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The hotel industry in Spain during the first half of the twentieth century, 1900–1959

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this article is to analyse the evolution of the hotel sector in Spain in the first half of the twentieth century. More specifically, it seeks to study the tourist hotel industry within the Spanish tourism system which began to take shape during these years, marked by different political and economic contexts. Therefore, this tourist hotel industry is studied within the development of the tourism sector during these years in Spain. By the beginning of the twentieth century, tourism was understood as a social practice and it was an industry that was gaining importance within the Spanish economy.

KEYWORDS

Hotel business; tourist business; tourist industry; tourism; Spain; 1900–1959

1. Introduction

Spain became a tourist destination in the mid-twentieth century during the dictatorship of General Franco. However, the tourism industry in Spain began to take shape earlier than this. Specifically, before the Civil War (1936–1939), a tourism industry started to emerge around certain businesses (hotels, restaurants, travel agencies, transport companies, or construction companies), and also the inbound tourism associations, active tourism associations and even the government (Norval, 1936). Tourism was not only an economic activity but also a social practice which began to spread from the wealthier social groups to the middle classes as early as the 1920s and 1930s (Boyer, 2002). Based on this understanding, this article is not interested in the informal part of tourism which dates back much further in time, it will only analyse formal tourism. Formal tourism is understood as being composed of tourists who stay in hotel establishments which are obliged to publish their rates, pay taxes due to their status as hotel companies and are subject to administrative inspections (Office National du Tourisme, 1934). In contrast, informal tourism refers to that practised by people who stay in private homes (relatives or otherwise), which are not subject to fixed and known rates and which do not pay taxes corresponding to the companies of the sector. For the purpose of this study, it is the formal sector which has obviously generated much more documentary evidence, as we can appreciate in the description of the sources used for this study.

Moreover, within this tourism sector, we will focus on the tourist hotel industry: its origins and evolution during the first half of the twentieth century, specifically until 1959, when the Stabilisation Plan for the Spanish economy was passed, giving rise to a new phase characterised by mass tourism. In our case, it is necessary to distinguish between two very specific stages. The first is the period before the Civil War and the second is the period immediately before the tourism boom of the 1960s. In other words, we are talking about three very distinct periods from an institutional point of view: first, a liberal parliamentary system, then a democracy (the Second Republic) and finally a dictatorship, with the Civil War in between. The scope of action for the entrepreneurs in the hotel sector in the first two cases was very different from that during the dictatorship, particularly when establishing the rates of the services offered in their establishments, which was a fundamental aspect for these types of business. Therefore, while in the first and second stages there was freedom for business initiative and price setting, during the Franco dictatorship, this freedom disappeared and the prices were fixed by the state. Accordingly, in identifying the factors that contributed to shaping the hotel industry in Spain we have contemplated the above-mentioned business freedom and the impact of pricing policies on the evolution of Spain hotel industry. Therefore, the objective of this article is to study the hotel industry within the context of the evolution of tourism in Spain in the first half of the twentieth century, taking into account the changes that took place in pricing policies.

The analysis is also considered within the framework of the development of international tourism during these years in order to analyse the specific characteristics of the Spanish case. The study focuses on analysing the hotel industry within the trajectory of the Spanish tourism sector during the afore-mentioned period. To do this, as we have already mentioned, we have taken into account the different historical periods in Spain during those years. Therefore, we will highlight the rupture in this trajectory caused by the Civil War which gave way to the Franco dictatorship. The tourism policy implemented during the early years of the regime was very different to that of the Second Republic (1930s) and earlier (1910s and 1920s), which was fundamentally characterised by state interventionism. The Franco regime also applied a hotel policy unlike those of its neighbouring countries which had repercussions for the hotel business. Therefore, in order to understand our object of analysis in all of its dimensions and similarly to other studies that have contemplated the same type of issues, this study should not be separated from the international context of the period (Humair et al., 2014; James et al., 2017).

This article is based on the premise that not all of the hotel supply was aimed at tourists. Undoubtedly, this is a topical subject in the research on the tourist hotel industry which is evident in the recent literature (Harismendy, 2016; James, 2018). This study seeks to shed more light on the issue. Until the end of the nineteenth century there were different types of accommodation that were not designed for tourists. At the end of that century a new kind of accommodation began to emerge; the hotel. It was an establishment that provided accommodation, food and other services for its guests. That said, not all of the first hotels were aimed at tourists. Some of them continued to carry out the traditional functions related to trade, business, health, administrative formalities, etc., while others emerged to provide accommodation for tourists. In fact, we should distinguish between those who travelled for pleasure or tourism and those who travelled for business, differentiating these two segments within the market. Indeed, the tourist guides of the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century highlighted that few hotel establishments in Spain were

apt for foreign tourists, who were used to a type of comfort that they rarely found in Spanish hotels (Battilani, 2007b, 2016). The hotels aimed at tourists were establishments that were highly influenced by the comfort features found in the large foreign hotels (Harismendy, 2016). These features refer to electrical lighting, drinking water, the quality of the bathrooms (preferably private), the existence of lifts, a dining room service with an international menu or staff who could speak different languages. Undoubtedly, the 'luxury hotels', referred to below, were ideal in this sense. Tourists, therefore, sought hotels with these characteristics, that is, able to offer these elements of comfort (Battilani, 2007b). During the first decades of the twentieth century, there was a considerable increase in the number of these types of accommodation establishments in Spain.

However, we should note that this distinction between the two market segments is not easy. For example, we can observe that in seaside and mountain destinations hotels sought to cater exclusively for leisure travellers. However, the hotels located in art or capital cities usually welcomed a variegated clientele in terms of travel motivation. This was the case of Barcelona, for example. Like other major European cities, Barcelona 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, as well as tourists (Larrinaga & Vallejo, 2021).

The first hotels aimed at tourists were based on this type of hotel and were usually defined as 'first class hotels', 'Grand hotels', or simply 'luxury hotels'. They emerged not only in capital cities (Paris or London, for example), but also in international tourist destinations in England, Belgium (Ostende), France (for instance in Cote D'Azur) or in Italy (Battilani, 2007b). In the case of Spain, these hotels were built not only in the large cities such as Madrid and Barcelona but also in some of Spain's coastal towns (Palma de Mallorca, San Sebastián, and Santander). Therefore, the focus is on large and luxury hotels which were built imitating those in both the capital cities and the international tourist destinations of the day. Thanks to the international exhibitions of Seville and Barcelona, the tourist hotel industry expanded at the end of the 1920s. The Civil War directly affected the tourism industry. Many hotels were occupied by the contending forces and used for other purposes (hospitals or party headquarters and government bodies, for example), and many of them were damaged. Even so, the hotel supply did not disappear and those that remained constituted the base for the reconstruction of the industry in the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. In fact, by the end of the 1940s, domestic visitors were joined by foreign tourists and consequently, the need for adequate tourist accommodation arose. So, we can say that this is when the tourist hotel industry in Spain consolidated.

That said, the study of the hotel industry in Spain, and more specifically the tourist-oriented hotel industry, should not ignore the broader discussion regarding the history of tourism, as, at the end of the day, the hotel industry was closely linked to this phenomenon. In this respect, it should be noted that classic authors such as Mariotti (1928, 1933) or Gautier had already referred to this hotel industry when they discussed the investments made in hotels and their economic importance. Hence, in this study we have used the term hotel industry. Even so, we should follow the guidelines established by Walton, who underlined the importance of history in tourism studies in general and in the analysis of aspects that had received less attention (Walton, 2009, 2010). We should take into account that one of the current problems with tourism history is that it sometimes forgets the hotel sector, when,

in fact, within the travel sector, the most important primary trades are the passenger transport industry and the hotel and catering industry (Lickorish & Kershaw, 1958, p. 3). Many studies have been conducted on transport (road, rail, air, and sea) in general, with a large amount of more recent contributions focussing on the history of mobility. However, the same is not the case for the hotel industry which plays a more minor role in tourism history studies, despite its relevance. One of the reasons for this deficit could reside in the difficulty to find primary sources as they are disperse and highly fragmentary (Walton, 2011). This problem is frequent in these types of studies (Tessier, 2012). Therefore, another contribution of this study is its participation in the debate on the sources and methods used to study the tourist hotel industry.

Despite this, some studies have been conducted on an international level and have integrated the relevance of the hotel sector into the tourism phenomenon in general. In fact, besides the previously mentioned book by Lickorish and Kershaw (1958), we can also refer to other studies that can be considered as being classic, including those of Norval (1936) or Trimbach (1938); Pimlott for Great Britain (Pimlott, 1947); Mortier (1941) or Duchet (1949) for France; and Mariotti or Gagliardi for Italy (Mariotti, 1928, 1931, 1933). Apart from the quoted reflections made by Walton, there are more recent studies of interest. Those conducted by Battilani and Zuelow are good examples, although there are more (Battilani, 2001; Zuelow, 2016). These include those by Aron for the United States, Humair et al. for Switzerland, Berrino for Italy, Pastoriza for Argentina, Da Cunha et al. for Uruguay, and Walton for the British town of Blackpool (Aron, 1999; Berrino, 2011; Da Cunha, 2012; Humair et al., 2014; Pastoriza, 2011; Walton, 1998). These studies show that international historiography has advanced recently, although there is still much research to be carried out.

In this respect, our article has two main novelties. First, it seeks to address the emergence and consolidation of the hotel industry, particularly with respect to tourist hotels, within the context of the development of the Spanish tourism industry between 1900 and 1959. It is evident that it does not simply observe how the hotel supply grew in Spain during these decades, as all of the countries in the world would have expanded their tourism infrastructure during this same period. The analysis goes further than this. The study focuses on two dimensions, namely: (1) the national dimension, analysing the different historical stages and, therefore, the differentiated pricing policies, particularly those implemented during the Franco regime, taking into account this previously mentioned novelty: the freedom of companies was clearly curtailed and hotel prices were established by the State; and (2) the international dimension, seeking to insert the Spanish case within the wider European context. The second novelty is the use of a large number of sources, many of which are primary, which enable us to study the hotel industry with solid evidence. This constitutes an important contribution to the international debate on the possible sources to use in studies on the tourist hotel industry. Therefore, the description of the sources in the following section is highly relevant.

2. Materials and methods

Among the private agents involved in the creation of a tourist destination and a tourist industry, hoteliers *per se* have been rarely studied by Spanish historiography. This is not the case in international historiography. Other fascinating works have been added to the classic book on British hospitality by Borer (1972). The books by Lefevre (2011) and Andrieux and Harismedy (2016) provide a general history of the hotel industry, focussing mainly on France,

as do the article by James et al. (2017) and the book by James (2018). The two latter publications greatly contribute to our research, particularly in terms of their contributions to the historiographic debate. The concept of hotels as a family business has also been studied extensively as the majority of hotel establishments in the first half of the twentieth century were family-run businesses. Here, we should note the interesting studies by Teodori (2009) for Rome and Zanini (2011) for Genoa.

Another two studies that contribute to the debate in the hotel industry and its international projection in the twentieth century are those by Dunning and McQueen (1981) and Quek (2012). The study by Battilani (2007b) on Mediterranean Europe in the first half of the twentieth century is highly interesting for this article. Furthermore, a good analysis of the establishment of a luxury hotel business can be found in Denby (2002), Tissot (2007), or Tessier (2012). For example, Denby's study represents a step forwards in terms of the analytic engagement with the hotel as an historical subject. With regards case studies, Lesur's (2005) works on Paris, Girelli Bocci (2006) on Rome or Jourdain's (2012) on Brussels are of great interest. In turn, excellent studies can also be found in American historiography, such as those by Sandoval-Strausz (2007) and Berger (2011), among others. Other authors have analysed the history of iconic hotels, such as the Beau-Rivage Palace in Lausanne by Maillard (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). In these studies, we can observe the importance of the sources used. Also interesting is the prospect of hotels as centres of technological innovation, as studied by Humair (2011), Lapointe Guigoz (2010), or Bowie (2016), insofar as the hotels were quick to take advantage of the major innovations of the Second Industrial Revolution. The same can be said of the business organisation, with Baum and Mezias (1992), Battilani (2007a), and Lapointe Guigoz (2010) being particularly interesting. Bonin (2009), meanwhile, studies a highly important hotel chain, the French company Accor.

In the case of Spain, however, there is little literature. Apart from some books on certain hotels in particular, the Ritz in Madrid (Arribas, 2007), 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; Larrinaga, 2018b; Larrinaga, 2019; Larrinaga & Vallejo, 2021; San Román, 2017; Serra, 2009; Suárez Botas, 2006; Vallejo et al., 2016). Except for these latter contributions, the problem of previous works is that they are very descriptive with very little critical content and they rarely mention the complex phenomenon of tourism (Walton, 2009). In this article, we do not claim to provide a mere descriptive analysis of the hotel industry but seek to frame it within the process of the development of the Spanish tourism industry during the first half of the twentieth century.

In order to do this, we will now describe the sources used. The first refers to the Government Statistics based on the Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution, a tax introduced in the 1845 tax reform. This primary source has been used for the period prior to the Civil War. It has also been recently been used by research studies on the tourism sector (Larrinaga & Vallejo, 2021; Vallejo et al., 2016), which explain its usefulness and some of its limitations. These limitations are that (1) it does not include the Basque provinces and Navarre as they had their own tax systems (the Basque Country was an important tourist destination during this period); (2) it does not include the changes in the tariffs paid by companies; and (3) it does not include public limited companies or partnerships limited by shares after the

migration from the Industrial Contribution to the new Profit tax in 1900. This source has been used for the years prior to the outbreak of the Civil War (1936), a period for which there are no statistics available. It is valid for all of the Spanish regions except for the Basque Country and Navarre. As a result, from a methodological point of view, this source can only be used for hotel companies that were not public limited companies. Therefore, as we shall see, this it needs to be complemented with other sources. In this study we highlight the possibility of using taxation sources, with the appropriate caution, in order to analyse our object of study.

In this source, two sections can be distinguished. The first is '*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 is '*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 boom.

In addition, we have also used the Bilbao and Madrid *Anuarios Financieros* or *Financial Yearbooks*, published since the 1910s and include the amount of capital paid out by hotel companies. As this information is partial, we have also used the archives of the Business Registers of different provinces. These archives date back to the end of the nineteenth century and they include the different types of companies offering accommodation. Here we are most interested in the public limited companies due to their importance and the relevance of their promoters and investors as well as the amounts of capital contributed. Furthermore, we have also consulted the General Administration Archive of the Government of Spain. The section on Culture includes tourism matters. So, with these sources we can complete the information about the public limited companies that does not appear in the Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution.

Second, hotel guides have also been used, two in particular: the *Guía de Hóteles de España* [*Guidebook of Hotels in Spain*] published in Seville in 1916 and 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 Patronato Nacional del Turismo [National Tourism Board] for the year 1929. Both of these guides show us two key moments in the formation of the hotel industry in Spain. Also, some local guides have been of interest to us.

Finally, for the years of the Franco regime (1939–1959), we have used the official statistics prepared and published by the Spanish National Statistics Institute. In other words, statistics elaborated by an official government body. In this respect, we should take into account that, unlike the first third of the twentieth century, the Franco dictatorship implemented statistics services which, in the case of tourism, are used by different research specialists and also by this study (Esteve & Fuentes, 2000; Pellejero, 1999).

3. The tourist hotel industry before the Civil War, 1900–1936

The Tourism Media Intensity Index is based on the number of citations of the word 'tourism' in the digital press for the period between 1900 and 1940 (Vallejo et al., 2016). The

index reflects several tourism phases for the first third of the twentieth century in Spain. The first phase lasted until the First World War and was characterised by the take-off of modern tourism, conceived as an industry that had to be promoted (Norval, 1936). The tourism industry contracted during the years of the war and did not overcome this setback until the mid 1920s. From then, a new growth period began which culminated around 1929–1930, coinciding with the Ibero-American Exhibition in Seville and the International Exhibition in Barcelona. In this phase, tourism reached a peak and subsequently suffered a considerable decline in the years 1931–1932, recovering again from 1933. These phases correspond to those indicated by the specialists studying the field at the time (Ogilvie, 1933). This expansive phase was cut short by the Civil War (1936–1939). With the available data, we can observe a concurrence between the phases of the Tourism Media Intensity Index and the creation of a tourist hotel industry in Spain. This index also significantly correlates with the evolution of the arrival of foreign tourists to Spain in the first third of the twentieth century (Figures 1 and 2).

3.1. Until the First World War

By the beginning of the twentieth century there was a clear distinction between inns and hotels. Hotels offered more services while inns remained in an inferior category. This does not mean that all hotels were aimed at tourists. However, when talking about the hotel industry in general, there was an improvement in quality, although possibly only in certain cities and not the whole country. The somewhat negative perception of the hotel industry outside of Spain at the end of the nineteenth century (Baedeker, 1898) gradually improved and gave rise to a hotel sector with an increasing quality. As in other sectors of the Spanish economy, public limited hotel companies began to emerge at the



Figure 1. Foreign tourist arrivals to Spain between 1901 and 1939 (in thousands).¹⁸Source: Tena (2005). Own elaboration.

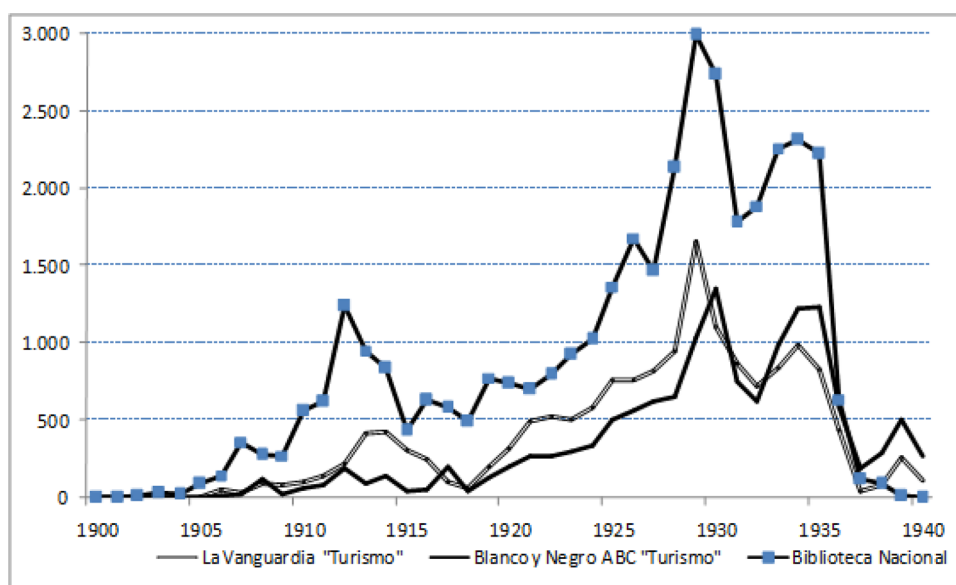


Figure 2. The Tourism Media Intensity Index. The number of times the word *tourism* appears annually in the digital press, namely: The digital archive of the Spanish National Library, the digital archive of the newspaper *La Vanguardia* and the digital archive of the newspaper *ABC*. Source: Vallejo et al. (2016).

beginning of the century. This can be seen as a symptom of the modernisation of the sector and, most of all, of the industrial conception of tourist accommodation (Larrinaga, 2019; Vallejo et al., 2016, p. 156).

This phenomenon can be seen in two tourist towns in the north of Spain; San Sebastián and Santander. In fact, in 1901 the company El Sardinero, SA was established in Santander and in 1902 Fomento de San Sebastián. The former had the objective of exploiting the concession of the beach with the same name, including a bath house, a steam tramway and several hotels, including the Gran Hotel.¹ Meanwhile, Fomento de San Sebastián was created with the sponsorship of the City Council, concerned about promoting summer tourism in the city,² constructing the Victoria Eugenia Theatre and the Hotel María Cristina. The two initiatives constituted a qualitative leap forwards in the hotel business in these two eminently tourist cities where there was already an entrepreneurial spirit committed to the creation of establishments and leisure services for summer visitors from the second half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, these initiatives were developed in a period of strong growth of the hotel supply in Spain. This is confirmed by the statistics of the Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution, with a high rate of annual growth in the number of hotels in 1900–1910 and in 1910–1914, of between 2.2 and 3.4% (Vallejo et al., 2016, p. 173) (Figure 3).

This first growth phase for the Spanish hotel industry included initiatives of quality hotels aimed at tourists in cities such as Madrid (Hotels Ritz and Palace), Santander (Hotel Real, S.A.), Málaga (Hotel Regina, S.A.), Barcelona (Hotel Meublé), and Oviedo (Hotel Covadonga, S.A.) (Vallejo et al., 2016, p. 174). They were establishments with large amounts of tied-up capital and were equipped with the technology and comfort services of the day

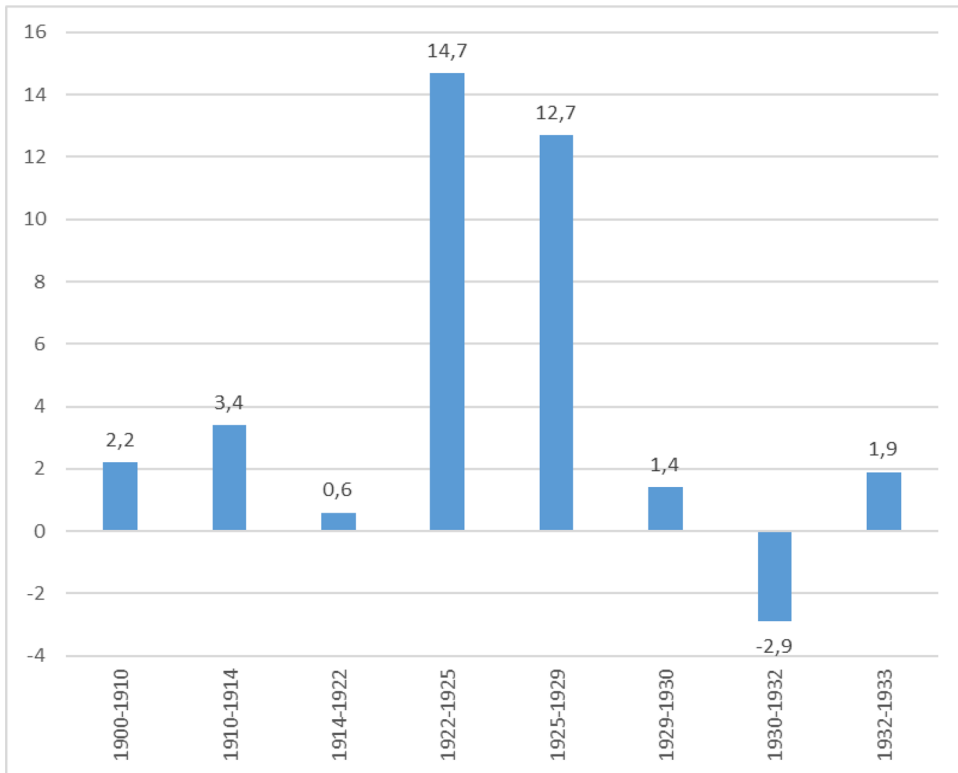


Figure 3. Evolution of hotel establishments in Spain, 1900–1933 (annual rates, %). Note: Navarre and the Basque Country are not included. Source: Statistics of the Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution and Vallejo et al. (2016). Own elaboration.

(lifts, hot water, electric light, etc.) (Bowie, 2018; Lapointe Guigoz, 2011). As mentioned in the introduction, the liberal parliamentary regime of the 1910s and 1920s and the democracy of the 1930s favoured the private initiative, particularly the freedom to establish companies (in this case, hotels) with the possibility of freely establishing prices in accordance with supply and demand. Without a doubt, this constituted an incentive for hotel initiatives during these decades. This phenomenon can also be observed in the large hotel companies of Italy and France for the same period (Battilani, 2007b). In the case of San Sebastián, for example, the luxury hotels became sound businesses due to the wide margins between costs and prices. In other words, during the times of highest demand, such as the summer months, prices rose, favouring their profitability (Aguirre, 1963, pp. 102–103). This freedom of prices motivated business investments in the sector, and some towns in the interior of the country also made significant improvements to their hotel facilities with a view to attracting tourists. With its extraordinary monumental heritage, Granada undoubtedly constitutes an example (Seco de Lucena, 1911). Even so, the public limited company was not the predominant company model (Larrinaga, 2018b; Vallejo et al., 2016, p. 173), which also extended to other countries, such as Italy (Battilani, 2016, p. 91). In most cases the owners were also the directors of the establishments and in only a few cases the owner and management were separate. Furthermore, the majority of them only owned

Table 1. First hotel chains in Spain, 1894–1918.

Owners	Year	Hotels
Yotti y cía.	1894	Madrid, Málaga and Granada
	1899	Madrid, Málaga
Ricca Frères	1902	Cádiz, Sevilla, Jerez, Huelva, Córdoba
Sociedad Franco-Española (1905)	1906	Alicante
	1907	Alicante, Málaga
	1908	Alicante, Málaga, El Escorial, Zaragoza
Zubillaga Hermanos	1911	Bilbao, Valladolid, Oviedo
Baldomero Méndez	1911	Málaga (2)
José Simón Méndez	1916	Alicante, Almería, Córdoba, Málaga, Sevilla
?	1916	Logroño and Miranda de Ebro
Arana Hermanos	1917	Bilbao, San Sebastián, Zaragoza
Hoteles Bristol	1918, ?	Barcelona (2), ?

Source: Own elaboration based on the studies cited in the text.

one hotel, but we know of some cases in which this was not the case, with the emergence the first hotel chains (Table 1).

If there was a type of hotel particularly suitable for tourists it was the luxury hotel (Denby, 2002; Tessier, 2012; Tissot, 2007; Watkin et al., 1984). In the case of Spain, there were very few cities that offered this type of accommodation before the First World War. One of them was Madrid, which, unlike other European capitals, did not have any large prestigious hotels at the beginning of the twentieth century (Gutiérrez Ronco, 1984, pp. 45–56; Moreno, 2007, p. 53; 2015, p. 25). Both London and Paris had hosted important Universal Exhibitions but not Madrid. In this respect, César Ritz's hotel chain was the model to follow whose first establishment was opened in Paris in 1898 (Lesur, 2005, pp. 140–143).

As a result, from 1902, initiatives were implemented to construct a large hotel in Madrid, although it was not until 1910 when the Hotel Ritz opened, inspired by the Ritz hotels of Paris and London and designed by the same architect, Charles Mewès. For its construction, the company Hotel Ritz Madrid, S.A. was constituted with a fixed capital of 2,500,000 pesetas. Furthermore, 900 bonds with no capital value were created for the remuneration of services provided to the company by Ritz Development Co. and which could be exchanged for paid-up shares.³ This company contributed its know-how and experience in the luxury hotel business, that is, the professional component of the management. The majority of the shareholders of the Hotel Ritz Madrid, S.A, were Spanish (Gortázar, 1986, pp. 80–81).⁴

At last Madrid had a luxury hotel, although curiously it would not be long before another establishment of these characteristics was opened, the Hotel Palace (1912), which was the initiative of the Belgian Georges Marquet. Observing the huge urban reform taking place in the city, Marquet understood that Madrid was beginning to resemble a major European capital: a capital that would need good hotels for an international clientele. His first strategy was to try to buy the Hotel Ritz when it was being built. When this failed, he decided to build his own establishment (Domínguez Uceta, 2008, pp. 80–81). To do this, he founded Madrid Palace, S.A., whose majority shareholder was Marquet himself (Menéndez Robles, 2006, p. 174). When it opened, the Palace became the largest luxury hotel in Spain (Moreno, 2007, p. 54). And Madrid became a benchmark of the large hotel

industry in Europe. However, the problem was that Madrid did not receive enough high-level visitors so as to maintain two hotels of this category. Therefore, they began to compete through prices. This price war was possible thanks to the afore-mentioned freedom that the entrepreneurs had to fix their rates. During the Franco regime, as we shall see, this was not possible due to the control that the State exercised over prices. Eventually, in 1913, due to its poor financial situation, the Board of Directors of the Ritz decided to lease it to Madrid Palace, S.A. for an annual fee of 350,000 pesetas.⁵ A few years later, in 1926, this company took complete control of the Ritz.

As well as these two hotels, it was not long before Marquet also took over the Hotel Continental in San Sebastián, reinforcing his hotel empire in Spain. Shortly afterwards, in 1917, he took over the Hotel Real in Santander (until April 1929), the Hotel de París in Madrid in 1920 and the Hotel Alfonso XIII in Seville (Moreno, 2015, pp. 32–33). Undoubtedly, this was the largest luxury hotel chain in Spain. As these establishments were integrated into the International Company of Large Hotels, they shared the same prestige as other hotels of their category in cities such as Paris, Lyon, Nice or Brussels.

But Madrid was not the only city in which these types of hotels were established. San Sebastián also had hotels with these characteristics. As we have seen, Fomento de San Sebastián built the Hotel María Cristina, opened in 1912, which was handed over to the Sociedad de Explotación del Hotel María Cristina in San Sebastian. This establishment responded to the needs of an elite destination and the architect chosen for its design was also Mewès. Clearly, Fomento de San Sebastián sought to reinforce the image of the city as an international tourist destination,

This increase in the hotel supply responded to an increase in tourists. We do not have statistics to quantify the Spanish tourists who spent their summer holidays in their own country, but we do have data for foreign tourist arrivals to Spain, as shown in Graph 1. Spain was still not a tourist country (a country that receives foreign tourists with a surplus in its tourism balance) as was the case of Italy, Switzerland or France at the time. On the contrary, Spain was a tourist destination with an outflow of Spanish tourists abroad and with a deficit in its tourism balance. However, we can affirm that, during the years preceding the war, tourism was evolving as a social practice and an economic activity and the development of the tourist hotel industry is proof of this.

3.2. *The years of the First World War*

The war gave rise to a stagnation in the inflow of foreign tourists to Spain. However, many Spanish tourists chose to stay in the country, which represented an opportunity for the national hotel industry. It should be remembered that two of the most important tourist issuing markets to Spain were France and the United Kingdom and both were involved in the Great War (Évanno & Vincent, 2019). The strict controls on the French border, for example, meant that neither the French or Spanish could cross over to the neighbouring country, so Spanish tourists opted to spend their holidays in their own country. This benefitted the hotel industry and a good number of establishments were open during these years (Gutiérrez Ronco, 1984, p. 83). Undoubtedly, one of the most important was the Hotel Real in Santander. King Alfonso XIII was enthusiastic about the construction of the Hotel Real and in 1915 he requested the banker Emilio Botín to personally oversee the works. The following year the Sociedad del Hotel Real de Santander

was established, in which the most prominent figures of the city participated.⁶ The construction works lasted for fifteen months and the hotel opened its doors in 1917 under the direction of Georges Marquet (Flores-Gispert, 2012; San Emeterio, 1992).

Another important city where the hotel industry took a significant step forward during these years was Barcelona (Larrinaga & Vallejo, 2021; Palou, 2012, p. 135). New hotels appeared, some of a very high quality, although the most outstanding initiative was the construction of the Hotel Ritz de Barcelona, S. A. in 1917. This company was created with the support of the local bourgeoisie and with a social fund of four million pesetas.⁷ Coinciding with the years of the First World War and with the unstable situation in Spain at the time (political crisis, strikes, etc.), the hotel was not completed until 1919 (Moreno, 2007, p. 55).

Apart from these initiatives located in important cities for Spanish tourism, hotels were also opened or reconstructed in other towns, taking advantage of the favourable economic situation due to Spain's neutrality. For example, the Gran Hotel of Logroño was opened in August 1914, the Palace Hotel of La Coruña in 1916 and the Hotel Regina of Malaga was completely rebuilt in the summers of 1915 and 1916 (*Guía de hôteles de España*, 1916, pp. 388, 524 and 544). Furthermore, in 1918, the Sociedad Caleta Palace de Malaga was established, which bought the Hotel Hernán Cortés the following year in order to convert the beach into a new tourist area.

According to the *Guía de hôteles de España 1916* [Guidebook of Hotels in Spain], all of the provincial capitals in the peninsula already had at least one hotel.⁸ This was an important step forwards for the hotel industry, although many of them were not aimed at tourists. In the same year, we can also observe that there were many hotels in towns that were not provincial capitals, although the majority of them were not for tourists. However, by the beginning of the 1920s the hotel industry in Spain had taken a qualitative leap forward.

3.3. The expansion of the hotel industry in Spain in the 1920s and 1930s

A new investment phase in the Spanish hotel sector began in 1922. According to the statistics of the Industry and Commerce Tax Contribution, sharp growth was observed between 1922 and 1925 in terms of the number of establishments (14.7% per year), falling only slightly between 1925 and 1929, 12.7% per year. Therefore, we can speak of a strong growth, which would continue, although at a more modest rate, until the outbreak of the Civil War. Clearly this was thanks to the exhibitions in Seville and Barcelona. The influx of tourists, many of whom were from abroad (Graph 1) increased the demand for hotel services. However, this phenomenon was not exclusive to just these two cities; it had repercussions in other towns, for example, in Andalusia. Spain was starting to become an attractive destination for foreign tourists (Barke et al., 1996).

Meanwhile, in Barcelona, after the First World War, the public limited company Majestic Hotel de Inglaterra was constituted in order to exploit one of the most luxurious accommodation establishments of the city.⁹ Shortly afterwards, it would be complemented with the afore-mentioned Ritz. However, for the year of the Exhibition, the *Guía Oficial de Hoteles* [Official Hotel Guide] listed 45 establishments (as opposed to 26 in 1916). The number of hotels in Seville also increased slightly. According to the same guide, a total of 60 hotels were opened for this event, including the luxurious Hotel Alfonso XIII. In 1916 Seville had

14 hotels. By 1929 this had grown to 84 with more than 15,000 available beds. This was much more than in Madrid (over 6500), Barcelona (around 5000), or San Sebastian (3190).¹⁰

A new investment cycle had begun in which two phenomena can be distinguished. On the one hand, the incorporation of new luxury hotels (the Hotel Príncipe de Asturias in Málaga, 1926, Hotel Carlton in Bilbao, 1926, and the Hotel Alfonso XIII in Seville, 1928), and on the other hand, the incorporation of the middle classes into the tourism phenomenon, with a considerable increase in the number of lower category hotels. An example of this can be seen in a tourist destination such as San Sebastián.¹¹

In fact, we can see from the *Guía Oficial de Hoteles* of 1929 that there was a considerable expansion of the hotel industry throughout the whole country that was much more robust than the growth observed in the *Guía de h teles de Espa a* of 1916. There were now tourist hotels in many towns, not just in the provincial capitals (Elston, 1930, p. 37). This shows a considerable increase in the stock of tourism capital during these years (Vallejo et al., 2016, pp. 154–181). Therefore, we can talk about the existence of a tourist hotel industry from the beginning of the 1930s (Muntanyola, 1932, p. 178). The country's tourism supply had improved, which was also reflected in the foreign travel guides (Elston, 1930, p. 37). This hotel expansion was a reflection, in turn, of the growth in foreign tourists visiting Spain. With respect to the revenue earned from inbound tourism, we can observe that Spain was not yet a major tourism power at the beginning of the 1930s, although it was starting to position itself on the world stage. In 1931 its income from inbound tourism amounted to 12.4 million gold dollars. The following year it was 12.9. It was still far behind other European countries. In France, for example, the income in 1932 and 1933 earned from tourism was 117.5 million gold dollars. Meanwhile, in Italy there was a decrease in income, from 137.4 in 1929 to 50.3 in 1932 due to the international crisis. In Germany, however, the revenue from tourism grew from 42.9 million gold dollars in 1929 to 76.2 in 1935 (Trimbach, 1938, pp. 44–49). Even so, in 1933, Spain had positioned itself in ninth place in terms of income in millions of francs,¹² but the Spanish Civil War reduced the majority of the tourist flows achieved in the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s. This was the opposite case of Italy, for example, where a tourist boom was experienced from 1933 only interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War, thanks to an intense propaganda campaign (Gagliardi, 1959, p. 2). Spain was still very far behind its neighbours such as France and Italy in terms of income from tourism and the number of foreign tourists received. Italy was clearly Europe's tourism leader in the 1930s.

According to the number of tourists, these hotel initiatives in Spain corresponded to private capital, on the whole local. However, the Government also wanted to contribute to the tourist hotel industry. Initially it was the Comisaría Regia (Royal Commission) that proposed that the State itself could increase the hotel supply by building small establishments in less populated cities that had some tourist attractions and where private initiative was not present. Thus, on 1 August 1926 the construction works began on the first state accommodation establishment: the *Parador Nacional* of Gredos, in the mountain range close to Madrid (Men ndez Robles, 2006, p. 196; Moreno & Pellejero, 2015, p. 149). Under the successor of the Comisaría, the Patronato Nacional del Turismo [National Tourism Board] (1928), during the 1930s, the network of public hotel establishments expanded, focussing mostly on automobile tourism. Even so, it always constituted a very small share of the supply in comparison with private establishments (Moreno & Pellejero, 2015).

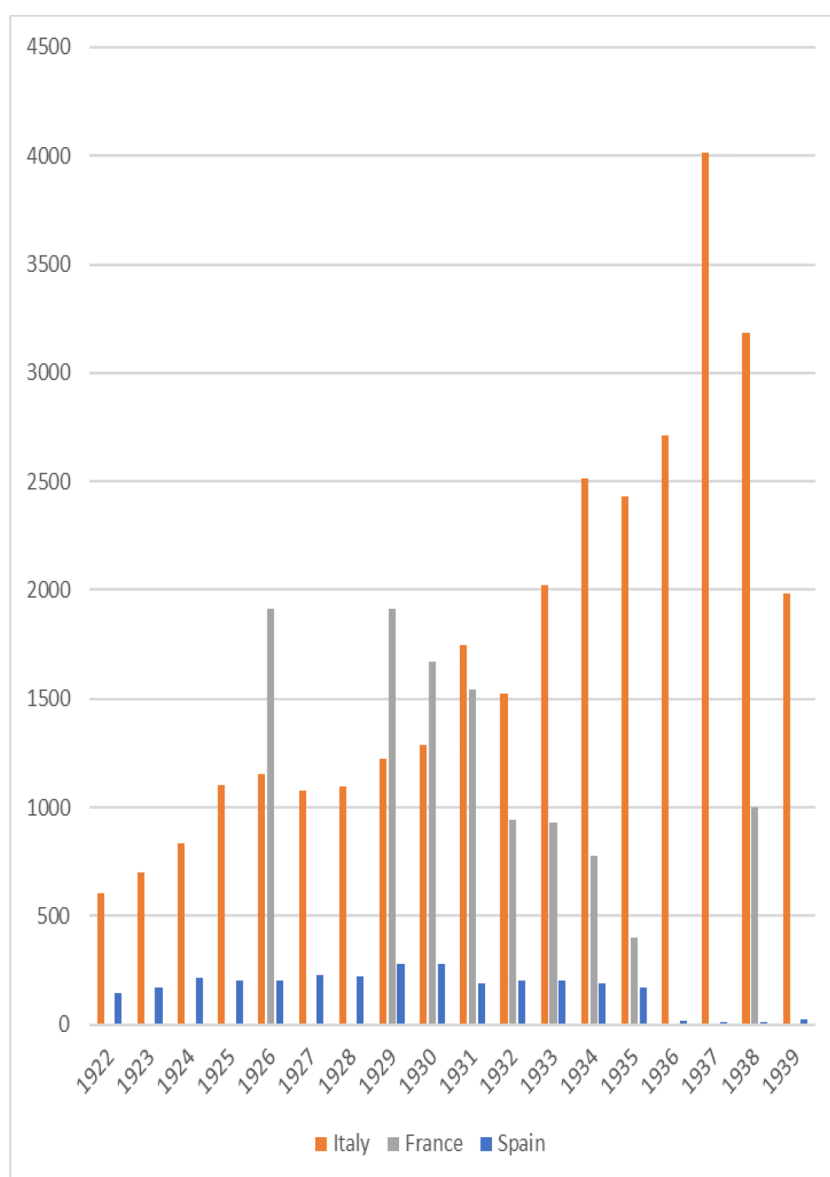


Figure 4. Tourists in Italy, France and Spain 1922–1939. Source: for France in 1926 Mortier (1941), between 1929 and 1935, Trimbach (1938), 1938 Fernández Fúster (1991); for Italy Battilani (2020); and for Spain, Tena (2005).¹⁹ Own elaboration.

4. From the Civil War to the eve of the tourism boom

The uprising of General Franco in July 1936 ruined the summer season, giving rise to a civil war that would last until April 1939. The conflict did not destroy the first tourist system that had been taking shape in Spain before this date. This system was made up of different tourist destinations and products, a market (formal and informal), agents (tourists, companies, active and inbound tourism associations and the Government) and a tourism

organisation (Humair et al., 2014; Vallejo, 2019). Even during these years of conflict, the tourism activity did not disappear altogether, especially in the area controlled by the rebels. In fact, by 1937, part of San Sebastián's tourism activity had resumed and the city became consolidated in 1938 and 1939 as the tourism capital of Franco's territory (Larrinaga, 2018a, pp. 103–109).

It was also in this territory where the so-called New State began to emerge, the embryo of the future Franco dictatorship after the Civil War, with a renewed institutional framework that also affected tourism. In January 1938, the Servicio Nacional del Turismo [National Tourism Service, NTS] was created, which, that same summer, launched a new tourism product; the Rutas de Guerra (War Routes). Initially four itineraries were designed, but in the end only two were developed, those of Northern Spain (from the French and Portuguese borders) and the Andalusia route. Its objectives were to obtain foreign exchange and advertise the benefits of the new regime (Correyero & Cal, 2008; Holguín, 2005). In truth, these War Routes only generated a very modest financial result. Eighteen months after their launch the tourist buses of the NTS had travelled about 250,000 kilometres with a total number of 8060 passengers.¹³ These figures are very modest, although the routes did help to improve the economic situation of some hotels, restaurants, shops, etc. (Bolí, 1967, p. 315).

In addition, we must not forget that the impact of the war on many hotel establishments was enormous, as was the case in other European cities a little later, in the Second World War (Teodori, 2015). The ownership of the companies followed different paths on both sides. In the republican area, many establishments were confiscated and converted into the headquarters of the trade union committees or political parties. The best hotels were those that were most affected, due to the quality of their facilities and their technical advances such as a good communications system. Examples are the Ritz and Colón hotels in Barcelona (Palou, 2012, p. 258). In Bilbao, the first Basque regional government installed itself in the Hotel Carlton. Other hotels were used as hospitals (Fernández Casado, 2018). The damage caused to the country's hotel infrastructure by the war and the change of their functions was considerable.

Meanwhile in Franco's territory, the authorities used requisition as a means of repression but they also returned hotel establishments to the owners whose buildings had been collectivised by the militia or the corresponding republican authorities. Therefore, the new political leaders not only restored ownership of the occupied hotels, but also sought to provide them with business through the War Routes. Their objective was to prepare the necessary hotel infrastructure for when the war ended and the number of tourists increased.

At the end of the war in 1939, high expectations were placed in international tourism. The contacts that had been made in 1938 and 1939 through the NTS with different foreign travel agencies could now be highly useful for issuing tourists. In fact, the expectations seemed founded; in 1937 there were only 8,343 foreign tourists in Spain, by 1938 they had risen to 10,105 and in 1939 to 16,381. The figures were much lower than those of the 1930s (Fernández Fúster, 1991, p. 279),¹⁴ but they gave cause for hope, although in 1942 they plummeted to 9,336 tourists (Fuentes Irurozqui, 1946, p. 345). By then (August 1939), the NTS had been replaced by the Dirección General de Turismo [Directorate-General for Tourism, DGT].

The Directorate-General for Tourism was the new body responsible for establishing the tourism policy during those years. The two fundamental characteristics of the tourism policy of the Franco regime were, on the one hand, strong interventionism in the tourism sector,

including a strict control of hotel prices; and, on the other hand, the conception of tourism as a political propaganda instrument to benefit the regime (Correyero, 2005). In this way, Franco's government disposed of the tourism policy of the 1930s (during the Second Republic), highly characterised by political instability and the crisis of 1929, which had forced drastic cuts in the tourism budget. The employees of the NTS were reduced as were the investments made to promote Spain in the national and international press and the representatives abroad (Pellejero, 2018). This position contrasted with the investments in advertising that countries such as Germany, Italy or even the Soviet Union were carrying out in Europe (Baranowski, 2004; Battilani, 2001; Berrino, 2011; Koenker, 2013; Semmens, 2005). With Franco's victory in 1939, the budget of the Directorate-General for Tourism increased and the tourism policy of the regime focussed on the arrival of tourists in order to improve its image and obtain currencies. In fact, with the intention of recovering the pre-war tourist flows, the Franco authorities carried out an intense legislative activity, revealing the regime's interventionist policy with respect to tourism (Moreno, 2007). However, the Second World War wreaked havoc on Spain's inbound tourism.

Nevertheless, of the many measures adopted we will focus on those referring to the hotel industry. As soon as the war was over, the Ministry of the Interior issued an Order on 8 April 1939 to establish the regulation of hotel accommodation. This Order granted this Ministry and the NTS (and the DGT from August onwards) the power to authorise the opening of hotels, establish their categories and prices and inspect hotel services. These establishments were classified into two categories according to the quality of the services offered: A and B (Table 2).

The owners of establishments in operation had to submit a request to the NTS so as to be included in the different categories. Furthermore, the room prices could not be higher than those prevailing on 16 February 1936, in the case of establishments that had opened before this date. In the case of those opened after this date, the prices were adjusted to those in force for each category on the date indicated. These prices could not be raised without the authorisation of the Head of the NTS who would only allow it if it was fully justified, based on the improvement of the hotel services.¹⁵ As we can see, this measure

Table 2. Classification of hotel establishments pursuant to the Order of 8 April 1939.

Classification	Service
A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dining room service with prices for full board or individual meals.
1 st	
Luxury hotels or paradors	
First-class A hotels or paradors	
First-class B hotels or paradors	
Second-class hotels or paradors	
Third-class hotels or paradors	
2 nd	
First-class Pensiones (or hostels) or inns	
Second-class hostels or inns	
Third-class hostels or inns	
3 rd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> no dining room breakfast service
Guesthouses	
Boarding houses	
B	
First category accommodation	
Second category accommodation	
Third category accommodation	

Group A 2nd should also include luxury hostels and inns (Arrillaga, 1955). As stated in the tourism policy of 1946. Source: *Official State Gazette*, 14-4-1939. Own elaboration.

put an end to the free pricing policies enjoyed by the hotel entrepreneurs before the Civil War. Therefore, a very rigid price system was established. The Franco authorities saw tourism as one of the pillars on which to base the country's economic development, particularly if we take into account the low level of Spanish exports in the 1940s (Vallejo, 2013). Thus, this price control measure was considered as being fundamental and any decisions made by the entrepreneurs were disregarded. This fixed price regime prevailed for most of the dictatorship. In addition to obtaining foreign exchange, the objective was for Spain to become a competitive country through prices (Pellejero, 1999, p. 52). In this respect, in the 1950s, we could say that, in comparative terms, Spanish hotels were the cheapest in the world (Arrillaga, 1955, p. 285). That said, this system of controlling hotel prices constituted one of the most debated public actions of tourism policy during the early years of the Franco regime (Velasco, 2004, pp. 114–115), as, apart from discouraging investments, it also reduced the freedom of enterprise of the investors in the sector (Table 3).

Initially, the Government only allowed certain surcharges on the prices on very specific dates: usually local festivals, although later this was disallowed too (Fernández Fúster, 1991, pp. 467–468, 473–475).¹⁶ In 1941, accommodation prices were fixed in accordance with the categories established, and were maintained until 1947 (Pellejero, 1999, p. 52). Subsequently, there were new price increases of hotels in order to adjust them to inflation, but they came late and were insufficient and therefore did not subdue the malaise of the entrepreneurs (Fernández Fúster, 1991, p. 475). The hotel owners were even obliged to pay the tourism stamp (law of 17 July 1946), which varied in amount depending on the accommodation category and was used to alleviate the critical situation in which the DGT was immersed (Bayón & Fernández Fuster, 2005, pp. 41–42; Pellejero, 1999, p. 53).

This practice deformed the normal operation of the capital markets, although the State chose to reinforce the hotel industry, foreseeing that, once world peace had been achieved, the foreign tourist flows would also reach Spain. In Francisco Franco's Spain, the development of the hotel industry formed part of a wider programme designed to attract Europeans to the country as tourists, strengthening the economic foundations of the dictatorial state (Pack, 2006). In order to achieve the objective of expanding the hotel sector it was necessary to facilitate low-cost credit operations. Therefore, Hotel Credit was created in 1942, allowing the Industrial Credit Bank to grant loans for this purpose, creating within it the Hotel Credit Service. Initially a fund of 25 million pesetas was established, which would be loaned, with an interest rate of 4% instead of the 5.25% with which the Bank operated (and 0.125% commission), with the Ministry of Finance paying this difference. In 1948 it was increased by another 25 million

Table 3. Hotel prices in different countries in 1953.

Countries	In dollars and 100 base = United States				
	Luxury	1st A	1st B	2nd	3 rd
Argentina	6.09 (32)	4.18 (29)	3.04 (33)	2.66 (48)	1.74 (99)
USA	19.00 (100)	14.00 (100)	9.00 (100)	5.50 (100)	1.75 (100)
France	10.00 (52)	8.28 (59)	4.28 (47)	3.75 (70)	2.00 (114)
England	10.20 (53)	4.47 (31)	3.77 (41)	2.79 (50)	2.09 (119)
Italy	6.40 (33)	5.92 (42)	4.48 (49)	2.72 (49)	1.60 (91)
Mexico	10.41 (54)	9.48 (67)	4.62 (51)	2.89 (52)	1.73 (98)
Switzerland	7.00 (36)	5.60 (40)	4.20 (46)	3.28 (59)	1.40 (80)
Spain	2.54 (13)	1.78 (12)	1.27 (14)	0.89 (16)	0.63 (26)

Source: Arrillaga (1955). Own elaboration.

and the following year by a further 50 million. In 1949 this fund became revolving, that is, that the returns of the beneficiaries constituted the sums for new investments. In 1954, the fund amounted to 300 million pesetas. This is a small amount if we take into account the large number of requests presented to this Bank that could not be admitted (Brú, 1964, pp. 6–41).

Evidently, tourism needs hotels in order to develop, but, in turn, the hotel industry needs tourists. In the case of Spain, first, the Civil War and then the World War significantly reduced the flow of foreign tourists. Specifically, in 1942, they had practically disappeared from Mallorca,¹⁷ there were very few in the Canary Islands and there were virtually no French tourists at all on the Cantabrian coasts (Fuentes Irurozqui, 1946, p. 345). However, not only was inbound tourism affected, but domestic tourism was also hit hard due to the unfavourable economic conditions (Carreras & Tafunell, 2004, pp. 272–273). In San Sebastian, for example, 16 hotels disappeared between 1936 and 1948, accounting for a total of 1042 rooms. In 1948, the city had a total of 26 hotels and 1538 rooms (Lavaur, 1948, pp. 110–112). However, the situation in San Sebastián was not an exception. In Barcelona, in 1936 there were 3542 beds, in 1939 there were 3002 and in 1949 3287. In 1950, this city with more than a million inhabitants only had 28 hotels (Palou, 2012, p. 264). In Table 4 the 1942 data is misleading. These almost 300,000 beds were due to the severe housing problems existing in post-war Spain. They corresponded mostly to dismal hostels used to cover the dire accommodation needs due to the destruction of buildings during the war.

This hotel capacity is fairly low if we compare it with that of Italy, for example, a competitor in the Mediterranean basin with a solid and long-standing hotel industry. In 1949 there were 20,006 hotels and 215,702 rooms. These figures clearly highlight the modesty of the Spanish hotel industry in 1950. Even ten years later, and in spite of the large investments made in Spain, the difference was still substantial, as in Italy there were 32,405 hotels and 455,985 rooms in 1960 (Battilani, 2016, p. 93).

The difference in the number of hotels in Spain between 1950 and 1960 shows that 40% of the total hotel establishments in 1960 were less than 10 years old. So it constituted the youngest hotel industry in Europe (Aguirre, 1963, p. 108). Private investment began to gain strength in the late 1940s and the hotel industry began to recover. The majority of the 170 hotels that were built across the country between 1945 and 1951 were financed with Spanish and British investments (Pack, 2006). Hereafter, a veritable reconstruction of the hotel industry took place in Spain, largely aimed at tourists. The main factors that made Spain an increasingly desirable destination among foreign tourists were the following: the recovery of European economies, the achievement of social rights (paid holidays, for example), a gradual

Table 4. Hotel capacity of Spain 1942–1960.

Year	Hotel establishments			
	Hotels	Hostels	Rooms	Beds
1942			193,928	298,973
1950	1047	?		
1951			48,226	78,771
1953	1196	?	54,825	98,743
1955			65,766	109,687
1957			71,898	122,845
1959			82,698	142,451
1960	1717	?	87,223	150,821

Source: for 1942, Fuentes Irurozqui (1946); for 1950 and 1960, Aguirre (1963); for 1953 (hotels and rooms), Arrillaga (1955); and for the rest, Brú (1964). Own elaboration.

rehabilitation of Spain in the international context, a significant advance in its material conditions (infrastructure and food), an improvement in transport, the tourist exchange of 25 pesetas for one dollar (1949), the entry facilities and the attractiveness of the sun and the beaches. From 1950 onwards, the number of foreign tourists did not stop growing (Figure 5 Tables 5 and 6). (Aguirre 1963)

At the beginning of the 1950s, the increase in the number of tourists began to generate the first problems in terms of tourist accommodation. In 1955, for example, Spain's hotel capacity was low in comparison with other countries (Battilani, 2001, p. 326). There was an evident lack of hotel beds which was noted a few years earlier in the so-called National Tourism Plan of 1953. The main problem resided in the fact that in the case of a state-intervened market, such as Spain, the incentives to invest were lower than in competing markets such as Italy or France. As the prices were fixed by the government they were not very profitable for the entrepreneurs. Contrary to the Republic in the previous phase, the Franco regime opted for strong intervention with the hotel sector being one of the most affected. As a result, rather than a problem of capital, there was a problem related to the unattractiveness of investing in the hotel industry due to the lack of price freedom.

This was not the case in the rest of western European countries, but the Franco regime opted for low hotel prices as a way to attract a higher number of tourists. Thanks to these policies, Spain began to position itself among the most important tourist destinations in Europe in the second half of the 1950s (Pack, 2006). As a result, the urgent need arose to

Table 5. Foreign tourism and GDP in Spain, 1950–1960.

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
Tourists (thousands)	457	676.3	776.8	909.3	993.1	1383.4	1560.9	2018.7	2451.9	2863.7	4332.4
Revenue from tourism (billions of pesetas)	0.64	1.17	1.67	3.79	4.66	4.44	4.43	3.85	4.1	9.44	17.86
Tourism revenue/GDP (%)	0.38	0.54	0.7	1.47	1.56	1.36	1.1	0.82	0.75	1.65	3.04

Source: Vallejo (2013). Own elaboration.

Table 6. Hotel capacity in several European countries, 1952–1955.

Country	Year	Hotels	Rooms	Beds
Spain	1952	1121		79,324
	1953	1208		88,267
	1954	1242		94,236
	1955	1360		96,200
Italy	1953	23,766	273,728	
	1954	24,599	295,836	461,236
	1955	26,074	312,736	
Switzerland	1952	6794		164,213
	1953	6371		166,083
	1954	6475		170,173
	1955	6535		175,271
France	1952		287,700	
	1953		290,000	
	1955	8976		
Great Britain	1954	4159	139,333	
The Netherlands	1953	1875		38,700

Source: for Spain, Esteve and Fuentes (2000); for Italy, Battilani (2016) and Arrillaga (1955); for Switzerland, Statistique historique de la Suisse (<https://hss.ch/de/2012/m/5>), rubrique M; for France, Lefevre (2011); for Great Britain and the Netherlands, Arrillaga (1955). Own elaboration.

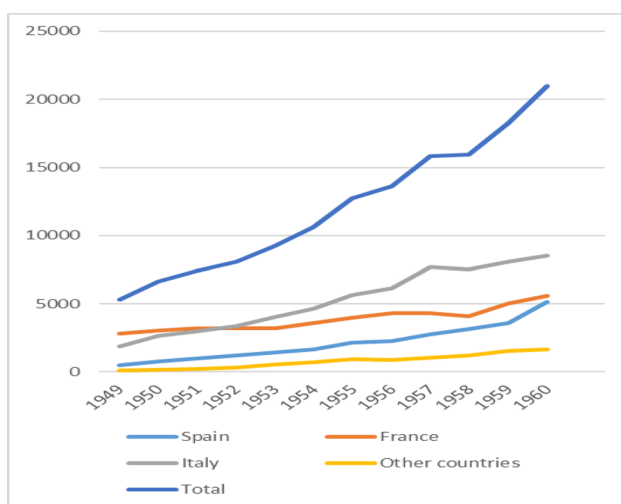


Figure 5. Foreign tourists visiting Southern Europe. Source: Fernández Fúster (1991). Own elaboration. Note: Includes people entering with passports and in transit through ports.

Table 7. Hotel capacity of Spain 1955–1960 (accommodations and rooms).

Category	1955	1957 May	1959 May	1960 May
Luxury hotels	57 7.209	59 7.998	66 8.878*	67 9.118**
1st Class A hotels	122 8.826	135 9.098	159 10.618*	184 12.309**
1st Class B hotels	213 10.409	246 11.520	287 13.342*	316 14.449**
2nd class hotels	463 18.029	510 18.860	537 19.906*	534 19.584**
3rd class hotels	456 13.313	503 14.269	563 15.684*	610 16.616**

Source: National Statistics Institute: *Statistical Yearbooks of Spain* for the corresponding years. Own elaboration.

* At 31 December 1958. ** At 31 December 1959.

build more hotels so as to respond to a considerable increase in demand. The funds of the Hotel Credit did not stop increasing, amounting to 700 million in 1958 and 900 in 1961. Spain was at the threshold of its tourism boom of the 1960s, so there was an imperative need to create new hotels. This ever increasing number of tourists (Figure 4) is what motivated the expansion of the hotel industry in the second half of the 1950s, as the hotels had a guaranteed clientele (Figure 5 and Table 7).

5. Conclusions

During the first third of the twentieth century, the first tourism system in Spain was forming and the tourist hotel industry was a particularly important factor within it. By this we mean establishments designed for tourist accommodation. The development of tourism

necessarily requires an adequate hotel industry, and this began to take shape in the first decades of that century, so by the outbreak of the Civil War in 1936, Spain had significantly improved its supply of tourist hotels compared to 1900. As well as the large luxury hotels, more modest hotels also emerged aimed at the middle classes who had also begun to participate in the tourism phenomenon. By 1936 a clear diversification of this tourist hotel supply could already be observed.

The war interrupted this expansion and hit the hotel industry hard since many of the establishments were occupied, damaged or almost destroyed. There was considerable damage and restoring the hotel sector to its pre-war level was a difficult process. Furthermore, the outbreak of the Second World War and the state of the Spain's post-war economy made this recovery very slow. Therefore, the implementation of the Hotel Credit service in 1942 was considered as a useful instrument for improving the country's hotel structure. Nevertheless, it did not suffice, since the number of tourists was increasing significantly, placing pressure on the tourist hotel industry. Throughout these years, this hotel industry was conditioned by official prices. This curbed private initiatives, relegating entrepreneurs to a secondary role, subject to the State's best interests which in this case were to keep prices low in order to increase competitiveness and attract more tourists so as to obtain greater income from foreign exchange. At the end of the day, tourism was aimed at compensating the trade deficit existing at that time in Spain.

Therefore, during the early years of the Franco regime, the pricing policy slowed down the expansion of the hotel industry in Spain, as the entrepreneurs could not implement the profitable prices that they had applied in the years preceding the war. This policy was very different to those in competing countries such as Italy and France, where pricing freedom enabled the hotel industry to develop under more favourable conditions for the entrepreneurs of the sector. That said, as the number of foreign tourists did not stop growing in the 1950s, more hotels were built in order to satisfy this demand, even though the prices paid by the clients were still fixed by the government. Ensuring the reservations of these guests constituted a new incentive for creating new hotels.

Notes

1. Business Registers of Santander (BRS), Sheet 346.
2. Business Registers of Guipúzcoa (BRG), Sheet 431.
3. Business Registers of Madrid (BRM), Hoja 2.345.
4. For an exhaustive analysis of the shareholding, see Arribas (2007, pp. 37–104).
5. General Administration Archive of the Government of Spain (GAAGS), Culture, (3) 49.2, Box 12.104, 'Notas referentes al desenvolvimiento de la hostelería de Madrid, entre los años 1901 al 1913', by Luis Scatti. See also Arribas (2007, pp. 236–250) and Moreno (2015, pp. 27–32).
6. BRS, Sheet 658, and Municipal Archive of Santander, Construction Works, F-311, nº11, 'Memoria del proyecto, 25 de febrero de 1916, by Javier González de Riancho'.
7. Business Registers of Barcelona (BRB), Sheet 10.785.
8. We should note that this guide does not include all of the hotels that existed nor, of course, the whole accommodation supply in Spain. However, it can constitute a valid instrument in order to gain an idea of the situation of the Spanish hotel industry in 1916.
9. (BRB), Sheet 11.628.
10. Data elaborated using the *Guía de hoteles de España* (1916) and *Guía Oficial de Hoteles* (1929) of the PNT.

11. In 1935 there were 48 establishments and in 1912 only 30. *Guía ilustrada para el forastero* (1908, p. 36).
12. Clerget, 'Le mouvement', p. 571.
13. GAAGS, (03)049.002TOP.22/57.306-52.704-Box 14.419: report by Luis Bolín of 15 December 1939.
14. The number of foreigners visiting Spain in 1932 was 201,914, in 1932 there were 200,346 and in 1934 190,830.
15. *Official State Gazette*, 14-4-1939.
16. In 1941, for example, these increases were as follows: 10% in luxury hotels and first-class A, 25% in first-class B and second-class hotels, 50% in third-class hotels, 25% in luxury hostels and 50% in the rest of hostels and inns. GAAGS, (03)049.002TOP.22/44.203-52.704-Box 10.583.
17. Due to the serious tourism crisis in Mallorca, in 1941 the closure and sale of the Gran Hotel de Palma was announced. This was the best and largest hotel in the city with more than one hundred rooms. GAAGS, (03)049.002TOP.22/44.203-52.704-Box 10.834.
18. Foreign tourists with a passport; the data exclude Spanish residents abroad and counts all foreigners who declared to be in transit with a permit of more than 24 hours. The number of foreign tourists between 1901 and 1928 has been estimated using the 1929 database of the *Patronato Nacional de Turismo* (the official body responsible for tourism in Spain). Between 1929 and 1934; data referring to overnight visitors provided by the *Memorias del Patronato Nacional de Turismo* and used in Jánaga's (1932) estimates of the balance of payments. Between 1936 and 1939: the number of foreign tourists registered in each province according to the Spanish Institute of Statistics: *Anuario Estadístico de España*, 1950.
19. The sources used to elaborate this figure are as follows. For the Italian case, Battilani's data have been used. For the years 1922–1930, for the data from border surveys, see Bollettino mensile dell'Ente nazionale industrie turistiche, *Statistica del turismo*, N ° 1, 1934. The first estimates were made at the end of the nineteenth century limited to foreign customers, whose influx brought important foreign exchange reserves to the country. They proposed an evaluation of foreign visitors on the basis of railway tickets sold abroad and at border stations and landings in Italian ports, aimed at building the Italian trade balance. Visitors entering by car were counted on the basis of temporary car imports and assuming three passengers per car. The problem is that in 1931 the methodology of the border survey was changed and the figures provided by the fascist government on foreign tourists rose drastically because they also included the workers who lived on the borders with France, Switzerland and Austria who entered the foreign country in the morning and returned to Italy in the evening. For the years 1931–1940 Battilani proposes an estimate that tries to exclude these workers from the count of tourists. After the Second World War, when the widespread use of the car caused the share of the latter to increase rapidly, the Institute of Statistics proposed its own evaluation of the phenomenon (these workers accounted for 20% of those who crossed the border in 1948 and 50% in 1957), thus making the new series more reliable. In the Battilani series, a reduction of 20% is applied to the 1930s, equal to that of 1948, although it could still be overestimated. Otherwise, the series 'arrivals of foreigners at hotels' could be used, which is much more stable over time but which does not count those who stayed in houses, therefore it is an underrepresented series. Battilani also presents this series in her article, but we prefer the series presented here in accordance with the series from France and Spain. In fact, for Spain, we have used the data from Tena used in Figure 1. They are foreign tourists with a passport; the data exclude Spanish residents abroad and counts all foreigners who declared to be in transit with a permit of more than 24 hours. This source has been previously described in detail. The data for France have been drawn from the records of the National Tourism Office. They refer to foreigners who stayed in the country for at least one day (24 hours), so day trips are excluded. They include tourists entering by car. Trimbach (1938) analysed, at the time, the causes of the large differences in tourist arrivals between France and Italy. Among other causes, he cites the low budget for French propaganda, the political and social turmoil in this country or the introduction of the tourist lira according to the decree of December 20, 1936.

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