exclusive aristocratic and elitist activity, in the 1920s it slowly matured into a much broader social movement of car owners based firmly on middle-class leisure consumption. Likewise, FDM evolved into an inclusive and democratically minded organisation of consumers, developing a string of membership services from legal and technical counselling and selling automobile insurance to establishing a travel agency to promote and facilitate automobile Grand Touring at home and abroad. The consumption junction also changed to directly link producers to consumers using everything from great exhibitions of automobiles to the framing of new leisure activities in connection to camping as a novelty of automobilism. The Model T formed the backbone of these developments, accounting for more than 50% of Danish car ownership by 1930. In 1921 Henry Ford arranged a widely reported autocamping trip using the slogan 'Everybody's doing it'. Participants included such prominent guests as President Warren G. Harding, Thomas Edison and Harvey Firestone.²⁶ A few years later the link between Detroit and Copenhagen grew yet stronger when FDM and Ford joined forces in a successful attempt to promote autocamping as a new and fashionable leisure activity for the middle classes.

Two articles published about autocamping in *Motor* magazine in early 1925 signal the new development. By then FDM counted more than 25,000 members and now stood as the dominant Danish automobile club representing the interests of automobilists. The first article was written by the editor, Eric Boesgaard, and it invited drivers to join the new movement. He proposed that readers: 'spend an evening ... follow[ing] an alternative route that would lead far away from seaside resorts and expensive hotels and contemplate letting this summer be under the sign of motorcamping'. Boesgaard confessed having done this himself with two friends the previous year, touring in a Ford Sedan stocked with all necessary equipment and plenty of food. He documented his story with several pictures showing a rather primitive campsite. His argument in favour of autocamping celebrated getting closer to nature while avoiding expensive hotels and seaside resorts. It was an argument that would be repeated again and again in articles to follow. Popular concepts such as 'nomadism' and 'gypsyism' were commonly used in Danish articles to describe activities connected to autocamping. According to historian James Warren

²⁵Michael F. Wagner, 'Domesticeringen af Ford i Danmark. Den kulturelle tilegnelse af Ford og Fordismen, 1920–1940 [The Domestication of Ford in Denmark. The Cultural Appropriation of Ford and Fordism]', *University of Southern Denmark Studies in History and Social Sciences* 429 (2011): 19–50.

²⁶Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1979), 72.

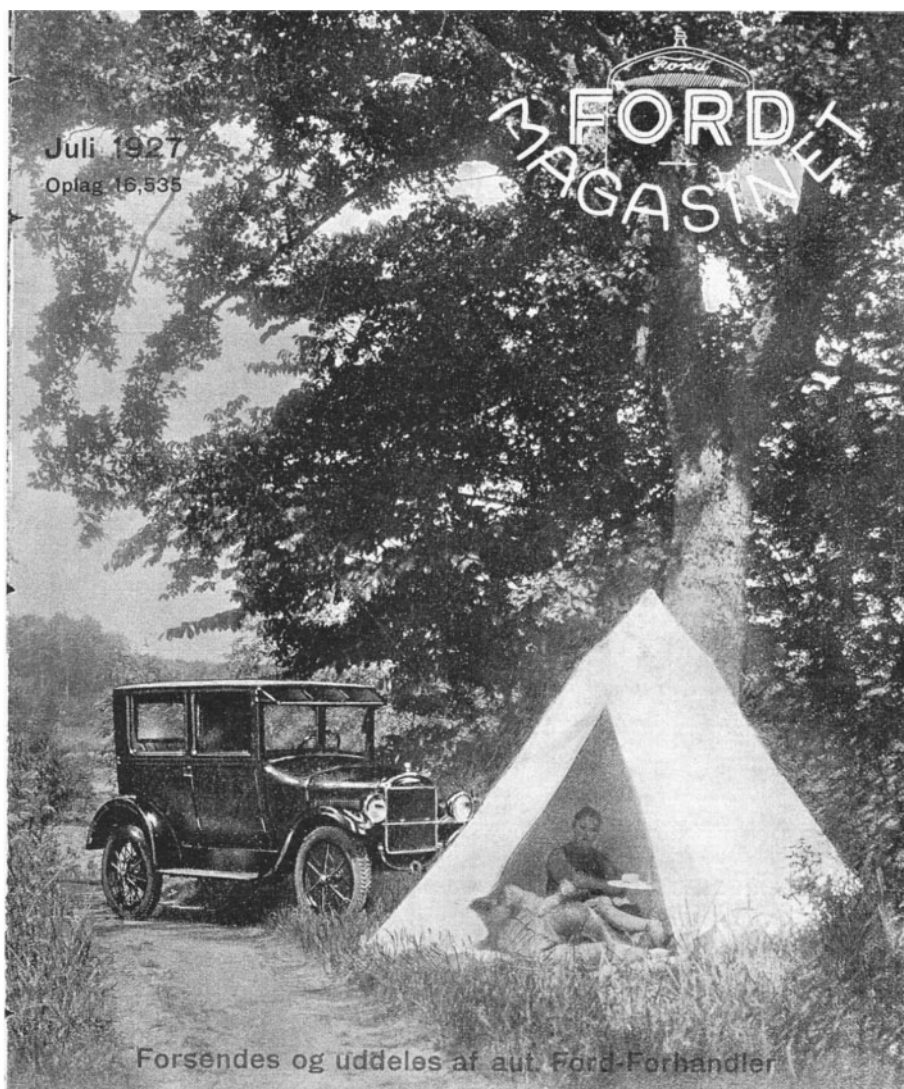


Figure 3. *Ford Magazine* conveyed the same message of freedom and of the good life through autocamping. The magazine was published and distributed by the authorised Ford-Dealers with a circulation of 16,500 copies every month (*Ford Magasinet*, July 1927).

Belasco, American automobilists used the same concepts to encourage others to enjoy summer holidays by camping in the countryside rather than frequenting expensive, impractical and dusty railway hotels in the Midwest.²⁷

Captain Cay Lembcke introduced himself into the discussion with a series of articles published in the spring of 1925. Lembcke was a significant public figure. He was a co-

²⁷ 'Motor-Camping under vore egne Himmelstrøg. Amerikansk Ferieliv i den danske Sommer [Motor-Camping under Our Own Skies, American Leisure Life in the Danish Summer]', *Motor*, no. 5 (1925): 63; W. Belasco, Op. cit, 1979: 41 f.

founder and the first leader of the Danish Scout Movement. In addition, he translated Robert Baden Powell's (the British founder of the scouting movement) *Scouting for Boys* into Danish in 1911. By the mid-1920s he was manager of the Camp and Scouting House, a retail store for camping equipment. Lembcke was, in short, a well-known expert on camping and he offered an authoritative voice. In his first article, indicatively entitled 'The Open Highway', the former scoutmaster stated that camping is made necessary by the frenetic realities of modern living; it offers an escape into peace, quiet, solitude and beauty. To Lembcke, autocamping represented relaxation for the nerves and the automobile served as an enabling instrument: 'The main purpose is living out there in nature'. He went on to discuss how the automobile promised a turn from the British way of camping, organised around collective camps, to the American style, which he imagined to be based on individual leisure activities and mobility. He urgently stressed the importance of planning the tour in advance and of using the right equipment. The placement of an advertisement for the Camp and Scouting House immediately adjacent to the article further accentuated the point – no advertiser could ask for more.²⁸

Beyond his articles, Lembcke took the initiative to organise the camping movement into the Danish Camping Club (Dansk Lejrklub). By doing this he stressed the ethical and sporting aspects of camping and outdoor recreation.²⁹ Based upon several articles published in *Motor*, his campaign bore fruit. For example, a remarkable report written by one of the members of the touring club described a camping trip in a Ford to Sweden. The author noted how practical and useful the Ford Model T was for the outdoorsmen.³⁰ The caravan was also introduced by *Motor* in a series of articles but never became popular, probably because it was too expensive for many automobilists to own both a car and a caravan.³¹

Lembcke's was a pioneering effort, but more was soon to follow. Automotive activists were anxious to implant what they called the 'American car and leisure culture' into Danish soil. In February 1926 Ford teamed up with Cay Lembcke to create an exhibition site at the first International Automobile Salon in Forum, a large exhibition building constructed the same year for this purpose by the automobile branch. Forum was built of reinforced concrete to create an open indoor space with no columns to interrupt the view. The automobile Salon was the first exhibition to take place and it opened on 26 February 1926. The Ford presentation consisted of a number of Model Ts parked amid a campsite tableau complete with a tent, furniture, kerosene lamps and cooking equipment. *Ford Magazine*, published by the company, described the scene: 'Captain Lembcke had arranged a tent with all kinds of modern equipment – a complete small holiday cottage'.³²

²⁸Ritmester CV. Lembcke, 'Den aabne Landevej [The Open Highway]. *Motor* (1925): 192–3, 233–4.

²⁹Eric Boesgaard, 'Moderne Lejr sport', 'Moderne Lejr sport. Camping-Ideen organiseres [Modern Camping. The Camping-Idea is Being Organised]', *Motor*, 19, no. 29 (1925): 430.

³⁰Eric Boesgaard, 'Moderne Nomader [Modern Nomads]', *Motor*, 19 (1925): 441; Eric Boesgaard, 'Motorfolk i Lejr [Motorpeople Camping Out]', *Motor*, 19, no. 36 (1925): 577; Dyrklæge O.H. Christensen, Askeby: 'Med Fordvogn paa Camping i Sverige [Going Camping with a Fordwaggon in Sweden]', *Motor*, no. 38 (1925): 561–3.

³¹Eric Boesgaard, 'Automobil-Karavanen. Camping-Bevægelsens Afløser? [The Automobile-caravan. Successor to the Camping Movement?]', *Motor*, 19, no. 14 (1925): 536; Eric Boesgaard, 'Karavanevognen – Det sidste Ord i Auto-Turismen [The Caravan Waggon-The Last Word in Autotourism]', *Motor*, 20 no. 8 (1926): 151; Eric Boesgaard, 'Amerikansk Camping og Friluftsliv [American Camping and Outdoor Recreation]', *Motor*, 20, no. 17 (1926): 299–300.

³²*Ford Magasinet* (1926).

Also in 1926 Ford Motor Company teamed up with FDM to carry out a campaign for the promotion of autocamping. In car salons and exhibitions, as well as in numerous articles in *Motor* and in *Ford Owners Magazine*, the two partners advertised this new opportunity for leisure and consumption connected with the automobile. That same year FDM opened the first of many camping sites in beautiful natural surroundings. Two new sites opened the following year. Progress was ever faster. By 1935 the automobile club operated 22 standardised and regulated camping sites spread all over the country. Autocamping was becoming a very popular leisure activity, especially among the younger generations, as numerous articles in every volume of *Motor* bear witness. What may have been an American invention from the outset quickly turned into a national pastime for Danish automobilists and motorcyclists.³³

By being both prescriptive and idealistic FDM and *Motor* managed to capture the imagination of consumers, to create an infrastructure for the automobile culture of leisure and to give the idea of touring by car a new image that appealed to the lower middle classes who previously would travel by motorcycle instead. Touring domestically and visiting sites of national romantic, historical or geographic importance instead of going abroad became solidly embedded in an ideology of nationalistic *Bildung* constructed by trade organisations, state agencies and the tourism industry. This practice not only benefited the national economy and saved a lot of foreign currency but it also instilled lessons in patriotism and national pride. The construction of autotourism as a nationalistic project was closely linked to the Buy Danish Work movement after 1922. This kind of national mobilisation of tourism seems to have been a strong and general trend in European and American history.³⁴

By 1939 there were 109,000 privately owned automobiles in Denmark, but the outbreak of the Second World War meant a serious setback to automobilism. Authorities passed legislation to end all private driving on 2 September 1939, followed by rationing of gasoline and rubber.³⁵ This was a serious blow to the existence of the touring club for the next six years and especially to its autocamping empire. Access to the sites was made free to all members and *Motor* tried to motivate members to tour by bicycle and tent. Very few picked up the idea. As one of the bicycle tourists reported after a trip on the west coast of Jutland in 1943: 'This country is vast for the bicyclist, for the automobilist it is

³³Unsigned, 'Med Sovebil og Telte Väneren og Vätteren rundt [With Autocamper and Tents Round Väneren and Vätteren], *Motor* 20 (1926): 604–5, 612; Member no. 19984, 'Motorturisme i Danmark [Motortourism in Denmark]', *Motor* 23 (1929): 846–7; and 'Til Sommerferie og Weekend benyt FDMs Lejrpladser [For Summer Vacation and Weekend Use FDMs Campsites], *Motor*, Special Issue 29 (1935): 173–6.

³⁴Marguerite Shaffer, *See America First. Tourism and National Identity, 1880–1940* (Washington, DC, 2001); Rudy Koshar, 'Germans at the Wheel: Cars and Leisure Travel in Interwar Germany,' in *Histories of Leisure*, ed. Rudy Koshar (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), 215–30; "'Theres No Place Like Home": Soviet Tourism in Late Stalinism,' *Slavic Review* 62, no. 4 (2003): 760–85. *Tourism and Travel in Russia and the Soviet Union*. Winter (2003); Bente Jensen, 'Hammershus slotsruin mellem seværdighed og nationalt monument [The Castle Ruin of Hammershus between Sight and National Monument]', *Fortid og Nutid* (1995); Justine Greenwood, 'Driving through History: The Car, *The Open Road*, and the Making of History Tourism in Australia, 1920–1940', *Journal of Tourism History*, no. 1 (2011): 21–37; Michael Dawson, 'Travel Strengthens America'? Tourism Promotion in the United States during the Second World War', *Journal of Tourism History*, no. 3 (2011): 217–36; and Gordon Pirie, 'Automobile Organisations Driving Tourism in Pre-independence Africa', *Journal of Tourism History*, no. 1 (2013): 71–91.

³⁵*Lovtidenden A* – Nr. 37. 2. September 1939: Nr. 291, p. 1459, § 1.

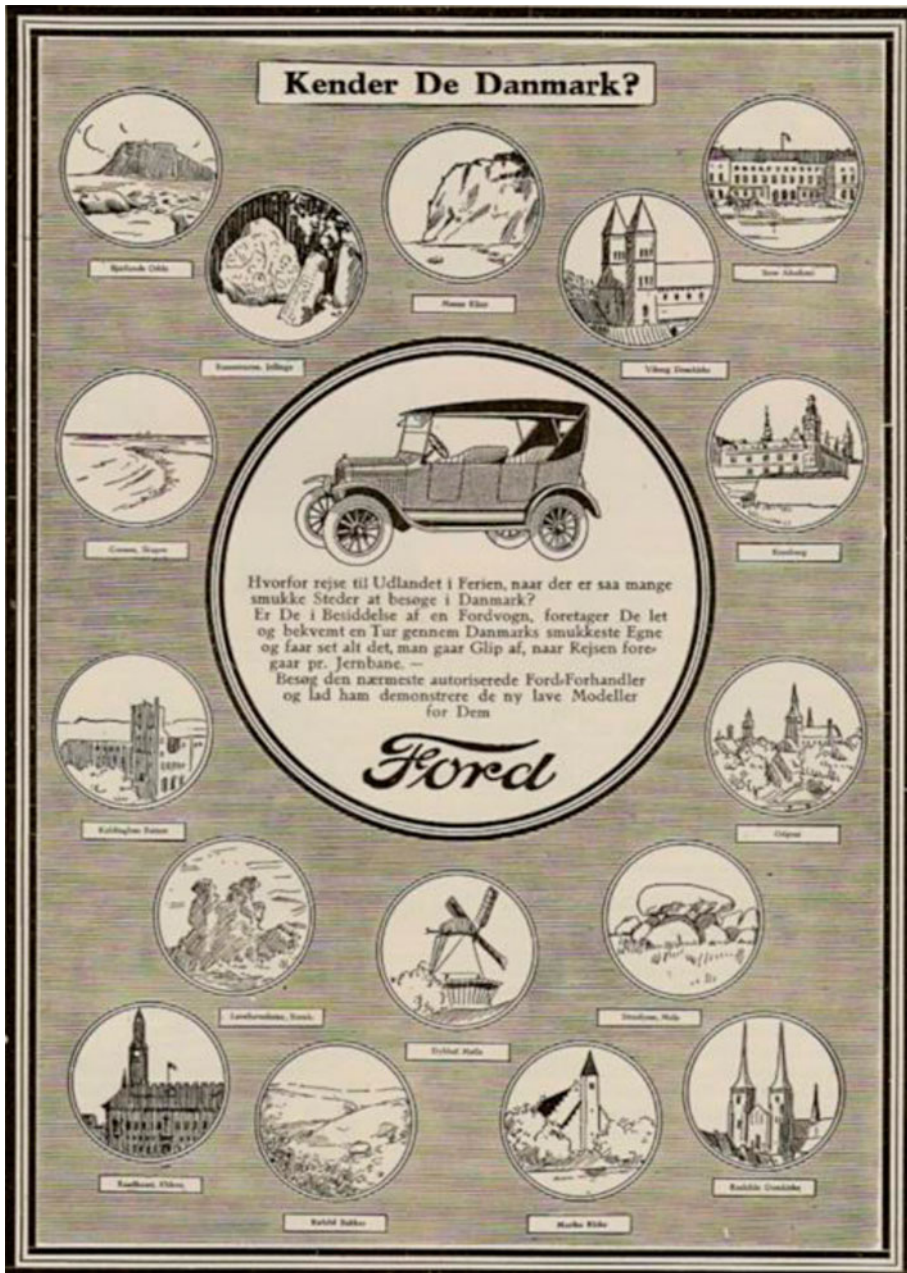


Figure 4. This advertisement placed the Ford Model T in close relation to 16 prominent Danish national historic monuments and sights. It appeared both in *Motor* and *Ford Owners Magazine* in spring 1924 with the title 'Do you know Denmark?'. The message was quite clear: 'Why go abroad when there are so many beautiful places to visit in Denmark. When you are in possession of a Ford, you can make a trip quick and easy through the beautiful landscapes, and you'll get to see everything you'll miss going by train' (*Ford Owners Magazine*, no. 6, 1924).

small'.³⁶ Meaning that it was certainly not the preferable way of taking a camping trip and only a few members seemed to be interested in it. Anyway, the German occupation soon annexed all the camping sites on the west coast for the construction of the Atlantic Wall fortress.³⁷

Autotourism as mass consumption

In the 1950s the last postwar restrictions on private automobilism were lifted and autotourism expanded dramatically as a consequence. Growing economic prosperity from the mid-1950s meant that many in the Danish working class were able to buy a small or used automobile and to go touring on Sundays and holidays. Autocamping at home and abroad became immensely popular. The summertime Grand Tour, with a tent or a trailer behind the car, to distant destinations in the south of Europe was now common. In 1973 the total number of private automobiles reached 1,232,000. This rapid expansion in the number of vehicles transformed automobilism into a mass movement of consumers who appropriated the car by touring on Sundays and on vacation during the 1960s. At the same time consumers were getting more and more dependent on the automobile for commuting and everyday use as suburbia in the larger cities grew immensely during the 1960s.

This development called for new initiatives by FDM as the president, N.J. Gorrisen, stated during his annual meeting with representatives of the club in 1960. In his speech, 'The Automobile age is upon us', he discussed the political consequences of the increasing number of private automobiles and the urgent need for the construction of new infrastructure to absorb the traffic boom. The mobility pattern was very seasonal, peaking at weekends and in the summer months. Large traffic jams were the result. Predictions suggested that the number of cars on the road would double, reaching 400,000 in just seven years. This reality demanded state action while also posing new challenges to the club. The group would need to expand the consumption junction by developing new leisure activities.³⁸

There was a growing sense of chaos, loss of dignity and congestion as autocamping turned into a mass movement and autocampers swarmed everywhere. The editor of *Motor* commented on the 'perils of motorisation' in an editorial for a special camping issue published in May 1960. He noted that growth had been 'explosive' over the previous five to six years. The flood of urban dwellers leaving the city to 'escape from the pressures of everyday life to find peace and recreation under open skies' was unprecedented. Growth seemed unstoppable. Campers would need to be more considerate and to exhibit decent behaviour in order to assure harmony in crowded camp sites. There was no alternative; 'Modern man is so dependent on... comfort that organised camping sites with the appropriate conveniences are a necessity to people today'. Maybe this juxtaposition of

³⁶Motor, 'Vore Lejrpladser. Den billigste og sundeste Ferie er Lejr-Livet – gratis for alle vore Medlemmer [Our Camping Sites. The Cheapest and Healthiest Vacation is Camping-life – Free to All Our Members]', *Motor* 34 (1940): 245–8, 251. Thorkel Vøgg, 'Til Vesterhavet via FDMs Lejrpladser [To the North Sea via FDMs Camping Sites]', *Motor* 37 (1943): 114; and Medlem Nr. 5462, 'En dejlig Sommer gik. Lejrliv ved Botø [A Wonderful Summer Went. Camping Life at Botø]', *Motor* 37 (1943): 267.

³⁷Euphemistically described as the 'The military measures'. Forenede Danske Motorejere, 'Beretning om Virksomheden 1944 [Account of the Activities in 1943]', *Motor* 38 (1944): 171.

³⁸N.J. Gorrisen, 'Bilalderen er over os [The Automobile Age is Upon Us]', *Motor* 54 (1960): 503–6.

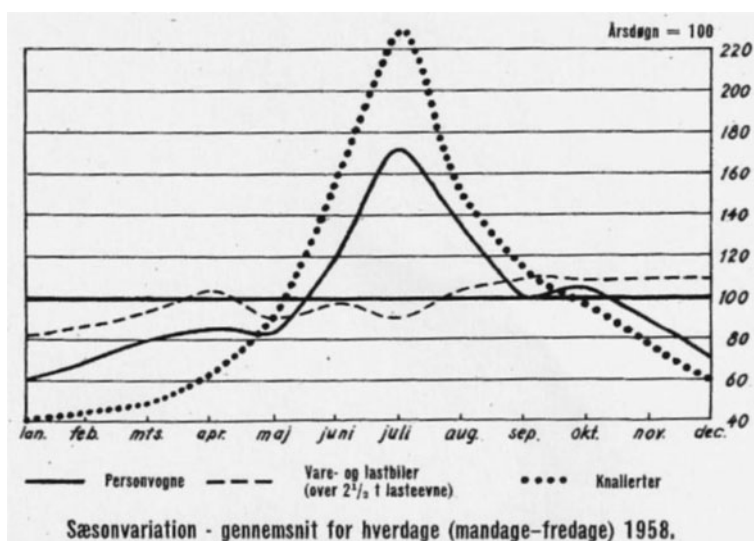


Figure 5. Seasonal variations in everyday traffic (Monday–Friday) 1958 based on a nationwide traffic count conducted by the Road Directory of the Ministry of Transportation. The unbroken line represents privately owned cars. The broken line depicts trucks and lorries. The punctuated line illustrates mopeds (*Motor*, 1959).

modernity and nature was paradoxical, but the practice only grew in popularity. Indeed, he predicted that going abroad on vacation with a trailer or a tent was going to expand still further in the years to come.³⁹

By turning into a mass culture of leisure consumption camping had come of age and lost its innocence. Numerous articles on camping matters testified as much. From the end of the 1950s the pages of every issue of *Motor* were crowded with articles and advertisements. There were lists of destinations all around Europe, discussions of the relative merits of trailers versus tents and systematic reviews comparing various brands of trailers, campers and fancy tents. Traditionalists regretted the turn toward luxury, but there was little they could do. The editor of *Camping*, a members magazine for the Danish Camping Club that was launched by Cay Lembcke in 1925, summarised the challenge:

The term 'camping sport' does not fit any more as it is still more difficult to see the sportive aspects of camping. With all the modern comforts of camping sites you have to realise that the sport is almost extinct. As a consequence the magazine had now changed its title from *Canoe, Kayak and Camping Sport* to the neutral word *Camping*.⁴⁰

From Bagge's refusal to engage in racing to FDM's official policy to facilitate only individual touring and autocamping to the refutation of any sporting ambitions at all, what started as an elite sporting activity had turned into a mass culture.

³⁹Editorial, 'Aktuelle campingproblemer [The Current Camping Problems]', *Motor*, Camping - Special issue (1960): 365.

⁴⁰Unsigned, *Camping*, (1958): 1.

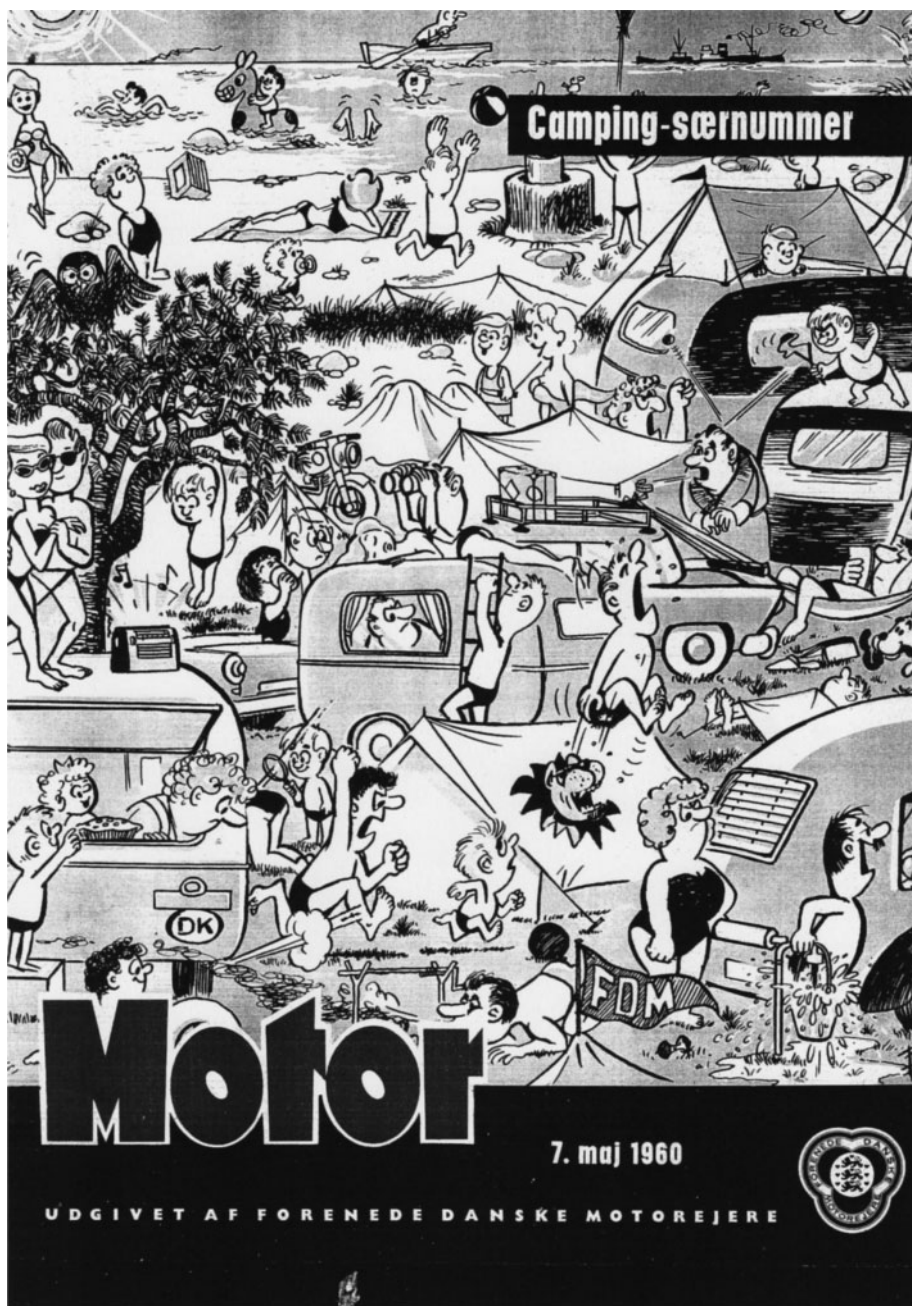


Figure 6. The front cover of the Camping special issue of *Motor* magazine took a humorous position on the debate over overcrowded campsites, but the problem of mass invasion by autocampers in the summertime was taken very serious by FDM (*Motor*, 1960).

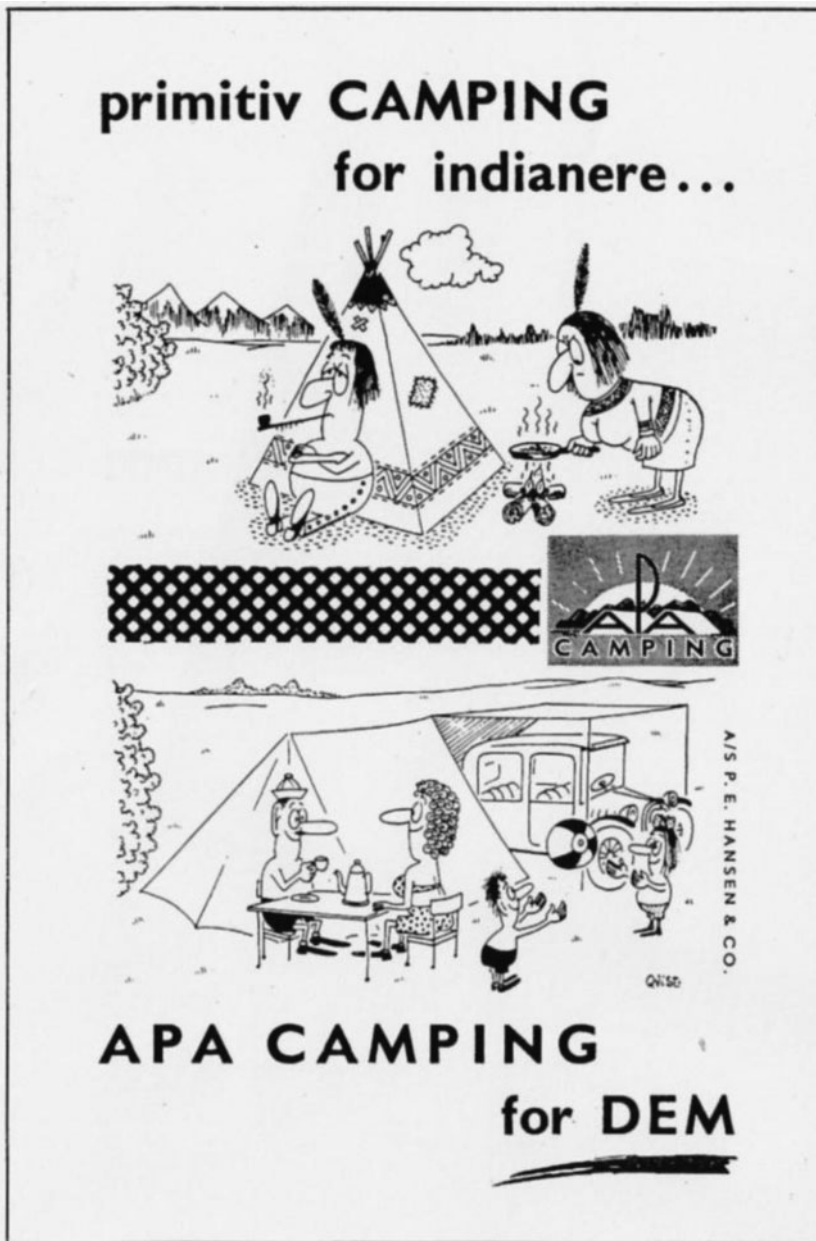


Figure 7. This advertisement with the message "Primitive CAMPING for Indians... APA CAMPING for YOU" appeared on the opposite page from the editorial addressing members of the Danish Camping Club in the newly renamed Camping magazine (*Camping*, no 1, 1958: 2).

The 1960s was a bonanza for autotourism in Denmark. The tourism service industry blossomed and the consumption junction expanded in new directions, including annual exhibitions of camping equipment such as 'Car and Leisure' (where no automobiles were displayed but a great deal of camping gear for every kind budget) and 'Holidays for

Everyone'. Again FDM took the lead, developing the consumption junction for camping trailers into a genuine mass culture. The number of registered caravans rose from 1815 in 1960 to 61,831 in 1980. The group introduced new destinations in countries behind the iron curtain, although only Yugoslavia became really popular and received tens of thousands Danish families every year. According to a 1964 survey of leisure activities in Denmark conducted by the Danish National Institute of Social Research, almost 50% spent their vacation on a motorised tour in Denmark or abroad, while 60% used a car in connection with their holidays. A 1973 Gallup survey confirmed the results, revealing that 49% of the population had toured by automobile during their holidays and that an additional 11% used a car in some other way while on vacation.⁴¹ The conclusion is unmistakably clear: by this time more than half the Danish population spent their holidays driving around in an automobile.⁴²

We drive to do the tour

Danish automobilism emerged during the first decade of the twentieth century as an elite culture among wealthy automobile owners from the upper and upper-middle classes. By 1906 it generated a motoring magazine and an advocacy organisation, the Danish Automobile Club (DAC). The same year Ford Motor Company appointed a general sales agent in Copenhagen. It did not take long, however, before differing ideas about the way forward started to appear. In 1909, a group of members split from the DAC to form the FDM, drawing support from their action from several local touring clubs and hoping to spread the word about autotourism in every possible way. The car ought to be available to everybody, not simply to an elite, they argued. *Motor* was turned into a membership magazine capable of mediation and of expanding the consumption junction. There is something very Danish in this process of forming a democratic association based on the activities of members and on a mutual interest in the development of automobilism. The Danish Motor Touring Club was created as a bottom up association with the General Assembly as the highest authority. This development also follows a Danish tradition for organising and representing private interests in civil society based upon voluntary associations formed around the exercise of sport, tourism and other leisure activities. It is also a characteristic trait for this type of association that they are commercialised and go through a process of professionalisation over the decades turning them into business corporations. For FDM this meant that the voluntary members eventually turned more or less into ordinary customers and that the organisation must compete with the rest of the tourism business, selling a product amid market conditions rather than focusing on giving service to the members.

American ideas of leisure and consumption became a great inspiration for the development of autotourism during the interwar years, framing the use of the automobile for leisure activities. FDM initiated this process. Ford Motor Company, who caught a great deal of public attention after opening their Copenhagen factory in 1919, furthered it. With aggressive methods of advertising and other public relations efforts, Ford managed to put a solid stamp on the automobile culture by assimilating the Model T into

⁴¹'Bilen I. Danmark – og alternativerne [The Automobile in Denmark – and the Alternatives]', *Motor* 67 (1973): 34.

⁴²P.-H Kühl, Inger Koch-Nielsen, and Kaj Westergaard, *Fritidsvaner i Danmark med særligt hensyn til radio og fjernsyn* [Leisure Habits in Denmark Especially with Respect to Radio and Television] (København: SFI, 1966), 230.

perceptions of Danish identity to such an extent that it was almost turned into a Danish product.

When General Motors opened a Chevrolet factory in Copenhagen in 1923 the company abstained from engaging in this kind of cultural imperialism and instead concentrated on producing and selling automobiles that were up to date to consumers. The whole idea of promoting autocamping and of creating a new consumption junction for automobilism also came from the USA, more or less as a direct import by Ford. This resulted in a very strong representation of American ways of leisure and consumption jointly promoted by Ford Motor Company and FDM and created an extension to the already existing mediation and consumption junction by connecting autotourism with autocamping.

After the postwar recession, automobilism grew dramatically. It emerged as a culture of mass consumption based upon tourism and camping. The working class soon joined in, travelling the countryside in large numbers. During the 1960s, many Danes became firmly hooked on touring by car during the holidays – a result of growing economic prosperity and the extension of the general vacation period from three to four weeks. The introduction of new products further expanded the popularity of auto camping. Car camping was no longer an American import; it was a transnational movement in both Western and Eastern Europe with an identity of its own.

Increasingly, it was an identity premised on the elevation of consumption. Thus, a massive promotion campaign for touring by automobile launched by FDM Travel Agency during the same period and heavily supported by hundreds of articles in *Motor* magazine as well as the introduction of motoring package tours was of similar significance to the development of car culture in Denmark. For its part, *Motor* published ever more trivial articles offering an endless string of new opportunities for consumption, a list of new products to buy. Little effort was made to point people towards new places to see; the same destinations were pushed year upon year. Persistent promotion certainly worked otherwise the conjunction junction would have stopped producing this kind of propaganda material. In a crude way success can be judged by the number of articles published, tales of touring working as a guide to mass consumption during leisure time. The aggressive promotion of autocamping culminated in 1973 with a very large exhibition 'Car and Leisure' ('Bil og Fritid') in Copenhagen and a massive bombardment of articles in *Motor* magazine about autotourism.

As a consumer organisation FDM peaked in 1972 with 290,000 members who benefited from a wide and sophisticated range of services related to the consumption of the automobile for leisure and everyday use. By this time the organisation's travel agency was arranging and selling package tours to all sorts of customers, not just members. At the end of that year the oil crisis hit Denmark. Sunday driving was, as during the war, prohibited as a radical means to save petrol. The psychological impact was to shift the primary focus of automobilism from leisure to everyday mobility. During the economic recession that followed the oil crisis many members left the touring club. FDM never regained its former strength. Danish automobilism had reached a decisive turning point. Today the family car is primarily used for practical purposes; commuting and shopping trips are more important than recreational leisure. In this way automobilism became part of the drudgery of everyday life, even if it does still play an important role in leisure time as well.

Notes on contributor

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