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SPAIN'S TOURISM MODELS IN THE FIRST THIRD OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Joan Carles Cirer Costa

Abstract

The remarkable emergence of the service sector to dominate the modern economy is the most outstanding consequence of the Industrial Revolution in the first third of the twentieth century. With it appeared a new social class which made an active contribution to the sector's growth by opting for a new kind of tourist provision which was very different from traditional models, above all holidays in Spain.

In the first third of the twentieth century, tourism in Spain was characterised by a variety of coexisting business models. On the one hand, business travellers went to the major cities. On the other hand, there was holiday travel, which can be broken down into three categories: the first type is traditional leisure-based tourism of an aristocratic cast, which dominated in the north, in the region of the Bay of Biscay, while the second type involves foreigners visiting the mythic south of Andalusia: Granada, Malaga, Seville and Cordoba. The third and final type, which appeared on the island of Majorca shortly after World War I, is the most modern, based on international colonial maritime traffic and cruise liners.

Keywords: The history of tourism; tourism in Spain; hospitality; Service industries, economic development, social change.

1. INTRODUCCIÓN

In the modern world the economies of developed nations are dominated by the service sector. This represents the final stage of a process which began early in the twentieth century, namely the gradual contraction of the labour force of the primary sector, and the steady increase of those employed in the secondary and (after the First World War) tertiary sectors (Fuchs, 1968, p. 2; 1965, p. 351). This dramatic shift of labour stemmed not from any increasing demand for services, but rather from differences in productivity within each sector's workforce (Fuchs, 1965, p. 353; Schettkat & Yocarini, 2003, p. 4). In 1920, when the service sectors of Britain and France employed the same number of workers as the transforming sector, (Singelmann, 1978, p. 1225), the productivity of each labour force began to diverge, with that in manufacturing growing apace while in the tertiary sector it remained stationary (Millward, 1988, p. 270).

Economic growth under such circumstances led to an uneven distribution of labour, above all a steady increase in the numbers employed by the tertiary sector. The growth in the service sector was far from uniform, however, with certain areas expanding rapidly while others remained stagnant or contracted. Katouzian differentiates here between three kinds of service industry, i.e. old, complementary and new (1970, p. 365). While the first declined significantly after 1900, the second witnessed moderate growth due to urbanization and technification in manufacturing, and the new saw rapid and far-reaching expansion. In the latter we find education, health, entertainment industries and, crucially for this paper, holiday tourism (Katouzian, 1970, p. 370).

Changes in the production process went on to affect both the distribution of labour and the structure of society itself. Firstly, the increase in manufacturing productivity due to technical advances was not matched by a demand for more highly qualified workers (Form, 1991, p. 73). Secondly, white-collar workers were required in ever greater numbers because productivity in the manufacturing industries failed to match rising output (Burns, 1954, p. 258).

As a result of these developments, a new middle class emerged at the end of the nineteenth century (Clark & Lipset, 1991, p. 400; Perkin, 1989, p. 79). Its upper echelons were composed of managers and engineers in private firms, senior civil servants, a growing number of doctors, lawyers and other professionals, and finally university professors (McKibbin, 1998, p. 40; Routh, 1987). They were either salaried employees or independent professionals who lived from their work, and all benefited from a privileged employment package which included fifteen or more days of paid annual leave (Cross, 1989, p. 601; Walton, 2000, p. 57). This made them

potential consumers of high-end tourist services, above all holidays abroad, something which until the late nineteenth century had been accessible only to aristocratic landowners and wealthy property magnates (Boyer, 2002, p. 21).

These older privileged classes were originally patrons of spas like Bath, Spa (near Liège) and Brighton, which served equally as centres of therapeutic treatment and as the perfect places for carrying out their elaborate social rituals (Corbin, 1994; Tubergen & Linden, 2002, p. 274; Weisz, 2011, p. 138).

But a second type of holiday for these upper classes emerged around 1870, when improvements in rail and sea transport transformed the British elite into the 'travelling classes' (Pemble, 1988, p. 1). Seeking refuge from the unfavourable British climate, they transformed continental holidays into regular fixtures of their yearly calendar: summers in Switzerland and winters on the French Riviera quickly became the infallible benchmark for income bracket and social ranking. In winter, the epicentre for this affluent aristocratic tourism was Nice, to which the coastal resorts of Biarritz and San Sebastián were soon added – destinations where the upper classes of France and Spain also gathered during the summer months.

These traditional tourist destinations formed part and parcel of what Katouzian classifies as 'old services', and all of them experienced a marked downturn in business during the first third of the twentieth century (Lavour, 1980, p. 322, Nash, 1979, pp. 66–67). The primary cause was the social upheaval following the end of the First World War, which removed at a stroke the large number of continental rentiers who had been the foremost clients of such spas and coastal resorts (Pittalunga & Seghezza, 2012, pp. 199–203). Secondly, the therapeutic appeal of spas saw a sharp decline around the same time because of advances in medical science, above all the discovery of pathogenic microbes and the fear of contagion.

Although the rising upper middle classes might have replaced the traditionally wealthy in such tourist locales, this never took place. For the majority of the former, Switzerland and Nice were too expensive, while their eagerness to maintain their distance from the working classes discouraged them from visiting British resorts like Blackpool (Perkin, 1989). As a result, they discovered new destinations, targeting historic and picturesque locales at home while some headed abroad in search of the towns and landscapes which featured in travel books. As early as 1876 Robert Louis Stevenson was describing in colourful terms the wanderlust of this new social class.¹

¹ "Portly clergymen, school-mistresses, gentlemen in grey tweed suits, and all the ruck and rabble of British touristry pour unhindered, *Murray* in hand, over the railways of the continent". (Stevenson, 2009, p. 29).

The upper middle class's eagerness to travel appeared at the same time as the numerical upsurge in the services sector, and this combination of forces had important economic consequences. It created a firm demand for tourist services, which was not always satisfied in the places where they focused their initial attention. For various reasons, however, certain foreign destinations managed to come up with a product which met the expectations of these new tourists, expanding rapidly to become important centres of economic growth, despite their geographical distance from the industrial revolution's heartlands.

The aim of the present paper is to analyse this new touristic demand by examining the phenomenon in Spain, illustrating its capacity to nurture remarkable economic growth wherever it took hold. The complex nature of this objective means combining scattered statistical data with commercial, literary and journalistic sources, to build up a general model which can be applied to the various destinations which saw the arrival of these unexpected middle class visitors.

This paper takes a two-pronged approach to the analysis of tourism. First, it examines the current literature, which is ample and robust but by no means exhaustive. Second, it makes use of the limited statistical data gathered by the Spanish public administration of the period. The data from these two sets of sources will be compared and contrasted, highlighting common ground and putting forward plausible explanations for any differences that arise.

The year selected for the start of the study, 1900, coincides with the availability of the first quantitative data and with the introduction of Spain as a product in the European tourism market. The year 1900 saw the grand opening of a number of the earliest major hotels focused on international tourism such as the *Reina Cristina* in Algeciras, the *Gran Hotel* in Palma, in Majorca, and the *Hotel Colón* in Barcelona, as well as the publication of the first *Baedeker* guide dedicated to Spain. The end point of the study is the outbreak of the Spanish civil war, which curtailed the publishing of statistics in 1933-1934 and extinguished the tourism sector, initiating a profound interruption that stretched on for at least ten years.

Formally, the study follows a chronological framework, starting with a description of the state of the tourism sector from the turn of the century to 1935. Special attention has been given to international tourism over domestic tourism, and to leisure and holiday travel over travel focused on business or health (spas). These choices are justified more by the future course of the sector in the second half of the twentieth century than by their own circumstances over the period covered by the current paper. Foreign tourism was to become

one of the main engines of Spanish development in the nineteen-sixties, reducing domestic tourism to a secondary, even marginal, role.

Spa tourism, for its part, declined sharply in the years of the Second Spanish Republic until it practically disappeared. This excludes it as a forerunner of the later ascendance of tourism as an economic force. It provided neither a source of capital nor the know-how to play a significant role in helping the Spanish hospitality sector subsequently. Also, while business travel has certainly been of economic significance, it does not follow its own independent course but rather is subordinate on the general economic activity on which it depends, such as the transport of goods.

2. THE PERIOD 1900-1930

2.1. Foreign tourists in “the land of Carmen”

Throughout the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, medium and long-distance travel was very costly and it required that its few practitioners accept a fair amount of discomfort and hardship. The most common travel format was the Grand Tour, initially pursued by young British aristocrats who toured Europe for educational purposes, but a growing taste for travel among different social classes soon made tourism a widespread phenomenon (Towner, 1985). By the mid-nineteenth century, improvements in transport turned multi-stop tours into a standardised, relatively affordable product. Particularly notable in this development was the firm founded by Thomas Cook (Simmons, 1973). In addition, new, more static formats focused on the enjoyment of ideal weather, such as that offered by Switzerland in the summer and the French Riviera in the winter (Pemble, 1988).

Spain, however, never formed part of the varied itineraries put forward for the Grand Tour nor did it become one of the first batch of weather-related destinations. It was not until the final years of the nineteenth century that the Iberian Peninsula began to appear tentatively on the lists of peripheral tourist destinations such as Greece and Egypt. The main tour operator of the period, *Thomas Cook*, did not include Spain in its brochures until 1872, some years after it had added Egypt, and the first *Baedeker* guide dedicated solely to Spain appeared as late as 1898 (Lavour, 1970).

The first place in Spain to succeed in attracting foreign visitors was the city of Malaga, which had an excellent winter climate by the standards of the day (Kevan, 1993) and good transport connections with England (Barke et al. 2010), which was extraordinary for the period. Thanks to all of these factors, Malaga attracted celebrities like Byron, Dumas and Doré (Barke & Towner, 1996), who added to a rich tapestry of stories, prints and apocryphal legends that gave shape to the Romantic myth of Andalusia first instigated by Washington Irving². The Romantic idea of Andalusia rested essentially on the mythification of the Moorish past and the systematic overvaluation of the foundational character of that past in explaining the traits and spirit that the nineteenth-century visitor could and should find there

² “What counts, once again, is the Utopian element which transforms people and places, turning them into ‘regions of desire’: a mythical geography. Irving has no eye for what is original or specific; he’s merely interested in what is representative of a class or species and can be easily reduced to its archetypal model” (Nugnes 2001, p. 336).

(Hijano & Martín, 2007). In Andalusia, the Western traveller had access to an East that was relatively close and tame, an earthly paradise whose main gateway was the Alhambra in Granada, the crowning achievement of Arab art which, by some inescapable twist of fate, was to be found in a geographically European country, a backward one, but European nonetheless.

The works of the Romantic writers and painters who travelled to the south of Spain as authentic adventurers spread through Europe and North America almost at the very moment that railway links were completed to give easy access to Andalusia. As a result, the chief Andalusian destinations quickly saw a budding mercantilisation and a growing focus on tourism, which became fully consolidated by the close of the nineteenth century (López, 2001). This tourism model was built on the basis of visitors keen to confirm the myths they brought with them, rather than to understand the reality of a different country and its people³.

An additional result of the interest in Andalusia and the south of Spain was that the scanty numbers of foreign tourists were practically all concentrated on a single route. As Folch pointed out (1918), most of the visitors coming to Spain joined tours organised by the railway companies into itineraries, such as “ ‘pour l’Espagne et le Maroc’ or through ‘the land of Carmen’, which left out every region of the Peninsula other than Andalusia as lacking interest in the eyes of most foreign tourists”.

2.2 Domestic tourism: spas and the Bay of Biscay

The attribution of healing properties to the waters coming from specific springs was fairly common in the Classical period, but the culture of public bathing declined with the establishment of Christianity and was not revived again until the sixteenth century in Italy, after which it spread across the rest of the Western world. The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of spa therapy, which was viewed as a scientific branch of medicine, and mineral and medicinal spas sprang up all over Europe and North America (Tubergen & Linden, 2002). This therapeutic practice was soon combined with leisure and recreation and with the Romantic taste for picturesque landscapes, particularly mountains. As a result, most thermal spas adopted a strikingly rustic appearance and the springs near any large city met with little success as tourist resorts, regardless of the “quality” of their waters (Jarrassé, 2002).

³ “The crowded itineraries recommended to holidaymakers and observations of their behaviour suggest that most would have returned to Britain with their expectations of Spain unaltered. Any interaction with their hosts was therefore minimal, most contact being with hotel staff who, in their efforts to serve and to please, simply conformed to preconceived notions of Spanish hospitality” (Shelmerdine 2003, p.75).

A second approach adopted by spa therapy was to include bathing in seawater, a formula put forward by Dr. Russell, who practically “invented” this type of bathing in the mid-eighteenth century. The first seaside spa resort was Brighton, in England, and it was followed by many others that soon dotted the entire European coast: Bad Doberan on the Baltic, Ostend on the Belgian coast, Dieppe, Boulogne and Biarritz on France’s Atlantic coast, and many more. The development of these new destinations accelerated as the royal families of Europe took an interest in the practice of bathing in the sea and they acquired the category of a fundamental habit among the behaviours that distinguished the European aristocracy (Corbin, 1994).

Spain was a marginal country as a source of social behaviours, but its more privileged citizens imitated customs from abroad. As a result, it soon became a new habit to travel to spas and/or seaside resorts and the health-oriented model linked to this type of consumption was fully established by the closing years of the nineteenth century (Larrinaga, 2002). Spanish spas enjoyed their heyday in the years immediately preceding the turn of the century and then began a slow decline interrupted in the years following World War I, but speeding up again shortly before the advent of the Second Spanish Republic and throughout its existence. In general, this long crisis had a more severe impact on resorts that catered specially to the working classes (Alvarez, 2011).

Bathing in the sea was not an imported custom. It was already part of the traditional habits in many regions of Spain at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Valero, 1994), but its transformation into a distinctive feature of the aristocracy and the haute bourgeoisie of Madrid took the French city of Biarritz as its model and had San Sebastian at its epicentre. Between the close of the nineteenth century and World War I, San Sebastian saw the opening of several top-class hotels and all kinds of businesses related to tourism: a bullring, a track for horse racing, a casino and so forth (Larrinaga, 2005; 2011). The second-ranking city in Spanish tourism was Santander, which completed a vast number of tourism-related development projects in the final years of the nineteenth century and in the second decade of the twentieth century, a process that reached its high point in 1912, when the city attracted the Spanish royal family to the Palacio de la Magdalena (Gil, 1994; Walton & Smith 1994, 1996).

2.3. The labour force employed in tourism

The data on total GDP, per capita GDP and the distribution of the labour force by sector, which appear in table TZ01, show the intense process of change occurring in the Spanish economy throughout the first third of the twentieth century. Per capital GDP grew at a cumulative annual rate of 1.2%, thanks to the impetus of accelerated industrialisation, which nearly tripled the number of workers on the job. The service sector also experienced vigorous growth, above all in the area of transport, which was the area most directly linked to industrialisation. At the same time, the agricultural sector shed more than a million workers (20% of the total employed labour force) and this swelled the ranks of the urban population dedicated to secondary and tertiary activities.

Table TZ01. Spanish labour force: distribution by sector.

Gross Domestic Product. In constant pesetas of 1958 ^a	1900	1930	% Va- riation	% sector/ working pop.	
				1900	1930
Total GDP (billions)	222	409	84.1		
Per capita GDP (pesetas)	11,946	17,360	45.3		
<u>Total and working population (thousands)^b</u>					
Agriculture, livestock, fishing, mining	5,462	4,346	- 20.4	72.3	49.6
Industry	947	2,536	167.7	12.5	28.9
Services	1,146	1,881	64.2	15.2	21.5
Working population	7,555	8,763	16.0	100.0	100.0
Inactive	11,198	14,915	33.2		
Total population	18,753	23,678	26.3		
<u>Population in service sector (thousands)</u>					
Transport	127	282	123.2	1.7	3.2
Commerce	239	417	74.1	3.2	4.8
Inns, cafes, restaurants, hotels and beverage dispensing	32	56	74.6	0.4	0.6
Other services	748	1,126	50.6	9.9	12.8

^a Maluquer de Motes 2009.

^b INE. Censo de la población de 1900. Tomo IV. Clasificación de los habitantes por su profesión.

INE. Censo de la población de 1930. Tomo II. Habitantes inscritos en la población de hecho, clasificados por sexo, edad, estado civil y profesiones o industrias.

Focusing on the sector that interests us, the extensive breakdown of figures in the population censuses of 1900 and 1930 enables us to measure the impact of the hospitality sector on the Spanish economy in terms of its proportion of the working population. The data

in table TZ01 leave no doubt of the minor importance of the sector in 1900, when it employed little more than 30,000 workers, even after including all kinds of inns, cafes and restaurants as well as the few hotels. Thirty years later, the figure had grown by 74.6%, climbing in the rankings of the Spanish economy, but nevertheless remaining far behind the leading service sectors: transport and commerce.

In absolute job numbers and growth over the thirty years, the hospitality sector was very similar to education and the medical professions. In the case of teachers and professors, the figures rose from 38,447 in 1900 to 59,138 in 1930, while medical professionals increased from 33,883 to 50,042. These two groups of services grew slightly less than the hospitality industry, but a comparison of the variation in terms of per capita GDP in the three cases reveals a clear positive income elasticity, which is to be expected for this type of services.

Table TZ02. Working population employed in the hospitality sector: distribution by province.

Population employed in the census category Inns, cafes, restaurants, hotels and beverage dispensing, by province ^a	1900	1930	% Variation	% sector/total population	
				1900	1930
Balearic Islands	581	1,729	198	0.19	0.47
Barcelona	6,134	5,299	-14	0.58	0.29
Granada	665	1,147	72	0.13	0.18
Gipuzkoa	967	1,155	19	0.49	0.38
Madrid	1,840	7,719	320	0.24	0.56
Malaga	345	1,705	394	0.07	0.28
Santander	209	831	298	0.08	0.23
Seville	1,027	2,568	150	0.18	0.32
Other provinces	20,520	34,216	67	0.14	0.20
TOTAL	32,288	56,369	75	0.17	0.24

^a INE. Censo de la población de 1900. Tomo IV. Clasificación de los habitantes por su profesión.

INE. Censo de la población de 1930. Tomo II. Habitantes inscritos en la población de hecho, clasificados por sexo, edad, estado civil y profesiones o industrias.

Table TZ02 shows the distribution by province of the working population employed in the hospitality sector in the leading tourist provinces: the two major capitals of Barcelona and Madrid, the four best-known seaside destinations and the two Andalusian cities most commonly mentioned as obligatory stopovers in the travel guides, Seville and Granada. Only two provinces, Barcelona and Gipuzkoa, show a clear specialisation in the hospitality sector in 1900⁴. In the first case, the dynamism of the Catalan economy accounts for its ability to attract visitors, while in the second case, Gipuzkoa was, at the turn of the century, the only

⁴ A province is understood to specialise in hospitality when the percentage of the population employed in the category *Inns, cafes, restaurants, hotels and beverage dispensing* exceeds the Spanish average by 50%.

truly tourist-oriented province in Spain for two reasons: San Sebastian was the capital of summer tourism and Cestona topped the category of spa tourism. In 1930, Gipuzkoa maintained its strength in tourism, while Barcelona was losing momentum and Madrid and the Balearic Islands were emerging forcefully as provinces specialising increasingly in the hospitality sector. Santander and Malaga also experienced sharp growth, with the Cantabrian capital tripling its number of hospitality jobs and the Andalusian city quadrupling jobs in the sector over the thirty years under study.

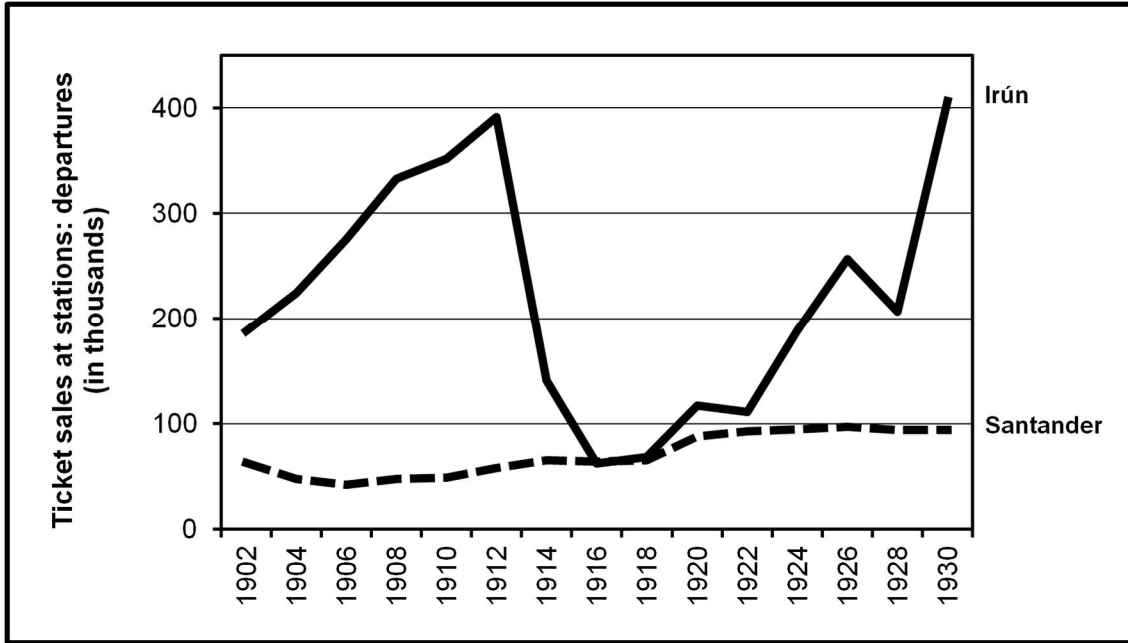


Figure 1. Ticket sales at the stations of Irún and Santander for the railway firm Compañía de los Caminos de Hierro del Norte de España. Source: Valero (1991).

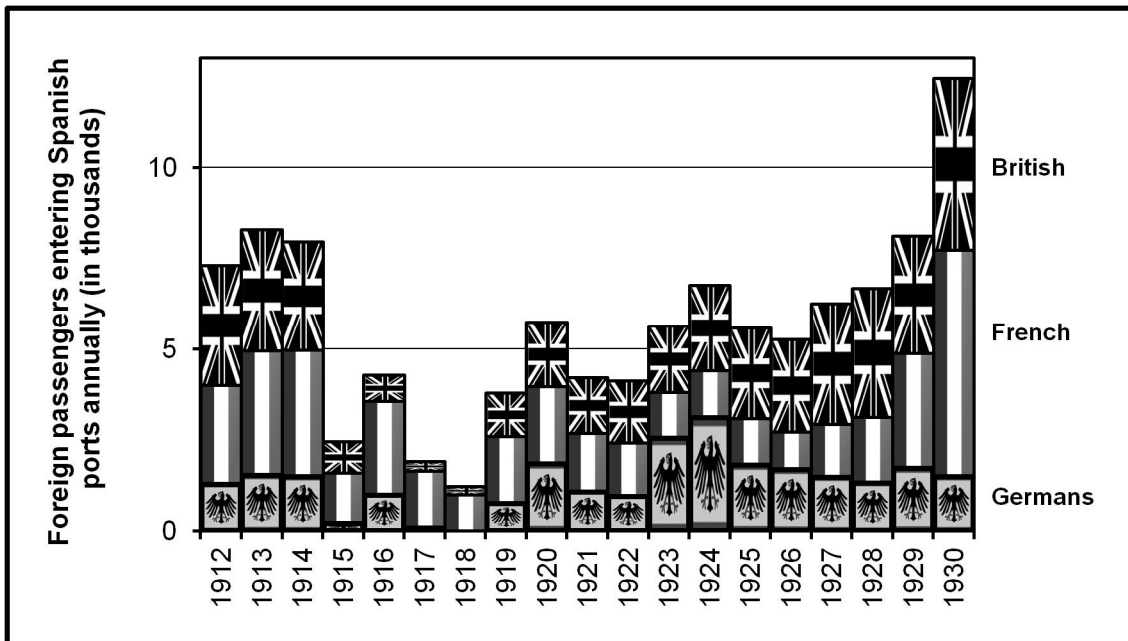


Figure 2. Foreign passengers entering Spanish ports. Source: INE Statistical Yearbooks for 1915, 1920, 1924, 1928, 1930, 1934 and 1942.

2.4. Tourists in Spain 1900-1930: A quantitative analysis

We begin our analysis of Spanish international tourism with data for passenger arrivals by rail and sea. In the case of railways, the sleeper train known as Sud-Express, which ran from Paris to Madrid and on to Lisbon, was the main entry route into the Iberian Peninsula for tourists from other parts of Europe.⁵ Its history has been carefully analysed by Alet Valero (1991), whose resulting data appears in Figure 1. This contrasts the growth of this line with another which was clearly domestic (Santander to Madrid) and which had a markedly flat trajectory over the period. The figures for the Sud-Express, by contrast, reflect significant growth between 1902 and 1914, collapse brought on by World War I, and then a slow subsequent recovery which reached its peak in 1929, when international exhibitions in Barcelona and Seville gave a brief but massive impetus to tourism in Spain.⁶

Train passengers entering the Iberian Peninsula through Irún (Basque region) rarely disembarked until they reached Madrid (Valero, 1991, p. 17), from where they would continue on to Andalusia, the chosen destination for the vast majority.⁷

The second vital route of entry for international tourists into Spain is to be found in the ports. The official figures for arrivals by sea is shown in Figure 2, which in chronological terms matches the data for railways perfectly. This graph shows a breakdown by nationality for passengers arriving by ship, in which the predominance of the British, especially after World War I, stands out strongly.

With regard to the geographical distribution of these arrivals by sea, it is worth noting that prior to 1914 Palma de Mallorca and Málaga were firmly established as stopovers on international maritime routes. The Balearic capital had long been receiving French ships that formed part of the regular traffic between Marseilles and North Africa, while the Andalusian city enjoyed direct maritime connections with England.⁸ The First World War, however, severed most of these routes, a loss that was more-or-less permanent in the case of Málaga's passenger traffic. Palma de Mallorca, on the other hand, succeeded in maintaining connections

⁵ Promoted by the Compagnie Internationale des Wagons-Lits, it began operating in 1887 and was the route recommended by the Baedeker guide for those travelling to Spain: "From Great Britain the quickest connection with Spain and Portugal is, of course, by railway via Paris." The other existing line, which linked Paris with Barcelona, was hardly used by tourists (Esteve & Fuentes, 2000, p. 43).

⁶ Both exhibitions opened in May 1929; that of Barcelona closed in January 1930, and Seville's in June the same year.

⁷ The Baedeker guide of 1908 devoted 32 pages to Granada and 33 to Seville, in terms of length exceeded by Madrid alone.

⁸ The O'Shea guide stated that in 1905, "generally speaking there is a pretty constant service between Málaga and the chief English ports (London and Liverpool, etc.)."

with Marseille and Algiers that proved vital for the island's touristic development. Even so, it was not until 1930 that it regained the level of pre-War passengers, the same year in which began the spectacular rise shown in Figure 5.

Between 1929 and 1934 the number of international ships arriving at the port of Palma de Mallorca trebled. Not only did the traditional routes with Marseilles and North Africa double in frequency, but regular new routes were inaugurated linking the Majorcan port with Genoa, Naples, Liverpool, London, Southampton, Hamburg and New York. These lines featured regular monthly or fortnightly sailings, which meant that each day the port of Palma received at least one large vessel from a regular long-distance route. Given this high level of traffic, it quickly became the main centre for redirecting tourist passengers for the entire Western Mediterranean.⁹

A third port, whose vast touristic importance has yet to be registered in general statistical surveys was Gibraltar, where large numbers of British ships called en route to far-flung destinations around the globe. So many tourists came ashore here on their way to Granada that the road between the two was popularly dubbed 'El Camino Inglés', i.e. the English Road (López, 2001, p. 9).

2.5. The Spanish hospitality sector in 1929

In 1929, the Spanish National Tourism Board published a guide on Spanish hotels, which was not a comprehensive compilation, but marked a significant milestone in quantifying the Spanish hospitality sector¹⁰. The data in the guide covered over 32,000 hotel beds in fifty cities. Madrid and Barcelona accounted for nearly a third of the total (10,400), while spas had 20% (roughly 6,500) and seaside tourist cities had 19% (6,100). Spanish spas retained a good deal of their appeal, but they had already entered into a slow decline, losing ground to the seaside resorts¹¹.

⁹ Ships would call at Palma de Mallorca as long as the Mediterranean was part of regular routes between the great European cities and colonies in Asia and West Africa, and North America too. They were soon joined by large numbers of cruise ships. The daily arrival of large-tonnage vessels led to the development of an extensive maritime industrial estate dedicated to their supplies. (Cirer, 2014b).

¹⁰ The data corresponding to this guide are taken from a book published by Fernández (1991), entitled *Historia general del turismo de masas*, pp. 304-306.

¹¹ "A significant fall can be observed in the index numbers [of bathers] from 1902 onwards (98.7) with respect to the initial year of 1899, and it hit bottom in 1912 (78.7). With World War I, there was a modest recovery that reached its peak in 1924 (104.7)—this was a silver age of Spanish spas—but another fall occurred in the final years of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic" (Alvarez 2011, p. 21).

Because the census of 1930 breaks down the working population for each provincial capital, it is possible to relate the census data with the number of hotel rooms from the previous statistics. The result appears below in table TZ03.

Table TZ03. Hotel beds in each city. Working population employed in the category Inns, cafes, restaurants, hotels and beverage dispensing in each provincial capital.

Provincial capital	Accommodation places in hotels ^a	Population employed in inns, cafes and hotels ^b	Number of staff for each accommodation place
Barcelona	5,000	3,258	0.65
Granada	840	521	0.62
Madrid	5,400	6,491	1.20
Malaga	800	905	1.13
Palma	1,000	854	0.85
San Sebastian	2,300	602	0.26
Santander	1,730	342	0.20
Seville	2,300	1,244	0.54
TOTAL	19,370	14,217	0.73

^a Fernández, L. *Historia general del turismo de masas*, pp. 304-306.

^b INE. Censo de la población de 1930. Tomo II. Habitantes inscritos en la población de hecho, clasificados por sexo, edad, estado civil y profesiones o industrias.

A comparison of the data on accommodation places, or hotel beds, and on working population shows a high degree of correlation (Pearson's correlation coefficient $r = 0.88$). In addition, we now have an additional piece of data, the number of employed staff per accommodation place. The ratios obtained from the figures for Barcelona, Granada, Palma and Seville are close to the average, but the others are not. In the case of Madrid and Malaga, the strong relationship between staff and beds is a reflection of the higher class of hotels in the two cities. For Madrid, the 600 staff in the *Palace Hotel* are enough to skew the number, while the increase in Malaga is a result of luxury hotels such as the *Principe de Asturias* and the *Caleta Palace*. The two provincial capitals in the north of Spain present a more complex case. They are characterised in this table TZ03 by a very low ratio between staff and beds despite the higher class of many of the hotels located there. The most likely reason for this is the highly seasonal nature of Madrid tourists to these cities, which is also borne out by the data on rail ticket sales¹². Seasonal workers may have made this circumstance known in the statistics or declared other jobs in the first place.

¹² "Tourism was a seasonal activity both at seaside resorts and at spas. With local, but important, variations, the spas were open from early June to the end of September, which corresponded with the beach season" (Barquín, 2013, p. 116; Valero, 1991 p. 24).

2.6. Spanish tourist destinations in 1930

The above data indicate that the two major Spanish cities, Madrid and Barcelona, had the greatest agglomerations of hotels in the country. Madrid was home to 14% of all staff employed in the sector in Spain and Barcelona accounted for 9%. In the case of Madrid, the high density of hotels can be explained by two reasons. First, the city was the capital of a nation whose economy was growing fast and which was building a complex, centralised political and bureaucratic apparatus, attracting visitors for political purposes or to engage in dealings with the various ministries. Second, Madrid enjoyed a privileged position as the central hub of Spain's rail network. Most foreigners heading south (Barquín, 2013; Cabanes & González, 2009) or even towards Portugal had to pass through Madrid and, in many cases, they chose to spend a day or two sightseeing in the city or simply pausing to rest after their long train journey. The hotel accommodation on offer in Madrid in 1930 was remarkable for the high class of some of the establishments, such as the *Palace*, the *Ritz* and the *National*. In addition, these hotels were immense in size. The 400 rooms of the *Palace* made it the largest hotel in Europe at the time of its opening in 1912 and the *National* had 300 rooms on offer when it threw open its doors in 1925.

As regards Barcelona, we have an exceptional document that describes the city's tourism situation and its array of accommodation shortly before World War I. This document is an article published in 1918 by Manuel Folch i Torres (1918), who had been secretary of the city's tourist promotion agency *Sociedad para la Atracción de Forasteros de Barcelona* since its founding in 1908¹³. The first piece of data that Folch's article provides is a quantification of the sector in Barcelona: 72 hotels with 4,000 rooms, a figure that gives a total of roughly 5,000 to 5,500 accommodation places based on the usual ratios of the period. Comparing these data to the information in the previously mentioned hotel guide of the Spanish National Tourism Board, of 1929, we can see that in the intervening eleven years the hotel accommodation on offer in Barcelona had not increased and there had been no news of grand openings since the *Ritz Hotel* in 1919 (Rosselló & Valdivia, 2009). In any case, this volume of rooms had turned Barcelona into Spain's leading city in hospitality before World War I.

Folch's data also cover the nationality of guests. In this case, there was a clear predominance of Spanish guests, amounting to three-quarters of the total. Among the foreigners, only the numbers of French were notable, accounting for roughly 9% of all guests,

¹³ In my view, this opinion is especially valuable because Folch i Torres had been directly linked to the tourism sector for a decade and he was a resident of the city with the highest concentration of hotels in Spain at the time.

while North American, British, German and Italian guests contributed only 2-3% each. Catalonia attracted few leisure tourists, with the result that most of the guests staying in its establishments at the beginning of the twentieth century (both Spanish and foreign visitors) were business travellers, and this remained the case in the nineteen-thirties as well (Farreras, 1973).

In the nineteen-twenties, Santander attracted a significant chunk of Madrid's holidaymakers, competing strongly with San Sebastian for a market segment that accounted for a major share of the Spanish tourist demand. By contrast, the presence of foreign tourism was limited in Santander and prominent in San Sebastian, although it experienced pronounced irregularities in the latter case.

Malaga was a relatively mixed destination in the sense that it lodged quite a number of Spanish holidaymakers and also a good number of foreigners, particularly British tourists, who were attracted by the city's warm weather. Many of these British tourists arrived in the city via its port and continued on to Granada using the rail link with Bobadilla or they came from Gibraltar on the same route. Malaga's hotels were of high quality and also quite modern, including luxurious establishments like the *Principe de Asturias*, which had 250 rooms and opened in 1926, and the *Caleta Palace*, whose 135 rooms had been refurbished after World War I.

The island of Majorca had gone through a tourism boom in the early years of the twentieth century followed by a severe slump, but the hospitality sector returned again to strong growth in the last years of the nineteen-twenties. By 1930, the Balearic Islands were already ranked second in hospitality among Spain's provinces (just behind Madrid) and its tourism sector was characterised by its capacity to attract largely foreign travellers, to which a good number of Catalans were added¹⁴.

Seville is a special case, given that its hotel accommodation expanded greatly on the occasion of the International Exposition of 1929 (Rodríguez, 1994). Highlights include the construction of the luxurious *Alfonso XIII* with 147 rooms and the *Palace Hotel Eritaña*, the *Cristina* and the *Majestic*, which were very large for the period, having 500, 400 and 300 rooms, respectively.

¹⁴ A comprehensive view of the evolution of tourism in Spain until 1936 can be found in the article entitled *Spain's new coastal destinations* (Cirer, 2014a). In terms of particular destinations, special attention should be given, in the case of Malaga, to studies by Arcas & García (1980), Barke et al. (2010) and Heredia (2000); for the Balearic Islands, see Cirer (2012, 2014b); San Sebastian has been addressed by Larrinaga (2005, 2011) and Walton & Smith (1994, 1996), and Santander by Walton & Smith (1994, 1996) and Gil (1994).

In light of the foregoing data, it is fair to say that the state of the Spanish tourism sector looked quite promising at the start of the nineteen-thirties. The traditional destinations, Santander and San Sebastian, were well-placed to maintain their level, because they continued to attract most of the tourists from Madrid, though it was a market with limited growth potential given its particular sociodemographic characteristics. Madrid, for its part, was not merely a source of tourists but also received them as a result of its central location. By contrast, Barcelona was not a tourist city, but it did support high levels of visitors thanks to its surging economy and its position as the main jumping-off point for Majorca.

The most booming destinations in 1930 were Andalusia and Majorca. Spain's mythic south exerted an undeniable attraction and the cities of Seville and Malaga had recently increased their number of hotels, adding first-class establishments particularly suited to receive the most affluent segment of international tourists. Constant improvements in rail and maritime transport boded well for remote Andalusia to receive a growing influx of visitors from northern Europe. At this time, the Balearic Islands, for their part, were consolidating a long-standing development in tourism initiated in the mid-nineteenth century and they proved able to attract an increasingly numerous European clientele while also taking advantage of Catalan economic growth to become the fashionable destination among holidaymakers from Barcelona.

3. THE PERIOD 1930-1935

3.1 Spain's earliest tourism statistics

Table TZ04. Foreign visitors in Spain.

Foreign visitors lodging in hotels ^a	1930	1931	1932	1933	Average	% of variation 1930-33
Barcelona	38,575	– ^b	14,551	18,221	23,782	– 53
Madrid	21,007	11,736	11,103	13,083	14,232	– 38
Balearic Islands	5,047	4,946	11,887	14,983	9,216	+ 197
Seville	12,958	7,196	6,864	5,309	8,082	– 59
Granada	11,766	6,777	5,426	8,036	8,001	– 32
Gipuzkoa	9,179	7,304	6,102	7,280	7,466	– 21
Malaga	15,401	2,177	2,378	3,221	5,794	– 79
Valencia	5,835	4,603	5,454	3,888	4,945	– 33
Santa Cruz	5,363	1,925	1,258	1,378	2,481	– 74
Cordoba	3,199	1,261	1,531	1,890	1,970	– 41
Cadiz	2,581	1,952	1,515	1,662	1,928	– 36
Zaragoza	4,384	806	1,480	959	1,907	– 78
Other provinces	20,377	17,375	20,515	22,035	20,076	+ 8
TOTAL	155,672	68,058	90,064	101,945	103,935	– 35

^a INE. Anuarios de 1930, 1931, 1932-33 y 1934. Movimiento activo de los extranjeros en España. Número de extranjeros que visitaron y pernoctaron en cada una de las provincias, (1930-32). Extranjeros turistas registrados en cada una de las provincias de España (1933).

^b The figure recorded for Barcelona in 1931 is wrong. The Barcelona average is calculated based on the three available years. This gap also affects the national total for 1931, which is therefore severely underestimated.

The dictatorship of Primo de Rivera was much more active in the promotion of foreign tourism than previous governments of the Restoration. Among other things, it took a decision to collect the first statistics specifically focusing on tourism in Spain¹⁵. The data, which addressed foreign tourists staying overnight in Spanish territory, were gathered by the *Spanish National Institute of Statistics* in its statistical yearbooks from 1930 to 1934. Table TZ04 covers the figures for the 12 most important provinces, on average, which received 80% of the tourists arriving in Spain.

¹⁵ The collection of these statistics, instigated in 1930, continued during the Second Spanish Republic and some of the sections were even expanded. The INE's statistical yearbooks contain data from 1930 to 1933. The statistical yearbook for 1943 covers data from 1936 to 1942, but the erratic nature of the recorded figures and the lack of data for many provinces discourage their use.

Overall, the first factor to highlight is the sharp fall in tourism at the advent of the Second Spanish Republic, which was then followed by a modest recovery in 1933. This was due to two quite distinct reasons. First, two major events were held: the *International Exposition* in Barcelona between 20 May 1929 and 15 January 1930 and the *Ibero-American Exposition* in Seville between 9 May 1929 and 21 June 1930. Both expositions attracted a significant number of foreign visitors over the course of 1929 and 1930 and led to a corresponding “hangover” afterwards, because many potential tourists with an interest in coming to Spain moved their trip forward so that it would coincide with the events¹⁶. The second factor to dissuade many potential visitors from making a trip to Spain concerned the public-order issues that troubled the Second Spanish Republic, above all the episode of the burning of the convents that took place between 10 and 13 May 1931 and ended with 107 religious buildings razed to the ground. The events began in Madrid and spread to the east and south of Spain, especially affecting Andalusia (Fernández, 1984). Malaga was probably the city most severely affected by the rioting (Esquinas, 1974), followed by Granada, (López, 1989), Seville and Cadiz¹⁷.

As a result of all of these factors, Spain entered the nineteen-thirties with excellent prospects in the international tourism market, only to see the sharp fall between 1930 and 1932 recorded in table TZ04. In the following year, 1933, the influx of tourists recovered with a rise of 13%, but we can be certain that the political convulsions of 1934 at the European and Spanish levels (whose effects do not appear in the data used here) further reduced the entry of tourists and ruined the recovery shown in the figures for 1933.

3.2 The provincial trajectory of Spanish tourism during the Second Republic

Among the provincial data offered in table TZ04, one stands out sharply: the figure corresponding to the Balearic Islands. This province is the only one not to present negative growth numbers in the period 1930-1933. In fact, it went in exactly the opposite direction, tripling the number of tourists accommodated over the period. The almost 15,000 foreign

¹⁶ The general view is that most leisure tourists can be divided into two groups: repeat tourists, who primarily seek the rest and relaxation of a familiar destination, and tourists who constantly change destination and never spend their holidays in the same place (Oppermann, 1999). A major event like the expositions of 1929 attracted many tourists in the latter group, originally interested in visiting Spain and concentrating their trip to the Iberian Peninsula in 1929 and 1930, reducing the number of potential visitors in subsequent years.

¹⁷ In Madrid, 11 religious buildings were burnt down (Fernández, 1984). In Malaga, at least 42 religious buildings were destroyed and the bishop chose to go into exile in the neighbouring British colony of Gibraltar (Esquinas, 1974). Without doubt, the city of Malaga took the worst brunt of the anti-clerical rioting.

tourists staying in the Balearic Islands in 1933 raised the province to second place in absolute terms in the Spanish tourism rankings. The other eleven provinces shown in the table all experienced drops that ranged from 79% for Malaga to 21% for Gipuzkoa.

At the opposite extreme to the Balearic Islands are the five provinces of Andalusia under consideration here¹⁸. As a whole, they lost 56% of their staying tourists between 1930 and 1933, and Malaga fared the worst of the five, losing 85% of its visitors between 1930 and 1932 and clawing back only a small part of the loss in 1933. There is no doubt that the extreme virulence of the rioting in the city in May 1931 took a toll on its tourism industry. Granada lost more than half of its visitors between 1930 and 1932, but it regained a good portion in the following year. As a result, its total losses, a third of all visitors, is the smallest among the five provinces of Andalusia considered here, and the Alhambra continued to exert an undeniable appeal that cushioned the fall. The numbers for Cordoba paint a similar picture: visitors fell by half in 1931 and 1932 and the sector saw a reasonable recovery in 1933.

By contrast, Seville lost visitors in each and every one of the three years, 59% in total. As expected, the city had a particularly strong hangover after the *Ibero-American Exposition* of 1929-30. The massive opening of hotels in the years prior to the event was not sufficient to ensure the future of tourism in the city. Lastly, Cadiz shows a less pronounced decline, despite the fire that ravaged its most iconic hotel, the *Reina Cristina* in Algeciras, which was completely destroyed and not rebuilt until 1932¹⁹.

As regards the remaining Spanish provinces, the major cities of Barcelona and Madrid lost 53% and 38% of their staying tourists, respectively, between 1930 and 1933. The decline in the Catalan capital would have been even more pronounced if not for its position as a stopover for many foreign travellers going to the Balearic Islands. The Spanish capital, by contrast, registered a decline that closely resembled the average for the entire country (35%). Gipuzkoa experienced a steep drop between 1930 and 1932, when it lost a third of its foreign visitors, but it did see a partial recovery in 1933, topping 7,000 visitors. San Sebastian continued to be an attractive destination for international tourists, particularly the French.

The data recorded in the INE's statistical yearbooks also give us an opportunity to carry out a cursory analysis of the typology of the different destinations because they include the distribution of foreign tourists by month and province in 1930 and by sex and nationality in 1933.

¹⁸ Only five of the eight provinces of Andalusia are considered because three are not relevant to tourism: Almeria, Jaen and Huelva. In 1930, these three provinces received fewer than 500 foreign visitors between them.

¹⁹ In any case, the *Reina Cristina* in Algeciras had an indirect link to international tourism because most of the hotel's clientele came from the neighbouring British colony of Gibraltar.

As for seasonality, it is clear that tourists preferred spring in Spain, when the country received 35% of all visitors. Indeed, the *Baedeker* guide made a strong recommendation to avoid the summer and winter months for a visit to the Iberian Peninsula and the data indicate that their recommendation was largely heeded.

The seasonal pattern, however, was distributed very differently across the various destinations. From Figure 6, we can see that Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia present limited seasonality, particularly Barcelona. This fact indicates that the leisure tourist had little weight in comparison to the business traveller. Cordoba, Granada, Malaga and the Balearic Islands have a high seasonality concentrated in the months of spring, which classifies them primarily as leisure tourist destinations. Gipuzkoa also shows a pronounced seasonality, but in this case it is focused on the summer months. Cadiz and Santa Cruz, in Tenerife, clearly stand apart from the general tendency; they present a strong seasonality concentrated in the months of autumn that does not correspond to leisure tourist destinations, but rests instead on their respective ports, which received foreign travellers from South America and from British and French colonies in West Africa.

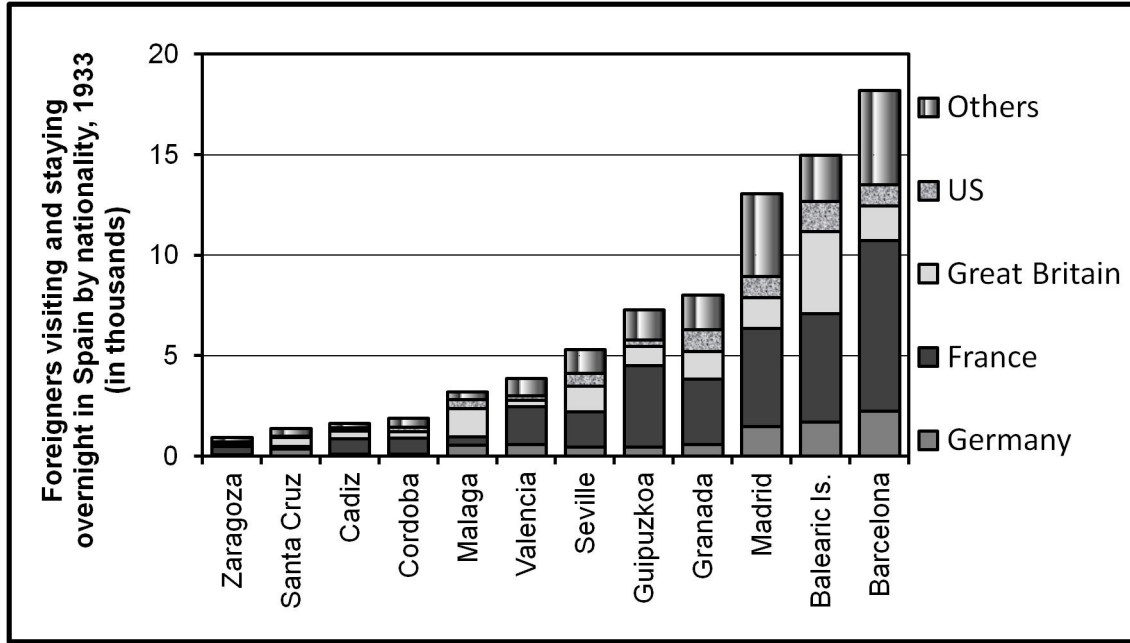


Figure 3. Distribution of international tourists by nationality and destination.
Source: INE Anuario, 1932-33.

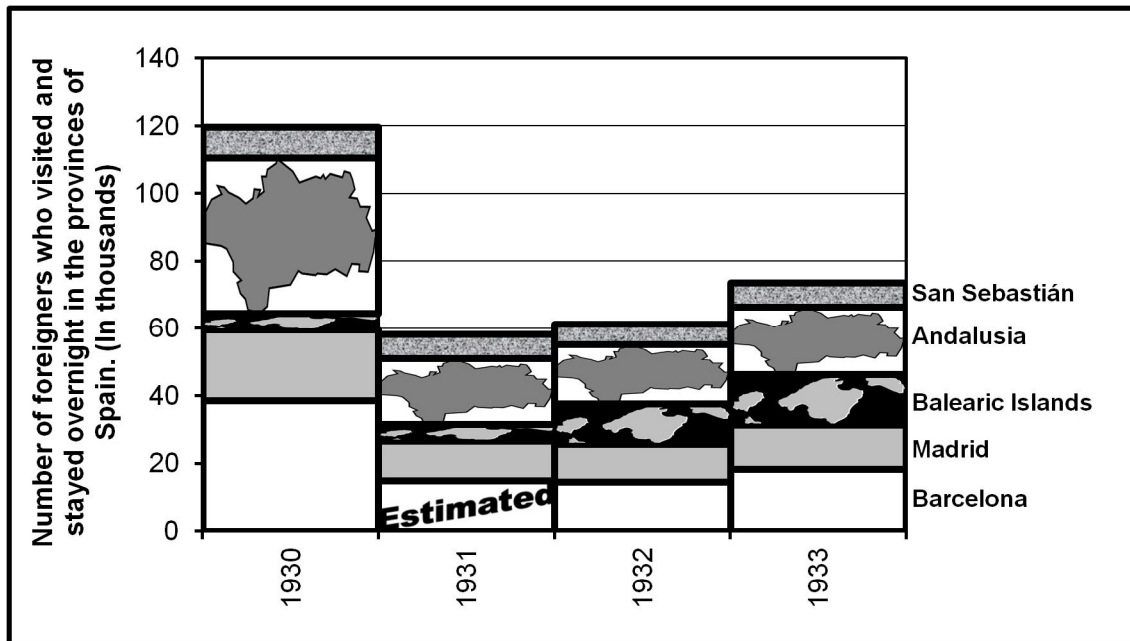


Figure 4. Foreign tourists recorded in Spanish provinces (1933).

Among foreign visitors to Spain, the predominant nationality was French (Figure 3), accounting for 41% of the total, followed by the British (roughly 16%) and the Germans (12%). Unsurprisingly, the chief destination of French visitors was Barcelona, basically a business destination, as was Madrid, which ranked third among the most preferred destinations of the French. In terms of the destinations for French leisure tourists, the Balearic Islands (ranked second with 13% of the total) and Gipuzkoa (ranked fourth with 10%) stand out, while British tourists put the Balearic Islands at the centre of their preferences, with a quarter going there. Still within the category of leisure tourists, the British presence was also striking in Andalusia, especially Malaga. As for the Germans, the destinations were, in first place, Barcelona and, in second place, the Balearic Islands, while the North Americans basically visited the Balearic Islands and Granada.

A further piece of data worth noting is that not a single Castilian city appears among the top twelve Spanish destinations in the nineteen-thirties, a fact already highlighted by A. Valero (1991) in relation to the first third of the century. Burgos and Toledo received little more than 1,000 visitors a year between 1930 and 1933 and Segovia and Leon barely reached 500. Similarly, Girona received only 180 visitors, on average, a figure that contrasts sharply with the marked upswing in tourism that it would see two decades in the future (Cirer, 2016). The conclusion to be drawn from these low numbers is that cities featuring historical monuments did not interest foreign visitors; nor did beaches if they were not an integral part of well-established tourist destinations like San Sebastian or the Balearic Islands.

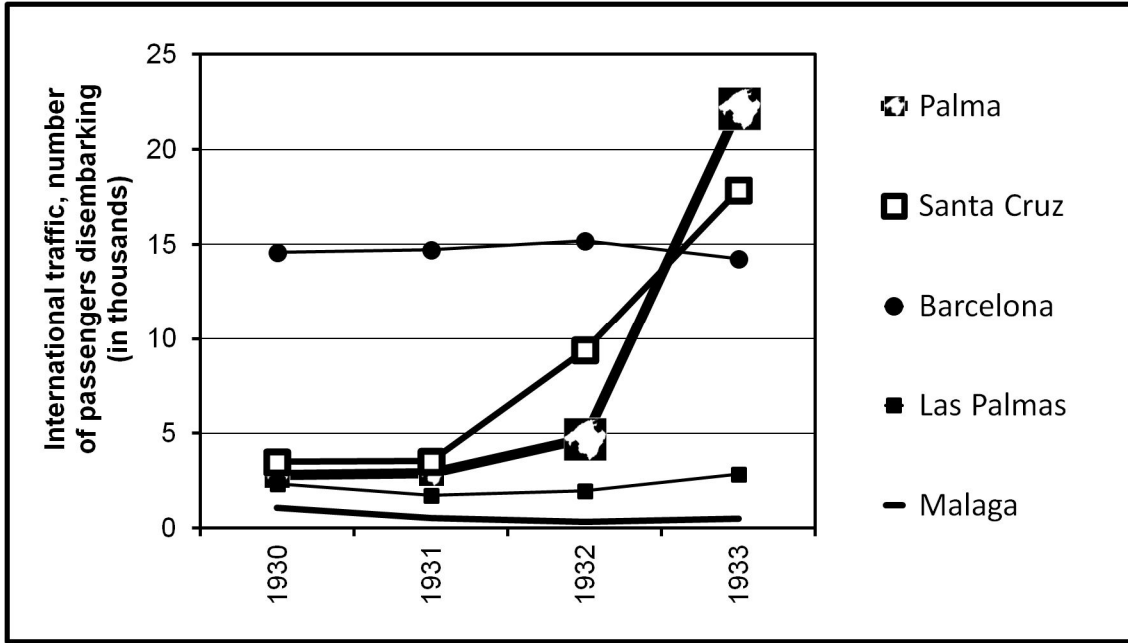


Figure 5. International passenger traffic into Spain's principal ports. Source: INE Yearbook 1932–33 and 1934.

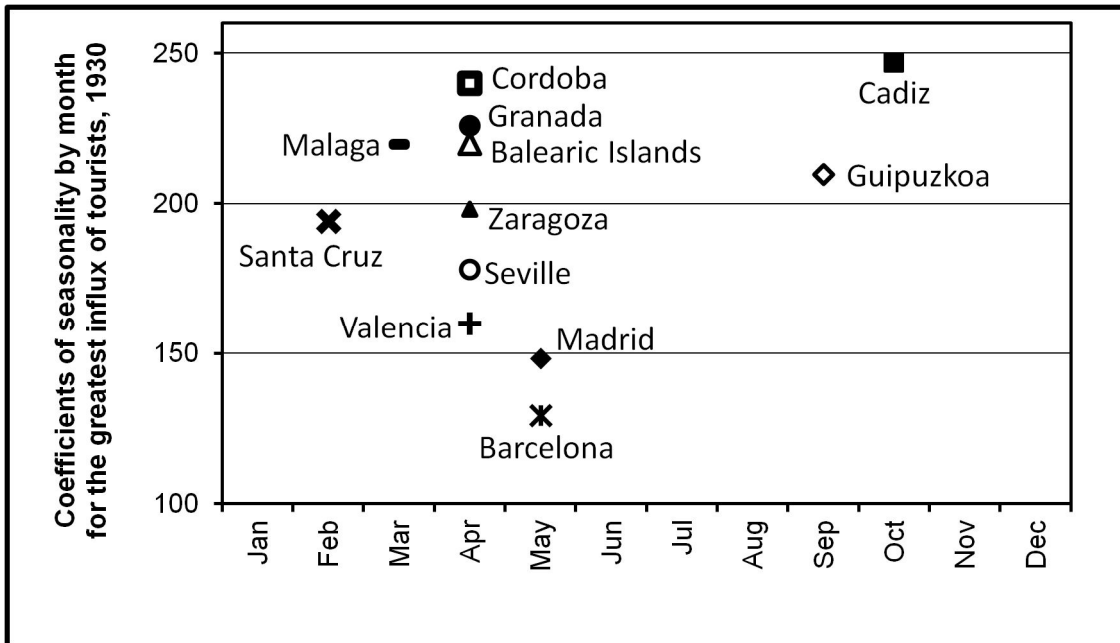


Figure 6. Seasonality of international tourists visiting the main destinations at the time of the Second Spanish Republic. Source: INE Yearbooks 1930 and 1932–33.

The only province of touristic importance to see marked growth during these eventful years was the Balearic Islands, where between 1930 and 1933 hotel client numbers actually trebled. The Balearic tourist boom is confirmed firstly by figures for tourists staying in hotels (Figure 4), and secondly by the data for foreign passengers entering the port of Palma de Mallorca (Figure 5). This surged from 2,790 in 1930 to 22,165 in 1933, an extraordinary increase which contrasts with the flattening or overall drop in traffic recorded for other Spanish ports.²⁰

The remarkable growth in foreign passenger numbers recorded for the port of Palma was due entirely to the fact that in 1930 it became a stopover for long-distance colonial routes. The Great Depression had left large numbers of passenger ships idle with parent companies on the very brink of bankruptcy; in order to stave off disaster, Western governments provided subsidies which enabled numerous vessels to serve as cruise ships and also to strengthen routes to the colonies (Greaves, 2007, pp. 57–65). As more and more vessels began competing for the same markets, the supply diversified and shipping companies began to offer passengers fresh new itineraries with attractive stopovers, e.g. Palma de Mallorca.

Palma's port also experienced a spectacular growth in cabotage or local maritime traffic – 72% between 1930 and 1933, i.e. from 37,030 to 65,049 passengers. This boom occurred almost entirely as a result of the rapid growth of tourism (Cirer, 2014). By 1929 tourism in the Balearics was so dynamic that Barcelona's tourist executives were putting their city in second place, with an eye to developments in the nearby archipelago: "*Barcelona is the gateway to the Gilded Isle, Majorca*".²¹ Majorca was already promising to become a prime magnet for international tourists, and Barcelona stood to gain on a massive scale if it could just arrange for this surge of travellers to use its train stations and port en route to the Balearics, a goal which was only partially fulfilled.²²

²⁰ Just one other Spanish port recorded spectacular growth during these years, that of Santa Cruz de Tenerife, but here the rise reflects not tourism but the opening of a terminal which supplied petroleum to the Cepsa company (Pérez, 2009, p. 101).

²¹ Text that appears in a brochure published by the Societat d'Atracció de Forasters de Barcelona for the Universal Exposition of 1929 (Vidal, 2005, p. 339).

²² In 1932 the local promotional magazine *Barcelona Atracció* affirmed, "It is impossible to conceive of tourism in Barcelona without including Majorca" (Blasco, 2005, p. 364).

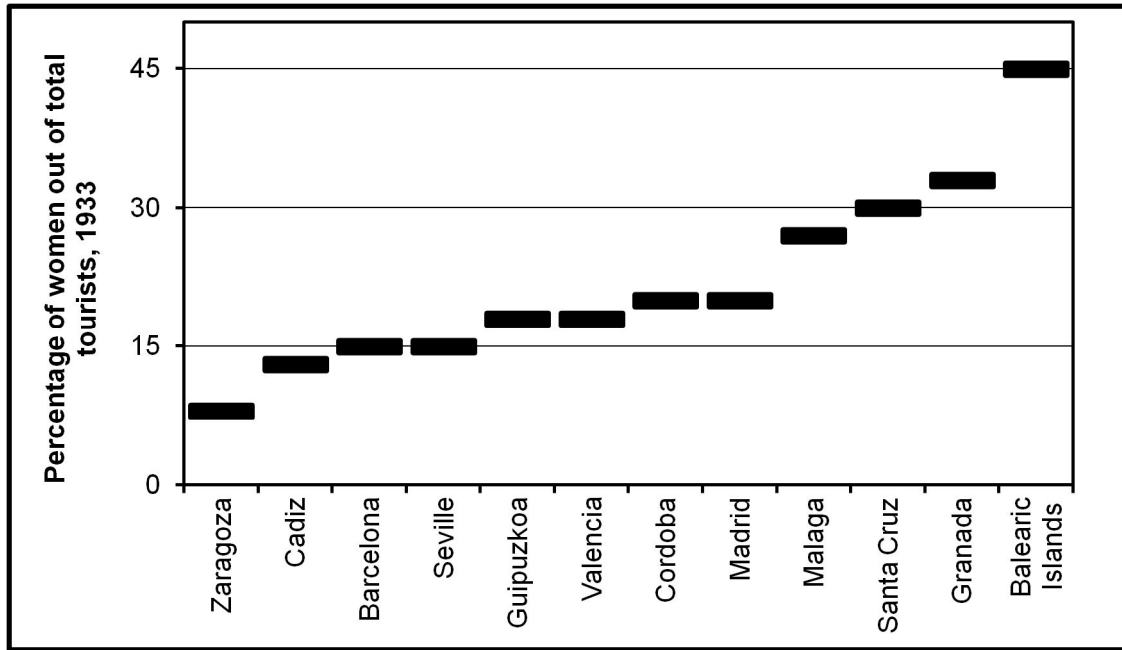


Figure 7. Proportion by gender of international tourists visiting the main Spanish destinations in the years of the Second Spanish Republic. Source: INE Yearbooks 1930 and 1932–33.

One crucial item of information yielded by these official statistics is the proportion of women staying in hotels for each destination, as shown in Figure 7. In general terms, the proportion of women visitors to Spain was very modest, a third of the total in only three destinations. But the Balearic Islands stand out clearly from the remainder of Spain: 45% of the archipelago's visitors were women.

Having examined all these different types of data, we are now in a position to categorise the principal destinations for visitors to Spain. The first group is made up of obviously non-touristic cities whose visitors were professional and nearly entirely male with a strong French element, arriving steadily throughout the year. In this set we find the major cities of Barcelona, Madrid, Zaragoza and Valencia, and we should note that all are representatives of what Katouzian calls 'complementary services', i.e. places where growth lagged behind the nation's economic development as a whole. A second group of destinations comprises places which have an unmistakably touristic profile, namely the Andalusian cities of Granada and Málaga, and the Balearic Islands.

Cadiz and Santa Cruz de Tenerife followed their own non-touristic dynamics, dominated by ships on long Transatlantic and African voyages. Finally there is San Sebastián, an unmistakably touristic resort but one with only a handful of foreign visitors, drawn by the presence in summer of the privileged classes of Madrid and also, prior to 1930, by the Spanish royal family: diplomats, European aristocrats related to noble Spanish families, etc. (Walton & Smith, 1994, p. 24; 1996, p. 42). As of 1920 they were joined by students of Spanish at the summer school set up there by Liverpool University (Shelmerdine, 2003, p. 73). San Sebastián received a type of upper-class tourism closer to what was then in vogue in Biarritz or Nice, rather than what was emerging in Spain's Mediterranean resorts.

The data we have examined above also allows us to establish a reasonably accurate chronology of developments. The number of visitors to Spain grew systematically throughout the Belle Époque, but the First World War brought this to an abrupt halt. Tourist numbers and hotel construction gradually rose again in the 1920s, but it was not until 1929–1930 that the level of pre-War tourism was surpassed, thanks to the enormous impact of International Exhibitions held in Barcelona and Seville (1929). In 1931, however, the proclamation of the Spanish Republic caused yet another slump in visitors numbers to Spain, with the notable exception of the Balearic Islands.

4. CRUISE SHIPS IN THE SPANISH PORTS

During the early years, the development of cruise holidays was closely linked to North Atlantic liners, as passenger ships could easily be devoted to both purposes. The Thomas Cook agency was probably the first firm to arrange full-scale passenger cruises (introduced in 1875), but by the late nineteenth century shipping lines right across Europe and North America were also organizing this kind of holiday on a regular basis (Goey, 2005, pp. 93–94).

In the 1920s prohibition legislation in America and the sharp drop in emigration to the United States led shipping companies to launch short cruises around the Caribbean, the so-called 'booze cruises', helping to popularize a type of holiday which continued to grow even when the ban on alcohol was lifted (Lawton & Butler, 1987, pp. 332–333; Miller, 1981, p. 60).

Some of the earliest long-distance cruises had included Spanish resorts, for example one advertised in 1895 by the Orient Line, which called at Madeira, the Mediterranean and the Canaries (Tenerife), or again another offered by Thomas Cook's company in 1903, which sailed from New York for Palestine, with a stopover in Gibraltar allowing passengers to visit the Alhambra using a special train.

Despite the steady growth of cruise holidays prior to World War I, very few such ships made it to Spain. The reason was high dockage fees in Spanish ports, which were not reduced until 1924 (Cerchiello, 2013, pp. 93–7). From then on cruise ships arrived in growing numbers, first in Málaga, and subsequently in Palma de Mallorca, as can be seen in Table TZ05.

Málaga soon became the principal gateway to the Alhambra – at Gibraltar's expense – but in the 1930s the sense of socio-political insecurity in mainland Spain discouraged tourists from prolonging their stay by spending a night in one of the city's hotels. In the port of Palma, by contrast, the sharp rise in the number of cruise and colonial passenger ships formed the basis for the Balearic tourist boom which lasted throughout the first half of the 1930s.

Table TZ05. Passengers arriving by cruise liner at Palma and Malaga and a comparison with cruise-line traffic in the Caribbean.

Year	Malaga Passengers	Palma Passengers	Palma Vessels	The Caribbean Passengers
1924	13,020			
1925	14,679			
1926	16,229			
1927	19,927			
1928	19,915			
1929	41,271			
1930	22,777	15,991	83	25,000
1931	18,067	22,000	70	51,700
1932	29,863	26,861	104	
1933	55,395	39,396	206	
1934		50,363	234	
1935		50,000	209	50,200
1936				74,000

Source: Data for Malaga: Barke, Mowl & Shields (2010); for the Caribbean: Lawton & Butler (1987); for Palma: Annual Reports of the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Shipping of Palma and Ibiza, 1930–1935.

5. THE ANDALUSIAN MYTH

For some time holidays in southern Spain had conjured up a range of romantic and magical associations, involving a quest for sensations far beyond the mere contemplation of paintings, buildings and landscapes. The clichéd image of the Hispanic scene created by Washington Irving and renewed by authors like Dumas, Doré and Mérimée was, however, more symbolic than actual (Hijano & Martín, 2007, p. 97; Nugnes, 2001, p. 337). All these writers offered their readers landscape and architecture which far transcended their archetypal and frequently interchangeable characters, who seemed to be merely inserted into impressive and majestic backdrops.

The key mythmaking factor was a strong Orientalizing tendency, which superimposed the Moorish legacy onto later historical periods (Hijano & Martín, 2007, pp. 99-101), thus situating Granada's Alhambra at the very summit of the traveller's experience.²³ The relationship between Andalusia and tourism was more or less subordinated to literature –vivid tales that exploited the region as a backdrop and travel books that described it in colourful detail.

Those providing services for tourists thus had few qualms in satisfying their romantic preconceptions, ensuring that they returned home fully satisfied at seeing these ideas confirmed and validated (Shelmerdine, 2003, p. 75). By 1888, when foreign tourism was still in its infancy, the full-scale exploitation of Granada was well underway, and the city had been a touristified, commercialized place for many years (López, 2001, p. 31).

Málaga constitutes a special case, as it was never an integral part of this Hispanic fantasy. That it became a leading tourist destination at all was due largely to the initiative of its citizens, and also to their determination to achieve that goal (Arcas & García, 1980; Barke, Mowl & Shields, 2010). In the mid-nineteenth century the city began to receive regular mention in medical texts as a suitable destination for those suffering from certain illnesses due to its mild coastal climate (Kevan, 1993, p. 119). While British invalids never arrived in large numbers, the city did acquire in the 1920s a reputation as a winter resort (Muirhead, 1929, p. 94) and several large luxury hotels were built, vigorously promoted with help from the Spanish royal family

²³ As an example of the powerful attraction exerted by the Alhambra, we cite a text which appeared in the brochure for a cruise organized by Thomas Cook's in 1903. Referring to the ship's stopover in Gibraltar it says: "From Gibraltar a most interesting side trip is made to Granada, for the Alhambra. Leave Gibraltar, via Algeciras and Ronda [...] The great attraction is the Alhambra, a wonderful Moorish palace, whose beauties have been celebrated by all travellers, especially Washington Irving."

(Heredia, 2000). These catered to the traditional ‘grand hotel’ type of holiday, making Málaga a kind of wintertime San Sebastián, devoted to attracting rentiers and unemployed aristocrats.²⁴

This old-style commercial focus soon found itself dealing with the harsh reality of the international marketplace, not to mention events unfolding in Spain itself. While tourism in Málaga failed to take off properly in the 1920s, the proclamation of the Spanish Republic and the disturbances of May 1931 dealt it a crushing blow. The statistical data presented above shows the steep decline which took place between 1931 and 1936, when the city’s principal touristic activity was limited to receiving passengers from cruise ships – many of whom disembarked simply to make a brief and hurried trip to Granada.

²⁴ The Principe de Asturias Hotel, for example, was regularly visited by members of the Spanish royal family, distinguished at that time for its “select clientele made up of members of the nobility and the upper bourgeoisie” (González, 2003, p. 701).

6. THE NEW TOURIST IN THE BALEARI ISLANDS

As in Andalusia, the roots of Majorca's attraction for European travellers were literary. The instigator of the phenomenon here was George Sand, accompanied on her winter trip to the island in 1838–39 by the composer Frédéric Chopin.²⁵ Various books and travel guides devoted to the Balearics appeared in the wake of this episode, among them that of Gaston Vuillier.²⁶ These works demonstrate that the foremost draws for tourism was the dramatic coastal scenery of the Serra de Tramuntana (the northern mountain range) and the caves of the southeast, in particular those at Es Drac ('the Dragon'), with a lengthy excursion underground – at the time an unusual attraction in Europe. Early visitors to Majorca all tended to voice astonishment at the absence of poverty, backwardness and touristic hassle. Palma was in fact a modern city, capital of an island with excellent maritime connections and equipped with comfortable, rapid and punctual modes of transport, allowing the entire territory to be covered in a matter of days (Cirer, 2012).

This was precisely what Professor Estève de Bosch of Angers University did in October 1897. He completed a bold and lengthy tour of the island in a single week, devoting the first two days to the city of Palma. The following day (setting off at six in the morning), he crossed the Serra de Tramuntana by horse-drawn carriage and stopped off at Valldemossa, Miramar, Deià and Sòller before returning across the mountains to Palma. The next day he travelled by train to Manacor, from where he spent a day and a half seeing the three well-known caves of southern Majorca – Pirata, Pont and Drach. On the final day he paid a visit to the celebrated pilgrim church at Lluch, about 30 miles from Palma.

Upon returning to France, Estève de Bosch delivered a series of talks, published in the magazine *La Croix des Pyrénées-Orientales* the following year. Here we have a classic example of the new vision of tourism: a professional in full-time employment with limited leisure, he was determined to make the most of his time. When he arrived in Majorca he already knew exactly what he wanted to see, which strongly suggests he'd thoroughly read up on the attractions on offer. Secondly, it was possible for him to make full use of different modes of transport – boats, trains, carriages – thanks to the regularity and punctuality of each service.

²⁵ As a result of her trip, George Sand wrote *Un hiver à Majorque*, first published in Paris in 1841. The book spread rapidly across Europe, soon reissued in French in Brussels and translated into German and English.

²⁶ Gaston Vuillier was a French writer and illustrator who published articles on various Mediterranean islands in the French journal *Le Tour du monde*. In 1893 he gathered them into a single volume, published by Hachette as *Les îles oubliées*.

Last but not least, he became a reliable source of information for future travellers of the same social level, thanks to the talks and articles in which he divulged his experiences.

The arrival of this new class of light-footed tourist, eager to absorb as much as possible within a limited timeframe was soon noticed by local commentators. An item in the Majorcan newspaper *La Última Hora* on 21 August 1909 sums up the change:

Nowadays cruise-ship excursions are organized from abroad which pass through our island like a human hailstorm: neither eyes to see, heart to feel, or pocket to lighten, they carry in their hands guidebooks with telegraphic captions or snapshots focusing always on the same views, spending a few coins on postcards — the sole activities permitted by such a frantically hurried excursion.

During the first decade of the twentieth century entrepreneurs on Majorca created a dense network of top-end tourist accommodation aimed, as in Málaga, at competing directly with the French Riviera for long holidays in which wealthy winter visitors would barely stray from their chosen resort. When this commercial approach failed, the Majorcan entrepreneurs quickly adapted their provision, lowering prices and quality, and modifying advertising to focus on the new tourist formats – with encouraging results. Between 1912 and 1914 the port of Palma received on average 3,000 foreign passengers a year, most of them French, while in the city itself new businesses sprang up which aimed directly to please and satisfy the hurrying mobile tourist. Majorca had found its niche in the European tourist market, even if the outbreak of the First World War put a sudden dampener on its upward trajectory.

After the war recovery was at first slow, but by the mid-twenties new hotels and tourist businesses were starting up, always targeting visitors of average income who wished to see as much of the island as possible within a limited time frame. The situation improved to the point of becoming a veritable boom in 1930, when tourist arrivals jumped to the levels seen in the tables above. A contrasting episode which merits our attention is the fiasco of the Formentor Hotel, an isolated attempt at the time to bring top-flight luxury to Majorcan tourism. It opened in 1929, but was unable to cover its high operating costs and ended up folding.

Tourism spread right across Majorca, expanding rapidly from the capital via the traditional excursion routes along the coast, and also reached the island of Ibiza, where in 1933 half a dozen hotels were built specifically to attract foreign visitors. One of the pioneers of Ibizan tourism, the German hotelier Alfred Schlatterer, had clear ideas about the social class of his potential clients, and while promoting his establishment in Germany and Switzerland visited medical and law schools to give talks and leave behind his promotional brochures.

A striking element of the 1930s tourist boom in the Balearics is the attraction of beaches among these new visitors. Many hotels built during this time were located right next to a beach, e.g. at Alcudia, Cala d'Or and Pollensa. The brochure for Ibiza's Grand Hotel, which opened in the centre of town in 1933, gave prominent mention of a nearby bathing complex to which clients had access via the hotel's bus service or motor launch. The beach was furnished with a bar, restaurant, changing cabins and walkways, and on certain days visitors were also entertained by a band of live music.

The appeal of Balearic beaches to 1930s tourists highlights the economic consequences of the medical turnaround *vis-à-vis* sunbathing, which rapidly transformed these sun-kissed shores into an attractive consumer item. The benefits of exposing skin to sunlight were discovered in the early twentieth century (Albert & Ostheimer, 2002), something which contrasted radically with the traditional upper-class aversion to direct contact with the sun. The notion spread rapidly among the emerging social classes, making them eager devotees of sunbathing, which had the additional advantage of setting them socially apart. By the end of the 1920s bathing costumes had shrunk significantly in size (Kidwell, 1968, p. 13), while beaches had become virtual 'public rotisseries' (Albert & Ostheimer, 2002, p. 913). Those on Coney Island, where Walt Whitman had recited Shakespeare in splendid solitude in the 1840s, were by 1929 a 'landscape of the vomiting multitude', to take García Lorca's striking expression (Boddy, 2007, p. 22). That same year, Coco Chanel pronounced that 'a golden tan is the index of chic' (Vannini & McCright, 2004, p. 311).

7. CONCLUSIONS

As upper middle class incomes rose and holidays came within annual budgets, some members of the upwardly mobile class opted to mingle with the former privileged classes in foreign destinations such as Geneva and Nice. But the majority of these new tourists preferred to strike out for fresh fields, unfettered by strict rituals or protocols like those in force in Biarritz or San Sebastián, while also steering clear of typical working class destinations, e.g. Blackpool. While their holidays were not primarily about exhibiting social standing or economic resources, their itineraries were certainly determined by cultural and self-improving factors. These new holidaymakers clearly went abroad not for the mere pleasure of travelling, but planned their vacations carefully as something which would combine rest and relaxation with social enjoyment and cultural advancement.

These aims fitted perfectly with the Protestant work ethic, according to which one was expected to 'use the good things of life without abusing them' (Kininmonth, 2016, p. 1247) and avoid 'expenditure on self-gratification' (McKinstry & Ding, 2013, p. 723). The annual holiday represented an outlay that needed to be justified socially, i.e. by making it an activity with cultural and spiritual elements. Bearing this in mind, it made little sense to overspend on expensive grand hotels or stay in some dull established resort; the new goal was to set one's sights on fresh places with religious, literary or artistic associations, or with special scenery or wildlife.

Such destinations needed to have something sufficiently interesting to justify the effort of getting there, and they came to the attention of the public thanks to early travellers' accounts. These books were at first luxury items only for the wealthy, but they soon spread to other classes and became a flourishing business. The genre's first bestsellers were produced by writers whose unquenchable spirit for adventure led them to take genuine risks and experience real discomfort in order to visit obscure places using local transport. To this group belong authors like Washington Irving and Georges Sand, who wrote prior to 1850 and who actively promoted the idea of personal mobility and tourism, as the right of each and every citizen who could afford it (Cresswell, 2006, p. 15).

The last third of the nineteenth century witnessed a transport revolution which shrank distances all across Europe, allowing trains and steamers to reach everywhere. The pioneering travel books now served as guides for a second wave of author-travellers, people like Gaston

Vuillier, Dorothy and Mortimer Menpes and Maud Howe Elliot.²⁷ They were no longer adventurers by vocation, but real travel 'professionals' who produced works of mass consumption, i.e. travel books. These generally handsome publications had high-quality illustrations and sold in their tens of thousands, despite high prices, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thanks to these travel books, the 'bug' for sightseeing holidays spread quickly throughout the emerging middle classes of America and Europe.

Readers of travel books who felt tempted to travel would probably go on to purchase a guidebook, such as those published by Baedeker, Murray's and Black's. These constituted a second type of literary bestseller connected with tourism.²⁸ The third stage saw avid readers becoming travellers themselves as they set off to experience their dreamed-off destinations. And a few, like Professor Estève de Bosch, reached a final stage by becoming authors of travel sketches. Thanks to these adventurous reporters, the pleasure of travelling was no longer confined to expensive illustrated books or the odd bestseller, but were now available in local magazines read by emerging professional elites up and down the land, people whose purchasing power allowed them to take a week or so off work and meet the expense of a foreign holiday.

Travel literature was the initial component of a whole new area within the service sector – tourism based on itineraries, which soon reached enormous levels of business. Thomas Cook is the classic model of an innovator able to recognise that a new society was in the making, one which demanded products that did not yet exist (Simmons, 1973). These novel demands initially used existing suppliers of transport and accommodation, so that new agents such as Cook innovated by coordinating different companies and packaging their services together. But little by little the new social classes created their own markets to distinguish themselves both from the old-style elites and the working masses.

These new professionals formed a social class which grew with the service revolution while promoting in turn that very revolution by allocating a significant portion of its income to acquiring previously non-existent services, e.g. new touristic practices. This phenomenon was of massive importance economically, but remains difficult to perceive and quantify as it has

²⁷ Dorothy Menpes and her father, Mortimer Menpes, were a not-so-typical couple of professional travellers, she writing while he made drawings and engravings. They produced dozens of travel books dedicated to places like Japan, South Africa, India and Brittany (Young, 2007, p. 282). Maud Howe Elliott was an American author and Pulitzer laureate, who published *Sun and Shadow in Spain* in 1908.

²⁸ By 1863 Baedeker was already publishing his famous guides in German, English and French, and he brought out his first guidebook to Spain in 1898. Murray had started in the tourist guide business in the 1830s and edited his first Spanish guide in 1845, (its author it was Richard Ford). The Black brothers started publishing travel guides in Edinburgh in 1839; theirs was *O'Shea's Guide to Spain and Portugal*, published in 1905.

clear sociological, class and gender connotations, which are barely distinguishable using the few available statistics.

The new touristic demand strengthened transport networks and created in countries of origin a whole new accommodation sector: "It was relatively unsophisticated and offered comparative freedom from many of life's social restrictions" (Brown, 1985, p. 366). The essentials of this new sector were based on Mediterranean establishments that had already targeted the new travellers. Journeys were at first by train (Pope, 2001), but from the 1920s onwards car-based clients took the lead position in domestic tourism, a phenomenon that highlighted the dominance of the new middle classes in the housing industry (Cassamagnaghi, Moretto & Wagner, 2010; Pope, 2000). This expansion of the new types of domestic tourism soon impacted on international tourism: those who had already travelled extensively in their own country or who felt particularly drawn to a particular foreign destination, became clients on long-distance trains and cruise ships or liners serving the colonies and dominions (Branchik, 2011; Valero, 1991).

Turning now to gender patterns, the increasing number of women travellers stands out sharply. The new middle classes tended to travel as a couple or family (Norval, 1936), while growing numbers of single women (Hufton, 1984) had sufficient financial means to travel with their friends (Freeman & Klaus, 1984, p. 396; Thane, 2004, page 213) – hence the high female presence recorded among those arriving in Andalusia and, above all, in the Balearic Islands.

In examining these enormous changes, the case of Spain presented in this article has an exceptional value which far exceeds its modest size. At the beginning of the twentieth century the number of tourists visiting Spain was extremely low, most of them visitors in search of adventure, while the few resorts catering to domestic tourists had a markedly aristocratic character.

Bearing this in mind, the tourist industry that developed in Spain started practically from scratch, and its rise appears to have been determined almost exclusively by the demands of Europe's emerging social classes. Between 1900 and 1936 the growth of Spanish tourism faithfully reflected the new European trends.

The first thing we discovered when analysing the case of Spain is that the traditionally wealthy constituted a tourist market clearly in decline, one from which it was impossible to build up a new tourist industry. Splendid luxury hotels were built in Mallorca at the beginning of the century, but none achieved their aims, and nor did the *Formentor* Hotel by the late 1920s.

Málaga, a destination predicated on exactly this type of luxury tourism, faced an uneven path of development which ended in total collapse with the declaration of the Spanish Republic.

The only Spanish tourist market which saw sustained development between 1900 and 1914 was that catering to travellers in search of the locales associated with literary myths, above all in Andalusia. With the First World War this growing market went into sudden recession, and when Spanish tourism began to recuperate, the centre of gravity had moved firmly across to Majorca. In the 1930s the island witnessed a massive tourist boom, reflected in the surprising surge in middle class incomes in the midst of the Great Depression (Burns, 1954, p. 260; McKibbin, 1998, p. 59; Perkin, 1989, p. 94).

Majorca had everything of interest to visitors of this new class, travelling with little time and on a limited budget: a beautiful historic capital, spectacular scenery, accessible caves, excellent beaches for sunbathing and extensive transport links, internal as well as external. To these draws was soon added an extensive range of hotels with no pretension to luxury but offering highly competitive prices. Taken together, up to 1934 these attractive elements succeeded in placing Spain's complex political situation in the shade, and turned Palma de Mallorca into the tourist capital of Spain.

In addition, Majorca was able to capitalise on its geographic location at the centre of the western Mediterranean, offering an attractive stop for long-distance vessels and Mediterranean cruise lines. Its port was full of large ships that linked the island to every corner of the globe and brought tourists of every type and background.

The data presented in the previous pages show that Spain, over the course of the first third of the twentieth century, did not have an even minimally consolidated tourism industry, much less a homogeneous tourism model. Indeed, the most outstanding feature is the sector's dispersion. There were a variety of regional patterns that grew somewhat in parallel over the period, with very few points of contact between them. Spanish tourism at the time presents a multifaceted picture in which each facet catered to a different market segment.

Obviously, none of the three tourism models at work in 1936 were able to survive unscathed through the ten dark years that followed. Tourism was practically torn out by the roots as a result of the Spanish civil war. Eventually, though, all three models did succeed in putting out fresh shoots again, but their future now depended on their ability to adapt to the new holiday models coming to the forefront in Europe in the nineteen-fifties.

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