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RAFAEL VALLEJO POUSADA

Spain in international tourism

A backward and emerging country (1900-1939)*

1. *Introduction*

Spain is one of the leading countries in world tourism. From both home and abroad, it has been identified as a tourism nation since the second half of the twentieth century, when it joined the mass tourism movement with an unexpected dynamism. In 1956 André Piatier, president of the committee of experts of the *Institut International des Recherches Touristiques*, maintained that it was «one of the most extraordinary examples of the contribution of tourism to a general economic expansion», due to the «brutal development of foreign tourism in Spain» from 1949-1950¹. Since then, tourism has been part of its national identity and its model of economic development. This is well-known.

However, tourism in Spain has a longer history than this. Its origins can be traced to the 1830s and 1840s. During the first third of the twentieth century, as will be seen in this study, the emergence of modern tourism can be observed, that is, tourism perceived as an ‘industry’. These are the years of the creation of a tourism system, the basis of the contemporary tourism system, where the foreign tourist became a target customer. Tourism entered the political agenda in 1905. The idea was to follow the examples of France, Switzerland and Italy, where tourism contributed notably to the economy. Spain was lagging behind at this time, but it made some significant progress and was behaving as an emerging country in world tourism by the 1930s. This is a lesser-known fact. There is an underlying reason: there was comparatively little external tourism and there were no tourism statistics, or those that existed had appeared belatedly (1929) and were not widely disseminated (appearing in the Statistical Yearbook of Spain, *Anuario Estadístico de España*, from 1931; and in the League of Nations’ Balance of Payments, from 1932). In any case, contemporaries were not allowed to include Spain in the assessments of the international tourism movement that were conducted at

* This research was funded by Xunta de Galicia (ref. ED431B 2019/34).

¹ A. PIATIER, *Préface*, in R.A. HOLLIER, *L’Espagne et les problèmes du tourisme*, Genève, Institut International de Recherches Touristiques, 1956, pp. 7-8.

this time, when already «millions of people each year leave their homes to become foreign tourists», according to Herbert M. Bratter (1931)². The League of Nations studied the importance of tourism in the international economy, creating a group of experts and establishing the first unified criteria for drawing up tourism statistics (1937). Meanwhile, as from the 1920s, studies on tourism economics and tourism organisation multiplied. These studies emerged in the 1930s, when doctoral theses on the same were encouraged in France, Switzerland and Great Britain. This ushered in the age of specialists: Mariotti (1927), Aucher (1928), Bratter (1931), Ogilvie (1933), Clerget (1935), Peyromaure-Debord (1935), Norval (1936), Trimbach (1938), Leveillé-Nizerolle (1938), Mortier (1941) and W. Hunziker and K. Krapf (1942), among others³.

The figures for tourism in Spain do not appear in these publications; only a few mentions of tourism income appear in the balance of payments (for 1931-1933), which Spain started to calculate in 1931. On the contrary, there are references to its tourism organisation, the National Tourism Board (*Patronato Nacional de Turismo*; hereinafter PNT), created in 1928, and to its network of national and international offices in some European capitals, New York and Buenos Aires. The presence of tourist Spain in the international market was now recognised through its recent, and highly valued, official tourism organisation. This duality was clearly expressed by Peyromaure-Debord in 1935:

In Spain, the general organisation is similar to that of France, but the PNT has much greater financial resources than the *Office National du Tourisme*.

The intervention of the public authorities is ensured by the *Patronato Nacional del Turismo* [...].

There is no serious organisation for tourist movement statistics. However, the statistics of the LON provide [...] figures that show the balance of revenue and expenditure arising from tourist movement⁴.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) first, followed by the Second World War and subsequent international isolation (1945-1948), with the virtual disappearance of the country from the world tourism market, prolonged the absence of Spanish tourism in international publications. It was not until a book by Hollier (1956), followed by one by Carone (1959)⁵, and the United Nations Statistical Yearbook (from 1949) and the OECD

² H.M. BRATTER, *The Promotion of Tourist Travel by Foreign Countries*, Washington, United States Government Printing Office, 1931 p. 1.

³ Some of these authors are cited in this study.

⁴ M. PEYROMAURE-DEBORD, *Le tourisme, le thermalisme et le climatisme*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1935, pp. 211-213.

⁵ G. CARONE, *Il turismo nell'economia internazionale*, Milano, Dott. A. Giuggrè Editore, 1959.

Tourism Reports of the 1950s that Spain reappeared in comparative statistics, when mass world tourism was emerging forcefully⁶.

The aim of this chapter is to help put Spain on the international tourism map for the period 1900-1939. It ties in with research conducted since 2015 by a team comprising Elvira Lindoso, Margarita Vilar and myself, intended to present a first sketch of the economics of tourism, on the one hand, and to situate Spain in the interwar European tourism geography, on the other⁷. This undertaking has an important collective result in the book *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España* (2018), in which more than twenty specialists have participated⁸.

With this stated goal, the chapter is organised in two basic parts. The first presents a brief account of the economic study of tourism in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century, raising some questions related to methodology and sources. The second provides the results considered most relevant to facilitate an initial approach to the economics of Spanish tourism and the incipient tourism system of this historical period. What type of country was Spain from a tourism point of view? What type of tourism was there? Who were the tourists and how many? What were the implications?

2. Spain as a tourist destination in the first third of the twentieth century: two underlying historiographical problems for its characterisation

Tourism in Spain reveals itself as a long-term socio-economic phenomenon, dating back to at least 1830, giving rise to tourism resorts or destinations that gradually led to an ever-increasing 'touristification' of the country. By the turn of the twentieth century, tourism constituted a social phenomenon and an activity whose economy-boosting effects were already known locally in places such as San Sebastián, Santander and Alicante. The economic potential of tourism, that is, its assumed effects on the economy as a whole, took some time to be officially recognised (1905) and, above all, incorporated into a strong tourism policy. This was not implemented until 1928, with the creation of the PNT, after the

⁶ Subject of a publication under preparation: R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *THistoria del turismo en España, 1928-1962*, 2021 (in press).

⁷ R. VALLEJO POUSADA - E. LINDOSO - M. VILAR, *Los antecedentes del turismo de masas en España, 1900-1936*, in «Revista de la Historia de la Economía y de la Empresa», 2016, 10, pp. 137-188; and Id., *The Tourism Economy in Spain, 1900-1939: New Sources, New Methodologies and New Results*, in «Journal of Tourism History», 10 (2018), 2, pp. 105-129.

⁸ R. VALLEJO POUSADA - C. LARRINAGA (dir.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico, 1900-1939*, Madrid, Editorial Sílex, 2018.

limited experience, in many ways, of a royal institution known as the *Comisaría Regia de Turismo* (1911-1928), which did not manage to create a *bona fide* official tourism organisation for the country. In the first decade of the twentieth century, for the first time, a debate was initiated on fostering the so-called 'industry of foreigners' or 'tourism industry' as a national objective (1903-1905). This debate took place in the press and reached the Spanish parliament. The first official body to promote tourism was created by the government in 1905, the National Tourism Commission (*Comisión Nacional de Turismo*), although it had almost no real effect in practice.

The historiography of Spanish tourism has identified this general process. This has been done on the basis of provincial, regional and national studies. It is a prolific and diverse historiography with reference works, in many cases, on tourism policy, propaganda and projected image, advertising posters and billboards, forms of tourism, promotional associations, the hotel industry and means of transport and tourism. There is a long list of specialists: B. Correyero, C. Gil, M. Luque, C. Larinaga, A. Moreno, S. Palou, C. Pellejero, J.C. Cirer, S. Pack, H. Poutet, G. Cerchiolo, A. Vives, J. Walton and J. Smith, M. Leboeiro, M.J. Rodríguez, R. Barquín, J.J. García, A. Sánchez, J. Villaverde, and many more who can hardly be listed here. Despite this production, until very recently it has not been possible to tackle the economic dimension of tourism in Spain during the first third of the twentieth century, that is, what it contributed to the Spanish economy. Likewise, it has not been possible to measure the demand or the main elements of tourist attraction and tourism resources, or determine what position the country occupied in international tourism before 1939. The reason is obvious. Spain is not Italy, which has the profusion of statistics produced by ENIT since 1919. For Spain, the data available are isolated and fragmented, there are no historical series, put together from the history of tourism economics for 1900-1939, which allow a coherent view, and researchers remain largely in the dark regarding details of this activity. Consequently, no satisfactory reply is found for the questions posed above.

2.1. The statistical problem

In my opinion, this circumstance is due to two underlying problems. The first has already been identified: the tourism statistics available are in their primordial stage and are partial and insufficient. The first official statistical records began here with the creation of the PNT in 1928⁹, with

⁹ A. MORENO GARRIDO, *Historia del turismo en España en el siglo XX*, Madrid, Síntesis, 2007.

one of the original seven sections being «personnel and statistics»¹⁰. In practice, this service was launched, through a contract between the PNT and the state's 'general statistical service', on 4 October 1929, «to unify the statistical service of the movement of foreign tourists in Spain»¹¹. Its methodology was not well explained and entails a certain internal confusion. The data available reveal that two methods were used to quantify tourists: counting border entries and hotel stays; the latter makes it possible to know the number of stays, at least for 1929-1930. Many of the original works are kept in the General Administration Archive (Alcalá de Henares). It is thus known that statistical summaries were compiled for the period 1929-1934. However, figures were only published, in the Statistical Yearbook of Spain, corresponding to the period 1929-1933, and only with partial information¹².

These PNT statistics are restricted to foreign tourists. They do not adequately estimate the aggregate economic importance of tourism, having overlooked internal and outbound tourism. The preparation of the first balance of payments, for 1931-1934, by Francisco Jainaga in the Bank of Spain's research service, offers a first estimate of the revenue and expenditure for inbound tourism, for which Jainaga took into account the data provided by the PNT¹³. Meanwhile, the first 'statistics' of the hotel and catering industry in Spain were compiled in 1929, on the PNT's initiative, to prepare the first official hotel guide, on the occasion of the Ibero-American Exposition in Seville and the Barcelona International Exposition (1929). It was done hastily, with data that the head of government (Primo de Rivera) demanded from the civil governors, who were the maximum government authority in each province. The results were nonetheless fairly satisfactory, despite some omissions in the first edition of the guide. Statistics for this period are limited to these¹⁴.

¹⁰ *Reglamento de Régimen interior del Patronato Nacional del Turismo*, de 31 de enero de 1929, art. 5.

¹¹ PATRONATO NACIONAL DEL TURISMO, *Memoria correspondiente a la liquidación, revisión y transformación del Patronato Nacional del Turismo, ordenada por el Gobierno Provisional de la República en su Decreto de 23 de abril de 1931*, Madrid, Talleres Voluntad, 1931, p. 54. The more detailed statistics on tourism in Spain, only for 1929 and 1930, can be found in the above report and in: Id., *Memoria de los trabajos realizados por el Patronato Nacional del Turismo desde julio de 1928 a 31 de diciembre de 1929*, Madrid, Talleres Voluntad, 1930.

¹² «Number of foreigners who visited and stayed overnight in each province» (1930), distinguishing, for some years, between 'males' and 'females' and also 'nationality'. The data provided by the Statistical Yearbook of Spain for 1933 are 'registered foreign tourists' and are from the General Directorate of Security.

¹³ Jainaga's works are available in the Institutional Repository of the Bank of Spain.

¹⁴ These data, and fiscal data of Taxes on Industry and Commerce, have been used to study hotel geography at this time. See R. VALLEJO POUSADA - E. LINDOSO - M. VILAR, *Los antecedentes del turismo de masas en España, 1900-1936*, cit., pp. 137-188; and Id., *The Tou-*

Hence the lack of statistical series are a serious obstacle for research on the economic history of the period 1900-1939.

2.2. The problem of focus or approach

The second underlying problem for studying tourism in the first third of the twentieth century is a problem of focus, or more precisely a double distortion. The first distortion can be termed 'tourism balance'. It consists in fundamentally considering Spanish tourism in this period as foreign tourism. Tourism in Spain at this time has been viewed from the perspective of the tourist Spain of the 1960s or today, that is, thinking of Spain as a 'tourist country' and, therefore, it has been explicitly or implicitly analysed essentially from an inbound tourism viewpoint. If this were the dominant approach, as we are dealing with a country with little incoming international tourism, the conclusion reached must be that this was a backward country in terms of tourism. However, this 'tourism balance' focus is, in a way, an erroneous perspective. It leads to misunderstandings. Actually, who 'touristified' the country more during this period were national tourists travelling to diverse developing tourist destinations, starting with those relatively closer to the main cities¹⁵.

The second distortion can be termed 'overestimation of tourism policy'. This consists in thinking of tourism and studying it as if it were basically a product of tourism policy. This path leads to equally erroneous conclusions. It has repeatedly been said that there was no real tourism policy during this period, and what did exist was belated and insufficient. This leads to the conclusion that Spain was a failure as a tourist country, and this is not the case. Tourism policy can evidently play a very important role in fostering tourism: promotion at home and abroad; integration of resources; coordination of efforts and agents; inclusion of tourism within the objectives of general policy; and creation of the image and tourism respectability of the country. If there is no official or officially-backed tourism organisation there is no tourism system. However, this is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition. In the author's opinion, social uses and entrepreneurial initiatives are just as important as

rism Economy in Spain, 1900-1939: New Sources, New Methodologies and New Results, cit., pp. 105-129; and R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *La formación de un sistema turístico nacional con diferentes desarrollos regionales entre 1900 y 1939*, in R. VALLEJO POUSADA - C. LARRINAGA (dir.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España. El nacimiento de un país turístico, 1900-1939*, cit., pp. 67-170.

¹⁵ As also occurred in Italy in 1920-1930, where internal demand took the lead and «was far superior to foreign demand, accounting for two-thirds of overall demand», P. BATTILANI, *Vacanze di pochi vacanze di tutti. L'evoluzione del turismo europeo*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2009, p. 254.

tourism policy in this formative period of modern tourism in Spain. The tourism undertaken and achieved was in some respects the result of a process by means of which society incorporated tourism practices into its lifestyles. Tourism organisations drove both active and inbound tourism and, above all, tourism companies (spas, hotels, travel agencies, transport, etc.) put their services at the disposal of tourism activities while seeking their own business earnings¹⁶. More attention should be paid to these social and entrepreneurial activities.

Consequently, in order to advance in the historical-economic knowledge of tourism during the first third of the twentieth century, it is necessary to address the statistical shortcomings and overcome the aforementioned distortions. This implies new approaches, new methods and the use of new sources, or traditional sources with the aid of new technologies. A traditional source such as the historical press, digitalised and with a text search feature, enables significant progress in research. It is possible, for example, to quantify and create temporal series by searching for keywords, and thus gain quantitative knowledge. Available quantitative sources available include fiscal statistics, such as Taxes on Industry and Commerce (*Contribución Industrial y de Comercio*), from 1845. Until very recently, these have not been used in the Spanish case for history of tourism studies, although they had been used for classic studies of industrial history, such as those by Jordi Nadal¹⁷. Regarding tourism resources (hotel and catering, travel agencies, etc.), such statistics help make up for the lack of specific tourism statistics. The Business Profits Tax (*Impuesto de Utilidades*) payable by joint-stock companies from 1901 is also useful for studying businesses. The reports required to pay the tax provide relevant documentation¹⁸, as well as the reports that these companies used in order to be accountable to their shareholders¹⁹.

The results presented below are possible, to some extent, thanks to the use of these procedures and sources.

¹⁶ R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *Turismo en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX: la conformación de un sistema turístico*, in «Ayer», 114 (2019), 2, pp. 175-211.

¹⁷ The use of Taxes on Industry as a source for tourism can be seen in B. BARCELÓ, *El turismo en Mallorca en la época de 1925 a 1936*, in «Boletín de la Cámara de Comercio, Industria y Navegación», 1966, 651-652, pp. 47-61; Y. BARBAZA, *Le paysage humain de la Costa Brava*, Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1966; R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *Salud y recreo: los balnearios de Galicia y el descubrimiento de una periferia turística en el primer tercio del siglo XX*, in «Agua y Territorio», 2015, 6, pp. 62-79; *Id.*, *Los espacios turísticos: ciudades portuarias y villas termales en el despertar turístico de Galicia, 1850-1939*, in D.A. GONZALES - M. ORTIZ - J.S. PÉREZ (eds.), *La Historia, Lost in Translation?*, Cuenca, UCLM, 2017, pp. 3348-3362; R. VALLEJO - E. LINDOSO - M. VILAR, *Los antecedentes del turismo de masas en España*, cit., pp. 137-188.

¹⁸ Available in many Spanish provincial historical archives.

¹⁹ Elvira Lindoso, for example, is using them to study the grand Hotel Compostela (Santiago de Compostela), inaugurated in 1930.

3. *Tourism economics in Spain in the first third of the twentieth century: five key ideas*

Our research on the economic history of tourism currently enables the presentation of at least five conclusions or key ideas on Spanish tourism in the first third of the twentieth century.

The *first* is that the turn of the century, around 1900, was significant for tourism in and to Spain. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the promotion of the ‘industry of foreigners’ or ‘tourism industry’ was explicitly proposed as a national objective for the first time. These terms appeared in the press from 1900 and 1903, respectively, with the idea of attracting foreign tourism to Spain²⁰. ‘Modern tourism’ burst on to the scene in Spain with the dawn of the twentieth century. Our understanding is that modern tourism appeared when the inclination to travel for pleasure became widespread, tourists proliferated and an industry was developed at their service to facilitate travel management, trips and journeys, accommodation and even entertainment at the destinations. Journeys themselves were old, traditional fare; what was new and modern was their «industrial exploitation, the journey perceived as business», according to Pierre Clerget in 1935²¹. This industrial exploitation meant that tourism had to be conceived and cultivated as an economic sector destined to be significant in the Spanish economic structure, that is, as a field of activity that made relevant contributions to the country’s economy, as was already the case in tourist countries of reference, such as France, Italy and Switzerland.

The *second* idea is that tourism in Spain from 1900 to the Civil War (1936-1939) followed much the same path as international tourism, the same cycles and phases, and similar transformations in its forms, in the people who engaged in tourism practices and the agents who provided tourism services and facilitated leisure trips. Spain, with its peculiarities, was no exception in the transnational diffusion of the ‘tourism fashion’. This conclusion is possible thanks to a historical series entitled Media Intensity Index for Tourism (*Índice de Intensidad Mediática del Turismo*, hereinafter MIIT). This has been calculated for Spain according to the number of times the word ‘tourism’ appears in the digital versions of the newspapers *La Vanguardia* and *ABC* (including its supplement *Blanco y Negro*) and in the press available for consultation in the digital newspapers and periodicals section of the National Library of Spain (see

²⁰ R. VALLEJO POUSADA - C. LARRINAGA, *Presentación. El origen del turismo moderno en España*, in ID. (dir.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno*, cit., p. 12.

²¹ P. CLERGET, *Le mouvement touristique*, in «Revue Économique Internationale», 1935, IV, p. 561.

Graphic 1). Once this indicator was obtained, it was compared and contrasted with known data for the entry of foreign tourists and sea passengers in Spain (see Graphic 2) and a high correlation with both series can be seen in the periods 1901-1939 and 1912-1933 (0.60 for inbound tourism and 0.72 for foreign passengers entering by sea). The correlation is much higher when we compare the intensity of the word 'tourism' in the press with the series of real GDP prepared by Maddison²². In this case, the correlation coefficient reaches a value of 0.96 when using the average real GDP of the sixteen most industrialised countries in the world in the first third of the twentieth century (1900-1935) and 0.95 when using the Spanish real GDP for the same period²³. Furthermore, subjecting the aforementioned series (real GDP and MIIT) to cross-correlation and Granger causality tests verifies that they are statistically significantly related, thereby corroborating the results obtained with the correlation coefficient²⁴.

Graphic 1 - *Media Intensity Index for Tourism (MIIT) in Spain, 1900-1940 (1913=100)*



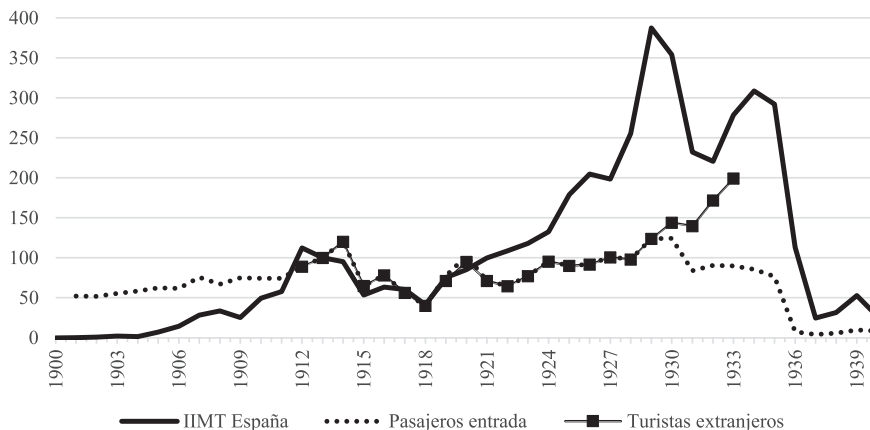
Sources: digital newspaper libraries of *La Vanguardia*, *ABC* and National Library of Spain (April 2015).

²² A. MADDISON, *Historia del desarrollo capitalista. Sus fuerzas dinámicas. Una visión comparada a largo plazo*, Barcelona, Ariel, 1991, pp. 147-150.

²³ The Spanish GDP data are from A. MADDISON, *Historical Statistics of the World Economy: 1-2008*. P. BATTILANI, *Vacanze di pochi, vacanze di tutti*, cit., p. 255, also verified that the evolution of tourism in Italy in this period shows «a very cyclical trend, in line with what happened in the economy as a whole».

²⁴ These calculations were made with the collaboration of Marcos Álvarez Díaz (University of Vigo).

Graphic 2 - *Foreign Tourism and Media Intensity Index for Tourism (MIIT), 1901-1940 (1913=100)*



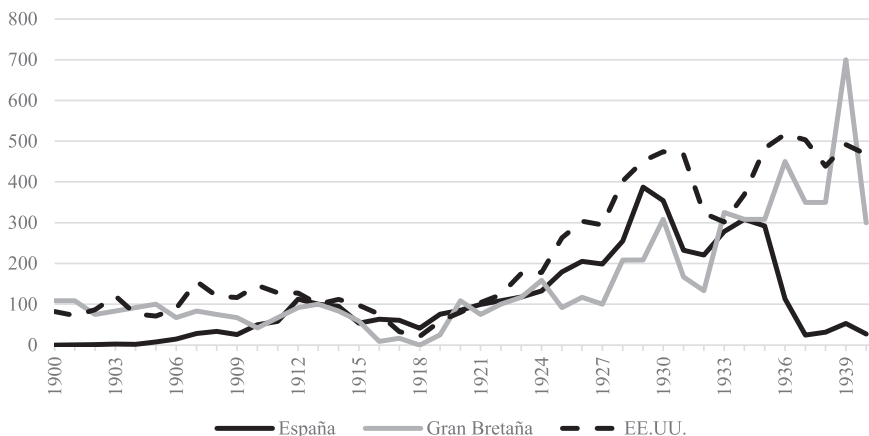
Sources: same as Graphic 1; A. TENA, *Sector exterior*, in A. CARRERAS - X. TAFNELL (coord.), *Estadísticas históricas de España siglos XIX y XX*, Bilbao, Fundación BBVA, 2005, vol. II, pp. 573-644 and *Anuario Estadístico de España (1916-1940)*.

First series of this type have also been prepared for the United States and Great Britain with data from the New York Times digital archive and the British Library catalogue, respectively (see Graphic 3). Comparison with the Spanish case enables verification that Spain experienced similar phases to international tourism, also identifiable in Latin America, up to 1935. In the Spanish case, this alignment broke as a consequence of the outbreak of civil war in 1936. Spain did not participate in the expansion of tourism which, starting around 1933, reached a new international maximum in 1937, exceeding that of 1929²⁵.

Our MIIT reflects the five major tourism phases indicated in the historiography and contemporary accounts (see Graphics 1, 2 and 3). First, the initial emergence of modern tourism is indicated, perceived as an industry worth fostering, from the dawn of the century to the outbreak of the

²⁵ Italy is an example; F. PALOSCIA, *Il turismo nell'economia italiana. Dall'unità d'Italia a oggi*, Roma, AGRA, 2004, pp. 33-34; A. BERRINO, *Storia del turismo in Italia*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2011, pp. 230-237; D. STRANGIO, *Il turismo in Italia tra le due Guerre Mondiali. Un'analisi storico-economica dei flussi turistici stranieri*, in F. DALLARI - A. MARIOTTI (a cura di), *Turismo tra sviluppo locale e cooperazione interregionale*, Bologna, Pàtron Editore, 2006, p. 282. Local and regional studies also reveal this maximum in 1937, such as that in Liguria conducted by A. ZANINI, *Un secolo di turismo in Liguria. Dinamiche, percorsi, attori*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, pp. 103-132. For a general overview, see L.J. LICKORISH - A.G. KERSHAW, *The Travel Trade*, London, Practical Press Ltd, 1958, pp. 38-46, and A.J. NORVAL, *The Tourist Industry*, London, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd, 1936, pp. 50 ss.

Graphic 3 - *MIIT in Spain, Gran Britain and the USA, 1900-1940*
(1913=100)



Sources: Spain: see Graphic 1; Great Britain: *The British Newspaper Archive*, www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk (publications every year on 'tourism' in this catalogue); USA: *The New York Times*, 1851-1940 ('tourist' voice).

First World War, and a sort of 'tourism boom' can be observed between 1910 and 1914. This was followed by a second phase of contraction which, despite showing the first signs of recovery in 1919-1920, was not fully overcome until 1924-1925. The third phase was a notable 'tourism boom', peaking in 1929-1930 with the Ibero-American Exposition in Seville and the Barcelona International Exposition. These phases fully coincided with those occurring at international level. As Ogilvie pointed out, in the aftermath of the recession experienced during the Great War and the immediate post-war period, «All the world over, the same broad features are visible: an increase in the number of tourists up to 1929-30 and a diminution thereafter, the fluctuations being in close sympathy with fluctuations in general business»²⁶. Spain also experienced the recession of 1931-1932, identified by Ogilvie (1932 in particular was a disastrous year for international tourism), followed by a recovery from 1933 to 1935, which affected different regions unequally. Continuing the general trend that had begun in 1925, Spain's tourism initiatives and its reputation as an attractive destination reached their peak during the Second Republic.

When analysing the behaviour of tourism during the Republican period, it is usually compared with what occurred in 1929, an extraordinary year for tourist activity in Spain and in the world in general. There-

²⁶ F.W. OGILVIE, *The Tourist Movement. An Economic Study*, London, P.S. King & Son Ltd., 1933, p. VIII.

fore, if we use 1929 as a benchmark, a downturn in tourism is recorded. However, despite being complicated years politically, socially and economically, the Second Republic was the most intense period of Spanish tourism between 1900 and 1936, with advancement of the 'tourism industry', and it also gained positions in international tourism due to the poorer performance of some neighbouring countries.

This initial evolutionary phase of modern tourism in Spain was brought to an abrupt halt by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). After 1936, as the MIIT shows, Spanish tourism plummeted, while at international level there was an expansion of tourism from around 1933, peaking again in 1937 at a level considerably higher than that attained in 1929, before a moderate decline in 1938-1939 (see Graphic 3). Hence, Spain's statistical series ran more or less parallel to the British and American series until the outbreak of the Civil War. This conflict led to a decline in tourism activity in the country that foreshadowed the global recession in tourism provoked by the Second World War just three years later.

A *third* conclusion of my research is that tourism extended socially throughout Spanish society, evolving from a minority and largely elitist activity during the nineteenth century to one embraced by the middle classes and some segments of the working class by the 1920s and especially the 1930s, in a process of downward social capillarity. Two quotes, from many possibilities, suffice. In 1929, the municipal head of tourism in Almería commented that tourists included «not only the rich and powerful, but also middle-class people who form large contingents of travellers»²⁷, something that could already be glimpsed in the nineteenth century²⁸. In 1932, one of the leading Spanish experts in tourism, Antoni Muntanyola, confirmed «the custom of taking summer holidays, now ingrained in the public at large»²⁹. The revolution in mobility, with the development of motor vehicles and especially those of collective transport (buses and coaches) helped popular travelling among Spaniards in the late 1920s and the 1930s. This took the form of social excursions organised by trade unions, regional emigrant associations, groups of excursionists, tourism promotion syndicates called *Sindicatos de Iniciativa Turística*, some newspapers, etc., or by specialised bus companies and travel agencies³⁰. This was one of the products provided by agencies. For example, Thomas Cook offered

²⁷ A. FERNÁNDEZ, *De Turismo*, in «Almería. Revista Gráfica de Turismo», I (1929), 3, p. 1.

²⁸ R. VALLEJO POUSADA - E. LINDOSO - M. VILAR, *Los orígenes históricos del turista y del turismo en España: la demanda turística en el siglo XIX*, in «Investigaciones de Historia Económica», 16 (2020), 1, pp. 12-22.

²⁹ A. MUNTANYOLA, *Organització turística de Catalunya*, Barcelona, Arts Gràfiques L'Estampa, 1932, p. 150.

³⁰ M. VILAR - R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *Automobiles and Tourism as Indicators of Development in Spain, 1918-1939*, in «The Historical Journal», 26 February 2021. See also M. BARKE - J.

this type of tourist experience in Spain from 1925, and there were similar offers from Viajes Marsans, Viajes Carco and others.

Tourism in Spain during this period was a phenomenon driven more by Spaniards at home and abroad than foreigners coming to Spain. This fact is verified by testimonies of contemporaries, the records of tourist offices open at this time and an estimate on the basis of these records and the figures for overnight stays of foreign tourists in the country from 1931 to 1934, registered by the PNT's statistical services (see Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1 - *Estimate of tourists and tourism revenue in Spain, 1931-1934*

Years	<i>Inbound tourism revenue (thousands of pesetas)</i> 1	<i>Outbound tourism expenditure (thousands of pts.)</i> 2	<i>Tourism balance (thousands of pts.)</i> 3	<i>Foreign tourists (thousands)</i> 4	<i>Income/ Foreign tourist (pesetas)</i> 5
1931	131,000	149,000	-18,000	187	700
1932	161,000	127,700	33,300	202	797
1933	136,000	106,900	29,100	200	679
1934	142,000	83,700	58,300	191	744
Average 1931-1934	142,500	116,825	25,675	195	730
<i>ESTIMATE</i>					
Years	<i>Income p.c. Spain/ EU-15 (2000) (%)</i> 6	<i>Theoretical average spending of a Spaniard (pts.)</i> 7 = (5*6)/100	<i>Outbound Spanish tourists (1) (thousands)</i> 7	<i>Outbound Spanish tourists (2) (thousands)</i> 8	
1931	73	510	292	213	
1932	77	611	209	160	
1933	74	500	214	157	
1934	74	547	153	112	
Average 1931-1934	74	542	216	160	

Note: the differences between outbound tourism 1 and outbound tourism 2 are due to the expenditure attributed to each Spaniard abroad: (1) average spending comparable to 74% of what a foreigner spends in Spain, percentage equivalent to the estimated per capita income for 1931-1934 as average of the EU-15; (2) average spending the same as that of a foreigner in Spain.

Sources: A. TENA, *Sector exterior*, cit., pp. 632 and 641; A. CARRERAS - X. TAFUNELL, *Historia económica de la España contemporánea*, Barcelona, Ariel, 2003, pp. 474-481. Prepared by the author.

Table 2 - *Composition of tourism in Spain, 1931-1934*

<i>Tourists (Tourism)</i>	<i>Tourists, 1931-1934 (annual average)</i>	<i>% Total (1)</i>	<i>(%) Total (2)</i>	<i>% Spanish population</i>
Foreigners (inbound)	195,100	10.0	10.3	0.8
Spaniards in Spain (internal)	1,531,449	78.8	81.2	6.4
Spaniards abroad 1 (outbound 1)	215,721	11.1		0.9
Spaniards abroad 2 (outbound 2)	160,011		8.5	0.7
Tourism total 1	1,942,269	100		8.1
Tourism total 2	1,886,560		100	7.9
Spanish population (average 1931-1934)	24,010,750			

Sources: see Table 1.

These data reveal a total number of tourists in Spain in 1931-1934 that ranges from 1.88 to 1.94 million, equivalent to 7.9% and 8.1% of the total population, respectively (see Table 2). Two comparative facts back up this estimate. On the one hand, Czechoslovakia, which has good tourism statistics for this period, had a real per capita income similar to Spain's at this time, and the Czechs engaged in tourism account for around 13% of the total population³¹. There are therefore reasons to think that the figure for Spain could be at least half of this percentage, even though the Czechs had a more established tourist travel culture. On the other hand, according to official French tourism statistics, there were an annual average of 339,000 Spanish visitors to France for the decade 1924-1934, more than the estimated figure in Table 2, although the French statistics do not distinguish between mere 'visitors' and 'tourists'³².

Estimated in this way, the following tourism structure is found in Spain for the early 1930s: around 80% domestic tourism; and the re-

³¹ F.W. OGILVIE, *The Tourist Movement*, cit., pp. 152-159.

³² M. GAUTIER, *L'Hôtellerie*, Paris, Dalloz, 1932. The official publication *Annuaire Statistique. 1939*, vol. 55, p. 136, gives notice of this fact when it presents the figure for foreign tourists arriving in France in 1929-1934: «Évaluation approximative, reproduite sous toute réserve», as it cannot distinguish between tourists and day trippers.

maining 20% divided almost equally between inbound tourism and outbound tourism.

Inbound tourism had little weight in the Spanish GDP in the first third of the twentieth century: around 0.45% at the start of the 1930s, when the revenue from inbound tourism covered up to 25 to 30% of the trade deficit (see Table 4). However, foreign tourism actually contributed more. This income does not include spending by day trippers and other excursionists or by cruise passengers when ashore, and cruise tourism experienced a boom in the years preceding the Spanish Civil War³³. In 1929-1934 the Spanish tourism authorities registered a total of 2.1 million 'foreign arrivals' in the country for the purposes of tourism, of which only 1.3 million were tourists in a statistical sense, that is 'made overnight stays' in hotels; the rest were day trippers. As can be seen, these figures were well below Italian and French ones (see Table 3).

Table 3 - *Foreign tourists in Spain, Italy and France, 1929-1934*

	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Spain</i>	<i>Italy</i>	<i>France</i>
	<i>Foreigners arriving in Spain*</i>	<i>Foreign tourists**</i>	<i>Foreign tourists in hotels</i>	<i>Foreign tourists⁽¹⁾</i>
1929	362,716	276,468	1,373,137	1,911,017
1930	440,552	277,912	1,530,255	1,667,831
1931	341,994	187,200	1,386,546	1,542,285
1932	377,244	201,900	1,261,874	944,358
1933	261,466	203,000	1,819,049	931,505
1934	275,611	190,800	1,679,190	779,369

Note: ⁽¹⁾: «Évaluation approximative, reproduite sous toute réserve».

Sources: Spain: *AGA, Cultura, Caja 12.002 and **A. TENA, *Sector exterior*, cit., p. 641; Italy: F. PALOSCIA, *Il turismo nell'economia italiana*, cit., p. 26; France: *Annuaire Statistique. 1939*, vol. 55, p. 136.

Consequently, those travellers 'in transit' accounted for 35% of all visitors or 'foreign arrivals in Spain'. It would also be necessary to consider the tourist consumption of the Spanish, presumably greater, at this

³³ Only in Barcelona, these cruise passengers spent 6 million pesetas in the period 1934-1935, S. PALOU, *Barcelona, destinació turística*, Bellcaire, Vite.la, 2012, p. 233; G. CERCHIELLO, *La evolución de los cruceros en España. Desde sus comienzos hasta la actualidad (1848-2016)*, Valencia, PUV, 2017.

Table 4 - Weight of inbound tourism in the Spanish economy, 1899-1934

	Tourists (thousands)	Tourism expenditure (millions pesetas)	Tourism revenue (millions pesetas)	Tourism balance (millions pesetas)	% Tourism revenue/ Trade deficit	% Tourism revenue/ Imports	% Tourism revenue/ Exports	% Tourism revenue/GDP
1899		15.0	50.0	35.0		6.1	5.8	0.54
1900	116.5*	19.4	64.8	45.4		7.7	6.9	0.66
1904	130.4		68.0			8.0	7.5	0.60
1912	198.7		120.0	Positive		9.6	8.6	0.93
1925-1927	213.3			-25				
1929	276.5		[c. 400]	'Maybe' positive				
1931	187.2	149.0	131.1	-17.9	25.5	4.9	6.1	0.39
1932	201.9	127.7	161.0	33.3	24.9	6.2	8.2	0.49
1933	200.3	106.9	136.3	29.4	30.4	6.0	7.4	0.43
1934	190.8	83.7	142.1	58.3	-	6.1	5.7	0.41

Note: * corresponden a 1901.

R. VALLEJO, *Turismo en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX*, cit., p. 192.

point, than that of foreigners. My intuition, therefore, is that Spanish tourism could contribute around 2% of the Spanish GDP in the early 1930s.

A *fourth* conclusion can be drawn in relation to tourism demand on the basis of available data: the fact that domestic tourism was predominant in Spain does not mean that it was an irrelevant country in the international tourism market. The overall figures reconstructed on the basis of data compiled in the 1930s by the League of Nations make it possible to identify Spain as an emerging tourist country. It was in thirteenth position in the world ranking of tourist countries in 1931 and had climbed to ninth by 1933; and it was in eleventh position in the world market of outbound tourism in 1932 (see Tables 5 and 6). According to these figures, which should be treated with a degree of caution, it was still not a leader, it was lagging, still far behind the tourism powers in figures for tourists and inbound tourism revenue, but it had reduced the gap.

Table 5 - *Tourist countries in 1931 and 1933. Revenue from inbound tourism*

	1931	Millions gold dollars		1933	Millions of francs
1	Canada	241.6	1	France	3,000
2	France	235.2	2	Canada	2,000
3	United States	112.0	3	Italy	1,725
4	United Kingdom	78.2	4	United States	1,425
5	Italy	72.8	5	Switzerland	700
6	Switzerland	47.3	6	Mexico	575
7	Austria	36.6	7	United Kingdom	550
8	Belgium	34.8	8	Germany	425
9	Germany	31.0	9	Spain	325
10	Cuba	22.2	10	Belgium	300
11	Czechoslovakia	17.2	11	Greece	250
12	Japan	13.5	12	Japan	250
13	Spain	12.4			
14	China	12.3			
15	Sweden	9.3			
16	Norway	7.5			
17	Argentina	7.2			
18	Poland	6.2			
19	Hungary	4.6			
20	Greece	4.5			

Sources: A. TRIMBACH, *Le tourisme international*, cit., pp. 44-45; and P. CLERGET, *Le mouvement touristique*, cit., p. 571.

Table 6 - *Tourist countries in 1932. Outgoing tourism expenditure*

	<i>Countries</i>	<i>Millions gold dollars</i>		<i>Countries</i>	<i>Millions gold dollars</i>
1	United States	445.0	11	Spain	10.2
2	United Kingdom	69.4	12	Poland	10.0
3	Germany	30.1	13	Brazil	9.6
4	France	19.5	14	Italy	8.9
5	Union of South Africa	17.7	15	Japan	8.3
6	Dutch Indies	13.3	16	Australia	8.1
7	Argentina	13.2	17	Sweden	7.0
8	Czechoslovakia	12.4	18	Hungary	5.7
9	Netherlands	12.1	19	New Zealand	5.0
10	Canada	10.6	20	Greece	4.5

Source: A. TRIMBACH, *Le tourisme international*, cit., pp. 44-45.

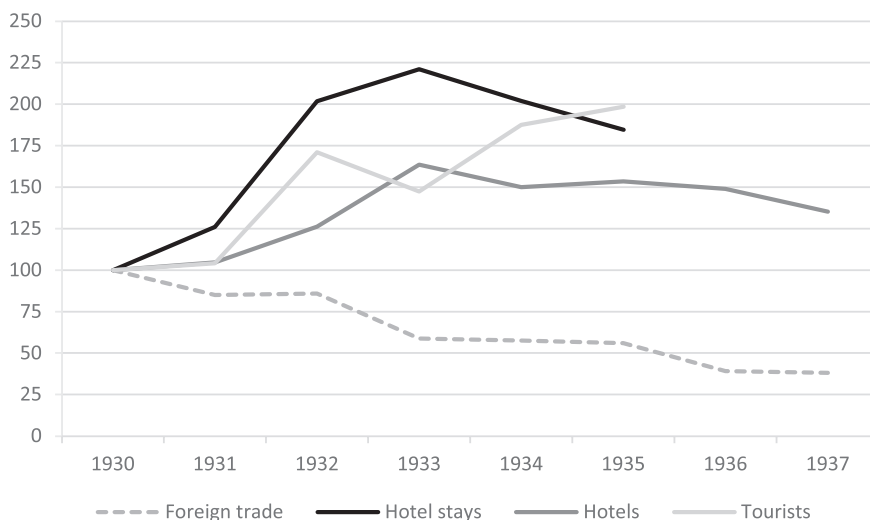
The tourism industry was taking root. The country showed the potential to become, in not too many years, one of the leaders of world tourism. Diverse contemporary testimonies in the years prior to the Civil War coincide in this respect. Hence, when removed from this international context, the figures published by the PNT for revenue from inbound tourism (see Tables 1 and 4) lead us to undervalue what revealed itself to be growing economic relevance of tourism. In fact, the aspiration in 1932 was to achieve a more intensive «industrialisation of tourism resources» in the country and to enter «the general trend of the entire world»³⁴. This importance was obvious in the economies of regions such as the Balearic Islands. In Mallorca, between 1930 and 1936, foreign trade slumped while the tourism industry experienced extraordinary growth (see Graphic 4). In 1935, the island was performing «like one of the most important and attractive centres of world tourism», according to the *Sindicato de Iniciativa y Propaganda* of Aragón³⁵.

In the early 1930s, Spanish inbound tourism performed better than foreign trade. According to the League of Nations statistics, the country's position in international tourism was relatively better than in world trade. Its 19th position in 1929 fell to 23rd in 1931-1933, while Spain had improved in the tourism ranking by 1933 (see Table 7).

³⁴ *I Congreso Nacional de Turismo*, in «Luz», 29 marzo 1932.

³⁵ «Aragón», febrero 1934, p. 27.

Graphic 4 - Foreign trade (in tonnes) and tourism in Mallorca, 1930-1937
(1930=100)



Source: B. BARCELÓ, *El turismo en Mallorca*, cit., pp. 49-51.

Table 7 - Spain in trade and in world tourism, 1931-1933

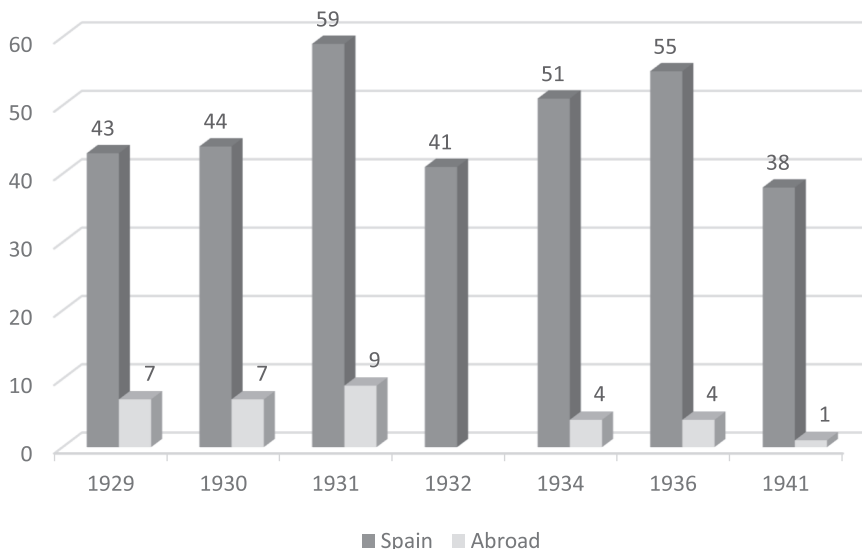
<i>Income from tourism*</i>	<i>1931 Millions gold dollars</i>	<i>1933 Millions of francs</i>	<i>Trade** (Imports and exports)</i>	<i>1931 (Million dollars)</i>	<i>1933 (Millions old USA gold dollars)</i>
5 leading countries (average)	148.0	1,770.0	5 leading countries (average)	3,575.4	2,101.3
Spain	12.4	325.0	Spain	412.0	290.2
% Spain/ 5 leaders	8.4	18.4	% Spain/5 leaders	11.5	13.8
Position of Spain	13	9	Position of de Spain	23	23

Sources: *see Table 5; ** *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1932/33*, Geneva 1933, p. 168; *Annuaire Statistique de la Société des Nations, 1935/36*, Genève 1936.

This behaviour as an emerging country was based on the development of destinations, tourism associations (for active and inbound tourism), companies in the sector (hotels, travel agencies, specialised transport,

etc.) and, finally, the establishment of a tourism administration throughout the country. This had its corresponding territorial organisation, as from 1928, with the creation of the PNT along with provincial tourism boards (*Juntas Provinciales de Turismo*) and an official network of Tourist Information Offices, both abroad and in the country's major cities. The services these provided, including an interpretation service, were a point of reference for people travelling to Spain³⁶ (see Graphic 5). This is now a *fifth* idea on Spanish tourism for this period. Until 1936, a particular tourism system was being developed (see Tables 8 and 9), which already had origins in the nineteenth century in some localities and provinces. It was a process with distinct phases, in tune with the tourism cycles described above, but which cannot be described in detail here³⁷.

Graphic 5 - PNT Tourist Information Offices, 1929-1941



Note: 1931: includes planned offices; 1932: figure for offices abroad not available.
Source: R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *Historia del turismo en España, 1928-1962*, 2021 (in press).

³⁶ See, for example, S.A. CLARK, *Spain on £10*, London, Ivor Nicholson and Watson Limited Clark, 1934, p. 34. The offices abroad in 1930 were in Gibraltar, London, Paris, Rome, Munich, New York and Buenos Aires.

³⁷ A detailed account can be found in R. VALLEJO POUSADA, *La formación de un sistema turístico nacional*, cit., pp. 67-170 and ID., *Turismo en España durante el primer tercio del siglo XX*, cit., pp. 175-211.

A country has a tourism system when there are identifiable destinations, or recognisable as such, tourism agents and a tourism organisation. Without tourists there is no tourism. Likewise, without companies that operate in the tourism market and without a tourism organisation there is no real tourism system. The Spanish system, under construction, did not have the profundity, amplitude and territorial diffusion, or coordination that could be found in France, Italy and Switzerland, or in Austria and Germany³⁸. Its agents are more difficult to follow, to study. An initial attempt at systematisation has been made in this respect (see Tables 8 and 9).

Table 8 - *Tourism system*

<i>Tourism system</i>	Destinations and products	
	Market (informal, formal)	
	Agents	- Tourists (consumers)
		- Active tourism associations
		- Inbound tourism associations
- Administration		
Tourism organisation		

Source: prepared by the author.

Table 9 - *Agents of the Spanish tourism system, 1900-1939*

<i>Agents</i>	
<i>1. Tourists</i>	Sociological types: bathers, spa users and medicinal mineral water consumers, summer holidaymakers, excursionists, motorists and motorcyclists, campers, tourists

(segue)

³⁸ The history of Swiss tourism is analysed in terms of constitution of a tourism system in C. HUMAIR - M. GIGASE - J. LAPOINTE - S. SULMONI, *Système touristique et culture technique dans l'Arc lémanique. Analyse d'une succes story et de ses effets sur l'économie régionale* (1852-1914), Neuchâtel, Editions Alphil-PUS, 2014. This serves as a reference.

<i>2. Active tourism associations</i>	Associations of excursionists (1879-) Mountain trekking and mountaineering clubs (1906-) Cycling clubs (1877-) Royal Automobile Club (1903-) Motorcycle clubs (1914; 1923) Camping club (1924-) Spanish Touring Club and Catalan-Balearic Touring Club (1930; 1934)
<i>3. Inbound tourism bodies</i>	Sindicatos de Iniciativa Turística (SITs) (from 1896) Federation of SITs (1932) Catalan-Balearic Federation of Tourism (1932) Catalan Federation of SITs (1934-1936)
<i>4. Companies ('Tourism industry' and business associations)</i>	<i>1) Private:</i> Spas Hotel industry Catering industry (restaurants, cafés, etc.) Transport companies: trains, trams, cable cars, garages, buses, shipping companies, planes; Press specialised in travel and tourism Travel agencies Companies specialised in leisure and attractions for visitors Urbanising companies Other companies: advertising, cinema, photography Business associations: Spanish association of owners of spas and medicinal mineral water springs (1906) Hotel industry trade union association (1907) Catalan society of owners of spas and medicinal mineral waters (1918) National association of travel agencies (1925) Spanish hostel federation (1927) Official chamber of hoteliers (1928) Spanish aeronautical federation (c. 1932), etc. <i>2) Public:</i> Incipient PNT network of paradors, tourist hotels and hostels: 18 establishments in 1936 (with private management)
<i>5. Informal accommodation sector</i>	Important in emerging or developing destinations. The official Tourist Information Offices (1929-1936) systematically informed tourists of the availability of this type of accommodation.

(segue)

	1) State:
	- National Tourism Board (<i>Patronato Nacional de Turismo</i>) (1928-1936);
	- National Tourism Service (1938-1939)
6. <i>Tourism administration</i>	2) Provincial: Provincial Tourism Boards (<i>Juntas Provinciales de Turismo</i>) (from 1928)
	3) Municipal (1935) [The Municipal Law of 31-10-1935 devolved responsibility to municipalities for the services of “Promoting tourism; protection and defence of landscapes; museums; artistic and historic monuments; beaches and spas”].
	4) Regional: Catalonia (1931-1939)

Source: prepared by the author.

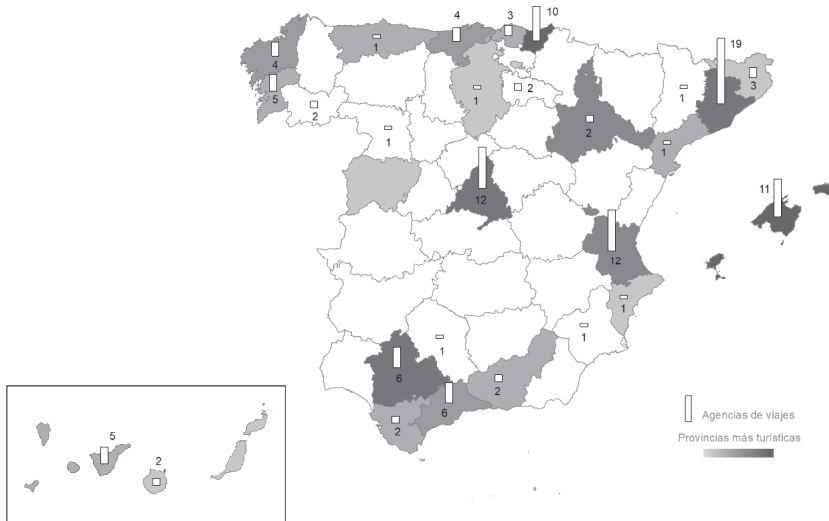
This tourism system was characterised by three aspects. The first is territorial inequality depending on the associative, business and institutional strength of initiatives, as well as the number of tourists received. In accordance with these variables, a significant Catalan-Balearic-Pyrenean tourism sub-system and a concentration of tourist destinations in coastal areas can be identified in the Spanish case. There was relative balance between the Cantabrian and Mediterranean provinces, which developed dynamically: notably the Basque province of Gipuzkoa, the Balearic Islands, Seville, Barcelona and Madrid. Twentieth century Spanish tourism geography was already outlined then, although subsequent mass tourism intensified the orientation towards the Mediterranean and the islands (see Figures 1 and 2).

Second, the diversity of tourism practices and forms of tourism in the incipient tourism is striking: mountain tourism (backed up by the declaration of 11 protected natural areas), winter sports tourism, religious tourism and large-scale festivities (Semana Santa, San Fermín, Hogueras de San Juan in Alicante, San José and Fallas in Valencia), thermal tourism, cultural and artistic city tourism (Toledo, Granada, Seville, Córdoba), summer courses for foreigners (Jaca, Santander, Santiago de Compostela and more), elitist and popular cruise tourism³⁹, fishing and hunting, sea and sand tourism, in cold and warm waters, with the proliferation of Mediterranean resorts and emergence of destinations of ref-

³⁹ A. SÁNCHEZ - J.J. GARCÍA, *Los espacios naturales: los primeros pasos de un nuevo producto turístico durante el primer tercio del siglo XX*, in R. VALLEJO POUSADA - C. LARRINAGA (dir.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España*, cit., pp. 841-864; J.M. SANTOS, *El turismo religioso. fiestas patronales, semana santa, santuarios y peregrinaciones*, *ibidem*, pp. 865-898; G. CERCHIELLO - F. VERA, *From Elitist to Popular Tourism: Leisure Cruises to Spain during the First Third of the Twentieth Century (1900-1936)*, in «Journal of Tourism History», 2019, pp. 1-23.

erence ('Costa Brava', 'Costa del Sol', Mallorca, Canarias), etc.⁴⁰, the increasing popularity of excursions, camping in Catalonia and the regions on the French border, the first property developments and forms of residential tourism, etc. In a nutshell, burgeoning and incipiently industrialised tourism, which was cut short by the Civil War. The contemporary forms of Spanish tourism were (nearly) all present.

Figure 1 - *The 22 provinces most frequented by tourists in Spain, 1927-1936*



Source: R. VALLEJO POUSADA; *La formación de un sistema turístico nacional*, cit., p. 147.

A third outstanding aspect of the nascent tourism system was the greater profundity and dynamism attained during the period 1926-1936, typified by the creation of the so-called *Circuito Nacional de Firms Espaciales* (1926), an ambitious plan for modernising Spain's road network, which was undoubtedly one of the most relevant tourism policy measures of this pre-Civil War period. This exuberance included the First Hotel Industry Exhibition (1927), the first professional fair of this type in Spain, the great Expositions of 1929 in Seville and Barcelona and the five congresses of the Federation of *Sindicatos de Iniciativa Turística* (1932-1936).

⁴⁰ C. GIL, *Los espacios litorales españoles en la estructuración de las geografías turísticas del primer tercio del siglo XX*, in R. VALLEJO POUSADA - C. LARRINAGA (dir.), *Los orígenes del turismo moderno en España*, cit., pp. 171-211.

Moreover, there were numerous sectoral assemblies with the active participation of Spanish travel agencies, associated in 1925 and federated in 1932, which also organised three international congresses of agencies in 1925, 1928 and 1934, the last on the island of Mallorca, to consolidate its tourist prestige⁴¹. The advances of this tourism system can perhaps be seen with even greater intensity in the associated business fabric and capital formed, expressed in the country's tourism industry and touristic heritage, the development of rural areas surrounding spas, the appearance of facilities and services for tourists at beaches and in coastal areas, communications and transport systems, etc. A process of 'touristification', with origins in the nineteenth century in some destinations, which accelerated in the interwar period and especially in the decade prior to the Civil War. The progress of this tourism stock is presented – partially – in Table 10, which shows that some of the more specifically touristic resources and provisions (hotels, bathhouses and spas) existing by 1933 more than doubled those available in 1900.

This progress is associated with social change and economic modernisation. Real per capita income and consumption increased 1.4 times between 1900 and 1935, thereby converging with those of the most industrialised European countries. The structural change could be discerned from 1922, when the weight of the secondary sector in the GDP exceeded that of the primary sector. The revolution in mobility via road transport was evident, and commercial aviation, still small-scale, advanced remarkably in the thirty years (see Tables 11 and 12). The urban population surpassed 20% of the total in the 1930s and the sociological significance of cities increased, opening the way to the mass consumption society, as foreseen by José Ortega y Gasset (1930) in his famous *The Revolt of the Masses (La rebelión de las masas)*.

This evolution was not merely a question of quantity, but also of quality. More than three decades of qualitative and sociological transformation, of change in the propensity of Spaniards to travel, in the intensity of tourism activity in the country, and of particular importance, in the way in which Spain was seen from the outside, in the perceptions of foreign tourists and of those responsible for creating destinations, dreams and tourism experiences, such as foreign travel agencies, which had already set their sights on Spain's cities, beaches and islands. These agencies not only sold their customers increasingly popular cities such as Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Palma de Mallorca or Malaga, but also «many other smaller towns and villages on Spain's Mediterranean coast, such as

⁴¹ R. VALLEJO POUSADA - C. LARRINAGA, *Travel Agencies in Spain during the First Third of the 20th Century: A Tourism Business in the Making*, in «Business History» (published online, 26 January 2020).

Table 10 - *Tourism resources in Spain, 1900-1933*

	<i>Tourist hotels</i>	<i>Joint-stock hotel companies</i>	<i>Joint-stock medicinal water companies</i>	<i>Independent accommodation at spas</i>	<i>Publicly-owned hotel establishments</i>	<i>Bath houses</i>	<i>Spas</i>	<i>Travel agencies</i>	<i>Total</i>
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(1 to 8)
1900	258	2	3	32		215	210		720
1910	322	8	11	61		242	223		867
1914	368	9	13	53		261	234		885
1922	385	21	23	74		257	252	17	1.012
1927	681	34	30			548	265	17	1.575
1929	780	35	32		1	488	298	44	1.667
1933	808	44	40		18*	537	312	61	1.820

Note: * 1936 figure.

Source: R. VALLEJO POUSADA - E. LINDOSO - M. VILAR, *La dimensión económica del turismo en España: la oferta*, cit., p. 257.

Torre-Molinos, Calahonda and Marbella, in Andalusia, and Sitges, Caldetas, Tossa-de-Mar, S'Agaró, etc., on the Catalan coast», as J. Bosch, head of the Spanish Department of the Pickfords Travel Service multinational in London, remarked on 12 October 1939⁴². In December 1935, the *Sindicato de Iniciativas Turísticas* in Madrid affirmed, with respect to tourism development in Spain, that «in a short time work has been done that offers more hope than ever for a magnificent future [...] and European travel agencies are starting to promote our country as a major tourist attraction»⁴³.

Table 11 - *Macroeconomic indicators and urbanisation rate, 1900-1935*

	<i>GDP per capita (thousands 1995 pts)</i>	<i>GDP per capita /EU-15 (2000) (%)</i>	<i>Consumption per inhabitant (2010 euros)</i>	<i>GDP Sector I (%)</i>	<i>GDP Sector II (%)</i>	<i>Urban population (%)⁽¹⁾</i>
1900	244.4	65.2	2,266	23.1	20.8	13.6
1910	259.2	61.5	2,346	22.1	20.3	14.9
1920	292.9	68.3	2,813	22.8	18.1	17.9
1930	357.0	69.6	3,382	15.9	21.4	20.3
1935	352.9	70.3	3,221	17.8	17.0	24.9*

Notes: ⁽¹⁾ population in municipalities of over 100,000 inhabitants.

* Corresponds to 1940.

Sources: A. CARRERAS - X. TAFUNELL, *Historia económica de la España contemporánea*, cit., Apéndice; L. PRADOS, *El progreso económico de España (1850-2000)*, Bilbao, FBBVA, 2003; J. MALUQUER, *La economía española en perspectiva histórica*, Barcelona, Pasado & Presente, 2014.

If we consider Butler's well-known phases of tourism life cycles, we can affirm that entering the 1930s many Spanish areas were in the phase of 'involvement' and others in 'development'. In July 1933, Fernando Bertrán, PNT representative at the second assembly of the Spanish federation of the SITs, stated that «the concept of tourism as industry has been born and is developing in our midst. It barely existed a few years ago»⁴⁴. In March 1935, an official tourist guide-interpreter in Barcelona responded to a question from a journalist from «La Vanguardia» about

⁴² Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), Cultura, Caja 12.034.

⁴³ *Apoyando al turismo*, in «Madrid Turístico y Monumental», diciembre 1935, año 1, 6, p. 1.

⁴⁴ *Mis impresiones acerca de la Asamblea*, in Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros de Barcelona, *Anuario de Barcelona 1933*.

Table 12 - Indicators of mobility by road and air, 1910-1935

	Motor vehicles	Passenger cars ⁽¹⁾	Rental vehicles and taxis	Buses (number)	Buses (lines)	Buses (companies)	Aeroplane (kilometres travelled)	Aeroplane (travellers per km)
1910	3,638							
1915						174		
1930		96,528	25,182	4,193	2,111	2,027*	592,000	3,006,000
1933				4,806	2,447			
1935	199,770	109,468	26,900				1,220,000	7,071,000

Notes: ⁽¹⁾ family vehicles.

* 1931 data.

Sources: R. VALLEJO POUSADA - E. LINDOSO - M. VILAR, *La dimensión económica del turismo en España: la demanda*, cit., p. 300; UNITED NATIONS, *Statistical Yearbook. Annuaire Statistique 1951*, p. 339. Prepared by the author.

‘What is the future of tourism in Spain?’ by predicting «a magnificent future» as «Spain can be the European country that most attracts tourists»⁴⁵, once the problems of low public expenditure on promotion and political instability were solved. In January 1936, a regional initiative in Barcelona called the *Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros* acknowledged that, in effect, «tourism is in full swing» in the country⁴⁶.

All these affirmations were in line with the comments of a reputable Swiss magazine, «Schweuzer Hotel», in 1930, in an article appraising Spanish tourism:

Spain has all that is needed to be a great theatre of tourism [...]; when its propaganda has had time to have an effect, it will occupy a leading place – and this time is definitely not far off – among the countries where the movement of foreigners has a key economic role⁴⁷.

4. *Epilogue*

The process of Spanish ‘touristification’ was underway when the Spanish Civil War commenced. The foundations of contemporary tourism, which experienced a resurgence from 1948 onwards, were laid before this conflict. Spain already had a viable political and administrative organisation, and by the spring and summer of 1939 there were a number of Spanish and foreign companies and entrepreneurs keen to relaunch the tourism industry and recover the impetus it had shown prior to the fratricidal confrontation. Yet it turned out to be a passing illusion shattered by the Second World War. Nevertheless, the existing resources, and the business and administrative experience acquired in both formal and informal economic contexts, had already laid the foundations that would enable Spain to become a country of tourism and tourists, one of the epicentres of world tourism⁴⁸. Numerous testimonies illustra-

⁴⁵ In «La Vanguardia», 23 febbraio 1935, p. 9.

⁴⁶ *Junta General de la Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros*, in «Barcelona Atracción», 297, marzo 1936, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁷ *Un interesante juicio suizo sobre el turismo español*, in the special pages *Panorama del Turismo* of «La Nación», 13 febbraio 1930, p. 13.

⁴⁸ The process is general. Postwar periods entail reconstruction and recovery of the historical path of tourism in terms of facilities, the culture of travel and the accumulated human and organisational capital. The geography of tourism was largely determined after the Second World War. Battilani has shown it for Italy. Where the network of tourism preferences and interests existed, recovery was relatively rapid and successful. This has been explained for the Lake Garda area in M.P. PASINI - R. SEMERARO, *Endogenous or Exogenous Recovery? Relaunching Tourism on Lake Garda in the Postwar Period*, in R. GROSS - M. KNOLL - K. SCHARF (eds.), *Transformative Recovery? The European Recovery Program (ERP)/*

te this fact, such as this one from an advertising campaign launched by Pickfords Travel, in association with the National Tourism Service of the newly established Francoist state, in that fateful year of 1939, with the war barely over:

Why not SPAIN or PORTUGAL this year? On the charming nooks of the Spanish or Portuguese Coasts, the Balearic or Canary Islands, Madeira or Morocco you can be sure of glorious sunshine and inexpensive holidays⁴⁹.

What came later, after 1945, connects with the process described above. Although the appearance of European mass tourism from 1949, with a dynamism hitherto unimagined, put a strain on these pre-existing structures, somewhat impaired due to the Civil War, the strength of demand created by this phenomenon drove the Spanish tourism model to start changing in the mid-1950s. From then on, this 'wave' of mass inbound tourism was to make the difference and pave the way to Spain becoming a leader in tourism in the 1960s. That, however, is another story for another day.

Marshall Plan in European Tourism, Innsbruck, Innsbruck University Press, 2020, pp. 33-56. Also see A. BERRINO - C. LARRINAGA (a cura di), *Italia e Spagna nel turismo del secondo dopoguerra: Società, politiche, istituzioni ed economia*, Milano, FrancoAngeli, 2021.

⁴⁹ AGA, Cultura, Caja 12.034.