

The origins and creation of the tourist hotel industry in Spain from the end of the 19th century to 1936. Barcelona as a case study

Carlos Larrinaga^{a,*}, Rafael Vallejo^b

^a School of Economics, Granada University, Spain

^b School of Economics, Vigo University, Spain

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Hotel industry

Tourism

Investments

Barcelona

Spain

End of the 19th century and first third of the 20th century

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to analyse the origins of the hotel industry dedicated to tourism in the city of Barcelona, one of the most important tourist centres in the western Mediterranean. From the 1888 Universal Exposition to the 1929 International Exposition, and even later, we find several initiatives to set in motion an incipient tourist system which was truncated by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936. In this system, we will here focus on the hotel industry based on the fact that at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the majority of hotel establishments were not focused on tourism. It was only with the tourist development experienced by Barcelona during these decades that one can also speak of the birth of one of the most important tourism hotel offerings, both in Spain and Western Europe.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to study the creation of the tourist hotel industry in Barcelona, one of the most emblematic cities of both Spain and also the Western Mediterranean between the 1880s and 1936 (the outbreak of the Civil War). During this period the city underwent a transformation. There was an unprecedented architectural renewal, an enhancement of its heritage, an embellishment of its streets and a strong economic expansion. The starting hypothesis of this study is that these urban changes, the city's monuments, the international exhibitions of 1888 and 1929 and Barcelona's warm climate attracted a growing stream of tourists. Likewise, the improvement of the roads and railways, the proximity to the French border and the fact that its port was large enough for cruise ships made Barcelona an important tourist destination. As we will see in Section 3, the numbers of tourists staying in hotels and inns increased substantially. In order to provide accommodation for all of these visitors a hotel industry had to be created. This task was undertaken by local businessmen. We start from the following premise: just as these Catalan businessmen invested in industries, finance or infrastructure, they also did so in hotels, regarding it like any other investment opportunity. The promotion of the city as a tourist destination opened up new investment possibilities, hotels for tourists being one of them. Entrepreneurs did not let this opportunity pass them by.

Thus, in this article we will focus on the study of hospitality geared

towards the tourism and leisure market. Specifically, we will examine the hotel industry and the tourist flows existing in the Spanish tourism system, a fledgling industry at that time. However, Barcelona, like other major European cities, was not exclusively a tourist city. It must be presumed that these hotels could also have been visited for reasons unrelated to tourism (James, 2018). Due to their convenience, the city's hotels (such as the Ritz) attracted a varied clientele, such as businessmen, government officials, lawyers and doctors (Suárez Botas, 2006).

Accordingly, this research analyses the hotel industry within the framework of this wider discourse on the history of tourism, following the guidelines set out by Walton, who advocates the importance of history in tourism studies in general and the analysis of aspects which have not been looked at in depth to date (Walton, 2009, 2010). More precisely, one of the current problems in the research of the history of tourism is that the hotel sector is often forgotten, when, in fact, within the travel industry, the most important sectors are the passenger transport, hotel and catering industries (Lickorish & Kershaw, 1958, p. 3). Many studies have been conducted on transport (by road, rail, air, and sea), as it formed a major part of the industrialisation and modernisation processes and the transport revolution boosted the revolution of travel and tourism as a large-scale social phenomenon. However, the same does not occur with the hotel industry which receives much less attention in the analysis of the history of tourism, despite its relevance. One of the causes of this deficit is possibly the

* Corresponding author. School of Economics, Granada University, Campus de la Cartuja s/n, 18071, Granada, Spain.

E-mail addresses: clarrinaga@ugr.es (C. Larrinaga), vallejo@uvigo.es (R. Vallejo).

difficulty of locating primary sources because these are usually widely dispersed and fragmentary (Walton, 2011). This article is unusual in this respect as it employs primary sources that allow us to study the Barcelona hotel industry with concrete evidence and in the wider context of the whole of Spain. The description of the sources in the following section is, therefore, particularly relevant.

Another aspect which we must take into account when studying the creation and consolidation of the hotel industry, in Spain in general and in Barcelona in particular, is the international context itself, marked by the technological advances characteristic of the Second Industrial Revolution (Landes, 1969). These include developments such as central heating, electric lighting, running water, the telegraph system followed by telephone communications, modern sanitary appliances or electric lifts. These advances had a decisive impact on the development of the hotel industry in both America and Europe. As a symbol of technical progress and modernity linked to comfort, these technological innovations contributed to improving the quality of the hotel industry (Bowie, 2018; Humair, 2008, 2011; Lapointe Guigoz, 2011). Large American hotels and those in European capitals such as Paris and London were the first to introduce these innovations (Berger, 2011; Borer, 1972; Lesur, 2005; Sandoval-Strausz, 2007; Tessier, 2012), which progressively expanded to other cities, such as Barcelona or Madrid in Spain. There was a strong link between tourism in general and particularly the hotel industry and advanced technology, so tourism played a fundamental role in technology transfer (Humair, 2008).

Consequently, we must consider the ways in which technology was applied to the science of hotel management, to the efficient, rational production of hotel space and to its myriad operations, from transferring people to serving them meals or attending to their physical comfort (James, 2018, p. 70). It was very important for tourist hotels to incorporate these innovations since they attracted visitors and symbolised modernity. But, clearly, such innovations implied a considerable cost, which is why in many cases companies were created to cover the costs and public limited companies became more important within the hotel industry. In fact, the decisive transition from family capitalism to managerial capitalism took place in the Second Industrial Revolution (Chandler, 1977; 1990). Like other sectors of the economy, the hotel industry was no stranger to this new reality both in America (Berger, 2011) and in Europe (Maillard and dir., 2008; Tessier, 2012; Bowie, 2018). Spain was no exception either, as we will see in this case study for Barcelona.

When discussing the hotel industry, we should bear in mind the long historical tradition of establishments offering accommodation and the plethora of terms used for them (inns, taverns, hostels or hotels for instance). These establishments, as well as many private dwellings, formed the basis of the tourism industry emerging in Spain in around 1830. Initially, there was no tourist hotel industry. Tourists used the pre-existing facilities for informal or more formal catering, which, in the case of Spain, was officially registered in the *Contribución Industrial y de Comercio* [Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution-ICTC], established in 1845.

It is therefore difficult to pinpoint the origin of the tourist hotel industry in Spain and its cities. There are suggestions that in the nineteenth century, certain urban elite groups wanted to attract visitors to encourage the development and prestige of the area in question. Moreover, evidence suggests that this demand required “attractions” to be developed together with facilities for the seasonal population who needed accommodation (including those in the hotel industry). This is how hostelry conceived for tourist purposes originated. Major events contributed to this shift from a general, traditional hotel industry to one designed to attract these extraordinary and specific groups of visitors (travellers or tourists). This was seen during the great Exhibitions in London or Paris, in 1851 and 1861 and also at the time of the Universal Exhibition of 1888: there is evidence of the first establishments designed to accommodate visitors or “tourists” travelling to Barcelona to enjoy the event, or at least for a certain segment of those visitors. Some of these

establishments were actually beginning to be called hotels.

The next major Exhibition that took place in Barcelona during this period, the International Exhibition in 1929, was also a reason to encourage the creation of licensed accommodation to cater for several hundred thousand visitors. At that time, Barcelona had already forged an image and created a network of facilities, organisations and companies in the fields of transport, attractions, culture or business, accommodation and catering or tourism in the strictest sense, as in the case of the *Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros* [Society for the Attraction of Visitors] (1908). Undoubtedly, all these aspects contributed to making Barcelona a benchmark city for travellers to Spain.

2. - Materials and methods

Among the private agents involved in the creation of a tourist destination and a tourism industry, hoteliers *per se* have been rarely studied by Spanish historiography. This is not the case in international historiography where the hotel sector and the businessmen who needed accommodation have attracted the attention of researchers. Other fascinating works have been added to the classic book on British hospitality by Borer (1972) or the equally valuable document by Hayner (1936). For example, for a general history of the hotel industry we can refer to the book by Lefevre (2011) or more recently that of Andrieux and Harismendy (dirs.) (2016), focusing mainly on France or the article by James et al. (2017), and the book by James (2018). A good analysis of the founding of a luxury hotel business can be found in Denby (2002), Tissot (2007), or Tessier (2012). For some case studies, in addition to those mentioned above, Lesur's works on Paris (2005), Girelli Bocci's (ed.) on Rome (2006), Jourdain's on Brussels (2012) (Jourdain (2012)) or Kawamura's on Naples (2017) are of great interest. In turn, American historiography also has excellent studies, such as those by Sandoval-Strausz (2007) and Berger (2011), among others. Accounts of the history of certain iconic hotels include the *Beau-Rivage Palace* in Lausanne by Maillard (dir.) (2008), the *Hôtel Bellevue* in Brussels by Jourdain (2008), the *Grand Hôtel* in Paris by Tessier (2012) or the *Hotel Grand Bretagne* in Athens by Vlachos (2015). Another interesting topic is the prospect of hotels as centres of technological innovation, as studied by Humair (2008, 2011), Lapointe Guigoz (2011) or more recently by Bowie (2016; 2018). The same can be said of the business organisation, with Baum and Mezias (1992), Battilani (2007) and Lapointe Guigoz (2010) standing out.

In the case of Spain, however, there is little literature. Apart from a few books on certain hotels in particular, the *Ritz* in Madrid (Arribas, 2007, pp. 1908–1936), the *Palace* in Madrid (Montoliú et al., 2008) and the *Real* in Santander (Flores-Gispert, 2012; San Emeterio, 1992), there are very few studies from an academic point of view (Gutiérrez Ronco, 1984; Vallejo, Suárez Botas, 2006; Lindoso and Vilar, 2016; Larrinaga, 2018; 2019). Apart from these latter contributions, the problem of previous works is that they are very descriptive, and rarely mention the complex phenomenon of tourism (Walton, 2009). This means that a specific hotel is studied without taking into account the tourism reality of the time. In this article, we do not seek to conduct a mere descriptive analysis of the hotel industry but rather to frame it within the formation process of the Spanish tourism system from the end of the nineteenth century and during the first third of the twentieth century, to which we will refer below.

In order to do this, we will now describe the sources used, most of them primary. First, we will refer to the Administrative Statistics in the *Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution*, a tax introduced in the 1845 tax reform. To be more precise, one of the main contributions of this article is the use of tax sources. This is a continuation of the methodology previously used by prestigious economic historians to renew studies on industrialisation. In fact, this tax source has been used in industrial history research by Professors Perpiñá (1936) and Nadal (1975) or by one of their disciples (Carreras, 1990) with novel results, accepted by the scientific community and paving the way for other researchers. For

example, this source has recently been used for the tourism sector (Vallejo, 2015, pp. 62–79; Vallejo, Lindoso, & Vilar, 2016; Vallejo, Vilar, & Lindoso, 2018), again with satisfactory results in this field. It is not a definitive source, but, without a doubt, it allows us to create an overview and gain an insight into its main lines of development, on both a national level for Spain as a whole and on a local level, such as this case study for Barcelona.

Therefore, taking these positive results into account, we have used this primary source in this study, inserting the data extracted into our line of analysis. An analysis which, when using this source, must necessarily consider several very particular characteristics. Vallejo et al. (2016) explained its usefulness and some of its limitations. For example, this source does not include the Basque provinces and Navarre, although this absence does not affect this particular study which focuses on the case of Barcelona. More importantly, it does not include establishments or companies constituted as joint-stock companies or limited by shares until the migration of the Industrial Contribution into the new Profit Tax of 1900. This means with the 1900 tax reform, these companies moved from paying the Industrial Contribution to paying the new Profit Tax. In the case study of the hotel industry, this is supplemented, to a certain extent, with the data from the Business Register and the *Anuarios Financieros* or *Financial Yearbooks* which have been published since the 1910s. In fact, we have been able to reconstruct the evolution of the hotel industry in Spain and Barcelona using a combination of these sources.

Despite the limitations of the *Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution*, the tax has been used in this study to produce two time series.¹ On the one hand, the first uses the heading “*Fondas, hoteles, restaurantes y casas para hospedaje con mesa redonda o de hora para comidas*” [Inns, hotels, restaurants and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals] as an indicator of the behaviour of the hotel supply from the end of the nineteenth century until 1925. The second includes the “*Fondas, hoteles, casas para hospedaje y alquiler de habitaciones amuebladas*” [“Inns, hotels, boarding houses and rental of furnished rooms”] for the period between 1927 and 1933. This category is not exactly comparable to the first. It is based on a “Special Section” created in the First Tariff of the tax in the 1926 reform, precisely when the “tourism industry” was experiencing a certain boom. Naturally, we have considered these limitations inherent in the source and accordingly we have had to use additional complementary sources. Consequently, we have constructed a first historical series of hotel establishments with their geographical distribution, completed with figures from the *Guía Oficial de Hoteles, Pensiones, Casas de Viajeros, Restaurantes, Bares y Garages* [Official Guide to Hotels, Pensions, Travellers’ Houses, Restaurants, Bars and Garages] in Spain published by the National Tourism Board for the year 1929 (Patronato Nacional del Turismo (1929)). In addition, we have also used the Bilbao and Madrid *Financial Yearbooks*, which have existed since the 1910s, and which included the number of establishments and the capital paid out by hotel companies, as well as sanatoriums, spas and medicinal waters. Although the information is partial, it serves as an approximate indicator of the largest hotel sector in the country between 1901 and 1930. A second source is the Business Register of Barcelona, in which the different types of accommodation establishments are noted. The anonymous ones stand out due to their importance, the relevance of the promoters and investors and the amounts of capital contributed. The third source used is the hotel guides, two in particular: the *Guía de Hóteles de España* [Guidebook of Hotels in

Spain] published in Seville in 1916 (*Guía de hoteles de España* (1916)) and the aforementioned 1929 *Official Guide*. Both these guides show us two key moments in the formation of the hotel industry in Barcelona. Additionally, some local guides have been of interest to us, as well as the general and specialised press of the time, especially *La Vanguardia*, *El Viajero*, *Barcelona* and *Barcelona Atracción*. Finally, certain archives have also been used, such as the *Archivo General de la Administración* (General Archive of the Administration, GAA), which includes the memoirs of Luis Scatti, a famous hotelier in Barcelona during the first decades of the twentieth century.

From analysing these sources, particularly the fiscal sources, we have established a model of investment cycles in the tourist hotel industry for the case of Barcelona. This is a new model given that until now, this fiscal source had been studied to analyse industrialisation in Barcelona but not for investment in the tourist hotel industry as in the case of this study. In addition, these investment cycles coincide with the cycles of expansion of tourism in Spain during the period of study. This means that these cycles of investment in the tourist hotel industry are related to the formation of a tourism system in Spain and to the increase in the influx of tourists, as we will be able to verify.

3. - The hotel industry in Barcelona at the end of the nineteenth century

During the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth century, the accommodation in Barcelona was mainly comprised of hostels. These establishments originated in the late Middle Ages and offered accommodation and meals as well as the possibility of storing goods and animals. In reality, they were economic and functional areas for doing trade and business. Unsurprisingly, they were located in places where there was more mercantile, artisan and business activity (Rosselló & Valdívila, 2016). Many of those who were engaged in this activity were Italian hoteliers, some of whom set up their first businesses in the seventeenth century (Bignotti, 1910).

With the urban transformations that took place in the final decades of the eighteenth century and the opening of the Rambla, a new area of the city was added to enhance it, the Pla de Palau. Here, a new type of accommodation emerged, *fondas* or inns, which offered more convenient and comfortable services. In addition, they responded to the economic expectations and growth of the moment, primarily linked to colonial trade and the expansion of industrial activity, particularly textiles. Thus, in the 1842 *Guía de forasteros en Barcelona* [Visitors’ guide to Barcelona], 23 inns were mentioned, located mainly in the aforementioned Pla de Palau, near the port and in the Rambla and its adjacent streets. Among the first establishments of this type there was the *Falcón*, later *Fonda Falcón* and the *Fonda Cuatro Naciones*. However, it was not until the 1860s that the first accommodation establishments emerged that called themselves hotels. In fact, in 1864 an application was submitted to Barcelona City Council for the construction of the *Gran Hotel Peninsular* in the name of Agustín Valerino. It was a novel name since the term hotel did not become widespread until the 1880s. Hotels were a new type of establishment which began to appear in Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century (Gutiérrez Ronco, 1984), somewhat later than in some other European countries, such as the United Kingdom or France (Borer, 1972; Bowie, 2018; Lesur, 2005).

In these early days, it is difficult to make a distinction between hotels and inns, since both terms were used interchangeably. In the case of Barcelona, hotels originated at the beginning of the 1880s, arising from those more prestigious inns that had been transformed and enhanced. These transformations coincided with the progressive use of the term “hotel”. At that time, the name did not correspond to an objective certification that regulated the business, but rather to the practice and indistinct use of the two terms. Indeed, some inns would end up becoming hotels although hotels are not merely a natural evolution of inns. To a great extent, hotels originated as an expression of a very specific lifestyle, that of the bourgeoisie, a class seeking to differentiate

¹ The *Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution Statistics* provides the number of “industrialists” in each province and the amount they paid, which was determined based on the size of the town and the estimated rental value of the hotel businesses in question, organised for tax purposes by category. However, it does not identify the name of the establishments or the property owners. For this detail, we must access the registration of the Contribution which exists in each municipality and in the Treasury Delegations of each province.

itself within society and which would soon adopt a very particular means of travel, namely tourism, with its consequent form of accommodation (Díaz López, 2013). In this regard, we must not forget that the term hotel derives from the French term *hôtel*, which referred to a private residence or a public building, but never to a palace of royalty or nobility (Lesur, 2005). This hotel model was closely linked to the great advances made in transport thanks to the Industrial Revolution and its effects on mobility (Sandoval-Strausz, 2007). This model contrasts with that of the Grand Hotels, inspired by the aristocratic palaces (James, 2018). Consequently, these types of hotel were called “Palaces”. In Europe they emerged in the mid-nineteenth century in cities such as Paris or London, for example, although it was with César Ritz (1850–1918) when they reached their maximum expression (Denby, 1998). These were hotels where the most exquisite and demanding clientele stayed, seeking luxury and maximum comfort. A hotel of this category meant, above all, distinction. We are talking about a very exclusive hotel model, that only a minority can afford, always accounting for a very small percentage of the hotel supply (Lesur, 2005). Barcelona also began to offer this type of high-end hotel in the twentieth century, aspiring to also attract these kinds of elite clients: aristocrats, important entrepreneurs, landlords, diplomats, politicians, military or distinguished freelance professionals, from Spain and abroad.

However, although the hotel concept was progressively becoming more defined, there was clearly ambivalence between the term hotel and inn. This ambivalence prevailed until the end of the 1880s to the point where, for example, the *Gran Hotel Internacional*, built for the 1888 Barcelona International Exhibition, still appeared in building permit applications as the *Gran Fonda Internacional*. From that moment on, the term “hotel” was restricted to establishments of only the highest category. The *Internacional* represented a turning point within the hotel industry in Barcelona (Rosselló & Valdívia, 2016), as it could be considered an actual hotel for tourists. This was another fundamental difference, because not all of the hotels that were built were for tourists. In fact, we can distinguish between two types: those with traditional functions and, therefore directed at a clientele visiting the city for different reasons (commerce, business, health or administrative management) and others with a fundamentally tourism vocation, focused on “tourists”. The latter were heavily influenced by the elements of comfort found in large foreign establishments (Harismendy, 2016). The *Internacional* would fall into this category, leading the way for the tourist hotel industry in Barcelona.

And so, from the end of the nineteenth century, we can observe two interesting points. First, the terminological distinction between inns and hotels, which is reserved for higher class accommodation. Second, a growing presence of local businessmen promoting quality hotel establishments. In Barcelona, this included the *Gran Hotel Continental* (1892), the *Gran Hotel Ambos Mundos* (1893) and the *Gran Hotel Colón* (1902). Local investors were involved in all three and the Catalan hoteliers began to challenge the prominence enjoyed by the Italian hoteliers since the seventeenth century and even more so from the eighteenth century, especially from the reign of Carlos III (1759–1788) onwards. Previously the king of Naples (1734–1759), this monarch preferred the establishment of these hotels in Spain (Bignotti, 1910). The *Ambos Mundos* was the first large hotel to be built from scratch after the *Gran Hotel Internacional* disappeared. The latter had been demolished by order of the *Junta del Puerto* [Port Authority], once the Exhibition was over, as it was located in a maritime area. Meanwhile, the entrepreneur Arturo Vilaseca built the *Hotel Colón* on the site of the former *Gran Café Colón*. Taking the advice of the hotel management expert Luis Scatti, he decided to upscale from the *Café* to the *Gran Hotel* in 1902, and the hotel became “the best and most advanced of Spain”, (GAA, Culture, (3) 49.2, Box 12.104tbox12104, “Notas” of Luis Scatti). Scatti was born in Barcelona in 1875 and at the age of 17 he left Spain to train in the hotel business, working in hotels in France, England and Germany. In 1894 he began working for César Ritz at the *Savoy Hotel* in London where he finished his training. He did not return to Barcelona until 1901 (Moreno, 2015).

These two hotels, the *Ambos Mundos* and the *Colón*, became true tourist icons of Barcelona at the turn of the century (Rosselló & Valdívia, 2016).

4. - Tourism and hotels until the first World War

Tourism activity in Spain began approximately in the 1830s with very specific local developments which expanded with the improvement of transport and the extension of the railway. From the first decade of the twentieth century, there was a willingness to invest in tourism as an industry and the first industrial advances of tourism proliferated in Spain until 1936. Consequently, at that time, we can speak of the birth of *modern tourism*, that is, tourism conceived as a business (Walton, 2009; Zuelow, 2016). The tourism industry experienced significant transformations at the turn of the century. By then it was conceived as an industry, with agents and companies willing to invest in the supply of goods and services to satisfy the demands of tourists (Vallejo, 2019; Vallejo & Larrinaga, 2018b, p. 12, p. 179). Hospitality forms part of this industry, hence investments in improvements and technology in hotel establishments increased during these years. In fact, in their congresses from 1907 to 1908, Spanish hoteliers began to consider themselves as an important part of the tourism industry (Vallejo, 2019, p. 198). It is worth pointing out that some of the most frequent complaints from foreigners who visited Spain at the beginning of the twentieth century were essentially related to the poor quality of the accommodation (Baedeker, 1898; Moreno, 2007, p. 49). Of course, most of them were not designed to accommodate tourists and, therefore, did not meet the standards of quality and comfort demanded by this type of customer. However, as tourism was perceived not only as a social practice but also as an industry, improvements in the hotel business increased, so that it would be possible to distinguish more clearly between accommodation intended for tourists and that focused on other public areas (merchants, low-ranking officials, etc.).

In line with the birth of modern tourism, in the first third of the twentieth century, an initial tourism system with regional varieties was formed in Spain. In our view, tourism must be studied globally, with a systemic approach and that we can say that relevant tourism as a social and economic phenomenon exists when there are first, objective conditions that allow it; second, autochthonous or foreign subjects, who feed it with their practices, requirements or needs (tourist demand); third, recognisable places such as pleasure travel destinations; fourth, forms, modalities, or simply, tourism products; fifth, entrepreneurs or companies that facilitate travel and benefit from it, providing the goods and services needed by those who travel (supply); and sixth, agents who undertake stimulation or promotional actions, independently or in co-ordination with the rest of the agents (tourism institutions) (Vallejo, 2018, pp. 84–85; Vallejo, 2019; Walton, 2001; Barke & Towner, 1996). In short, tourism exists when there is a tourism system (Table 1).

In Spain, Catalonia began to develop one of the most significant regional tourism systems in the country, with its destinations, its private and public promotion agents and its companies and entrepreneurs, notably in the field of travel agencies and the hotel industry. Barcelona, a high-profile, cosmopolitan city in Europe, soon became a tourist destination in the western Mediterranean. Its cultural events, artistic-cultural heritage, modernist architecture and urban planning and its

Table 1
The tourism system, 1900–1936.

Tourism system	Destinations and products
	Market (informal, formal)
Agents	Tourists (consumers)
	- Active Tourism Associations
	- Receptive Tourism Associations
	- Administration
	- Companies (providers)
Tourism organisation	

Source: Vallejo (2018).

coastline increased the number of foreigners and tourists staying in hotels and inns throughout the first third of the twentieth century, as the available figures show, without taking into account informal accommodation, a feature of all tourist destinations (Walton, 2011). According to these figures, the average number of tourists staying in hotels in Barcelona from 1928 to 1934 (277,000) was six times the average number of tourists recorded from 1912 to 1914 (Graph 1).

Similarly, the arrival of tourists facilitated not only the creation of a market but also the emergence of agents interested in both its promotion and needs fulfillment, whilst tourism organisations were becoming increasingly prominent, first locally and (already in the 1930s) then regionally. The Republic brought the first experience of a regional tourist administration in Spain; that of Catalonia. This experience was fuelled by the business and social capital accumulated through its civil tourism groups (*Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros de Barcelona*) [Society for the Attraction of Visitors of Barcelona] or *Sindicato de Iniciativa Turística de Tarragona* [Tourist Initiative Union of Tarragona], now with the construction of a “generic brand” of reference, i.e. of a destination (Vallejo, 2019; Palou, 2012, 2018b). Companies and entrepreneurs began to play a very important role in this emerging tourism market, just like in other Spanish markets (which were possibly more consolidated), as was the case of the Cantabrian cornice (Walton & Smith, 1994, 1996). In Catalonia, and especially in Barcelona, we can observe this evolution, reflected, among other elements, in some hoteliers who became increasingly involved in the city’s tourism development. This progression took place in the first third of the twentieth century through different phases, in line with international tourism cycles (Ogilvie, 1933), shown by the *Tourism Media Intensity Index*.² The first stage, between the end of the nineteenth century and the First World War is acknowledged as being the moment when modern tourism took off (Vallejo et al., 2016). We can also see that the hotel industry experienced the same phase by examining the data in the Administrative Statistics in the *Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution*. In around 1900, these statistics included the heading “Inns, hotels, restaurants and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals”, in which two classes stood out: that of “*paradores* (state-run tourist hotels) and *mesones* (lodging houses)” and that of “inns, hotels, restaurants and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals”. In 1895–1896, the former type was the most important, with respect to both contributors (7,126) and Annual Tax Contributions (220,943 pesetas), followed by the latter type, small in number (273 establishments) but relevant in terms of Annual Tax Contributions (140,603 pesetas) representing 30% of the total. This accommodation type was the most noteworthy in terms of services and in principal it can be better identified with the tourism category defined by Muntanyola (1932).

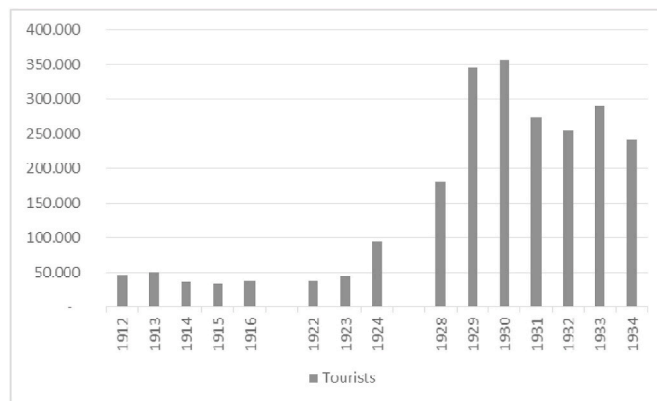
The figures for this sector have allowed us to follow the evolution of the tourist hotel industry between 1900 and 1925. They show a relatively high annual growth rate of the number of hotels in 1900–1910 and 1910–1914 of between 2.2% and 3.4% (Vallejo et al., 2016). This is not the only indicator of this hotel dynamism at the beginning of the twentieth century. The *Financial Yearbooks* of Bilbao and Madrid also record the constitution of hotel corporations in the early years of the twentieth century, although this source does not register all incorporated companies. According to these *yearbooks*, there was an investment cycle at the beginning of the century (1901–1902), coinciding with the business investment cycle at the turn of the century, a second cycle from 1908 to 1910 and a third after the First World War.

As far as Barcelona is concerned, the fiscal data drawn from the *Industrial and Commercial Tax Contribution* reveal that the number of “Inns, hotels, restaurants and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals” in operation each year between 1900 and 1914 hardly varied,

as a maximum of 35 establishments in 1911 and 1913 (compared to 32 in 1900) were registered (Graph 3). In this accommodation segment the (graph1) city even lost relevance (graph2) with respect to the whole of Spain until the First World War (Graph 4). However, other data show that, as a whole, the hotel supply (in addition to the first (graph3) investment cycle detected between the (graph4)late nineteenth and early twentieth century), experienced a second investment cycle from 1908 to 1910 to 1914–1915. During these years, Barcelona’s hotel district was consolidated around Plaza Cataluña and the Ramblas and the surrounding areas. Together with the emblematic *Hotel Colón*, two other establishments close to the sea, the *Hotel Continental* and the *Hotel Inglaterra*, were integrated into the *Bristol* chain. More precisely, coinciding with this new investment cycle, it is worth highlighting the emergence of new establishments near the most central Rambla: *Hotel Nuevo Universal* and the *Hotel Madrid* (Calle de la Boquería); *Hotel Internacional* (Rambla del Centro); *Hotel París* (Calle del Cardenal Casañas); *Hotel Suizo* (Portal del Ángel); *Hotel Massagué* (Calle de Santa Ana); *Royal Hotel Meublé* (Calle del Carmen); and, finally, *Hotel Imperial* (Calle de San Pablo). None of these hotels were in the same category as *Hotel Colón*, so the travellers who arrived to the city and stayed in them probably belonged to different social categories (Rosselló & Valdívila, 2009, pp. 1–19). This means that, before the First World War, we can speak of a diversification of demand. It is conceivable to think that certain sectors of the bourgeoisie began to gradually participate in the tourism phenomenon, which, until then, had been reserved for the wealthiest echelons of society. A process described by Marc Boyer (2002) as social mimicry had begun. This diversification of the hotel supply was a general reality in the different tourist cities, as tourism was becoming an increasingly widespread social practice (Borsay, 2006; Boyer, 2002; Pastoriza, 2011; Zuelow, 2016). This supply was adapted to a more varied demand since it no longer included only the wealthiest social groups, so different categories of hotels appeared depending on the types of clientele (Lefevre, 2011; James, 2018).

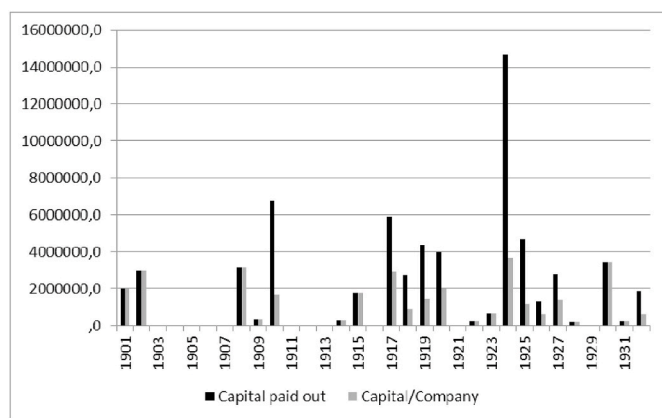
With respect to nationalities, which we know about owing to the user records of the hotels existing in Barcelona in the period between 1912 and 1934, about 16% were foreigners and the rest, over 80%, nationals (Blasco, 2005). This data suggest that the proportion of foreigners who spent nights in Barcelona’s hotels was somewhat higher in the 1910s (around 22%) than in the 1920s and 1930s.

At the same time, the hotel sector in Barcelona had most certainly been showing signs of professional activism since the late nineteenth century, aware of the importance of organising and creating favourable conditions for visitors to the city. Thus, the *Sociedad de Fondistas de Barcelona* created its own periodical in 1890, *El Viajero*. At the beginning of the century an institution was formed for the organisation of festivities, the *Sociedad del Fomento del Festival Barcelonés*, *Sociedad Propagandística de Barcelona*. There was still no talk of a tourism project for



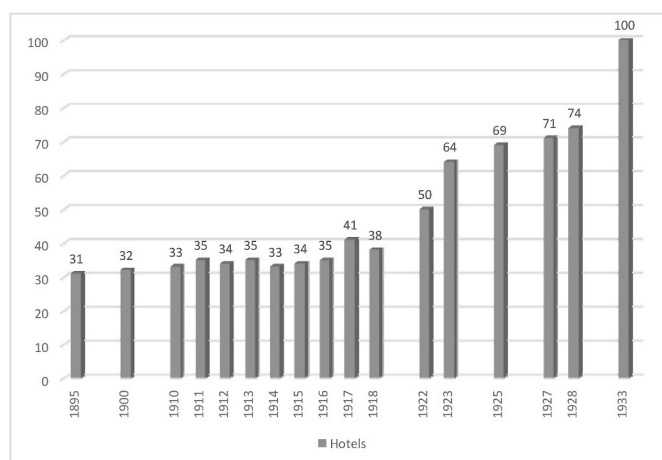
Graph 1. Tourists in the city of Barcelona, 1912–1934. Source: Blasco (2005).

² The *Tourism Media Intensity Index* is calculated based on the number of times the word “tourism” appears in the available digital newspaper libraries (Vallejo, Lindoso y Vilar, 2016).



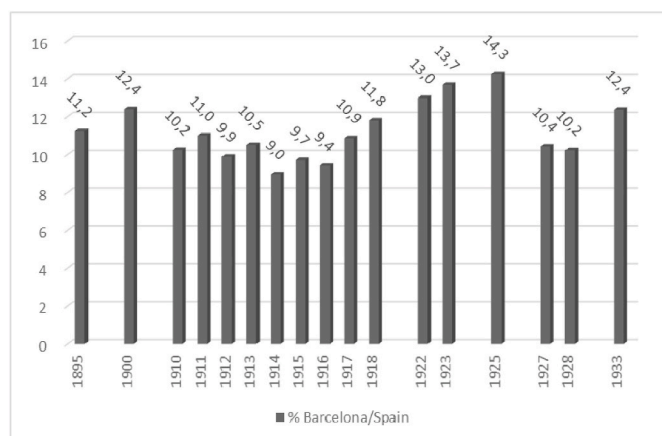
Graph 2. - Hotel corporations, 1901–1932 (millions of pesetas).

Sources: *Financial Yearbooks*, Bilbao and *Financial Yearbooks*, Madrid. Vallejo et al. (2016), p. 174.



Graph 3. - Contributors in Barcelona for “Inns, hotels and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals”.

Source: Administrative Statistics of the ICTC.



Graph 4. - Contributors in Barcelona in relation to Spain for “Inns, hotels and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals”.

Source: Administrative Statistics of the ICTC.

the city, but the promoters were well aware that the arrival of visitors potentially implied great economic benefits (Palou, 2012).

The first initiatives designed to promote tourism in Barcelona were

the *Comisión de Atracción de Forasteros y Turistas* [Commission for the Attraction of Visitors and Tourists] (1906–1909) and, immediately after this, the *Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros de Barcelona* [Society for the Attraction of Visitors], created in 1908 and fundamental for understanding how Barcelona was promoted as a tourist destination until the 1930s. The former, despite its short life, also excelled at promoting Barcelona as a winter city, particularly through the publication of *Barcelona cosmopolita* by Gonzalo Arnús in 1908 (Palou, 2012). Five years earlier, Bartolomé Amengual, secretary of the Barcelona Chamber of Commerce, had published *La industria de los forasteros*. These initiatives insisted on the importance of attracting foreigners because of the economic impact they would have on all sectors of the economy, on a local, regional and national level. On a local level, they sought to increase the number of visitors, especially foreigners, in an increasingly competitive market, as there were similar initiatives in other areas of the western Mediterranean, such as the French Riviera in France or Naples in Italy (Berrino, 2011; Boyer, 2009).

Consequently, all these initiatives and actions to promote tourism and attract visitors in the aforementioned context of urban and economic expansion contrast with the behaviour of the high quality hotel industry until 1916. The number of this type of hotels fluctuated between 33 and 35 and the relative position of Barcelona's hotel industry stabilised at around 10% of the overall Spanish hotel sector. Perhaps this is due to certain factors that could have acted as obstacles in these early years of the twentieth century. One of them, characteristic of most of Spain, was the deficit in land transport (roads and railways). Political and social upheaval was another aspect to take into account. In fact, this was constantly reported by hoteliers in the magazine *El Viajero*. Barcelona became one of the epicentres of peninsular anarchism with violent attacks taking place in many locations. Logically, these incidents did not help its consolidation as a tourist destination, in spite of the efforts of the *Sindicato de Hoteles, Fondas, Posadas y Casas de Huéspedes* [Union of Hotels, Inns, Boarding Houses and Guest Houses] or the aforementioned *Comisión de Atracción*. In addition, the existence of clandestine guest-houses also damaged the sector (*El Viajero*, June 1907, pp. 4–5).

Specifically, uniting their desires and forces so as to address their mutual problems, Barcelona's hoteliers played a fundamental role in the celebration of a national assembly of innkeepers in Madrid on March 16, 1907 (*El Viajero*, February 1907, p. 3). Businessmen from many cities took part and several important figures from Spain and abroad also showed their support for this initiative (*El Viajero*, February 1907, pp. 5–6). Several weeks later, on 30 April, the board of directors of the *Asociación de Fondistas y Similares de España*, [Spanish Association of Innkeepers and Similar] met in Madrid, agreeing on the definitive constitution of the association (*El Viajero*, May 1907, p.4). According to the statutes published in April of the following year, the Association's aim was to propagate and promote tourism. It would publish guides, request changes in passenger tariffs from railway companies (requesting return tickets for tourists) and reform the laws governing the accommodation contract. It would also demand the creation of a corps of interpreters to welcome tourists at ports and train stations (González Morales, 2003; Moreno, 2007). According to one of the participants in this conference, Carlos Arcos (1909), tourism increased consumption and, therefore, agricultural and industrial production, in addition to favouring the hotel industry, transport and commerce. For this Association, the close relationship between tourism and the development of the hotel industry was already very clear.

1908 was also an important year for the promotion of tourism in Barcelona and for the hotel industry, by virtue of the foundation of the aforementioned *Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros* [Society for the Attraction of Visitors]. It was conceived as a union of initiatives similar to those existing in other European countries from the end of the nineteenth century. A few months after its foundation, the 1st International Congress of Tourism and Union of Initiatives was held in Zaragoza (20–23 November 1908), with institutions from Spain and France participating. The second section of the congress addressed the issue of

comfort and hygiene in hotels and in the concluding section, a decision was taken to request the creation of a hotel policy. Naturally, other aspects of particular interest to the hotel industry were discussed at the congress, such as the improvement of transport, propaganda or personal guides and interpreters (González Morales, 2003). In addition, it was decided that this type of congress would be held annually, with subsequent editions being organised in San Sebastián (1909), Toulouse (1910), Lisbon (1911), and Madrid (1912). The aim was to strengthen tourism ties between France, Spain and Portugal and thus boost tourist flows between these three countries.

Furthermore, in this context of promoting the hotel industry, we must mention the *Real Orden Circular*, [Royal Ordinance] of March 17, 1909, which sought to prevent lodging establishments, public transport operators and luggage handlers from committing fraud and exploiting travellers. In compliance with this Royal Ordinance, a permit from the competent authority was required to open premises for visitor accommodation. In addition, hoteliers had to state the specific number of rooms offered, their price and the meal services available. In turn, those involved in transport services, including guides and interpreters, were required to possess an identification card (Moreno, 2007). In short, these measures sought to improve the service provided to visitors, prevent fraud and abuse and enhance customer service and quality.

Barcelona's innkeepers had to face two further problems. On the one hand, the City Council intended to increase the excise tax on basic necessities in the 1911 budget, which presumably would affect prices for consumers in general and hotel customers in particular. Such a measure went against the hoteliers' interests, affecting their competitiveness. To avoid this, the *Asociación de Fondistas y Similares de Cataluña* [Association of Innkeepers and Similar of Catalonia] had no qualms in taking action. Not only did they meet with the mayor of Barcelona, who agreed with them, but they also asked the president of the council of ministers, José Canalejas, and the deputy Jaime Carner to exert pressure (*La Vanguardia*, December 15, 1910, p. 4). By doing this, they obtained the support of other economic sectors, in addition to those of the *Asociación Nacional de Fondistas* [Spanish Association of Innkeepers] and that of Madrid (*La Vanguardia*, December 20, 1910, p.2). The issue of the taxes which the hotel industry was obliged to pay was a matter of deep and prolonged discussion. The second problem concerned some visitors failing to pay their bills, a major inconvenience for hoteliers. According to the complaints made by the Catalan innkeepers, this must have been a fairly common practice in Barcelona. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was one of the matters addressed at the 6th *Assembly of the Asociación de Fondistas y Similares de España* held in Barcelona in June 1912.

5. - The consolidation of the hotel industry in Barcelona

This tourism system and its subsequent hotel industry were consolidated to the same degree. As we have seen in Graph 1, the 1920s saw a significant increase in foreigners and tourists staying in hotels and guesthouses in the city of Barcelona that reached a peak in 1929 and 1930, respectively, coinciding with the International Exhibition. In the 1930s, the number of tourists declined in comparison with the maximum, but it was higher, on average, than in any previous decade. That being so, the leap forward made by the hotel industry in Barcelona really took place soon after the First World War, initiating a period of consolidation of the tourist hotel industry in the city. During this time, the foundations were laid for the highest quality hotels. These years can therefore be considered as being decisive, which is confirmed by our sources. On the one hand, the ICTC data are shown in Graphs 3 and 4 and in Table 2. According to this information, not only did the number of contributors increase, but so did the importance of Barcelona with respect to Spain as a whole, reaching 11.8% in 1918; a figure that would continue to grow during the very early 1920s. Therefore, the end of the war can be described as an extraordinary time for the hotel industry, with significant growth until 1925 (Graphs 3 and 4) and a very notable gain in relevance with respect to Spain as a whole. This occurred despite the strong social conflict (including the hotel sector) and political conflict (terrorism) which the city experienced until the 1923 coup d'état and other problems associated with inflation or taxation at the same time. The data in the *Financial Yearbooks* also confirm this hotel expansion in Barcelona from 1914 onwards, in the form of public limited companies (Tables 3 and 4). Undoubtedly, the creation of the Hotel Meublé that same year marks a real turning point for these types of hotels.

These data reveal a hotel industry increasingly based on public limited companies, in the heyday of a business city that aspired to be, (and already was to a large extent), an urban tourist destination, on both a national and international level. The city's hotel industry therefore accounted for a substantial part of the tourism industry, constituted in Barcelona at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century and in operation since before the Great War. It sought to extend its operations beyond Catalonia throughout the rest of Spain, as was the case of the foundation of *Hoteles Unidos, S.A.* (HUSA) (HUSA (2000)).

Barcelona was therefore at the forefront of the third investment cycle in hotel companies, (observed since World War I). The creation of the firm *Hotel Ritz de Barcelona, S. A.* in 1917 was undoubtedly, the most outstanding initiative of these years (Business Register of Barcelona, Sheet 10,785). Promoted by the local bourgeoisie, it was constituted by

Table 2

Inns, hotels, restaurants and boarding houses with a common table or a time for meals in Autonomous Regions, 1900 and 1922.

(Number of industrialists and Annual Tax Contributions in current pesetas)

Autonomous Regions	1900	1900	1922	1922	1900	1900	1922	1922	1900–1922
	No.	Pts	No.	Pts	No. (%)	Pts (%)	No. (%)	Pts (%)	No. (% Var.)
CATALUNYA	52	36,971	74	78,755	20.0	24.4	19.2	18.5	42.3
ANDALUCIA	51	29,403	63	78,733	19.6	19.4	16.4	18.5	23.5
MADRID	27	22,616	38	62,263	10.4	14.9	9.9	14.6	40.7
CASTILLA Y LEÓN	28	10,254	43	36,424	10.8	6.8	11.2	8.6	53.6
REGION OF VALENCIA	14	10,141	23	31,817	5.4	6.7	6.0	7.5	64.3
GALICIA	18	8483	24	26,254	6.9	5.6	6.2	6.2	33.3
ARAGÓN	12	4395	22	24,724	4.6	2.9	5.7	5.8	83.3
CANTABRIA	9	5918	23	20,789	3.5	3.9	6.0	4.9	155.6
CASTILLA-LA MANCHA	14	5629	19	14,711	5.4	3.7	4.9	3.5	35.7
CANARY ISLANDS	6	2431	14	12,110	2.3	1.6	3.6	2.8	133.3
PRINCIPALITY OF ASTURIAS	12	6067	13	11,573	4.6	4.0	3.4	2.7	8.3
ESTREMADURA	7	2641	10	8486	2.7	1.7	2.6	2.0	42.9
MURCIA	6	4848	5	7606	2.3	3.2	1.3	1.8	–16.7
BALEARIC ISLANDS	2	825	9	7130	0.8	0.5	2.3	1.7	350.0
RIOJA	2	1072	5	4203	0.8	0.7	1.3	1.0	150.0
SPAIN	260	151,693	385	425,578	100	100	100	100	48.1

Source: Administrative Statistics of the ICTC 1900 and 1922. Vallejo et al. (2016), p. 160.

Table 3

Companies dedicated to the operation of hotels and health clinics in Spain, 1901–1935

Province	Number of companies	Capital paid out	Capital/ Company	% Societies	% Capital Paid out
MADRID	13	26,023,500	2,001,808	29.5	40.2
BARCELONA	13	15,136,000	1,164,308	29.5	23.4
GUIPÚZCOA	4	6,450,000	1,612,500	9.1	10.0
MÁLAGA	3	5,185,000	1,728,333	6.8	8.0
SANTANDER	2	3,750,000	1,875,000	4.5	5.8
VIZCAYA	2	2,415,000	1,207,500	4.5	3.7
TARRAGONA	1	3,439,500	3,439,500	2.3	5.3
LA CORUÑA	1	1,200,000	1,200,000	2.3	1.9
OVIEDO	1	450,000	450,000	2.3	0.7
BALEARIC ISLANDS	1	250,000	250,000	2.3	0.4
CADIZ	1	200,000	200,000	2.3	0.3
ZARAGOZA	1	200,000	200,000	2.3	0.3
CASTELLÓN	1	3000	3000	2.3	0.0
TOTAL	44	64,702,000	1,470,500	100.0	100.0

Source: *Financial Yearbooks* of Bilbao and *Financial Yearbooks* of Madrid.

Table 4

Hotels and public limited companies hoteliers of Barcelona.

Name	Foundation
Royal Hotel Meublé	1914
Ritz Hotel in Barcelona	1917
La Palmesana, S. A.	1917
Majestic Hotel de Inglaterra	1918
Hoteles de Reposo de Cataluña, S.A.	1920
Odeón Hotel, S.A.	1922
Hotel Colón, S.A.	1924
Hotel Barcelona, S.A.	1925
Victoria Hotel	1925
Grandes Hoteles y Balnearios de Caldetas, S.A.	1927
Hoteles de Cataluña	not communicated
Sociedad Anónima Grandes Hoteles	not communicated

Source: Anuario Financiero y de Sociedades Anónimas and Anuario Riu (for 1931–1932).

two renowned members of Barcelona society, the banker Gonzalo Arnús and the political leader Francisco Cambó, both prominent figures in the economic and political world of the time who knew how to attract other influential members of the Catalan bourgeoisie. The company capital was set at four million pesetas distributed in 8000 shares of 500 pesetas each, 1200 being underwritten in the articles of incorporation, then a further 2800 put into circulation which represented half of the share capital. The other remaining 4200 were not put into circulation until 1920. The following year, a further 4000 bonds were issued, again for 500 pesetas each, equivalent to two million pesetas, at an annual interest rate of 7%. This process of capitalisation contrasts with the strategy that had been carried out only a few years earlier by the company *Hotel Ritz de Madrid*. In that case it had been created in 1908 with a share capital of two and a half million pesetas, capital which was clearly considered insufficient for a business initiative of such a large scale (Arribas, 2007, pp. 1908–1936; GAA, Cultura, (3) 49.2, Box 12.104, “Notas” by Luis Scatti). Strategies aside, it is clear that with the inauguration of the *Ritz Hotel*, the supply of first-class hotels was consolidated and Barcelona was thus comparable to other European capitals in terms of this type of accommodation (Masó, 1928, pp. 136–140). However, the *Ritz Hotel* was soon followed by another initiative within the quality hotel industry, namely the construction in 1918 of the *Majestic Hotel de Inglaterra*, one of the most luxurious accommodation establishments in Barcelona (Business Register of Barcelona, Sheet 11,628). With these two luxury hotels, investors aspired to attract the most select clientele, from Spain and abroad. In this way, Barcelona improved its tourism offer, positioning

itself at the same level as other tourist cities which by then had a high quality hotel supply. Not only capitals such as Madrid, Paris or London but also competing destinations in the western Mediterranean, such as Nice, Monte Carlo or Naples (Boyer, 2009; Kawamura, 2017).

Furthermore, the creation of these hotels coincided with a greater concern for tourist activity in Barcelona, largely due to this international competition. The celebration of the Catalan tourism congresses in 1919 and 1921 responded to this concern. These business initiatives and congresses show that the private initiative was becoming increasingly involved in the development of tourism in the region. The different agents affected, including hoteliers, invested strongly in a sector with many possibilities. Barcelona could aspire to becoming one of the great destinations of southern Europe. This commitment is evident in the hotel industry from 1922, coinciding with a new investment phase in the Spanish hotel sector, a fourth investment cycle in hotel limited companies, which persisted until 1930–1933. In the case of the Catalan capital, these years constituted the culmination of the boom that began in 1914, stimulated locally by the hotel expansion linked to the celebration of the International Exhibition, eventually held in 1929, a few years later than initially planned. In fact, while the *Guidebook of Hotels in Spain* of 1916 cited only 26, the *Official Guide to Hotels* of the National Tourist Board of 1929 counted 45 establishments. The progress was substantial.

In this sense, it is important to note that by the mid-1920s Spain in general, and Catalonia in particular, began to experience an unquestionable upsurge as a tourist destination, consolidating a first tourism system, of which this hotel expansion is an indicator. This was also stimulated by the 6th and 9th congresses of the International Federation of Travel Agencies in 1925 and 1928. The 6th Congress was held in Barcelona, which is not surprising considering the great advances that were taking place in tourism during that period and the role played by the *Banca Marsans*, S.A., a true pioneer of travel agencies in Spain (Vallejo & Larrinaga, 2018a; 2020). The 9th Congress in 1928 was held in Madrid, Seville and Barcelona, that is, in the capital and the two venues of the 1929 Exhibitions.

As well as an industrial city, Barcelona was also a venue for great and extraordinary commercial events, like the 1929 Exhibition and annual or biennial events, such as the Feria de Barcelona, the first edition of which took place in 1920 as a Feria de Muestras or Trade Fair (Vallejo, 2018). Through the Fair, and its various exhibitions and “salons”, international novelties were showcased by different industries, for example, the Furniture and Decoration industry (1923), the Automobile sector - like the famous VI Salón del Automóvil 1933 and the Fashion, Tourism and Sports industries (1934) (Palou, 2018a; Palou and coord., 2016). Business tourism thus fostered other modalities of urban tourism in Barcelona, such as the most specific and traditional cultural tourism. As well as a tourist destination, Barcelona was also an important tourist distribution centre for emerging Spanish destinations, such as the Balearic Islands, forming a special arrangement with Palma de Mallorca. These islands, with some other provinces, such as Guipúzcoa, Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Zaragoza, Valencia, Cantabria, Granada, Málaga or Girona, were some of the twenty-two Spanish provinces that received the most tourists in the years before the Civil War (Vallejo, 2018). Hence, at that time, the city of Barcelona generated tourism, attracted tourism and distributed it. The city’s travel agencies and its hotel industry therefore participated in fulfilling the receiving and distributing functions of Barcelona as a benchmark and tourist transit city, a role explained well by Antoni Muntanyola in 1932.

Within this context, the hotel industry created in Barcelona after 1914 (in the run up to the Universal Exhibition) did not vanish but survived into the 1930s when a diversified hotel industry emerged as a result of the increase in middle class tourists. The hotel industry, therefore, diversified notably beyond large hotels. This was expressed well by the afore-mentioned Antoni Muntanyola in 1932 when he pointed out that Barcelona had a few dozen establishments of all categories and identified that 70% of them could be qualified as being

“tourist” hotels (Table 4). The hotel expansion, moreover, affected not only the capital, but also the rest of Catalonia.

The economic results of the *Ritz Hotel de Barcelona, S. A.*, an exponent of Barcelona’s luxury hotel industry during this period, show the expansion of tourism activity in the 1920s and the economic difficulties that arose in the 1930s (Table 5). This company only recorded losses in 1931, and in small amounts. This (Table 6) was the year of the proclamation of the Second Republic, characterised by political and economic uncertainty. Naturally, 1929 stands out, as can be expected, due to the tourist influx derived from the Exhibition, which continued, to a large extent in 1930. Profits fell dramatically in 1932–1935, but the company distributed dividends in 1932 and 1933 and recorded no losses, not even in 1934 and 1935. Although with very small profits, the luxury hotel business, over a particularly difficult few years, seemed to remain profitable.

Evidently, the International Exhibition of Barcelona and the Ibero-American Exhibition of Seville had a notable impact on the hotel industry, not only in these two cities, but also in other Spanish areas. In reality, it was not an ephemeral phenomenon but rather an industry that was becoming increasingly significant on the national scene. We have already mentioned the 45 establishments in Barcelona in 1929. Even more spectacular, however, was the case of Seville, which was based on an inferior hotel infrastructure. The 1916 *Guide* reported 14 hotel establishments registered there. Subsequently, according to the *Guide* of 1929, sixty-one hotels were opened for the occasion of the Exhibition, making a total of 85, with more than 15,000 beds available, many more than in Madrid (over 6500) and Barcelona (around 5000).

This strong hotel development was also expressed during these years in the creation of one of the most important hotel chains in Spain, *Hoteles Unidos, S.A.* (HUSA), registered in Tarragona in 1930 with a capital of four million pesetas and promoted, among others, by the Barcelona hotel businessman José Gaspart Bulbena, leaseholder of the *Hotels Oriente* and *España* (Business Register of Madrid, Sheet 599). It should be remembered that, within the context of this development of general capitalism, at the end of the nineteenth century and, fundamentally, in the first third of the twentieth century, large hotel chains began to emerge throughout much of Europe, such as the *Ritz Development Company*, the *Compagnie Internationale des Grands Hôtels Européens* or the *Compagnia Italiana Grandi Alberghi* CIGA (Chastonay, 1997; Gerbaldo, 2015; Moreno, 2015).

Table 5

Tourist hotels in Catalonia, “not counting those in Barcelona” city (Classification by Muntanyola).

	%	Number	Restaurant	Room services (Communication and hygiene)
First class hotels	4.0	10	Extensive menu	Full and individualised communication and hygiene service.
Second class hotels	6.0	15	Small menu	Internal communication service and complete hygiene service for small groups of customers
Third class hotels	18.0	45	“daily cover”	Full, but shared on each floor.
Hotels classified as typical mountain hotels	7.0	17		
Hotels not qualifying in the previous classifications and, therefore, not classified as tourist.	65.0	163		
Total	100.0	250		

Source: Muntanyola (1932), pp. 178–179.

Table 6

Business results of the *Ritz Hotel de Barcelona, S.A.*, 1925–1935.

Year	Profits	Dividends in %	Losses
1925	177,558.08	3	
1926	187,979.39	3	
1927	168,721.43	3	
1928	132,343.79	2	
1929	688,992.76	10	
1930	304,553.56	5	
1931	–	–	11,526.28
1932	65,901.81	1	
1933	72,983.00	1.5	
1934	1566.00	–	
1935	6368.83	–	

Source: *Financial Yearbooks* of Bilbao, 1936–37, p. 1001.

Between 1931 and 1935, HUSA managed up to 14 hotels. In 1932, it was advertised as “the largest hotel organisation in Spain”, with ten luxury hotels, 1435 rooms and 935 individual bathrooms. It was geographically distributed in many of the Spanish cities that received the most tourists: Barcelona, Tarragona, Alicante, Granada, Seville, Cadiz, Bilbao and San Sebastian (*Blanco y Negro*, December 25, 1932, p. 130). Similar to the *Hotel Ritz de Barcelona, S. A.*, in the early years of the Republic, HUSA experienced (Table 7) losses, albeit not very substantial (in 1930–1931), and was back “in the red” in 1934, a particularly conflictive year from a political point of view. However, it made a profit in 1932–1933 and 1935, suggesting that the 1930s were not as bad as could be expected and HUSA’s hotel expansion strategy was successful despite this being a difficult period. It also suggests the hotel business was viable with solid professional foundations, also applicable to the Spanish hotel industry at the time.

This, and other examples (*Ritz* and *Majestic Hotels*), confirm that before the Civil War there was a range of high-quality hotels aimed at a clientele with a high disposable income. These hotels were characterised by a high degree of comfort and the incorporation of the latest advances in telecommunication equipment. The luxury tourist hotel industry formed part of the business and urban fabric of Barcelona in the 1930s. It is not surprising therefore that when the war broke out in 1936, most of these establishments were occupied by the directors of the parties and trade unions or by the public authorities, given the good services provided. But this hotel expansion cannot be separated from the actual tourist expansion experienced by Spain in general, and Barcelona in particular, during these years in which the Spanish tourism system reached a first and important development, truncated (although not eliminated) by the Civil War (1936–1939).

6. Conclusions

During the first third of the twentieth century, a first tourism system was established in Spain, which was changed by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936. This tourism system exhibited regional variations. The Balearic Islands, particularly the island of Mallorca, was an outstanding and successful case, as it constituted one of the epicentres of Mediterranean tourism. Catalonia also stood out, with clear tourism possibilities due to its natural and cultural resources (hot springs, mountains,

Table 7

HUSA business results, 1930–1935

Years	Revenue	Losses	Profits
1930 (6 months)	1,088,838.85	8,828.00	
1931	3,642,573.96	66,349.98	
1932	5,313,400.10		261,645.47
1933	7,531,512.51		171,891.31
1934	7,047,216.41	180,775.29	
1935	7,552,798.83		126,960.39

Source: *Anuario Financiero* de Bilbao, 1936–37, p. 1005.

beaches, monuments and important cities such as Barcelona) and thanks to the associative and business fabric of the tourism sector. Within Catalonia, Barcelona was extraordinarily fundamental for tourism in terms of organisation and capital. In these early decades of the twentieth century, Madrid and Barcelona were the two most outstanding cities in Spain. Since the last third of the nineteenth century, the Catalan capital had experienced a strong urban, cultural, monumental and economic expansion. In the early 1930s, the city had a population of over a million inhabitants. It was a cosmopolitan city, thanks to a bourgeoisie that had experienced the industrial revolution a long time before and had established contacts with the most important economic centres in the continent. Furthermore, its proximity to the French border and the importance of its port significantly contributed to giving it an extraordinary international dimension. In fact, when reporting on its economic and cultural achievements of those years, it is worth referring to the fact that Barcelona held two international exhibitions during the period of study: in 1888 and 1929. Its commitment to major events (fairs and congresses) was part of a strategy implemented by its political and economic elite for the external promotion of its businesses, including its (receptive) tourism sector - of which the hotel industry was a relevant segment.

Therefore it is evident that Barcelona could offer special features to attract foreign and national visitors. It is not surprising, therefore, that, from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards, an entire industry dedicated to tourism was taking shape. The entrepreneurial spirit of the city, which had focused on industry, commerce, transport, banking or construction, now also began to focus on tourism. In this way, Barcelona participated in the birth of modern tourism, that is, tourism conceived as an industry. Thus, in many ways it became a benchmark in the tourism system that was emerging in Spain at the time in terms of tourism organisations (active and inbound tourism associations) and on a business level. In fact, local capital was predominant in the structure of the tourism hotel supply of Barcelona, unlike the situation from the seventeenth century onwards when there was competition from a large number of French and Italian innkeepers. With this first expansion of tourism, Catalan entrepreneurs considered the hotel business (and other tourism-related activities) as a good investment opportunity. By this, we mean activities related to transportation, catering (cafés and restaurants), travel agencies or travel intermediation, leisure and, of course, tourist accommodation.

In this study we have focused precisely on this subsector of hospitality. It is a sector that has received little attention from Spanish historiography, even though it is widely accepted that it is an essential industry. Without a formal accommodation industry, there is no tourism development. We have focused on the formation process of the hotel industry in the particular case of Barcelona. More precisely, we have explained how a more specific tourist hotel industry emerged in Barcelona. Traditionally there had always been an accommodation supply in Barcelona and in almost all major cities in Spain. But this type of accommodation was not geared towards tourists, among other reasons because this type of consumer, in sociological terms, hardly existed. Establishments designed for tourists did not begin to emerge until the end of the nineteenth century but mostly in the early decades of the twentieth century. The first establishments calling themselves hotels sought to stand out from the traditional accommodation, offering better features and greater comfort. They were modelled on the large hotels in cities such as Paris or London.

In this research we have discussed this process of the creation of a modern hotel industry and its different stages. In this particular case study, throughout the first third of the twentieth century, we have verified the importance of the investment made at the turn of the century, but, above all, the leap forward that occurred after the end of the First World War. During these years, within a new context of economic growth and political peace (thanks to the Primo de Rivera dictatorship),

Barcelona became one of the most important urban tourist destinations in Spain, and even in the western Mediterranean. Its good communication with the south of France and the use of its port for cruises contributed enormously to this reality. It was not enough to have great tourist attractions (monuments, distractions, commerce, cultural shows, to name but a few), a good communication system was also needed, and Barcelona had this or was in the process of improving it. The international exhibitions, trade fairs, events and congresses that were organised during this period also contributed to making the Catalan capital an increasingly desirable destination.

As we have already seen, the number of visitors grew considerably in the first third of the twentieth century. The expanding hotel supply – an option increasingly considered by tourists – constituted a further factor of this attraction and responded to the growing demand. In general, from a sociological point of view, the hoteliers from Barcelona were proud of being able to respond to the conditions of a market that, despite critical incidental fluctuations, followed an effective growth path.. This article explains this considerable increase in the tourist hotel supply during the years prior to the Civil War, particularly from the end of World War I. In this period, a true luxury hotel industry emerged, which placed Barcelona on par with other major European cities in its desire to attract a large number of international tourists. In general, this hotel industry offered higher quality and comfort and also sought to adapt to the sociological change in tourism, since the expansion of tourism as a social practice extended to the middle classes in the 1920s and early 1930s, as Antoni Muntanyola (1932) and Josep Plá explain in their magnificent chronicles of *La Veu de Catalunya*. The 1929 International Exhibition, greatly matured since the 1910s, played a significant role in promoting these types of business initiative. Therefore, Barcelona's hotel sector in the Republican period was substantially different, in quantity and quality, from that at the beginning of the twentieth century.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Barcelona accounted for 12.4% of the high-end hotel market in Spain. In 1933, it had the same market share but with a substantial difference: it had trebled the number of luxury hotel rooms and in the 1930s was shaping a hotel industry that would possibly open up to a wider type of public. Between these dates Barcelona consolidated itself as a first-class tourist destination not only in Spain, but also abroad. As stated earlier, the 1888 and 1929 Exhibitions played an important role in this development but also in the expansion of the national and international tourist demand. So, by the 1930s, Barcelona was already an important tourist destination. Not only was it a financial, commercial and industrial centre as it had been at the end of the nineteenth century, but it was also a tourist centre with an increasingly consolidated travel industry (hotels, restaurants, travel agencies, transport, cruising). Even by considering just this tourist expansion and the structure of this tourism system, we can understand the origin and consolidation of this hotel industry dedicated to tourism in all its dimensions. In this study, we have been able to verify this by using little-used new sources which have allowed us to analyse the evolution of this industry within the tourism system itself and how this hospitality system improved significantly in the eyes of foreign tourists (Elston, 1930). Moreover, by the 1930s, the city of Barcelona had become one of the most attractive tourist destinations in southern Europe.

Funding

This work was supported by the Spanish National Programme for Fostering Excellence in Scientific and Technical Research 2014, Ministry of Economy (HAR2014-52023-C2-1-P & HAR2014-52023-C2-2-P). Furthermore, this paper has been supported by "Grant Programme of the Faculty of Economics and Business Sciences of the University of Granada for the revision of scientific texts".

Author contribution

Carlos LARRINAGA. is Assistant Professor at the School of Economics, Granada University, Spain. He teaches Economic History and he lead a research project about tourism history of Spain. Rafael VALLEJO. is Full Professor at School of Economics, Vigo University, Spain. He teaches Economic History and he lead a research project about tourism history of Galicia (Spain).

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the professors Carles Sudrià, Jordi Catalan and Raimon Soler for consulting the data on hotel companies contained in the “Base de Dades Empreses i Empresaris al a Catalunya del segle XIX del Departament d’Història i Institucions Econòmiques of the Universitat de Barcelona”.

References

- Andrieux, J.-Y. et P. Harismendy (dirs.). *Pension complète! Tourisme et hôtellerie (XVIIIe-Xxe siècle)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Arcos, C. (1909). De las grandes ventajas económicas que produciría el desarrollo del turismo en España. *Pamplona: Nemesio Aramburu*.
- Arribas, J. F. (2007). *Madrid y el Hotel Ritz*. Madrid: del autor.
- Baedeker, K. (1898). *Spain and Portugal. Handbook for travellers*. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker Publisher.
- Barke, M., & Towner, J. (1996). Exploring the history of leisure and tourism in Spain. In M. Barke, J. Towner, & M. T. Newton (Eds.), *Tourism in Spain* (pp. 3–34). Wallingford: CAB International.
- Battilani, P. (2007). Des grands hôtels aux entreprises familiales: La transition vers le tourisme de masse dans les pays de la Méditerranée. *Entreprises et Histoire*, 47, 26–43. <https://doi.org/10.3917/eh.047.0026>.
- Baum, J. A., & Mezias, S. J. (1992). Localized competition and organizational failure in the Manhattan hotel industry, 1898–1990. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37, 580–604.
- Berger, M. W. (2011). *Hotel dreams*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Berrino, A. (2011). *Storia del turismo in Italia*. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Bignotti, A. (1910). *Gli italiani in barcellona*. Barcelona: Edizione della Cronaca d’Arte.
- Blasco, A. (2005). *Barcelona Atracció (1910–1936)*. In *Unpublished doctoral dissertation*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona. report.
- Borer, M. C. (1972). *The British Hotel through the ages*. Guilford & London: Lutterworth Press.
- Borsay, P. (2006). *History of leisure*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bowie, D. (2016). Pure diffusion? The great English hotel charges debate in the times, 1853. *Business History*, 58(2), 159–178. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2015.1039521>.
- Bowie, D. (2018). Innovation and 19th century hotel industry evolution. *Tourism Management*, 64, 314–323. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2017.09.005>.
- Boyer, M. (2002). El turismo en Europa, de la Edad Moderna al siglo XX. *Historia Contemporánea*, 25, 13–31.
- Boyer, M. (2009). *L’hiver dans le Midi*. Paris: l’Harmattan.
- Carreras, A. (1990). *Industrialización española: Estudios de historia cuantitativa*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe.
- Chandler, A. (1977). *The visible hand*. Cambridge (Mas): Harvard University Press.
- Chandler, A. (1990). *Scale and scope*. Cambridge (Mas): Harvard University Press.
- Chastonay, A. (1997). *César Ritz*. Brig: César Ritz Foundation Niederwald & Hotelconsult “César Ritz” Colleges.
- Denby, E. (2002). *Grand hotels: Reality and illusion*. London: Reaktion.
- Díaz López, J. D. (2013). *INNS, hospedaxes e hoteis da cidade da Coruña. A definición dunha tipoloxía arquitectónica (1779–1950)*. Santiago: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela. https://www.academia.edu/3640537/Inns_hospedaxes_e_hoteis_na_cidade_da_Coru%C3%B1a_A_definici%C3%B3n_dunha_tipolox%C3%ADa_arquitect%C3%B3nica_1779-1950.
- Elston, R. (1930). *Cook’s Traveller’s handbook to Spain and Portugal*. London: Simpkins Marshall, Ltd.
- Flores-Gispert, J. C. (2012). *El hotel real de Santander, 1917*. Santander: Tatín.
- Gerbaldo, P. (2015). *Compagnia italiana dei grandi alberghi*. Torino: Giappichelli.
- Girelli Bocci, A. M. (ed.). *L’industria dell’ospitalità a Roma. Secoli XIX-XX*. Roma: CEDAM.
- González Morales, J. C. (2003). *Turismo en España (1905–1931)*. Madrid: Universidad Carlos III (unedited PhD thesis).
- Guía de hoteles de España. (1916). Sevilla: Manuel Carmona.
- Gutiérrez Ronco, S. (1984). *La función hotelera de Madrid*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Harismendy, P. (2016). Introduction. In J. Y. Andrieux, et al. P. Harismendy, & dirs (Eds.), *Pension complète! Tourisme et hôtellerie (XVIIIe-Xxe siècle)* (pp. 9–29). Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Hayner, N. (1936). *Hotel life*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- Humair, C. (2008). Tourisme et transfert technologique: le Beau-rivage palace face aux défis du progrès technique 1861–1914. In N. Maillard, & dir (Eds.), *Beau-rivage palace* (pp. 82–100). Lausanne: Infolio.
- Humair, C. (2011). The hotel industry and its importance in the technical and economic development of a region: The lake geneva case (1852–1914). *Journal of Tourism History*, 3, 237–265.
- HUSA. (2000). *Grupo HUSA setenta años, 1930–2000*. Barcelona: HUSA.
- James, K. J. (2018). *Histories, meanings and representations of modern hotel*. Bristol: Channel View.
- James, K. J., et al. (2017). The hotel in history: Evolving perspectives. *Journal of Tourism History*, 9–1, 92–111. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2017.1343784>.
- Jourdain, V. (2008). *L’hôtel Bellevue 1776–1905*. Bruxelles. Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles.
- Jourdain, V. (2012). *L’hôtellerie bruxelloise 1880–1940. Bruxelles et Neuchâtel: Université Libre de Bruxelles et Université de Neuchâtel (unedited PhD thesis)*. <https://doc.rero.ch/record/29555/files/00002262.pdf>.
- Kawamura, E. (2017). *Storia degli alberghi napoletani*. Napoli: Clean.
- Landes, D. (1969). *The unbound prometheus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lapointe Guigoz, J. (2010). Les sociétés anonymes à vocation hôtelière de l’Arc lémanique (1826–1914). In D. Lüthi (Ed.), *Le client de l’architecte. Du notable à la société immobilière: Les mutations du maître de l’ouvrage en suisse au XIXe siècle* (pp. 211–240). Lausanne: Études de Lettres.
- Lapointe Guigoz, J. (2011). L’innovation technique au service du développement hôtelier: Le cas des ascenseurs hydrauliques dans l’Arc lémanique (1867–1914). In C. Humair, & L. Tissot (Eds.), *Le tourisme suisse et son rayonnement international (XIXe-XXe siècles)* (pp. 111–133). Lausanne: Antipodes.
- Larrinaga, C. (2018). La hotelería turística y las primeras cadenas hoteleras en la España del primer tercio del siglo XX. In R. Vallejo, C. Larrinaga, & dirs (Eds.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España* (pp. 679–722). Madrid: Sílex.
- Larrinaga, C. (2019). La hotelería turística de lujo en España en el primer tercio del siglo XX. *Ayeres*, 114, 65–94.
- Lefevre, J.-C. (2011). *Histoire de l’hôtellerie*. Paris: Publibook.com.
- Lesur, J.-M. (2005). Les hôtels de Paris. *Neuchâtel: Alphil*.
- Lickorish, L. J., & Kershaw, A. G. (1958). *The Travel trade*. London: Practical Press Ltd.
- Maillard, N., & dir. (2008). *Beau-rivage palace*. Lausanne: Infolio.
- Masó, J. (1928). Divagaciones. *Anales de la Hotelería española y su 1ª Exposición en Barcelona*. Barcelona: Asociación de Hoteleros y sus Similares de Cataluña. 1927.
- Montoliú, P., et al. (2008). *Palace hotel Madrid*. Barcelona: Lunewerg. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2017.1343784>.
- Moreno, A. (2007). *Historia del turismo en España en el siglo XX*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Moreno, A. (2015). El reto del turismo. *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, 37, 23–44.
- Muntanyola, A. (1932). *Organització turística de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Arts Gràfiques L’Estampa.
- Nadal, J. (1975). *El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España, 1814–1913*.
- Ogilvie, F. W. (1933). *The tourist movement*. London: P. S. King.
- Palou, S. (2012). *Barcelona, destinació turística*. Bellcaire d’Empordà.
- Palou, S. (2018a). El papel de las ciudades: Turismo urbano y sistemas turísticos regionales. In R. Vallejo, C. Larrinaga, & dirs (Eds.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España* (pp. 899–921). Madrid: Sílex.
- Palou, S. (2018b). La primera experiencia de política turística autonómica en Cataluña. In R. Vallejo, C. Larrinaga, & dirs (Eds.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España* (pp. 421–446). Madrid: Sílex.
- Palou, S., & coord. (2016). *Història del turisme a la ciutat de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Efadós y Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- Pastoriza, E. (2011). *La conquista de las vacaciones*. Buenos Aires: Edhasa.
- Patronato Nacional del Turismo, P. (1929). *Guía oficial de hoteles, pensiones, casas de viajeros, restaurantes, bares y garajes*. Madrid: PNT.
- Perpiñá, R. (1936). *De economía hispana*.
- Roselló, M., & Valdía, P. (2009). *Turisme i arquitectura en la Barcelona d’inicis de segle XX*. Barcelona: XI Congrés d’Història de Barcelona (Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona). <https://upcommons.upc.edu/handle/2117/7983>.
- Roselló, M., & Valdía, P. (2016). Els primers establiments hotelers”. In S. Palou (Ed.), *Història del turisme a la ciutat de Barcelona* (pp. 48–67). Barcelona, Efadós y Ajuntament de Barcelona.
- San Emeterio, H. J. (1992). *Hotel Real. Recuerdos para un aniversario, 1917–1992*. Santander: Librería Estudio.
- Sandoval-Strausz, A. K. (2007). *Hotel: An American history*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Suárez Botas, G. (2006). *Hoteles de viajeros en Asturias*. Oviedo: KRK.
- Tessier, A. (2012). *Le Grand hôtel*. Rennes et Tours: Presses Universitaires de Rennes et Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais.
- Tissot, L. (2007). L’hôtellerie de luxe à Genève (1830–2000). De ses espaces à ses usages. *Entreprises et Histoire*, 46, 17–34.
- Vallejo, R. (2015). *Salud y recreo: Los balnearios de Galicia y el descubrimiento de una periferia turística en el primer tercio del siglo XX*. Agua y Territorio.
- Vallejo, R. (2018). La formación de un sistema turístico nacional con diferentes desarrollos regionales. In R. Vallejo, C. Larrinaga, & dirs (Eds.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico, 1900–1939* (pp. 67–170).
- Vallejo, R. (2019). Turismo en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX: La conformación de un sistema turístico. *Ayeres*, 2, 177–213.
- Vallejo, R., & Larrinaga, C. (2018a). Las agencias de viaje: Operadores turísticos. In R. Vallejo, C. Larrinaga, & dirs (Eds.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España* (pp. 723–762). Madrid: Sílex.

- Vallejo, R., & Larrinaga, C. (2018b). Presentación: El origen del turismo moderno en España. In R. Vallejo, C. Larrinaga, & dirs (Eds.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España* (pp. 11–42). Madrid: Silex.
- Vallejo, R., & Larrinaga, C. (2020). Travel agencies in Spain during the first third of the 20th century. In online (Ed.), *A tourism business in the making* (pp. 1–20). Business History. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2019.1685503>.
- Vallejo, R., Lindoso, E., & Vilar, M. (2016). *Los antecedentes del turismo de masas en España, 1900-1936* (Vol. 10, pp. 137–188). Revista de la Historia de la Economía y de la Empresa.
- Vallejo, R., Vilar, M., & Lindoso, E. (2018). The tourism economy in Spain, 1900–1939: New sources, new methodologies and new results. *Journal of Tourism History*, 10(2), 105–129. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2018.1468495>.
- Vlachos, A. (2015). *The hotel Grand Bretagne in Athens*. Athens: Economía & Kerkyra.
- Walton, J. K. (2001). Consuming the beach: Seaside resorts and cultures of tourism in England and Spain from the 1840s to the 1930s'. In E. Furlough, & S. Baranowski (Eds.), *Being elsewhere: Tourism, consumer culture and identity in modern Europe and north America* (pp. 272–298). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Walton, J. K. (2009). Prospects in tourism history: Evolution, state of play and future developments. *Tourism Management*, 30, 783–793.
- Walton, J. K. (2010). New directions in business history: Themes, approaches and opportunities. *Business History*, 52(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076790903475734>.
- Walton, J. K. (2011). Seaside tourism in Europe: Business, urban and comparative history. *Business History*, 53(6), 900–916. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2011.590936>.
- Walton, J. K., & Smith, J. (1994). The first Spanish seaside resorts. *History Today*, 44, 23–29.
- Walton, J. K., & Smith, J. (1996). The first century of beach tourism in Spain: San Sebastián and the *Playas del norte* from the 1830s to the 1930s. In M. Barke, J. Towner, & M. T. Newton (Eds.), *Tourism in Spain* (pp. 35–61). Wallingford: CAB International.
- Zuelow, E. (2016). *A history of modern tourism*. London: Palgrave.



Carlos Larrinaga is Assistant Professor at the School of Economics, Granada University, Spain. He teaches Economic History and he lead a research project about tourism history of Spain.



Rafael Vallejo is Full Professor at School of Economics, Vigo University, Spain. He teaches Economic History and he lead a research project about tourism history of Galicia (Spain).