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**TITLE OF THE ASSIGNMENT: HISTORIC HOTELS OF BARCELONA (The
Contribution to History and Heritage at the End of the 19th Century)**

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ABSTRACT

Barcelona is diverse. Barcelona is welcoming. Barcelona is cosmopolitan. Barcelona is unique.

Barcelona is powerful.

Throughout history, there have been several moments characterized by transformative explosions that have led to the progress of societies. The 19th century is one of those great moments and, as a consequence of the events that took place back then, today we live in the world in which we live. We invite the reader to dive into the changing Barcelona of the late nineteenth century. Throughout this thesis, an attempt will be made to illustrate the historical, political, economic, social and cultural context of the city, at that time.

This will allow to understand the reasons why the first historical hotels in the city emerged at the end of the century, when different visionaries assumed the new hotel concept that was beginning to spread from Europe, influenced by the fast political, economic and social changes of a vibrant and interesting century. It will be at that moment when the modern traveller emerged, who began to travel for pleasure, to discover new territories and to enjoy new cultural, gastronomic and social tourism proposals. It is the awakening of Barcelona as a city that wants to attract people.

In this paper, the information about these first hotels and their unknown influence on the formation of the city is compiled. After an intensive research, a catalogue of the 10th original first historic hotels of the city, is presented, including an explanation of their evolution in history and their contribution to the heritage of the city.

Key Words: Barcelona, Hotels, 19th Century, Heritage, Contribution to the City, Catalogue

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Nader Zibaoui Cunillera & Saralí Camps López-Bago

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH:

Tourism has experienced a deep and solid development in recent years, becoming one of the most important engines for global economic growth, and a key strategic socioeconomic activity whose dynamic factors and elements are basic in the construction, growth, transformation and stability of cities, as they constitute a relevant vector for their design and projection (Figuerola, 2000). According to the *Global Destination Cities Index* report by Mastercard (2019), today Barcelona is one of the main tourist destinations in the world, ranking the 17th most visited city.

The transformations that took place in Barcelona throughout the 19th century constitute a basic background to understand the birth of the tourism industry in the city, but above all they are fundamental to understand what Barcelona is today. It was a modernization process carried out in a period of great and deep changes that affected all layers of society, and that largely explain the reasons why the city stands out internationally today.

As a historical tourist destination, the context of this thesis is located in the middle of the 19th century, in a scenario characterized by important changes from a political, economic and sociocultural level. Although Barcelona's society had always demonstrated a strong commercial and industrial dynamism, with the arrival of the Industrial Revolution, a period of economic revitalization began, which in turn led to a cultural renaissance known as La Renaixença, and which would be the starting point for the modernization process of the city.

In 1854 the walls were demolished and the city expanded and, a few years later, in 1860, the government approved and launched the Eixample project by Ildefons Cerdà (Permanyer, 2008). The Ciutadella, once a fortification built to dominate and control the city, was also demolished and it became a park. As Palou (2016) explains, Barcelona flourished with a renewed economic activity thanks to great industrial developments and the return of many entrepreneurs from America. Increasing mobility in Europe, as well as an improvement in communications, resulted in an increase in the number of foreign visitors. At this point, Barcelona would want to open to the world and become a modern and internationally recognized city. And therefore, the need arose to build and develop a hotel industry, which had been stagnated until that moment, and that would provide visitors with more complete and of better-quality hospitality services.

As the century progresses, hostels are developed as a lodging formula and later they leave room to the “fondas”, larger and more comfortable establishments with better services. Piedmontese entrepreneurs will become key players as the first owners of most of these establishments.

Miguelsanz (2009) highlights that the French international trends would arrive and succeed in popularizing the noun “hotel” as a badge to recognize those establishments that offered an authentic luxury service. This change represented also a different perception of what a hotel was, from understanding them as a functional tool to solve a basic need of accommodation, to conceiving them as a new economic sector with the goal of attracting visitors to destinations and offering them a high-quality service.

According to the Gremi d’Hotels de Barcelona (2020), today the city has made to count with more than 400 hotels, many of them being important spots recognized all around the world. Among the hundreds of hotels in Barcelona that seek to create unforgettable experiences for each of their clients, some of them are part of the history of the city and its heritage. Let us discover them.

1.2 IDENTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM:

As it has been previously explained, Barcelona is today one of the most important destinations in Europe and the world. According to the Tourism Competitiveness Monitor of Spanish Urban Destinations, UrbanTUR (2017), its hotel industry is one of the most important competitive factors, providing a great reputation for its quality in service. But, when did Barcelona start having hotels? And who was behind them? Have they been important in the different transformations that Barcelona has undergone? Which were the first ones that emerged?

For those questions to be solved, this thesis aims to give a response to when, how and why the first hotels arose, and who was behind them. It also seeks to explain which contribution they have had to the city's heritage, and beside to create a unified catalogue of these first hotels to see the evolution they have had to this day. This work aims to defend the fundamental role that these hotels have had, and their contribution to the heritage and history of the city.

The first problem that had to be faced, but which at the same time appeared to be decidedly attractive, was the lack of existing information on the internet. Tourism has not been studied as a sector, as an economic engine until a few decades ago, so the information available from the 19th century is scarce, and therefore it was necessary to search for original sources.

And that is what has been done. Information has mainly been consulted and collected from libraries and documentation centres such as: Contemporary Municipal Archives, Historical Municipal Archives, Historical Archives of the Diputació de Barcelona, Turisme de Barcelona, Gremi d'Hotels de Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Library of the Catalan Tourism Agency from the Department of Business and Knowledge, as well as few of the hotels who appear throughout the thesis, as the Atiram Hotel Oriente, Hotel Cuatro Naciones, and Hotel España.

However, and despite the difficulties to access to these sources of information, the volume of documentation founded has been overwhelming, since no recaps on all the documentation related to the subject exists. Thus, it has been needed to search, find and read many scattered information. It is in this way that the first hotels that emerged in the city have been discovered. Some of the buildings where these hotels were located have disappeared, others have been converted into other types of business, commerce or housing. And a few, survive, and remain small hotels or hostels where, guests are still taken care of. With Wi-Fi, of course.

The development of the research has led to different questions, as for example which where the beginnings of this industry, not only at the local level, but also in any part of the world. The authors of this thesis state that the relevance and contribution of hotels in the construction and evolution of cities has been underestimated.

The relevance of this topic is fundamental to resolve the question of how this current popularity of hotels in the city begun. A topic that would contribute to the hospitality industry by discovering the origins of the city's popularity as a destination both in a European and Worldwide level, as well as to give the answer to why and when it began such importance.

1.3 ORIGINALITY AND CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Diaz (2020) explains that the hospitality sector is one of the world's economic engines, moving a great deal of money and having a direct impact on the lives of millions of people. Concretely in Spain, tourism has become an essential source of wealth where tourist accommodation is of a vital importance. As a result, whether as employees or as travellers, thousands of people, are in contact with hotels every day.

Our love for Barcelona, the city in which we have grew up and our passion for the hospitality industry has encouraged us to want to know more about the historical relationship that hotels have had in shaping this modern city. We think it is important to start learning how to value the role of history in present and the influence of events that have brought us to the world of today.

This project pretends to bring originality due to the fact that there is no-existent predecessor on documents that let the people know how the Hotel Industry emerged and raised in the city, as well as its importance and contribution to our society. The creation of a unified catalogue in which the first hotels of Barcelona and their evolution are presented will also be a great contribution. This will include the creation of a serious, informative and valid document in order to publicize the growth of the industry.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES:

This Degree Thesis has the main purpose of finding out when, how and why the first hotels appeared in Barcelona in the 19th century, and their contribution to the city's heritage, turning the hotel industry in a crucial engine for the evolution and transformation of our society. In the same way, it aims to understand the origin of the popularity of Barcelona as a tourist destination. The development of this topic seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- 1- **To describe when, how and why did the first hotels in Barcelona arise, and who was behind them**

In order to understand the importance and impact that hotels have had in the transformation of Barcelona, the political, economic and socio-cultural situation of Barcelona at that time must be understood and described. The Industrial revolution, the city's creation of the Pla Cerda, the return of businessmen from the Americas, the 1888 Universal Exhibition. All of these were important factors that have influenced and impacted the Barcelona that we all know today.

In this way, once the historical context is understood, four specific questions will be answered: The first one will be: **When did the need to build the first hotels in the city arise?** That is, when the people's mindset switched, and the hospitality industry went from a functional conception as a mean to provide a solution to a basic need, to an economic activity dedicated to attracting visitors and providing quality customer service.

The second one will be: **how or in what way did they arise?** That is, what was the evolution that they followed when emerging. The third question will be: **Which ones were the reasons that prompted this emergence?** That is, which ones were the factors that led to the city's hotel industry development. Finally, the last one will be: **Who was behind them, who were their promoters?** that is, who were the people, the pioneering families who undertook this development.

2- To expose what is the contribution they have had to the city's heritage.

The second great objective of this thesis seeks to discover, understand and explain all the contributions and positive impact that the emergence of these first hotels has had in the city of Barcelona and its citizens. The aim is to demonstrate that the development of the industry has impacted the different transformations of the city, helping to build the magnificent city of which we are so proud today, and that everyone in the world marvels to see.

In this way, this section will be divided into three different types of contributions: To the Urban and Architectural Heritage, to the Economic Heritage, and finally to the Socio-Cultural heritage.

3- To describe the most significant examples within their context and their evolution, creating a unified catalogue.

This third objective seeks to focus on the real protagonists: hotels. To do so, the most significant examples will be presented, explaining how, when and where they were constructed, who was behind them, and what their evolution in history has been. Specifically, the reader will be able to get to know in depth 10 hotels, which were the first ones in Barcelona: Hotel Cuatro Naciones, Hotel Oriente, Hotel España, Hotel Peninsular, Hotel Central i Falcón, Gran Hotel Internacional, Gran Hotel Continental, Gran Hotel Ambos Mundos - Palace, Hotel Inglaterra - Bristol and finally, Gran Hotel Colón. In this way, a unified catalogue that will radiograph extensively all these important and significant hotels in the history of the city of Barcelona will be created.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY:

This document is divided into the following five chapters. The first chapter gives an introduction of contents related to the topic: Historic Hotels in Barcelona (The contribution to History & Heritage at the End of the 19th Century). In this section, main questions like, how the Hospitality Industry raised in the city, which were the reasons why and who were responsible of the evolution of these hotels, are explained. Subsequently, the research problem identification is described. Furthermore, aims and objectives are also explained in addition to the importance of this thesis and its contribution to knowledge and to the industry.

The second will be the literature review. In this chapter reference will be made to the authors, and important concepts related to the topic in order to establish a basic context framework, providing a thorough examination of the relevant literature.

Subjects as the city's history in the 19th century, what a Hotel is, and which were the drivers that gave rise to the Hotel Industry in Barcelona will be discussed. Finally, a literature map and a conceptual framework will be carried out. Both are graphic representations in which the reader can view a summary of everything explained in the literature review, developed in a more schematic and visual way.

Chapter three focuses on the methodology used to drive the research, understand the topic and solve the difficulties that may arise in order to achieve the objectives. Therefore, this research will follow a qualitative style methodology, as no numerical data collection or mathematical resources will be used, but rather a search for qualitative information (Olabuénaga, 2012). In this sense, is important to highlight that this thesis does not include surveys but, if the situation allows it, may have the participation of some great professionals and experts, through interviews, to provide valuable information.

Findings and discussion will be the following chapter four. In this part, the reader can find the information collected and analyzed by the authors on the topic, in order to give responses to the main goals of this thesis.

Finally, chapter five is presented, and consists of the following points: Conclusions that will represent the main answers to the topic's objectives, Recommendations if possible, in order to suggest to the industry or to future researchers, future global actions regarding this topic or related ones. And finally, the several Limitations that have had to be faced to complete this thesis. This project also includes a References section, which follows a Harvard Citation Style of Format, presenting references cited throughout the thesis. The final appendix within the Ethics Form can be found at the end of the document.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter a bibliographic and documentary review will be carried out, which will allow to examine the information published so far on the subject and define the current state of the research. This chapter will constitute the theoretical framework of this thesis. In this sense, it will be divided into two different sections: The first section will present a general overview of the city of Barcelona today, and specifically of its political, economic, social and cultural context throughout the 19th century. Afterwards, the reasons why the city experienced an amazing transformation in its hospitality sector will be explained, and how this fact had a fundamental impact on the construction, growth and evolution of the city itself.

The second section will start by explaining different definitions of what a hotel is. Subsequently, a theoretical approach of the Historic Hotels in Barcelona will later allow to create a unified catalogue. A Literature Map and a Conceptual Framework will be also exposed, which will allow the reader to visualize the key concepts and the connections between these concepts that will have appeared throughout the literature review.

2.1 THE CITY OF BARCELONA, GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Barcelona, also known as the “Ciudad Condal”, is the capital of Catalonia, a nation with a long history that exercises its self-government as an autonomous community within the Spanish State (Parlament de Catalunya, 2016). As the Instituto Geográfico Nacional (2020) states, it is located in a strategic geographical point: to the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula, bathed by the Mediterranean Sea and delimited by the river deltas of the Llobregat and Besos rivers and the Serra de Collserola. According to the INE’s (2019), the city has a population of 1,700,000 inhabitants, making it the second most populated in Spain, overtaken only by the Spanish capital: Madrid, and the sixth in the European Union. As approved by the Spanish Constitution (1978), the official languages are Catalan and Spanish, which are commonly used in all areas.

According to Roca et al., (2011), and Font (1997), it is important to highlight the significance of the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona. The authors state that we should begin to understand them as true cities of cities, surpassing their understanding as simple systems of attraction from one or more centre(s) towards more or less extensive hinterlands. In this sense and according to the IDESCAT (2019), the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona is a territory with an area of 636 km² and more than 3.2 million people, constituting one of the largest metropolitan regions in Europe, ranking the eighth largest in terms of population

As stated by Font (1997), the city has managed to grow in a sustainable way, becoming a European metropolis integrated into its environment, and today it is a modern, diverse, open, vibrant and cosmopolitan city, with a strong Mediterranean character. That is why the Best Cities of the World Ranking made by Resonance Consulting (2019), considers the city as one of the best in the world for its quality of life

According to Barcelona Global & IESE (2019), the city is today an international benchmark in many ways: It stands out for its historical and architectural wealth, its cross-cultural spirit, and its business and commercial life, which has stimulated the city's ability to attract visitors, investment, avant-garde cultural proposals and technological or scientific innovation.

Today, the city is a pole of attraction for international talent and therefore one of the best cities for doing business in Europe, especially in leading sectors such as biotechnology, sustainability, information technology, communication, or aeronautics (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2020).

Sobreques (2008) argues that, as a result, the city has been chosen to host major international events such as the 1888 Universal Exposition, the 1992 Olympic Games or the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures. Fira Barcelona (2020) adds that it continues to host important international events such as the Mobile World Congress, the Alimentaria Fair or the International Logistics and Material Handling Exhibition (SIL).

As for the literature that speaks about the historical evolution of Barcelona, many are the authors who have written about the city, including Lluís Permanyer (2016; 2008; 2014; 2011), Robert Hughes (1992; 2006), David Agustí (2012), Ildefonso Falcones (2006), Arturo San Agustin (1976), Josep Maria Huertas (1969; 1976; 2008) or Josep Fontana (2016; 2015), among others.

Two of these documents stand out above the rest: The first is "*Historia Breve de Barcelona*" (Agustí, 2012) which tells the history of Barcelona from its origins to the present day. The book is based on stories of women and men who have been fundamental in the construction of this city, making mention of the urban, social, political, economic, and cultural sphere.

The second important book to consider is "*Barcelona*" (Hughes, 1992) wrote by an Australian writer and where he talks about the reasons why he fell in love with Barcelona, defining its landscapes, explaining its industries and referring to Catalan cultural particularities, which makes possible a better understanding of the city's history. As an art critic and historian, he is acclaimed today for the way he treated history, presenting the same sensitivity towards a painting by Miró or a drag queen (Hughes, 2006).

According to the City Hall (2019) and to Barcelona & Catalonia Startup Hub (2020), and regarding its economic sector, Barcelona is undoubtedly a strategic reference and one of the main economic engines of Spain. Due to its geographical location, it has been consolidated as a major business, technological and industrial hub in the Mediterranean region and Southern Europe, said the authors.

In this way, and according to the INE's (2019), Catalonia's GDP is of 228.682 million euros today, making it the second largest economy in Spain, only slightly surpassed by Madrid. The City Hall (2019) describes that the GDP of the city of Barcelona is 81,291 million euros, which represents approximately a third of the total GDP of Catalonia. IDESCAT (2019) adds that the Metropolitan Area generates a GDP of 181,102 million euros, which represents approximately the 68% of Catalonia's GDP. Regarding the GDP per capita, which is a good indicator for quality of life, in Barcelona it is of 45,000 euros, which means that the inhabitants of the city are among those with the best living standards, said the institution.



Figure 1: Catalonia's GDP vs Madrid's GDP

According to Barcelona Global & IESE (2019), Barcelona has a long industrial tradition and a well-established business sector, and today offers a highly diversified economic structure. In fact, and as the City Hall (2020) states, the city has always stood out for its economic activity, and has managed to innovate and evolve to adapt to changes in a very competitive international environment, becoming the first Smart City in Spain and the fourth in Europe.

As Barcelona Global & IESE (2019) show in their report, the city has earned reputation for its innovative public-private partnership model, through the creation of myth consortia to achieve common goals, a model that has not only been able to attract investment, but that has also been used to export know-how. This has created a local urban management sector capable of competing internationally and taking advantage of great opportunities, said the institutions.

In this sense, and as Font (1997) highlights, it has, in a small space, a large port for goods and passengers, Zona Franca, Fira de Barcelona, leading international universities, scientific research centres, the 22@ district and a modern international airport, which is the second largest in Spain and the 43rd best airport of the world in 2019 according to Skytrax (2019).

The Observatori del Turisme de Barcelona (2020) describes in their report that, as for its tourism sector, Barcelona receives more than 12 million visitors a year who spend an average of 2.5 nights in the city. The document argues that today, it is one of the main engines of economic growth in the city, generating approximately the 12% of the global GDP and representing the 9% of the city's total jobs, which are 150.000. The benefit for the city is estimated to be at around 1,500 million euros per year stated the Observatory. In the same way, Generalitat de Catalunya (2018) explains that, Barcelona concentrates one of every three tourism companies in Catalonia, collecting more than half of the country's tourist tax revenue.

According to Roca et al., (2011), and Bohigas (1985), one of the most representative features of Barcelona is its structure, its urban morphology, which has been tried to copy in other cities due to the beauty and charm of the street design. Modern Barcelona cannot be explained without checking what happened at the second half of the 19th century, when the city underwent one of its main restructurings known as the Plan Cerdà, said the authors.

The MUHBA (2010) explains that the project was developed over twenty years, and its urban development result offered a technical solution to the physical and social reality of the city, enclosing a deep ideological approach. Once created to accommodate the labour citizens, today it has configured a unique and emblematic district in the city (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2020)

In this way, the city map was configured in what Ashworth (2000) has called the *Spanish variant* within his modelling of urban schemes. It is a variant that has characteristics in common with other cities in the Western Mediterranean, although it has its own particular history. According to the author, cities have two fundamental parts: the original or historical on the one hand, and the modern or commercial on the other. Figure 2 illustrates Ashworth's model (2000), which helps to understand the functions of the city and its structure today:

- ✓ **The heritage** located in the medieval nucleus, usually a walled compact dominated by ecclesiastical buildings
- ✓ **The commercial activity** traditionally installed outside the walls, but still belonging to the old town, which allows it to play a dual role, for residents and visitors.
- ✓ **The expansion** known in Barcelona as the Eixample in the 19th century,
- ✓ The 20th century brought more planned and unplanned **peripheral extensions**, such as factories and integrated industries in neighbourhoods such as Poble Nou or Sants.

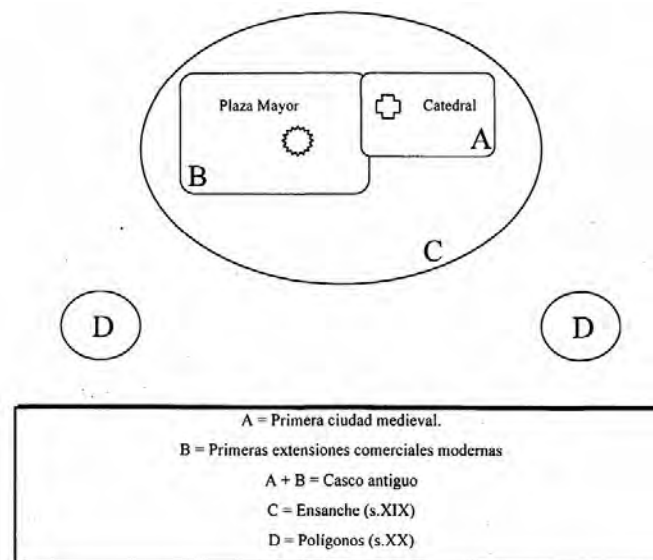


Figure 2: Ashworth variant (2000)

Another interesting document is the one from Borja Sebastià (2010), who exposed the general framework of the city, explaining the essential characteristics of urban planning, and the consolidation of Barcelona in the early nineties. The document defends the importance of Barcelona as a role model for its ability to be metropolitan and urban and at the same time without losing the heritage of the city as a space for coexistence, creativity, and freedom.

Huertas (1976) synthetizes in his book an explanation of the different districts of the city: First, the Ciutat Vella district, or the old town, which consists on one side of the Raval and Gothic Quarters and, on the other side, the Barceloneta. Secondly, the Eixample, which was the extension. And finally, around the Eixample the rest of districts that once corresponded to other municipalities, were annexed to the city at the end of the 19th century. They were districts such as Sants-Montjuic, Les Corts, Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, Gràcia, Horta Guinardó, Nou Barris, Sant Andreu and Sant Martí.

According to many authors as for example Noguera (2011) or Roca et Al., (2011), the city is just in the midst of another deep restructuring as other contemporary metropolises, as development is carried out today as a unified whole. In last years, important interventions have been carried out to transform the city, with the goal of restoring public spaces for people, said the authors.

In this sense, as Noguera (2011) states these attempts have been made to integrate peripheral areas to complete what is known as “La Gran Barcelona”, prioritizing the regeneration of public space and mobility systems, through measures to pacify traffic and include pedestrians within the city’s network of traffic. Bohigas (1985) explained at that time that the goal was to *“act directly in the public space, and to do so with the double intention of turning it into quality equipment and a point of generation of spontaneous transformations”*

According to the City Hall (2019), the great objective of recent years has been to move towards a more sustainable city with the aim of tackling climate change to which we are all exposed by limiting CO² emissions. Sidewalks have been expanded, streets have been pedestrianized, avenues have been reformed to integrate the bicycle, and a new municipal service has been added: the new system electric vehicles charging points, which are already in operation, making Barcelona the ten largest public recharging network in the world, said the administration.

2.2 BARCELONA AT THE 19TH CENTURY

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT IN SPAIN

The beginning of the 19th century in Spain was marked by the confrontation between absolutists and liberals (Sánchez Mantero, 2001). After the defeat and withdrawal of the Napoleonic troops and the rise to power of King Fernando VII “El Deseado”, absolutism would be reinstated and, from that moment, the king governed without any constitutional limitation, re-establishing the Inquisition and the feudal regime and recovering power for nobility and clergy, said the author.

However, at the end of his reign, an economic crisis forced the king to make some concessions to the liberals (Fuentes, 2007). According to the author, these measures lead to a confrontation with the royalists, the most conservative and intransigent sector, that would support Carlos María Isidro, his brother, to be the next king. According to Fuentes (2007), shortly before Fernando VII died, he promulgated the Pragmatic Sanction, which annulled the Salic Law that, since that moment, had prevented women from reigning and therefore, Isabel became the heiress to the throne.

REIGN OF ISABEL II (1833 - 1868)

Comellas (1999) says that, during the reign of Isabel II, the liberal state was built in Spain, a period with fundamental economic and political changes, such as the First Carlist War or the Confiscations. This stage of history is divided into two different periods (Fontana, 2015):

Regency of María Cristina (1833-1843): The death of Fernando VII, on September 29th, 1833, marked the beginning of the Regency of María Cristina de Borbón, as the heiress to the throne, her daughter Isabel, was only three years old (Comellas, 1999; Tuñón de Lara, 2000).

According to Ayuso (2005), and Canal (2000), at this period, the First Carlist War (1833-1840), between liberals and Carlists began. According to the authors, it was not only a dispute between crown pretenders, but a fight between two political models: liberalism and absolutism. Martínez & Pan-Montojo (2000) explain that the Carlists, whose centres were located at the Basque Country, Navarra, Aragón, Catalonia and some regions in Valencia, represented the conservative will, the absolutist ideology and the recognition of the role of the Catholic Church in the political sphere. This fact reinforced the idea of some historians like Agustí Colomines who see Carlism as a precedent for conservative Catalan nationalism.

According to Bahamonde & Martinez (2011), in this situation, the regent María Cristina had no other choice if she wanted to keep the throne for her daughter, rather than to ally with the liberals. As Fontana (2015) states in his book, within liberals two great tendencies were distinguished: on the one hand moderate liberals, supporters of a conservative liberal regime. They represented the interests of the richest, the high nobility and bourgeoisie. And on the other hand, progressive liberals, supporters of a more open liberal regime, and closer to the middle bourgeoisie (Janke, 1974). Both groups had a similar ideological line, but they presented different programs to benefit their own interests (Javato, 2012).

Therefore, as stated by Fontana (2015), these political interests complicated the consolidation of liberalism. According to Tuñón de Lara (2000), moderates had greater facilities to access to power, since the Crown liked a type of liberalism that did not make them lose so much power. On the other hand, and as explained by Pan-Montojo (2000), the famous Confiscation of Juan Álvarez de Mendizábal, Prime Minister of State took place in this period. He launched a process of forced expropriation of all the assets of the Catholic Church, that would be sold at public auction (Janke, 1974).

In 1840, and according to Rico y Amat (1860), a confrontation took place between General Espartero, backed by the progressives, and the Regent María Cristina, backed by the moderates, mainly due to the City Council Law, which implied a loss of power for progressives. Espartero presented himself to María Cristina:

"not as the military man who asks his queen for orders, but as the politician, as the subject who, at the head of a triumphant revolution, imposes the conditions on the sovereign" (Rico y Amat, 1860).

In this way, and as Fuentes (2007) says, this forced the fall of the Regent María Cristina and the rise to power of Espartero. As the author explains, first, it was seen as a triumph for progressivism, but the economic crisis that began in 1842 plummeted the popularity of Espartero. In this sense, Roig (1995) describes that the bourgeoisie in Barcelona, was initially a supporter of Espartero but over time, it got distanced from the centralizing and free-trade policies of his government.

According to Tuñón de Lara (2000), the tense climate was undoubtedly contributed by the republican ideas that were beginning to be spread, which led to the constitution in Barcelona of an interim-government board chaired by Carsey, that Espartero repressed by bombing the city from Montjuic in 1842 and 1843 (Roig, 1995).

Reign of Isabel II (1843-1868): Queen Isabel II sworn the Constitution on November 10th, 1843 at the age of 13, and her reign will be divided into 3 periods (Tuñón de Lara, 2000):

According to Bahamonde & Martinez (2011), in this first period known as the Moderate Decade (1843-1853), Narvaez's moderates dominated Spanish politics, and carried out several legislative, economic, and political reforms, which reorganized the liberal state. Carr (2000) reported that, the 1845 Constitution will be more conservative, restricting suffrage to the richest and establishing the state's Catholic denomination. A uniform policy of centralization will also take place with the creation of the Bank of Spain and the Guardia Civil (Vicens Vives, 1958).

Ollero (2000) explains that the second period known as the Progressive Biennium (1854-1856), will come after the pronouncement in Vicálvaro led by Leopoldo O'Donnell. Following the author's statement, at this time, Confiscations were completed, and the Railways System Law approved, therefore allowing the construction of a new network.

In his book, Fuentes (2007) states that, however, an economic crisis will initiate the third period, the Elizabethan Monarchy Crisis (1856-1868) with the alternate governments of Narváez and O'Donnell with his party, the Liberal Union, that was ideologically between moderates and progressives but leaned more towards moderates. It will be a time of economic stability and a good international situation, with a great expansion of the Catalan textile industry, the financial sector and agricultural production (Roig, 1995).

However and according to Tuñón de Lara (2000) and Carr (2009), little by little, the other political parties will feel excluded from power. This, added to an economic crisis caused by unprofitable rail investments, the Catalan cotton crisis affected by the American Civil War, and a subsistence crisis caused by a period of poor harvests, created the conditions for a conspiracy, that began to be forged in 1866 with the Ostende Pact, and that would result in the end of Isabel's reign. As Fuentes (2007) explains, in this pact the foundations were laid for a revolutionary action that would lead to the September 1868 Revolution, also known as "La Gloriosa". As the author says, the success of the revolution led to the Queen's exile and the rise to power of the political forces that had been marginalized until that date. Roig (1995) explains that, in Barcelona, the success of the revolution meant the overthrow of Ciutadella, a factor that would be important in the subsequent development of the city. Fuentes (2007) concludes that, at the end of this period, the bourgeoisie had seized political power, liberalism had defeated absolutism, and capitalism slowly but unstoppably prevailed.

DEMOCRATIC SEXENNIUM (1868 - 1874)

The Sexennium is the most democratic period of the 19th century, but also the most unstable (Bahamonde & Martínez, 2011). As explained by the authors, after the revolution, a provisional government chaired by General Serrano and General Juan Prim was created, and the 1869 Constitution transformed Spain in a democratic constitutional monarchy. Menéndez Rexach (1979) states that, in short, this constitution wanted to create a monarch turned into a simple head of state, stripped of its executive powers.

Tuñón de Lara et al., (1991) state that, with the Bourbons and Carlists discarded, it was necessary to find a king who would assume the new monarchy, and, after a hard selection process, Amadeo de Saboya, was chosen as the ideal candidate. The authors explain that, on paper, he was the perfect candidate because of his progressive but Catholic positions and for his impartiality in an international context of territorial dispute between different dynastic families in Europe.

Reign of Amadeo (1871-1873): Carr (2000) explains in his book that difficulties arose from the very beginning, with the assassination of General Prim, his main supporter in the late 70s. The king had to face multiple difficulties, such as the unleashing of the Third Carlist War, the Cuban insurrection, and divisions between parties, especially between Republicans and Bourbons (Tuñón de Lara, 2000)

The king was increasingly isolated, until he finally ended up abdicating on February 11th, 1873. In his resignation collected by the Journal of Sessions of the Congress (1873) he declared:

“between the confused, thunderous and contradictory outcry of the parties; among so many and so opposite manifestations of public opinion, it is impossible to determine which one is the true, and even more impossible to find the remedy for such evils. I have eagerly searched for it within the law and have not found it. Outside the law, those who have promised to observe it should not look for it” (1873)

First Republic (1873-1874): Martínez Cuadrado (1969) explains that, during the first period, the parliamentary, political dialectic will be explained by the conflict between the Radical Party, centralist and conservative-minded, and the Federal Republican Party, supporters of a federal model. According to Tuñón de Lara (2000), four presidents will succeed each other: Figueras, Pi i Maragall, Salmerón and Castelar.

It is generally accepted for several authors such as, for example, Bahamonde & Martinez (2011) or Carr (2000; 2009), that Pi i Maragall will be the most important figure in this period, although a few days from assuming the executive power, it became clear that he could not control the internal struggles of the different tendencies.

According to León & Porras (2014), Pi i Maragall tried to present in Las Cortes a draft of a Federal Constitution, but it did not had time to be approved, as he did not find a way to avoid the cantonal insurrection, a revolutionary movement in Andalusia, Murcia, and Valencia which was influenced by extreme federal republicanism tendencies and by the labour movement and therefore he had to resign. Carr (2009) explains in his book that Salmerón will end the cantonal resurrection thanks to the army but will refuse to sign the death sentences of their leaders, and therefore the presidency will pass to Castelar.

Martinez Cuadrado (1969) explains that the second period of the First Republic, will begin with the coup d'état of General Pavia, which will hitch up General Serrano as head of the executive of the new so-called Unitary Republic, to differentiate it from the previous one.

Following the same author, in fact, Serrano will establish an authoritarian and conservative regime where he will rule by decree. Therefore, Leon & Porras (2014) state that, it becomes evident that cantonalism not only failed to establish the Federal Republic, but by precipitating the fall of Pi i Maragall, prevented the application of federalism by legal life. In this way and according to Tuñón de Lara (2000), the coup d'état of Martínez Campos in December 1874 would ease the rise to power of Alfonso XII, son of Isabel II, to be crowned King of Spain.

BOURBON RESTORATION (1875 - 1931)

According to Bahamonde & Martínez (2011), the Bourbon Restoration lasted from the rise to power of Alfonso XII until the proclamation of the Second Republic, on April 14th, 1931. As Carr (2009) states, it is generally divided into two periods: the Consolidation of the System, from 1874 to 1898 and the Crisis of the System, from 1898 to 1931.

Authors as Tusell & Portero (2007) or Comellas (1960) argue that, without a doubt, the key figure of this period will be Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, the mastermind of the new “*Canovist System*”, which allowed to leave behind the instability of the Democratic Sexennium. Following the same authors, this new system was regulated by the new Constitution, and consolidated in “*El Pacto del Pardo*” after the death of Alfonso XII in 1885 when both dynastic parties agreed to provide stability to the regime.

According to Garcia Gómez & Ordaz (2005), with the new 1876 Constitution, the Constitutional Monarchy was consolidated in Spain with a shared sovereignty between the king and the courts. Following the same author, the Crown was inviolable, exercised executive power and had the right of veto, as well as it appointed and dismissed the government. As Sánchez Ferriz (1998) explains, the Courts were bicameral, with a lifelong and elitist Senate, and a Congress that was chosen through a vote that depended on the government in office. The Constitution also determined religious tolerance, based on the recognition of Catholicism as the religion of the State, and left education in the hands of the church, said the author.

As Tusell & Portero (2007) explain, the canovist system was based on the concept of balance, with the existence of two parties, known as dynastic parties, which peacefully rotated in power in an organized manner. Both parties moved as two opposing forces but in need of each other (Comellas, 1960).

In Artola's book "*Partidos y Programas Políticos, 1808-1936*" (1974), a description of the main dynastic parties is outlined as follows:

- **CONSERVATIVE PARTY:** Led by Cánovas del Castillo, who brought together the former Moderate Party, the Liberal Union, and a good part of the Progressive Party of the Elizabethan era. They represented the interests of landowners', financial bourgeois and the residual groups of the old regime: aristocracy and ecclesiastical hierarchies.
- **LIBERAL PARTY** (or Liberal Fusionist Party): Led by Práxedes Mateo Sagasta, it comprised Democrats, Radicals, and some moderate Republicans. They wanted to incorporate the less radical aspects of the 1868 Revolution, which led to the support of liberal professionals, the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, the military, and government officials, as well as sectors of the landowning aristocracy.

Tussell & Portero (2007) state that this system was possible thanks to an absolute manipulation of the electoral process the results of which were decided by the Ministry of Government, who was in charge of ensuring that the elections were won by the party that had to govern.

As they explain in their book, the mechanism worked as follows: periodically and in agreement, the king commissioned the formation of a new government. The Ministry of Government would then make a pigeonhole, which was a list of deputies who had to be elected in each district, reserving some seats for the dynastic opposition. The pigeonhole was delivered to the civilian governors to impose them in their province and municipalities through local caciquism. With this objective, votes were bought, people were coerced, false votes were cast, ballots were fraudulently placed in the boxes and if that was not enough, results records were changed.

Tusell & Portero (2007) continue explaining that the list of deputies was always made up of members of the upper bourgeoisie and aristocracy, who constituted an oligarchy that monopolized political-administrative positions and seats in Las Cortes, and therefore controlled power and used it to its interests said the authors.

According to Tuñón de Lara (2000) the Restoration represents the triumph of the moderate liberal option and the conservative reformulation of the Liberal State. As Vilches (2001) says, the intention of moderate liberals was to build and consolidate a strong state, capable of defending and guaranteeing the interests of the different economic groups that dominated the state. In this sense and as the author explains, they needed to neutralize the danger that the opposition posed to the established socio-economic order.

Ayuso (2005) talks about this opposition, which was of different signs: The Carlists, ideologically circumscribed to the Basque Country and Navarra, were divided into two main tendencies, the fundamentalists, and the traditionalists. Secondly, as Tuñón de Lara (2000) says, Republicans, divided between federalists of Pi i Maragall, unionists of Salmerón and radicals of Ruiz Zorrilla. From 1893 federalists and unionists will unite and create the Republican Union Party, says the author.

De la Granja et al., (2001) also talk about Regionalists and Nationalists which will appear in Catalonia (federalist tendencies of Valentí Almirall), the Basque Country (Basque Nationalist Part of Sabino Arana) and Galicia, in defence of linguistic, institutional, and historical particularism against uniformity and centralist tendencies. On the other hand, and as explained by Lida (1972), the Labour Movement will have little incidence these years, just through anarchism, apolitical and defender of direct action, and with the socialist PSOE, founded in 1879 by Pablo Iglesias

The authorship of this new system based on the mechanics of turn were recognized by Cánovas himself in his book "*Problemas Contemporáneos*" (1884). As for the different periods, during the first, the Consolidation of the System, two sub-periods can be differentiated (Dardé, 1996):

Reign of Alfonso XII (1875-1898): According to Bahamonde & Martínez (2011), it will be a period of establishment of the regime, led by Cánovas del Castillo, characterized by a military pacification, where the Third Carlina War and the Ten Year's War of Cuba will end. As explained by Sánchez & Valls-Junyent (2015), it will also be a period of political stability and economic growth in Spain, known in Catalonia as la "Febre d'Or", a period that will be explained in detail in the next chapters.

Regency of María Cristina de Habsburgo (1885-1902): According to Dardé (1996), when Alfonso XII died in November 1885, a serious political problem arose in Spain in the absence of adult successors to occupy the throne. As the author says, the only possible way out then was the regency of his wife, María Cristina de Habsburgo-Lorena (1858-1929), a young Austrian archduchess. Sáinz de Medranos (2007) maintain that, the construction of her image as the representative of the Spanish Crown was a complex political project, undertaken by the dynastic parties and discussed by the opposition.

As Dardé (1996) states in his book, in this period the mechanism of turn worked perfectly, until the colonial disaster of 1898, a period when the world's great powers were fighting for colonies, and which precipitated the first great crisis of the Restoration, when Spain lost the three last colonies: Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

According to Carr (2009), at that time a country's power was directly proportional to the number of territorial extensions that it possessed, thereby imposing its influence and currency. The United States were very interested in Cuba, because of its strategic situation, and supported the Cuban people in their quest for independence. As La Vanguardia (1898) published, the United States won the war, and the Treaty of Paris of December 1898 forced Spain to grant independence to Cuba and yield Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam to the United States, which became a colonial power.

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT IN BARCELONA

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution was an important process of radical transformations originated in Great Britain at the end of the 18th century, and which lasted the 19th century, and part of the 20th century (Lucas, 2003; Hobsbawm, 1999).

According to David Landes, in his book *"The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present"* (1969), the Industrial Revolution was the complex of technological innovations that, by replacing human capacity with machinery, and human and animal strength by mechanical energy, caused the transition from artisanal to manufacturing, thus giving rise to the birth of modern economics.

According to Hobsbawm (1999), one of the most interesting features of the industrial revolution was its ability to maintain progress in a self-sustaining basis. Each technological advance triggered another, what means that once the process began, it has lasted indefinitely since today (Hobsbawm, 1999). There had never been a system capable of this continuous progress. Joseph A. Schumpeter in his book *"Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy"* (1962) writes that the essence of capitalism is not static equilibrium, an implicit idea in neoclassical analysis, but dynamism. This is not a process of gradual adjustment of macroeconomic aggregates, but a process of violent explosions, driven by great innovations, in a phenomenon of **creative destruction**, an expression that constitutes one of the most successful economic metaphors, said the author.

The prestigious historian Gregory Clark, in his book *"A Farewell to Alms"* (2009), summarized that the industrial revolution was not only a process of technological innovation, but a change in human's population nature.

In this sense, and according to Lucas (2003), technological developments brought with them new forms of industrial organization. Furthermore, as Landes (1969) states in his book, the need for energy led to an increase in the use of coal, and this explains why the world's major industrial areas were located near coal-bearing basins. This is the case of Great Britain, Belgium, the German Ruhr Valley or Allegheny County in the United States.

Maluquer de Motes (2019) explains that, Barcelona was the only region in the Mediterranean Europe where the industrial revolution had a major impact. The city's economy remained stagnant until 1830, due to the high prices of coal, the lack of a good transport infrastructure, weak investment, or the low qualification of workers, says the author.

However, as Sobreques (2008) describes, from 1827 onwards, the industry experienced a period of great growth, with the cotton textile sector as the protagonist. The author states that this is mainly thanks to the implementation of the steam engine in production processes at "El Vapor" factory, a pioneering company also known as the "Bonaplata, Vilaregut, Rull i Companyia". After this factory, others were put into operation, being the one from La Espanya Industrial, built in Sants by the Muntadas brothers in 1849, the most important one (Izard, 1970).

According to Tuñón de Lara (1977), the productive unit changed with the construction of industrial colonies which were separated from cities, and the factory became a production system, making possible to isolate workers at an initial stage of the labour movement. Serra (2011) explains that they were microcosmos comprised by the factory, workers and their families, their dwellings, shops, schools, churches... Everything was owned by the businessman, on whom entire families depended and, in this way, they got a docile and dominated workforce. The situation reminds of feudal relationships, since the employer exercised full control over the worker's life, said the author.

As explained by Roig (1995), technical innovations were happening throughout the century, and after the mechanical looms, in 1844 selfactins, which were automatic spinning machines, were introduced. However, Tuñón de Lara (1977) explains that the mechanization of factories led to anxiety and discomfort among workers, who saw their jobs in risk, and the Selfactin Conflict occurred in 1854, when, taking advantage of the uprising of the progressives in the city, workers pillaged the factories and burned the machines.

According to Izard (1970), the increasing mechanization of the textile industry motivated the development of an incipient metallurgical industry that was soon boosted by the introduction of new transportation systems. First important metallurgical facilities were the “Nuevo Vulcano” in 1836, “La Barcelonesa” in 1841, and finally “La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima” in 1855

Quadre 1. Força motriu de les màquines de vapor emprades a la indústria c. 1860

	Potència en CV	CV/1.000 hab.
Bèlgica, 1860	98.757	20,8
Alemanya, 1861	365.000	9,6
Catalunya, 1861	9.960	5,8
França, 1861	191.000	5,1
Txecoslovàquia, 1863	31.765	4,2
Àustria, 1863	43.387	2,4
Rússia, 1860	60.000	1,0

Figure 3: CV/1.000 citizens

However, as Sánchez & Valls-Junyent (2015) report, in 1861 the industry experienced a severe crisis due to great difficulties in cotton supply caused by the American Civil War, as industrial development continued to heavily weigh on this fiber manufacture. As the authors explain, a period of crisis will arrive which lasted a few years, until the so-called period, “La Febre de l’Or”.

So therefore, and according to Tatjer (2006), Barcelona's industrialization took place in an environment that lacked the raw materials and energy sources needed. The city developed thanks to its geographical location, with a port with a long commercial tradition, and its ability to innovate aided by scientific training and development institutions, said the author. As Jaume Vicens Vives writes in his book “*Industrials i Politics, segle XIX*” (1961):

"Catalonia made considerable progresses in its path of assimilation of industrial activity (...). But neither these progresses were consistent (...) nor did they achieve the triple purpose that defines the most successful nations in this field: the establishment of a vigorous iron and steel industry, the integral development of a textile industry and the organization of production for free competition in foreign markets. (...) Those who sustain the inability of Catalan industrialists to adapt to the demands of the 19th century capitalist spirit, are seriously wrong. If the thrust of this century led to the narrowness of small shops or the poverty of the four-loom industry, this fact must be found in the mineral poverty with which the subsoil of Catalonia responded to its children demands".

THE REVOLUTION OF TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS:

The Industrial Revolution meant a transition from the Old Regime to an unprecedented development framework, and the world completely changed thanks to the liberal, industrial, and scientific revolutions of the 19th century (Bahamonde & Martínez, 2011). As Lucas (2003) states, men had never been able to produce that much, move that fast, increase their life expectancy or manage that many sources of knowledge.

Cuéllar Villar (2010) explains that the major issues in the economic equation are production and distribution, the latter being only solvable by the availability of a transportation system in accordance with the supply and demand ratio of production. Therefore, as Alcaide (2010) says, productive systems transformations, forced transport systems' development. Roig (1995) explains that, in Barcelona, this fact is particularly important because the region lacked raw materials and energy sources to carry out its industrial activity. The author argues that the port and the railway network construction would be key factors to understand the city.

The Port of Barcelona: As Izard (1970) explain, at first, the city's industrial development was articulated on the textile industry, which needed the import of raw materials: cotton, and energy sources to move machines: coal. At that time, cotton was imported from the United States, while coal was imported from the British Islands, both by sea (Roig, 1995).

In these circumstances, Alemany Llovera (1991) reported that the port of Barcelona once again became the gateway to prosperity, with important cargoes of cotton and coal arriving to be distributed throughout the country. Therefore, Roig (1995) calculates that, in the mid-19ths, the annual traffic was of 7,716 vessels, with a movement of goods of the order of 400,000 tons.

The increase in industrial activity and the new requirements of navigation, with larger ships, forced the expansion of the city's port facilities (Alemany Llovera, 1991). The author explains that, in the first third of the century, a new dock was built, and the port was dredged. On the other hand, Vicens Vives (1958) writes in his book that maintenance and expansion actions took place until the major transformations were undertaken during the second half of the century, when the expansion project of the engineer Josep Rafo was accepted.

The Railway: According to Cuéllar Villar (2010), railways have been a decisive factor in industrial development. The author states that it is interesting to remember that the train arrived in Spain much later than in the rest of European countries

As Roig (1995) describes, the Barcelona-Mataró railway line was the first to run in peninsular Spain and was possible thanks to Miquel Biada, who managed to convince English and Barcelona capitalists to invest in the project. Therefore, the construction began in 1847, with a stretch of 38 kilometres and 10 stations. As reported by Reder (1950), the first 4 locomotives were built by the British house *Jones & Potts* and were named Catalunya, Mataró, Barcelona and Besos. Some authors like Balaguer (1973) or Rodríguez-Lázaro (2000) explain in their books that, after some tests, the inaugural trip took place on October 28th, 1848 and the ride lasted 51 minutes, stopping at all stations. The return was made in 35 minutes, without stops. After the Mataró line, those of Granollers, Sabadell – Terrassa, and Martorell were built.

Roig (1995) highlights that the arrival of the railway to Barcelona was a “before and after”, as it was conducive to a series of deep changes in the urban structure of the city, reducing the buildable area of the walled city which, since that time, had aggravated the already precarious living conditions of the people. In line with Alcaide (2015), this fostered the expansion of the city’s boundaries, creating new spaces that would be later developed in the Eixample project.

According to Alcaide (2005), the political and economic importance that Barcelona and other industrialized cities such as Sabadell or Manresa acquired, motivated the construction of a large part of the railway network between 1848 and 1864. This fact made the Catalan capital the most advanced city of Spain in relation to the most important advances of the century (Alcaide, 2005). However, as Alcaide (2015) stated, the city had a medieval aspect, isolated from nearby towns such as Gràcia, Sant Marti de Provençals or Sants, due to a military bondage zone where it was forbidden to build any type of construction.

L’EIXAMPLE:

All these changes that took place during the 19th century brought Barcelona to its limit (Roig, 1995). The author explains that the city had long been asking for authorization to tear down the walls but, as a stronghold it had to remain walled. However and according to López-Gay (2014) things changed, and now density within the urban area was unsustainable: in 1864, more than 160,000 people crowded into a smaller space than the one occupied by 34,000 at the beginning of the 18th century, and therefore mortality was very high due to frequent epidemic crises.

As Roig (1995) explain in his book, this created a strong social pressure symbolized by the popular motto "*A terra les muralles*". Permanyer (2008) highlights how for the city, the walls that once had been essential to resist subsequent sieges, now represented a brake on urban expansion and economic development.

Tuñón de Lara et al., (1991) explain that in August 1854, Barcelona joined the coup d'état carried out by the progressives and, ratified by the new government, began the demolition of the walls, works that will be completed in 1856. A topographic plan of the city will be financed, and the authorities will agree on the elaboration of a general plan to be chosen by public tender.

However, and according to Cirici (1959), despite the fact that the contest was won by the project presented by the architect Antoni Rovira i Trias, a Royal Order of the Ministry of Public Works approves the project of Cerdà and, for many years, this will be incorporated into Catalonia's collective defence ideals, as a great offense to reproach to centralism, attributing it as a deliberate manoeuvre by the central government to prevent the monumental greatness of the city and compel it to a prison uniformity.

The Pla Cerdà was then carried out, a modern and courageous plan that will be mutilated in its entirety (Permanyer, 2008). The author states that the city council will accept the plan, but will reject the reform of the old town and the established ordinances for the construction of blocks. Roig (1995) added that landowners' interests and speculation will end up distorting the project, from which only the urban structure was preserved, losing its ideological content.

The prestigious chronicler Permanyer (2008), explain that Cerdà, who was very influenced by liberalism, the mechanization of industry, hygienist theories and the beginning of statistical study as a science, wanted his urbanism to be based on rational intervention and, in this context, high density as the cause of over-mortality will become the main thesis and unquestionable justification for unlimited expansion.

In this way, and as Permanyer (2008) writes in his book, Cerdà would imagine a green city, designing an extension that stretches from Montjuic to the Besos river, with a homogeneous orthogonal network, made up of rectilinear streets of 20, 30 and 60 meters wide. As the author states, a grid of streets was drawn, made up of a network oriented in a Southwest - Northeast direction, parallel to the sea and the Collserola mountain range, and a transversal network in a Northwest-Southeast direction. This is how residential blocks of 113.3 meters on each side, and a chamfer of 45° on each corner were delimited.

The plan enclosed a deep ideological approach as, with this urban plan, he wanted to design an egalitarian city where neighbourhoods did not differ from each other due to the living conditions (MUHBA, 2010). According to Permanyer (2008), this egalitarian principle justifies homogeneity in search of equality: every road was at the same distance, and since some streets were not more comfortable than others, he thought that the value of the habitats would tend to equalize.

As the MUHBA (2010) show, another important concept in the project was the influence that hygienist theories had on him, especially the theory of the atmospheric cube. As the institution explains, in the 19th century, air quality was believed to determine epidemic contagion, so the aim of the Eixample will be to provide all dwellings with the ideal amount of breathable air. Permanyer (2008) highlights that, taking advantage of the wide freedom to build the city, the structure of his plan will make the best use of wind to facilitate oxygenation and cleanliness.

In this way, and following the book of Permanyer (2008), the project envisaged the construction of blocks, planned to be constructed only on two sides, with a maximum height of 16 meters and a depth of 10 to 20 meters. The author explains that this regulation ensured air and sun in all floors whose rooms overlooked the outside. The rest of the block was intended to be used for green spaces. Most authors such as Permanyer (2008) or Roig (1995) highlight that, if the project had been respected, Barcelona would have become a real garden city, as Cerdà's project integrated these green spaces internally, but without breaking its layout to fit them.

According to Bohigas (1958), in addition to the hygienic aspects, Cerdà also considered mobility, with wide streets to escape the inhumane density of the old city, but also thinking of a motorized future, and he tried as well to incorporate railway lines to his design, although he understood that they had to go underground

Permanyer (2008) explains how Cerdà distributed services in his plan: he divided the Eixample into three large sectors of 20x20 blocks, divided into four districts of 10x10 blocks, and these districts into four neighbourhoods of 5x5 blocks. Each neighbourhood had a civic centre with a church, kindergarten, school ... For each district he planned a market, and for each sector a park. He also placed industrial and administrative facilities for the urban fabric. It becomes evident that Cerdà conceived the city as a social and egalitarian body, not as a simple architectural space (Permanyer, 2008). MUHBA (2010) explains that this is how the project clearly illustrates his will to create a rational urbanism, born with the aim of providing solutions to an environmental and social urban crisis

In this way and according to Fabre et al., (1982), in the first stage of its implementation in 1864, the city council commissioned the writer Víctor Balaguer to label the streets of the Eixample. The author explains how, in accordance with the romantic spirit of La Renaixença, Balaguer assigned names of important institutions, territories and also key figures in Catalonia's history, such as Diputació, Consell de Cent, Mallorca, and also Pau Claris or Roger de Llúria.

As reported by Roig (1995), this is how the urban society of Barcelona, shaken by the industrial revolution and shaped by the new liberalism, takes up the challenge, and manages to rise to the level of the great European capitals. A splendour on which the city built its public presentation in Europe, on the occasion of the 1888 Universal Exposition, as a modern metropolis and as the capital of a reborn Catalonia, says the author. MUHBA (2010) states that the Eixample of Cerdà must figure alongside the Haussmann reform in Paris, and the urbanization of the Ring in Vienna, as one of the three most ambitious contributions to eight-century urban planning in Europe.

LA FEBRE D'OR

According to Freixas (1966), with the fall of the First Republic, in 1874, and the restoration of the monarchy in the figure of Alfonso XII, a conservative period marked by bipartisanship began. The political and social stability that the Restoration brought was translated into a period of great prosperity for the businesses of the bourgeoisie in Barcelona, says the author

Roig (1995) and the Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana (1987) explain that, in this period, money flowed quickly through more than a hundred credit societies. Textile, metallurgical and chemical industrial developments continued, and the wine market experienced a great boom coinciding with the appearance of phylloxera in France. In the same way, the first electricity companies were created and the first major shipping companies such as the Transatlantic appeared in 1881, said the authors.

To capture what this period meant for Barcelona, a very interesting fragment of the work "*La Febre d'Or*", written by Narcís Oller (1890-1892), is set out below:

"(...) Money came out from hiding places where prudence had held them prisoners and they were rolling wildly from hand to hand. (...) No one remembered the boxes collapse anymore. 1866 had been erased from the memory of those who were still lame.

(...) To the 37 credit companies operating in Barcelona, 72 more had been added in a few months, representing together more than 3 million shares and an effective capital of over 776 million pesetas. (...) it was not difficult to find a bonnet and fill up your pockets.

(...) Poverty that had become richer in a few weeks was innumerable (...) Theatres, always full, were dazzling. Trinket and cabinetmaking sites were ruined to accommodate the growing number of large, sumptuous furniture stores. Confectioneries, glove stores, bakeries and restaurants multiplied as if by charm.

The number of private carriages grew, (...) like it has never been seen in Barcelona and, while construction in industrial districts decreased, striking flashy houses, small hotels and palaces were born to the right and left. An invisible stream of gold reached the daily bag. Joy shone on all faces, people ran wild through the streets and the breath of well-being that everyone breathed pushed the most retained to spend and exchange the gold gathered with sweat and privations for those pieces of paper, half-engraved that the credit scattered galore”

1888 BARCELONA UNIVERSAL EXPOSITION

Paul Greenhalgh's (1988) interesting book describes that the fever of optimism that invaded Europe during the second half of the 19th century needed a showcase, a way of showing people the progress made in all fields. This showcase took shape in Universal Expositions, being France and England, economic, industrial, and political powers at the time, the hosts of the first events to be held, said the author.

According to Morillo (2015), the exhibitions led to the development and transformation of the cities that housed them, since it was not only about building venues to house different pavilions, but about designing the whole infrastructure needed to celebrate the event. Findling & Pelle (2008) add that the first exhibition was held in London in 1851, followed by those of Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia, and Antwerp.

Gumersindo Vicuña, a Spanish assistant to the 1878 Paris Exhibition, summarizes the nature of these events in his book, *“Impresiones y juicio de la exposición Universal de 1878”* (1878):

“A Universal Exposition is the summary of our time, more given to what is useful than to what is ideal, especially paid for everything that affects the improvement of living conditions, whether in the material and moral aspects”

In this sense and according to Garrut (1976), the 1888 Universal Exposition, took place from May the 20th to December the 9th, 1888 in the city of Barcelona. For Viera de Miguel (2013), of all the Spanish cities, Barcelona was the only one with the industrial potential, and the pro-European and cosmopolitan drive, that the organization of such an important event required.

Graells (2011) explains that the exposition was carried out during the Regency of María Cristina de Habsburgo, widow of Alfonso XII, and would be a reflection of the good relationship between the restored Bourbon monarchy and the Catalan bourgeoisie, who had supported the monarchical return, partly as a search for social peace to favour the expected economic development, and in part as a brake on the independence aspirations of Catalan leaders.

As stated by Garrut (1976), the initiative to organize a Universal Exhibition started from an individual, Eugenio Serrano de Casanova, but the lack of means finally made the mayor, Francesc de Paula Rius i Taulet, take over the project. Theories, such as the one presented by Prados & Rodóns (2010) state that, in fact, Serrano did the most difficult, and when politicians saw that the celebration was possible, they snatched the project from him.

As published by La Vanguardia (1888), on May 20th 1888 the Exhibition was inaugurated, with the presence of the young Alfonso XIII, the Regent María Cristina, the Princess of Asturias: María de las Mercedes, the Infanta María Teresa, the President of the government, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta and many other authorities and personalities.

In this way and as explained by Grau et al., (1988) and Garrut (1976), a 380,000 m² enclosure was designed, consisting of the current Parc de la Ciutadella, part of the Passeig de Sant Joan in the north and the Fort of Don Carlos in the south. Thus, a north-south route began at the Arc de Triomphe, the gateway to the exhibition, and ended at the seashore, through the bridge of the maritime section, which would be where the Hospital del Mar is located today.

The authors explain that a quarter of the exhibition was occupied by buildings, some of them expressly built by the most prestigious architects of the moment, being the most important the Gran Palau de la Industria, a fan-shaped building divided into thirteen venues.

According to Roig (1995), the city was visited by more than two million people, and the citizens of Barcelona experienced an unprecedented deployment of official delegations for the first time. The final balance was positive since the construction sector revitalized, and the number of visitors provided great income to all sectors. That is why it is considered that economically it was the first big step for the Catalan economy towards its Europeanization, said the author.

The exhibition also served to accelerate the processes of urban transformation, which had been stagnated for a long time, with emblematic places today such as Plaça Catalunya, the Columbus monument, the Ciutadella or the Arc de Triomf, among others (Roig, 1995; Grau, et al., 1988).

As Mendoza & Mendoza (2003) argue, without any doubt, the major transformation would be the refurbishment project of La Ciutadella, commissioned by Josep Fontserè and with the collaboration of a young Antoni Gaudí. The authors said that several renowned sculptors intervened, and the site became a testing ground for modernist architecture that was beginning to flourish in Barcelona. The historiography of Catalan art places precisely in 1888 the beginnings of modernism and by the young group of artists and architects who began working on the Exhibition (Mendoza & Mendoza, 2003).

According to Garrut (1976), the park was conceived to be a wooded area for the citizens, similar to other facilities in modern European cities, such as London, with the Hyde Park, and Paris with Des Tuileries. The project, carried out between 1881 and 1884, had the motto "*gardens are to cities what lungs are to the human body*", said the author.

As an anecdote, it should be noted the not contrasted but widespread idea, supported by journalists such as Toni Aira in his article "*La Torre Eiffel podria haver estat construïda a Barcelona*" (2020), that the French engineer Gustave Eiffel presented to the organizers of the Universal Exhibition the project to build the Eiffel Tower in Barcelona, but being finally discarded because it seemed a strange construction that would not fit in the city. However, Lluís Permanyer, the prominent chronicler of Barcelona states in his article in La Vanguardia: "*Eiffel jamás ofreció su torre a Barcelona*" (2009), that this is a simple urban legend without historical foundation

CULTURAL CONTEXT IN BARCELONA

"*Culture has become for Catalonia, the crucial element of its existence*" (Giner, et al., 1996). This phrase that can be found in the book "*La cultura catalana: el sagrat i el profà*", demonstrates the impact of the cultural context on Barcelona in the 19th century, which was strongly influenced by Romanticism and the Renaixença (Revista de Catalunya, 1926). Romanticism, according to the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE, 1999) is:

"the cultural movement that developed in Europe at the end of the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th century, and that, in opposition to neoclassical rationalism, exalts creative freedom, fantasy and feelings"

According to Eichner (1972), it became the benchmark for liberal ideological foundations thanks to its assessment of individualism, the exaltation of people's political and national freedom and the appreciation of popular heritage and folklore. Also interesting is the perspective given by Jean-Luis Picoche (1978), who describes romanticism as a *"set of religious and satanic, progressive and reactionary tendencies, directed at a historical or legendary past, a will to discover the world of love for your homeland"*. On the other hand, Américo Castro (2018), writes *"romanticism is a sentimental metaphysic, a pantheistic conception of the universe whose centre is the self. (...) a special value was attributed to all the works and situations where man was seen to act on his environment, or was determined by it"*

In this way, Domingo (2011) states that the use of Catalan was decreasing in society: its daily use was maintained by popular classes and minor literary works, but it was lost in the upper and educated classes, said the author. In this context, as Domingo (2011), Rubió i Balaguer (1986) and Marfany (2003) explain, La Renaixença, a cultural movement that proposed the recovery of Catalan as a language of culture, began, and so the language became the differentiating element of a nation that was completed by the search in the past for strongly idealized national roots.

However, several authors like Domingo (2011), Prado & Vallverdú (1989), Marfany (2003) and Rubió i Balaguer (1986) defend that this is just a theoretical definition that does not fit the tremendous impact that it had on society. La Renaixença led to a total renewal of the Catalan's reality perception, which implied a new approach that ranged from history to legal institutions, traditions, art or theatre said the authors.

According to Sardà (1888), this led to the strengthening of the national consciousness, resulting in a more deeply rooted conviction of belonging to a specific community whose values needed to be recovered, and a greater attention to the defining external signs of that community. Claret & Santirso (2014) add that, at this time, political catalanism would be born, which intended to claim recognition of the national personality of Catalonia.

Fuster Sobrepere in his book *"Barcelona i l'Estat centralista. Industria i política a la dècada moderada 1843-1854"* (2006), writes that:

"Barcelona lived a complete experience of transformation towards the industrial economy, and the generation which grew up in this context needed to be provided with the theoretical and political tools to deal with this transformation"

According to Domingo (2011) and Sardà (1888), la Renaixença became then that theoretical and intellectual instrument that synthesizes romantic lessons from the past. As Rubió i Balaguer (1986) state, la Renaixença is considered to begin with the publication in 1833, of "*Oda a la Patria*" by Bonaventura Carles Aribau, the first poem that identified people and homeland through language, under a deep romantic idealism.

However as Marfany (2003) explains, many voices defend that the real beginning happened in 1841, when Joaquim Rubio i Ors, published a series of poetry in Catalan under the pseudonym "Lo Gaiter del Llobregat" and that will constitute a manifesto and public appeal to the dignity of the Catalan language. This manifesto will urge to the restoration of the Jocs Florals and would serve as a platform for stimulating wills, said the author. According to Smith (2014) and Domingo (2011) The most important manifestations of this culture are found in choral singing, with Josep Anselm Clave and Amadeu Vives, theatre, with Serafi Pitarra, Àngel Guimerà and Jacint Verdaguer, and press, with "*La Campana de Gràcia*" and "*l'Esquella de la Torratxa*".

In this way, as Domingo (2011), Claret & Santirso (2014), Prado & Vallverdú (1989) and Marfany (2003) explain, Catalan gained public recognition and consolidated as a literary and cultured language thanks to the quality of its works. They knew how to connect with the secular vitality of Catalan, with its liveliest popular roots and with the spontaneous wealth of popular language.

Already in the last decades of the 18th century, Antoni de Capmany, a great historian and author of the memoirs "*Historias sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona*" (1779) had written that "*Catalan was an ancient provincial language dead today for the republic of letters, always unknown by foreigners and in this century almost by the same children of the homeland*". However, 80 years later, not only did the most pessimistic augurs not materialize, but the Catalan language was reborn with force.

2.3 ORIGINS OF THE HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY

In order to explain the origins and evolution that the hospitality industry have had, a look into the past must be taken. To do so, it must be said that little evidence has been identified to describe and analysis the evolution of the accommodation infrastructure in the city.

Two books have been essential to carry out this thesis, and therefore are also very important in this chapter. They are the books "*Barcelona, Parada i Fonda*" (2009), by Angel Miguelsanz and "*Destinació BCN: Historia del Turisme a la Ciutat de Barcelona*" (2016) by Saida Palou.

They both describe the history of the hospitality sector in the city of Barcelona, reviewing the evolution that accommodation has had from the inns and medieval hostels to the construction of the first hotels in the city, understood in their contemporary concept. These authors would also debate about the etymology and origins of the first establishments, their meaning, and the way they derived to the next noticeable transformation, from inns or “posadas” to hostels.

From this point, other important documents have been used, as the document “*Botigues, obradors i cases de menjar i beure*” (Curet, 1954). The author of the book offers a wide repertoire of hostels in Barcelona from 1760 to 1860. Curet debates the origin of the inns, hostels, fondas and finally hotels, revealing the places where they were and giving life to their names. Another useful document has been the book “*El hostal, la Fonda, la Taberna y el Café en la vida barcelonesa*” (Almerich, 1945), in which a detailed inventory of hotel establishments existing in Barcelona in the mid-19th century, can be found.

Other source of information used to understand the origins of the hospitality industry and to extract knowledge, are the books of famous visitors who radiographed the historical moment when they visited the city. They are books like “*Gatherings from Spain*” (1999) by Richard Ford, or “*Recuerdos de un viaje por España*” (1849) by Francisco de Paula Mellado.

Likewise, official sources that the city council has published throughout its history have also been used. This are documents such as “*Manual histórico-topográfico estadístico y administrativo de la Guía de Barcelona*” (1849) written by Manuel Sauri and José Matas, or later the “*Guía de Forasteros de Barcelona*” (1887) written by José Coroleu, which were designed to attract more visitors to the city, and in which a detailed description of the establishments that the city had is made. Finally, the last document used is the French “*Les Guides Bleus*” (1927), published on the occasion of the prelude to the 1929 International Exposition.

2.4 THE HOTEL CONCEPT

Throughout history there have been different types of shelters, basically understood as a functional activity dedicated to offer a place to eat and sleep for people traveling (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009). Over the years, advances have also led to an evolution of the concept of accommodation, until reaching the contemporary or modern concept of hotel imposed by the Swiss hotelier Cesar Ritz at the end of the 19th century, said the author. According to Palou (2016), a new understanding of accommodation was then established, with the aim of attracting guests by offering a comfortable stay to overnight in places that were not their home.

In this way and according to the Spanish Royal Academy, today a hotel is defined as a:

“set of facilities that, destined for tourist accommodation, occupy an entire building or an independent part of it, constituting a homogeneous whole with entrances, elevators and stairs for exclusive use, and that meet the minimum technical requirements that may be required in each of the regional regulations. Hotel establishments may have other complementary services, such as restaurants” (RAE, 1999).

For Cooper et al. (2007) accommodation is an essential part and a necessary component of a possible tourist destination. Quality influences the type of visitors that travel to that destination, said the author. For Duro (2012), nowadays there exist hundreds of different types of hotels, from boutique to resorts & spa hotels, or also establishments dedicated to a specific typology of guests... Therefore, the limits of what a hotel is, are set and limited by us.

2.5 HISTORIC HOTELS IN BARCELONA

In this chapter, the available literature on historical hotels of Barcelona at the 19th century will be analysed. After the literary review done by experts of the hospitality industry, it could be suggested that a few of these hotels are still active today despite their lesser relevance

As mentioned before, two main literary works stand out, and will be the basis from which this analysis will be carried out. First of all, the book *“Destinació Barcelona: Historia del Turisme a la Ciutat de Barcelona”* (2016) by Saida Palou. The book analyses the tourist construction process, from a historical perspective which allows to understand how and why the city has become an international tourist destination.

Throughout the book the reader can discover the chosen strategies, the great events and urban reforms carried out, the first hostels, inns and fondas of the city, and the context of the time that allowed the beginning of the tourism. Secondly, the book *“Barcelona, Parada i Fonda: L’hostaleria de la ciutat. Dels orígens als nostres dies”* (2009) by Àngel Miguelsanz i Arnalot, which represents, through anecdotes, the chronicle of 2,000-years of tourism in Barcelona, tracing the history of the city's tourist establishments.

To a lesser extent, documents such as *“Els factors de localització hotelera a Barcelona, 1849-1989”* (1990) by Josefina Romero, *“Turisme i arquitectura en la Barcelona d’inicis de segle XX”* (2009) by Maribel Rosselló, or *“Barcelona Cosmopolita”* (2018) by Saida Palou and Gonçal Arnús are also relevant.

Finally, documents as for example *“El Ciclo de Evolución del Destino Turístico: aproximación al desarrollo histórico del turismo en Catalunya”* (2007) by Luis Alfonso Garay, *“La Exposición Universal de las Artes y las Industrias de Barcelona (1888): un evento clave en la primera etapa del turismo en Cataluña”* (2008) by the same author or *“Arrels Piamonteses de l’Hostaleria de Barcelona”* (2012) by Àngel Miguelsanz y Arnalot have also been used to complete this thesis.

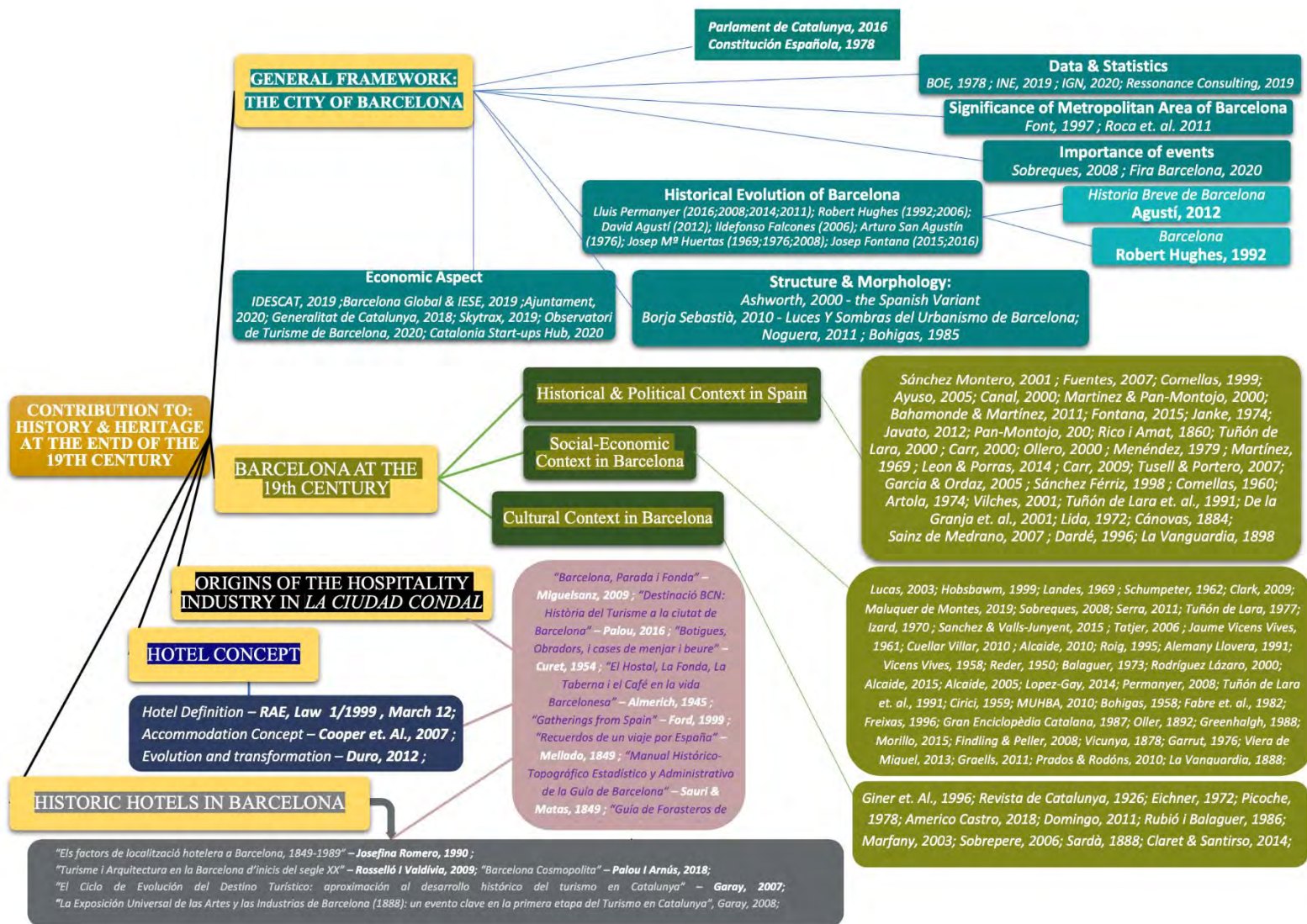
About the Catalogue

Other important source of information will be the hotels themselves, some of which have their own files allowing to discover the specific history of the establishment in detail.

It is important to indicate that, with the aim of elaborating the Catalogue of historic hotels, an existing world-reference collection format and design will be followed: the selective catalogue of the Leading Hotels of The World company (2020). This catalogue, also known as *“Decidedly Unordinary”* compiles a collection of properties that are part of the LHW brand worldwide, with a total of 528 pages. This catalogue on Historic Hotels of Barcelona will be inspired by the layout and design of the LHW Worldwide Directory of the 2019-2020 edition, coordinated by Ted Teng, the President & Chief Executive Officer from the Company and Kracht Andrea as the owner.

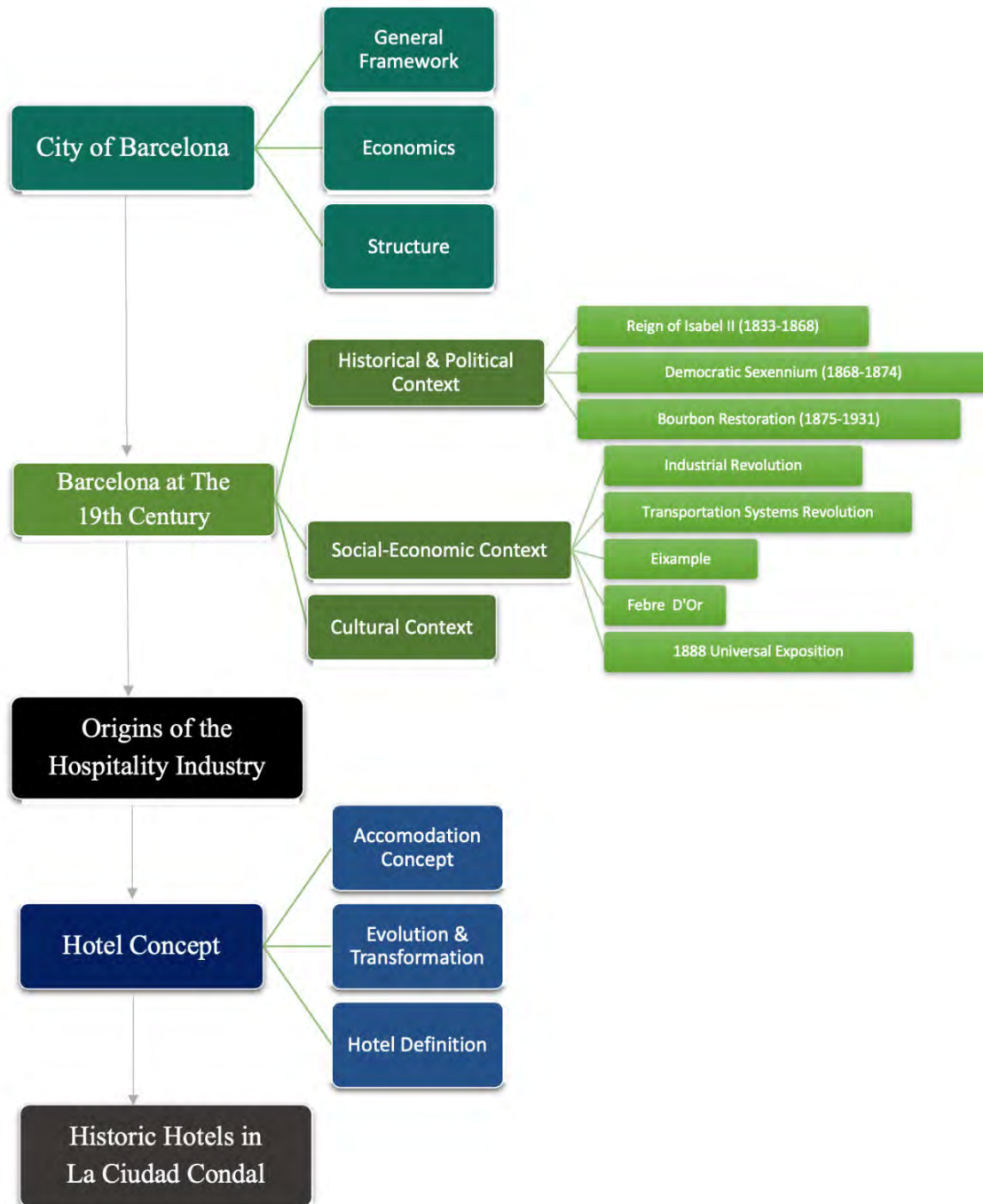
2.6 LITERATURE MAP

This literature map graphic introduces all the topics previously mentioned at the literature review, presenting all the authors and respective theories as well as the concepts analysed throughout this thesis. In other words, a literature map is a two-dimensional diagrammatic representation of information where links are made between concepts by drawing arrows (Creswell, 2011). The main goal of this technique is to help the reader organize the main ideas of the thesis and therefore understand better the key issues and visualize connections and associations between concepts.



2.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The objective of this conceptual framework is the practical and clear visualization of a representative diagram with the main concepts and theories identified in the literature review. The following graph represent the topics used to develop this Degree Thesis, with the clear purpose of finding an answer to the main objectives set in the introduction section.



CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The following chapter is dedicated to present the methodology of this degree thesis. Therefore, it will explain the methods and techniques that have been applied systematically, in order to solve the initial problem, and for which it has been possible to extrapolate conclusions that will be presented in the following sections. At this point, Rodriguez & Valldeoriola (2014) offers us an obvious but interesting perspective: it seems clear that the need to investigate is linked to the need to respond to a specific problem. Therefore, the motivation to do this thesis is to **explain the context and find the reasons why Barcelona built its first hotels**, which was the starting point of the city as an international tourist destination.

This chapter will structure as follows: first, a definition of the Overall Design of the thesis, which is an explanation of the framework created and used to find answers to the main goals. Second, Data Collection Techniques and Instruments will be described, referring to the tools that will be used to contrast information. Third, the Research Context and Participants will define when and where this research process is framed, as well as who is included in this investigation. Fourth, a Data Analysis will be carried out, to present the techniques and resources used to treat the information founded. Finally, Ethical Considerations will corroborate the application of ethics when collecting information

3.1 OVERALL RESEARCH DESIGN

The overall research design is a set of specific frames and directions used to approach the investigation and find answers to the main questions established (Creswell, 2014). In other words, it is a set of methods and procedures used when collecting and analysing the information obtained to write the conclusions. Its purpose is to ensure that all the information found allows us to effectively address the research problem in the most unambiguous way possible.

The following authors have been taken into consideration as examples on how a degree thesis should be conducted and which are the theoretical approach of this thesis. Olabuénaga in "*Metodología de la investigación cualitativa*" (2012), is going to be one of the main sources of information due to its well-structured and clear way of presenting different types of techniques. On the other hand, the information documented by Guerrero in her work "*Qualitative research*" (2016) has been used for a better understanding of the type of qualitative research.

Also, "*Metodología de la investigación: las rutas cuantitativa, cualitativa y mixta*" (2018) by Hernández-Sampieri, will be a useful source to understand and compare existing techniques. Finally, "*Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*" (2014) by John Creswell will also be used as a really interesting model. These articles will be essential for deciding the type of data techniques chosen for structuring the search. The choice of documents has not been random, but rather in-depth to ensure that the sources of information are validated and updated to this day. Recent publications make innovative approaches with more credible sources, making theses more accessible to readers.

The analytical method sets specific objectives that consist on discovering the specific structure of what occurs on reality (Olabuénaga, 2012). According to the author, two main approaches exist: qualitative and quantitative. The following table clearly represent the main characteristics of data collection from both methods:

CHARACTERISTICS	
QUANTITATIVE APPROACH	QUALITATIVE APPROACH
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✿ OBJECTIVITY ✿ NEUTRALITY ✿ ACCURACY ✿ REPLICABILITY 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✿ SUBJECTIVITY ✿ EMPATHY ✿ RICHNESS ✿ PROXIMITY

Figure 4: Quantitative vs Qualitative approach (Olabuénaga, 2012)

Based on all this information referenced, this degree thesis will follow a **qualitative style of research**. To reinforce this decision, the opinion of Morse (1991) is considered relevant. For the author, some characteristics of qualitative research problems are: an immature concept due to a lack of previous research, a notion that the available literature may be inaccurate, incorrect or biased, a commitment to explore and develop the topic, and finally that the nature of the topic may not be suited to quantitative measures. In this sense, the topic: Historic Hotels in Barcelona (The contribution to History & Heritage at the End of the 19th Century), meets all those characteristics, as little information on the topic exists, the one that exists is uncompleted, and barely any numerical data collection neither mathematical resources will be used, but rather a deep search for qualitative information.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES AND RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Once the general style of data collection has been chosen (quantitative or qualitative), it is time to determine how this data will be gathered. Olabuénaga (2012) said that there are five most common used methods:

- 1- EXPERIMENTS: It consists in provoking or manipulating social events and behaviors through a controlled intervention in people's social life.
- 2- SURVEYS OR QUESTIONNAIRES: It is a question of systematically and controllably asking the actors who intervene and participate with their opinions and attitudes. Normally, questions are asked in a structured way, with closed and specific answers.
- 3- OBSERVATION: It consists of systematic and careful contemplation of how social life develops, without manipulation or modification.
- 4- IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW: Consists of a conversation between two or more people based on open answers and questions.
- 5- CONTENT ANALYSIS: It is used to read and interpret content of all types of documents, more specifically written papers.

Each method would be used for a certain type of thesis, neither of them is exclusive of the other. In this Degree Thesis, the qualitative techniques that will be used are the following:

- ❖ **Observation**: This is a technique that allows obtaining information about a phenomenon or event as it occurs. It is the most recommended technique for qualitative research. Its procedure is selective in order to obtain data on a specific topic (Guerrero, 2016).
- ❖ **Content analysis**: Based on reading as a data collection tool, it consist of reading in an objective and systematic way qualitative documents that may be public, as newspapers and official reports, or private, as letters and personal journals (Creswell, 2014). It is essential to limit the documentation and content analysis to the historical period of this thesis.

Consequently, throughout this thesis, the reader will be able to find both primary and secondary sources of information. A great part is established through secondary sources, predominantly books on different topics that are later exposed and described, but also reports, articles or public-administration documents mainly from the Municipal Archive of the City Hall, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Library of the Diputació de Barcelona and The Catalan Tourism Agency. All these documents present information separately but, jointly investigated and analyzed, allow us to respond to the objectives of this thesis.

However, in the unified catalogue creation, and since there is no prior literature on the topic, the sources are completely primary, elaborated from files such as, for example, the AMCB files, industrial registrations of buildings to be able to discover the year of construction and/or foundation of some of the hotels, as well as some advertising posters of the time that allow to extract relevant information

3.3 RESEARCH CONTEXT AND PARTICIPANTS

The context of the research is found in the city of Barcelona and its historic evolution throughout the 19th century, and the main protagonists and participants will be the hotels, all located in the historic center of the city, around the Rambla dels Caputxins .

It is also important to highlight in this section that, in order to answer the third objective of this thesis: to create a catalogue with the first hotels of Barcelona explaining their evolution, it has been considered interesting to use an existing catalogue which is so recognized internationally: the curated portfolio by the Leading Hotels of the World Organization (2020). In this way it has been used as a source of inspiration and design for the subsequent creation of the catalogue. This is due to its detailed presentation along with its influence and presence in the hospitality industry worldwide.

LHW, established in 1928 by several influential and forward-thinking European Hoteliers, run today as a marketing organization representing more than 400 authentic and uncommon luxury hotels in more than 80 countries over the world. Annually, LHW exclusively launches a new catalogue edition that brings together a worldwide collection of all the luxurious hotels that make up the brand. Fortunately, it has happened to have had the opportunity to acquire the edition of the last year, and it has served as a reference to be inspired to elaborate the catalogue.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

According to the theory written by Creswell (2014), for analyzing all data, five different steps will be followed. In the first step, data is organized and prepared for the analysis, which involves transcribing interviews, scanning material, typing up field notes, cataloguing all the visual material and dividing data in groups depending on from which source of information they have been obtained.

The second step will be reading all the data and getting an overall impression of the main ideas that participants are saying, as well as the depth, credibility and use of the information obtained. In the third step, data is coded so that it can be clustered together in similar topics. In the fourth step, the coding is used to generate categories or themes, that will be the ones that will appear as major findings. In this sense, the findings will be a detailed discussion of several interconnected themes. Finally, the final step of data analysis will be to involve making an interpretation of the findings.

Once all the necessary information has been collected, in accordance with the selected data collection techniques, it will be necessary to take full advantage of the initial objectives. Sources of analytical data information will be journals, publications, official documents or archives, historical books, and articles by authors, as mentioned before.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Researchers need to anticipate the ethical issues that may arise during their studies (Berg, 2001; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011; Punch, 2005). In this sense, ethical considerations are a crucial part of research, since without them thesis would have no validation. Validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, participants, or the readers (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

Prior literature demonstrated that, a researcher must select the appropriate methodology to employ relevant ways of collecting data, present the research findings and interpret them accordingly leading to the presentation of information in a logical sequence (Akaranga & Makau, 2016). According to them, it is vital for a researcher to observe appropriate values at all stages while conducting research. If this is not observed, it could result into a misconduct. A thesis can only be submitted for publishing if it is professionally researched, written and adheres to the necessary research ethical guidelines.

In this way, it is essential to support and test findings effectively and with realistic conclusions, following professional guidelines and using data in an ethical form. In order to carry out a moral and responsible ethic in accordance with the standards and regulations established by the University Rectorate (2020), documents have been completed and added in the appendix section that prove the consent and permission of the supervisor for the use of data for this Degree Thesis. In this way, ethics are always applied in the collection of information.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter is to describe the results collected throughout the investigation. Thereby, this section is based on the theoretical and conceptual framework previously explained in the literature review section, in order to answer the three main goals established in this thesis.

As López Guallar & Grau i Fernández (1971) explain, the urban history of Barcelona is mostly well known to us, thanks to the great classical and ancient works of unforgettable authors such as Cerdà, Sanpere and Miquel Barraquer, as well as other great writers as Lluís Permanyer (2016; 2008; 2014; 2011), Josep M^a Huertas (1969; 1976; 2008), David Agustí (2012) or Robert Hughes (1992; 2006). Thanks to all of them, today the people know that the 19th century would mean an era of change, highlighted by great scientific, philosophical and rights progress. The authors state that, despite the continued struggle between social classes, the economic development and industrial advances would originate the new Europe.

According to them and also to Miguelsanz (2009), and Palou (2016), cities would then begin to fill up, and the countryside would leave behind their years of life. The history of hospitality would begin to become an important key to the development of cities, and great travellers would start documenting their journeys. How did this affect Barcelona? In this section of findings, the answers to all these questions are detailed.

4.1 THE EMERGENCE OF CONTEMPORARY HOTELS IN BARCELONA

WHEN DID THEY ARISE?

In 1850, the city was immersed in the industrialization process, and was preparing to make the leap to modernity, just as the rest of European capitals did (Garay Tamajón, 2008). The city went through a period of political stability and economic expansion with the Reign of Isabel II and moderate governments, largely thanks to the impulse of the Catalan textile industry.

Thanks to industrial development, the railway will arrive to Barcelona, with the inauguration of the Barcelona - Mataró line, the first in Spain, and the city will acquire political and economic importance, becoming the most advanced city in the state (Alcaide, 2005). However, the city continued to have a medieval character, isolated from nearby towns such as Gràcia, Sant Martí de Provençals or Sants, as a consequence of a military exclusion area, where it was forbidden to build any type of construction (Alcaide, 2015).

The parenthesis that represented the Progressive Biennium (1854-1856), will allow Barcelona, which had supported the new government, to start breaking down the walls that suffocated and prevented its expansion, initiating the consequent Eixample project carried out by Ildefons Cerdà (Tuñón de Lara, et al., 1991; Teixidor i Felip, et al., 1972).

The crisis caused by the American Civil War, led to a political crisis that will end in a change of regime and the beginning of the Democratic Sexennium. Once this parenthesis was overcome, which was predominantly characterized by instability but also by a great advance in the country's democratic culture, the period known as the Bourbon Restoration was established.

Political and social stability that the Restoration brought, was translated into a period of great prosperity for the businesses of the bourgeoisie (Freixas, 1966). It would be a period of great economic growth, known as La Febrer d'Or, and many entrepreneurs will earn a lot of money.

In this context, the 1888 Universal Exposition arrives, which is considered to be the key moment in which the first hotels in the city arose (Palou Rubio, 2016; Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009). However, following the existing literature, it is considered that this was a gradual and sustained process that took place throughout the whole 19th century, and which transformed the city's model, modernizing and opening it to the world, and consequently giving way to the industry's birth. Therefore, the Exhibition promoted the image of the city and the region (Garay Tamajón, 2008). According to this author, it would be at this precise moment when Barcelona wanted to become known on the international scene and expand as an urban destination.

In summary, it could be suggested that the first hotels in Barcelona emerged at the end of the 19th century, specifically as a result of the 1888 Universal Exposition, an event that opened the city to the world and encouraged Barcelona's citizens to modernize the city.

HOW DID THEY ARISE?

Even though the 1888 Universal Exhibition was a trigger and is considered a key moment for the industry's birth, this was a process that lasted the entire century. So, how was this process like?

In the early 19th century, accommodation options in the city were reduced to hostels and inns, generally located on the outskirts of cities, and that fulfilled the basic function of offering a place to eat and sleep to outsiders visiting the city, mainly merchants, craftsmen and peasants (Palou Rubio, 2016). As the author defends, for centuries they kept the same characteristics, formed around a patio where animals could be left, a communal dining room and shared dormitories.

Due to the great transformations that took place during the century, and which are explained in detail in other sections of this thesis, a new type of visitors, mostly nationals and from the colonies, began to arrive in Barcelona and demanded better hospitality services (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009). This is how fondas are born, a new type of establishment designed for this type of visitors with a higher income. In this way, they would coexist for many years with hostels, which, from then, became the accommodation place for people with few economic resources.

On the concept and etymology of the word "fonda", there are several versions, two of which seem to be the most popular. The first attributes its origin to the city of Barcelona, since the first establishment that used this term was the Fonda de Santa María or Fonda Gran, founded by the Italian Zanotti, next to the Fosal de les Moreres. To enter the inn, it was necessary to go down a few steps, which is why many knew it as the "*casa fonda*" (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009).

The second version argues that the word "fonda" derives from the Arabic and Turkish word "*fondak*", used to describe a shelter, and this word would later be adopted and popularized by Venetians in the 16th century, who had two different types of lodging establishments: osterias, and fondaccos. Therefore, fondas distinguished from hostels and inns for being more elegant and luxurious establishments, with larger and cleaner spaces (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2012).

Thus, Lluís Almerich in his book "*El hostal, la fonda, la taberna y el café en la vida barcelonesa*" (1945), will carry out an inventory of the existing hospitality establishments in the mid-nineteenth century, among which could be found: the one of Caballeros by Pedro Pareto, that of Cap de Creus by Esteban Pages, that of Comercio by Juan B. Piccio, that of Cuatro Naciones by Fortis & Cia., that of Las Cuatro Partes del Mundo by Luis Cavagliani, that of España by Pelegriu Riu, that of Falcón by Pedro Durio, that of Italia by Lasoli & Cia., that of Marina by Mías Hermanos, that of Nobleza by Agustín Carrera, that of Oriente by Durio brothers, that of la Parra by Rosa Ferrer de Pages, that of Rincón by José Zanné, that of Sable by Francisco Florentini and that of Universo by José Serra.

In short, and as Richard Ford summarizes in his book "Gatherings from Spain" (1999), the hostel manager was only obliged to provide the visitor with accommodation, salt and the means to cook what the traveller brought or buy. Instead, in a fonda, food and drink were procured. In this way, on the occasion of the 1888 Universal Exhibition, entrepreneurs realize that their establishments image was outdated compared to international trends. The definitive separation between traditional hospitality and the new concept of luxury hotel from advanced countries in the industry like Switzerland, Austria and France will then take place (Costa Pau, 1966).

Internationally, the first hotel recognized as such, was the City Hotel, built in New York between 1794 and 1796, while in Europe, the first one was the Great Western Hotel, built in 1851 in London's Paddington Station. In France, the Grand Hotel du Louvre was the first to open its doors with the new label, thanks to the 1855 Exhibition in Paris. All these hotels were inspired by the royal palaces of the 15th century and constituted an offer characterized by greatness and luxury. A new proposal driven by the development of the railway and the creation of great international events, such as Universal or International exhibitions (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009). It is important to note that this new style was promoted by the Swiss hotelier Cesar Ritz, who would change the concept of the industry forever, being today considered the founder of modern hospitality.

French influence will triumph throughout Europe, also in Barcelona, and many of the city's fondas will take advantage of the 1888 Exhibition to modify their names and adapt them to the new modernity. In this way, fondas like the Oriente or the Cuatro Naciones will carry out major reforms to imitate the new trends. However, the quality of the offer will be insufficient. As Coroleu writes in the "*Guia de Forasters de Barcelona*" (1887), "*It is necessary to confess that for the importance that Barcelona has today, the number of first-rate hotels available to host distinguished foreigners is actually insufficient*".

The real concept of luxury hotel according to the Ritz concept will appear later, at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century with the opening of new establishments such as the Hotel Internacional or the Hotel Colon. In fact, the proliferation of these establishments will be an indicator of the city, that was becoming an urban destination and started to attract a certain flow of wealthy visitors, largely influenced by the images of the city that were projected in their places of origin (Montaner, 2002).

FOR WHAT REASONS DID THEY ARISE?

This section will try to describe the reasons, the factors that led to the emergence of the hotel industry in Barcelona. These are diverse factors, whose interconnection over time generated a great transformation of the city and consequently also led to the construction of the first hotels.

The first factor was clearly the **Industrial Revolution**: The impact it had across Europe meant a transformation of the economies, allowing great advances such as transportation systems development, especially rail and later transatlantic lines, an improvement in communications, and an increased comfort when traveling throughout Europe.

This economic growth will allow the population to have a higher disposable income and a better quality of life, which in turn lead to a generalized population increase, and to the establishment of a new urban bourgeoisie with possibilities and desires to travel. In this context, visitors began to arrive to Barcelona (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009; Palou Rubio, 2016).

In the wake of the Industrial Revolution, a number of factors emerged that would be key to the establishment of the hotel industry. The first will be the **resumption of foreign trade with America**. The increase in commercial activity will attract foreigners who required more complete and higher quality hotel services. Many “indianos” will see the opportunity to return to Barcelona from 1823, as a consequence of a stage of economic prosperity, which was reinforced with the arrival of these people who, in turn with their money, had an active participation in the city’s development. In this way, Barcelona will become a great centre for trade, as it became the place where a large part of the cash that Spanish entrepreneurs in America sent to the metropolis each year, arrived. Therefore, businessmen from all parts of Spain will establish their businesses in Barcelona attracted by investment possibilities and the flow of money, with the goal of carrying their speculations across the peninsula (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009).

The second important factor will be the **Construction of the Barcelona - Mataró Railway**, and its subsequent extensions to Zaragoza, Valencia and the border with France, which will allow, in 1865, to connect Barcelona (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009). It is interesting to note that, at that time, the European tourist guides used the railway network as a reference to create their itineraries and exhibit them (Palou Rubio, 2016). Thus, the international connection with France integrated the city into new travel circuits, favouring the increase in visitors.

These advances allowed travel to develop, and thus increased mobility in Europe. Travel will not be an activity for enlightened aristocracy anymore, but a broader phenomenon induced by the so-called romantic spirit, which postulated independence, freedom and the predominance of emotions over reason, which incited an interest in exotic and picturesque places and a certain adventurous spirit (Eichner, 1972). Even so, until 1888, Barcelona did not manage to attract this type of traveller, as they came to Spain in search of topics they considered exotic, such as “toros” and flamenco (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009).

From the 1888 Universal Exhibition, a new group of travellers will be attracted to the city, thanks to the international repercussion of the event, fascinated by artistic movements as for example modernism, noucentisme and the avant-garde movements, from artists such as Doménech i Montaner, highly influenced by the Renaixença (Garay Tamajón, 2007).

After the Industrial Revolution and its subsequent impacts, another important factor for understanding the rise of hotels was the **Urban Transformation of the City**. Different episodes that completely transformed the city went on. They were key factors such as the demolition of the city walls in 1854 and the subsequent expansion of the Eixample or the Mendizábal Confiscations, which allowed to liberate many spaces in the historic centre, encouraging the reform and/or construction of new and better buildings, some of which would be dedicated to hospitality. The construction of the emblematic Plaza Real, the opening of the Passeig de Gràcia, or the commercial life axis displacement from Pla de Palau to La Rambla was also an important factor (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2012). The displacement towards La Rambla of the commercial and leisure activity worked as a pole of attraction for these hotels towards the area.

Another key factor was the **1888 Universal Exhibition**, being a key point in the industry's development. The city had important establishments, but these were neither of the size nor of the quality required by the needs of that great event (Garay Tamajón, 2008). As a consequence of attendance forecasts, it was clear that more hotel beds would be needed in order to absorb the expected number of visitors (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009; Palou Rubio, 2016).

The **Political Context** of the time also impacted on the construction of the first hotels. The development of establishments took place in a period of relative stability and peace. Throughout the century, the great enemy for tourism was war (Garay Tamajón, 2007). But at the same time, the revolutionary context of Barcelona in the 1868 Gloriosa revolution led to the arrival in the city of many international journalists who sought to explain the facts or learn from revolutionary experiences, which helped to place Barcelona on the world map (Palou Rubio, 2016).

International trends were also important for the consolidation of hotels, through the success of French style and the opening of the City Hotel in New York, the Great Western Hotel in London and the Grand Hotel du Louvre in Paris which were also key (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2009).

Finally, and according to Palou (2016), after the Universal Exhibition, the city understood the benefits that the arrival of visitors represented for the city: Revaluation of cultural heritage, capitalization of the city and construction of a new urban narrative with a nationalist character. The appearance of photography helped to modernize advertising, creating brochures and books with idealized representations and, consequently, creating a new image of the city. It would be then when the **Barcelona elite, closely linked to the nationalist movements, used tourism as a power structure**, developing new establishments such as the Hotel Colon or later the Hotel Ritz, which allowed Barcelona to compete in the international scene (Palou & Arnús, 2018).

WHO WAS BEHIND THEM?

Once it has been able to detect when, how, and for what reasons they arise, the next logical question would be: who was behind them? The answer may surprise many people, due to the general conception of the citizens of Barcelona as entrepreneurial. Despite that, even though they had the economic possibilities to build and manage these establishments, they were not the ones that promoted them.

The reality is that the history of the hotels in the city is heavily linked to the entrepreneurial families from the Italian region of Piemonte, specifically from the province of Novara, around Lake d'Orta, and many of them from the city of Civasco. They were the first to invest, bought or construct and found the first historic establishments in the city (Miguelsanz i Arnalot, 2012).

In this way, even authors of the time such as Francesc Curet make explicit reference, citing the main families that owned the establishments. Among them it can be found: Gippini, Primatesta, Fortis, Zannoti, Innocenci, Polino, Sartori, Hotina, Saciago, Cantalupo, Ardizzi, Zanni, Calderoni, Schenone, Cavagliani, Ceruti, Florentini, Piccio, Pagani, Fidie, Antonietti, Carrazone, Durio, Maffioli, Cacciami, Grugnola, Caffuri, Ranzini, de Silvestri, Vinzia, Gamba, Ondolo i Totti. Below, you can see a table with the names of the founders of the most relevant hotels in Barcelona

HOTEL CUATRO NACIONES	Gippini, Fortis, Primatesta
HOTEL ORIENTE	Francisco Durio
HOTEL ESPAÑA	Josep Colomer
HOTEL PENINSULAR	Augusti Valerino, Basilio Gamba, Francesco Maffioli, Baldassare Ondolo, Francesco Totti
HOTEL INTERNACIONAL	Ayuntamiento de Barcelona, Ricardo Valenti, Domenech i Montaner, El Credito Español
HOTEL CENTRAL I FALCON	Pietro Guiseppe Durio
HOTEL CONTINENTAL	Francesc Soler
HOTEL AMBOS MUNDOS	Rafael Puig i Puig
HOTEL INGLATERRA	Ercole, Camillo y Luigi Cacciami
HOTEL COLON	Artur Vilaseca and Ramon Pou Riu

Figure 5: First Hotel's Founders

Kociemski writes in his book "*Il contributo italiano alla albergheria catalana*" (1961), that these entrepreneurs created an authentic Italian hotel neighbourhood around the Hotel Oriente, in La Rambla. They were the main players of the Barcelona hospitality industry for more than two hundred years, launching and regenerating the main establishments.

As the years went by, local entrepreneurs such as Josep Colomer, Francesc Soler, Rafael Puig i Puig, Artur Vilaseca and Ramon Pou entered the business little by little, and finally they were also essential for the establishment of the industry. They were the first to construct buildings specifically designed to house hotels, and they were also the first to copy the European models imposed by Ritz, in their establishments such as the Hotel Colón, which will completely change forever the conception of hospitality in the city.

4.2 DISCOVERING THEIR IMPACT IN THE CITY OF BARCELONA

ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN HERITAGE

One of the first impacts of the Industrial Revolution in the city was the **commercial life axis displacement from Pla de Palau to La Rambla** in the middle of the century, and **from La Rambla to Plaza Catalunya** at the end of the century. Pla de Palau had historically been linked to maritime activity, so when industry became the economic engine of the city, commercial activity will also move. The Portal de la Pau construction also had a great impact (Palou Rubio, 2016).

In the first displacement, the confiscation of Mendizábal provided new opportunities to have urban land to use it for facilities and public services, when ecclesiastical buildings disappeared (Pan-Montojo, 2000). La Rambla became the social, economic, and cultural centre of city's life, and hotels assumed an important role in shaping the heritage of this axis, leaving an imprint on the city that still attracts traveller's attention. Later, with the second displacement, hotels such as Colon, Continental or Inglaterra were key to the architectural consolidation of Plaza Catalunya, helping to urbanize the facades of the plaza, and, consequently, turning it into the connection centre between the historic city and the Eixample (Rosselló & Valdívía, 2009).

Hotels were **consolidated as an urban reference**, a fundamental part in the transition towards a new model of city, which beyond productive industrial activities, understood that the main resource that Barcelona had to attract capital was the city itself, and this implied a structural reform of its physical aspect and its social reality (Palou & Arnús, 2018). Territory began to be understood as a competitive factor. As a result, this encouraged the implementation of significant new projects that are committed to urban redevelopment.

New hotels would then become a **revolutionary benchmark for their innovative character**, bringing to the city a new concept of modernity, urbanity, comfort, luxury and transparency, and thus contributing not only to architecture but also to having a cleaner, orderly, effective and modern city (Palou Rubio, 2016).

Likewise, the arrival of new visitors to the city, and the consequent transformation of hotel establishments to meet their need, meant a dynamic **period characterized by the high creativity** of many artists. Unique architectural and artistic achievements of different styles were created and, a century later, they will be universally recognized (Palou Rubio, 2016). In this sense, hotels became test canvases where modernist artists such as Doménech i Montaner experimented and gained prestige, which would later allow them to build buildings that today are very important to the city's image, such as the Palau de la Música or the Hospital de Sant Pau

In this way, a new type of architecture was born, a moment that Francesc Rogent i Pedrosa in his work "*Arquitectura Moderna de Barcelona*" (1897), would very accurately explain: "*From the Universal Exposition, a radical change in architecture took place. Simplicity borders on austerity, there is a quest for luxury, a prodigality of ornamentation, a vehement desire for originality that completely transforms the appearance of the facades of new buildings*".

Therefore, the contribution of hotels to architecture and urban conformation is clear, and so far, has served as a fundamental asset for the effusion and promotion of tourism that the city of Barcelona continues to live today (Palou Rubio, 2016).

ECONOMIC HERITAGE

The 19th century was a period of great economic developments throughout Europe, and also in Barcelona. Notwithstanding, the stages of growth thanks to the industrial revolution developments were followed by other periods of crisis. In this sense, and as an example, in the middle of the century, the dependence of the Catalan textile industry from the American cotton caused that, during the American Civil War, Barcelona experienced a severe crisis. This crisis would last until the beginning of the period known as the *Febre d'Or*, when the stability brought by Alfonso XII's allowed the Barcelona bourgeoisie to flourish (Sánchez & Valls-Junyent, 2015).

At the end of the century, after a period of abrupt changes and transformations, hotels made a remarkable contribution to the economic heritage of the city, establishing and presenting themselves as an opportunity for the necessary evolution of the economic productive model.

Throughout the century, economic development had been based on advances in the industry, in Barcelona especially thanks to textile (Roig, 1995). However, the loss of colonies that Spain suffered in 1898, which until then had represented the main foreign market, led to the need of reformulating the economic structure to find new models of growth.

The solution was in the city itself. A new model of economic organization of the urban body was imposed, with the basis or main goal of marketing the city for its consumption, a model in which hotels were the main actors (Palou & Arnús, 2018). It would be the beginning of an economic model and an industry that will last to this day, and that has not stopped growing since then.

In this way, hotels gave to Barcelona a key international projection for the consolidation of the city as a European and Mediterranean metropolis open to the world, which, in turn, attracted greater economic development and increased commercial activity. The increase in the arrival of outsiders favoured trade in all its layers, from restaurants to artisan shops. And at the same time this fact caused the offer and quality of hotel establishments to be improved.

In this way, it is considered that the consolidation stage of the industry happened in the period between expositions (1888-1929), a period that would be characterized by economic stability and that would nevertheless stagnate after the First World War. If staying neutral favoured Spain during the war, when the war ended, the fall in economic activity caused a crisis and Barcelona only recovered years later thanks to the 1929 International Exposition (Miguelsanz I Arnalot, 2009).

SOCIOCULTURAL HERITAGE

Just as in the urban & architectural and economic spheres, the emergence of these first hotels also had a strong impact on the sociocultural heritage of society in Barcelona.

The first great contribution they had was to **become symbols, elements of singularization and valuation of Barcelona's development**. Hotels were used as images on postcards and souvenirs that were sent abroad, thus constituting the image that the global population had of the city. Tourist Barcelona was, first and foremost, a myth and a dream, surely because all tourist spaces are first and foremost a projection of the city's ideals (Chadefaud, 1987). In the same way, they also became a key and very important element as media tools during the civil war. Without a doubt, the best example can be found at the Hotel Colon. Its architectural and monumental style earned it to become the face of the Republic, and thus representing its ideals.

The second great contribution they made was that they **allowed the consolidation of the urban bourgeoisie**. Hotels will become fundamental as a method of expression of this new social class that will build itself throughout this period, and that will have the will to lead the renewal of the city and the country (Garay Tamajón, 2007). In this way, hotel cafes will become a place of gathering, talk, political harangues and even conspiracies of the intellectuals of the time.

At this point, it may be quite compelling to explain the Anglo-Saxon concept that several authors such as Buzard (1993), “*mass follows class*” have spoken about. The relationship between aristocracy, bourgeoisie and proletariat will also impact tourism activity. On the one hand, the new urban bourgeoisie was now seeking to emulate aristocracy recreational practices, and thus the Grand Tour lead to the romantic journey.

On the other hand, in industrialized societies and thanks to economic advances, a working class that had now more disposable income, began to understand that the idea of happiness was feasible for them, something unthinkable until that moment. In this way, new destinations were discovered, which as they became more accessible to the mass, they no longer brought prestige to the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie and, consequently, were abandoned in search of new destinations inaccessible to the rest of the population.

Another important contribution occurred when the new urban bourgeoisie linked tourism with the modernization projects of the city, presenting it as a **direct means for Europeanization**. They were convinced that Barcelona’s and Spain’s survival should be supported by an economic and socio-political modernization that must match with the European model (Palou & Arnús, 2018). They considered that the city could become the economic engine of the country. Therefore, tourism led many people to see a great potential for cultural and urban development. Foreigners represented now an ecumenical, modern and universal figure who brought prestige to the places and heritage they consumed. They were a sign of cosmopolitanism and progress that revalued places and contributed to local people acculturation (Palou & Arnús, 2018).

It is also important to highlight the contribution, or rather the **impact they had on the Catalan nationalist movement**. The history of the city’s hotels is closely related to the history of the nationalist movement. On the one hand, the celebration of the 1888 Universal Exposition and the construction of the Hotel International lead to a change of leadership in the movement. Cercle Català lost support in favour of the Regionalist League (Graells, 2011).

And this would change the movement because the Regionalist League will link tourism with an idea of patriotism and a process of national self-affirmation from that moment on. Building up a destination became a collective task, since as tourism had the ability to produce public benefits, also required shared patriotic and civic efforts (Palou & Arnús, 2018).

In this way we come to the fourth contribution. Tourism was meant to be used to change the productive models, and hotels, through their entrepreneurs, **created the first tourist lobby in the city**, whose objective was to influence the city's political decisions to favour the sector (Palou & Arnús, 2018). This is how public authorities like the city council, realized that they should be **involved in the promotion of activities related to tourism** and in the construction of the city's own destination image.

Finally, the fifth contribution will be the **creation of an entertainment edge**. New hotels attracted wealthy outsiders from Europe, forcing the city to develop its streets and its range of activities. In this way, Las Ramblas became a recreation and leisure centre for the entire population that, for the first time, had more disposable income to spend it on having fun. According to the great English architect Edmund Street, theatres in Barcelona would be the first in the country, not only for their magnitude, but also for the quality of the artists.

4.3 THE ORIGINALS: CATALOGUE CREATION

Thereupon, the reader will be able to enjoy a unified catalogue that aims to present the most representative examples of the first hotels in Barcelona and their evolution in history. For its formalization, and as previously explained elsewhere in this thesis, the specific and international recognized portfolio published by The Leading Hotels of the World annually, has been used as an inspiration and model for the creation of this catalogue.

Having said this, it is important to note that, being fully aware that the format proposed in this Degree Thesis for the following catalogue is not politically correct and, therefore, not entirely adequate with some of the existing regulations for creating and presenting a Literary research, we firmly believe and defend the following catalogue format as the one suitable for the presentation of this type of project. We are highly aware to be breaking some norms and regulations but, at the same time, we consider that this is the ideal way to present this research, with the aim of contributing to knowledge and presenting information in an attractive and easy-to-read way that allows its access to industry professionals and experts on the one hand, but also its dissemination to the general public.

Therefore, and in order to create a new unified catalogue and make it accessible to all kinds of public, as well as to achieve a coherent response to the objectives established at the beginning of the thesis, the following catalogue has been designed:

CATALOGUE

An aerial photograph of Barcelona, Spain, taken during the golden hour of sunset. The sky is a warm, hazy orange. In the center, the Sagrada Família is under construction, with several tall, ornate spires rising above the city. Several large construction cranes are positioned around the building, their long jibs extending into the sky. The city below is a dense grid of buildings, with some rooftops catching the low light. In the background, the hills of Montserrat are visible under the twilight sky.

BARCELONA

The 10th Patrimonies
of the Barcelonian
Hospitality Industry

19TH CENTURY

fnac

HOTEL CUATRO NACIONES

Founder: Gippini family as The Trattoria Cuatro Naciones,
Fortis i Primatesta as The Hotel Cuatro Naciones

Year of Foundation: 1717 as The Trattoria Cuatro Naciones
1770 as The Fonda Cuatro Naciones

Address: Originally located in Plaça del Teatre, later moved
to Rambla dels Caputxins 35, which is currently
nº 40, 08002, Barcelona, Spain

T: + 34 933 173 624

General Manager: N/A

Rooms Nº: 125 rooms and 25 apartmets with toilet up to reform
since 1906 it became 200 rooms and 100 toilets

Historic Building: The Trattoria was established in an existing
building apartment

Distinguished Guests: Albert Einstein, Buffallo Bill, Stendhal,
Frederic Chopin, George Sand, Alfonso XIII,
Luigi Pirandello, Ulysses S. Grant, Henry Morton

Origin & History

In 1707 the Gippini family established the Trattoria Cuatro Naciones at the Plaça del Teatre and in 1717 decided to move it to its current location, at number 35 on the Rambla dels Caputxins. A few years later, the family will sell the property to Fortis i Primatesta, who will reform the establishment and inaugurate the Fonda Cuatro Naciones, which stood out from the outset for its luxurious interior for that time. The name referred to the four most important European nations of that time: France, England, Italy and Portugal.

In 1849, the owner of the buildings, Ramon de Bacardí, promoted a comprehensive and in-depth reform carried out by the architect Francesc Daniel Molina, together with the annex building located at number 37. The new building will consist of a ground floor intended for a commercial use, which would later become the Gran Café Nacional, mezzanine and three floors. Shortly after, in 1865, the facades of both buildings will be unified in an architectural style which was similar to the of the Plaça Reial, which will also be renovated by the same architect.

The hotel will then experience a golden age, when many celebrities and artists from the romantic period will be staying at the hotel due to its proximity to the Teatro Principal. In 1879 Ramon de Bacardí requests a permit to raise one more floor and open the balconies. In 1880, and following the trends of the time, the hotel will rebrand as Grand Hotel et 4 Nations.

In 1894 the owner family will sell it to another well-known Piedmontese family that had been in the Barcelona hotel business for years, the Durio family, who together with the Maffioli family, will run the hotel until 1924. Between 1906 and 1907 another reform will be carried out by Jeroni Granell, who will increase the hotel's capacity and transform its style to link it to the Art Nouveau and Modernist trends of the time.

However, on November 27th, 1927, the hotel closed its doors, which had a great impact on media, due to the establishment's history. In 1929 it will reopen as Hotel Sicoris, which would eventually close its doors in 1967-69, when the current number 40 will be purchased by the Sáiz family, who will convert the building back to the Four Nations Hotel, and the current number 38 will be purchased by Banco de Bilbao Vizcaya (BBVA).

In 1967 the Saiz family will buy the Hotel Sicoris, and after a deep reform they will reopen the Hotel Cuatro Naciones. Today it is a two-star hotel consisting of 4 floors with 54 rooms.



GRAND HÔTEL DES QUATRE NATIONS.—BARCELONE



HOTEL ORIENTE

Founder: Francisco Durio

Year of Foundation: April 21st, 1842 as the Gran Fonda Oriente

Address: Rambla dels Caputxins 45, 08002, Barcelona, Spain

T: + 34 935 141 723

General Manager: Current - Hernán Gregorio Novoa
First - Pietro Migheri

Rooms Nº: 142 rooms

Historic Building: Franciscan College of Sant Bonaventura

Distinguished Guests: Hans Christian Andersen, María Callas, Errol Flynn, Ulysses S. Grant, Manolete, Joselito, Federico García Lorca, Muley Hafiz, Santiago Rusiñol, Carlos Gardel, Ferdinand de Lesseps



Origin & History

The building where today we can find the Hotel Oriente was the Franciscan College of Sant Bonaventura, built between 1652 and 1670 under the patronage of Pere Canals. With the Confiscation of Mendizábal in 1835, the capuchins left the building that would be used as a police station until 1838. That year the factory "La Barcelonesa" was established, which would be the antecedent of the famous "La Maquinista Terrestre y Marítima". In 1841 the building was sold to Francisco Durio.

The Durio family then began a major reform with the aim of recreating an old family mansion, which culminated with the inauguration of the Gran Fonda Oriente on April 21st, 1842. From this time, the glassware made of acid and the sgraffito in the walls are still preserved. The event had a great impact in the city, especially in the Diari de Barcelona, popularly known as "El Brusi" which highlighted the great comforts and luxuries of the establishment, as well as announcing that the hotel incorporated gas-lit.

A few years later, in 1881-1882, the building would be completely rebuilt, in a project done by the architects Eduard Fontseré and Juli Marsical. The façade and interior public spaces will be renovated, taking advantage of elements of the old Franciscan College, such as the refectory or the cloister, which will be closed with a glass cover to become the hotel's main hall, known as the Condal Hall. In the hotel's basements, you could also find a crypt and a network of tunnels that the Franciscans built to escape from their enemies, but which were later swallowed up by the subway works.

During the Civil War the hotel will be collectivized by the National Confederation of Labour (CNT), and converted into a military hospital and blood bank. However, the hotel continued to provide service to war correspondents, and it was not uncommon to see journalists sharing a table with militiamen. The last fascist bomb dropped on Barcelona detonated right at the hotel, which suffered serious damage.

In 2014, HUSA group transferred the hotel to the recently founded Atiram, directed by Maria Gaspart, who decided to carry out an ambitious reform of its interior and facade seeking to update the hotel and position it among the most popular hotels in the city again. Today, the Atiram Hotel Oriente Barcelona 3 ***, is located in the northern corner of the block of houses delimited by La Rambla and the streets of Nou de la Rambla, Unió and Penedides. It has two floors more than the original, up to a total of 5 including the ground floor with 142 fully equipped and renovated rooms. It also has a breakfast buffet hall and several meeting and conference rooms with a maximum capacity of 300 people.

HOTEL ESPAÑA

Founder: Josep Colomer

Year of Foundation: January 1st, 1859 as The Fonda España

Address: Street Sant Pau 9-11, 08001 Barcelona, Spain

T: + 34 935 500 000

General Manager: Thais Flecha Mora

Rooms Nº: 82 rooms until the reform of Muntaner when capacity increased up to a total of 200 rooms

Historic Building: Built by Joan and Pau Riba brothers, originally conceived as a building apartment, with shops and public baths of La Palma

Distinguished Guests: N/A

Origin & History

In December 1857, Mr. Josep Colomer acquired and reformed the building with the intention of turning it into a hotel, entrusting its management to the Riu Calvet brothers. A few years later, the adjoining building number 9 would be acquired, and thanks to a project by the architect Jose Buxareu, the hotel became a high-quality establishment. In 1867 the establishment was renamed Hotel España.

In 1893 the hotel welcomed the wounded from the terrible attack that took place in the Gran Teatro Liceo. The following year the establishment was renamed Grand Hotel d'Espagne, reflecting once again the impact that the French influence had on the city's hospitality industry. The property would then pass into the hands of Miguel Salvado, a wealthy textile industrialist, well related to the Barcelona elite. Modernism then became the great benchmark throughout Europe, so that, thanks to his family connections, Lluís Doménech i Montaner was commissioned to renovate the hotel in 1900. The prestigious architect would then practice elements that he would later implement at the Palau de la Música and the Hospital de Sant Pau. Renowned artists such as the painter Ramon Casas with the sgraffito of the dining room and the sculptor Eusebi Arnau would participate in the project. The reform ended in 1903, and the following year it would be awarded with the Architecture and Decoration Award in Commercial Establishments, from the city council.

During the 20s of the 20th century, the Raval gradually degraded, as a consequence of poor maintenance. The hotel then passed through the hands of various owners who held other positions and were not able to care of the business personally. So, years later, José Gaspart will be entrusted to manage the hotel. The decline of the establishment began after the International Exhibition of 1920, as a consequence of the lack of financial resources and the increasing competition with other establishments. In this way, despite surviving the Civil War, where it was collectivized and converted into a hospital by the CNT, the hotel was out of date and out of fashion.

In 2004 the Cadarso Group acquired the property and delegated its management to the Condes Hotels Group, which decided to undertake an ambitious reform to update the hotel, while maintaining the essence, that is, safeguarding the modernist reform made by Doménech Montaner.

Today we know the establishment as the Hotel España 4 **** superior, in front of which is the director Thais Flecha. It consists of 7 floors (6 of them for commercial use) with 82 rooms, an outdoor swimming pool located on the hotel deck with a large solarium area, various events, meeting and banquet rooms, as well as the Arnau Bar, the Alaire Ramblas Terrace, located on the top floor of the hotel, and the "Fonda España" restaurant, directed by Martin Berasategui and with the chef German Espinosa in front of the stove.



HOTEL PENINSULAR

Founder: Agusti Valerino, Basilio Gamba, Francesc Maffioli, Baldassare Ondolo, Francesco Totti

Year of Foundation: 1864 / 1876

Address: Street Sant Pau 34-36, 08001, Barcelona, Spain

T: + 34 933 023 138

General Manager: N/A

Rooms Nº: 80 rooms in 1888 / 90 rooms in 1912

Historic Building: Convent of the Order of the Augustinians

Distinguished Guests: N/A

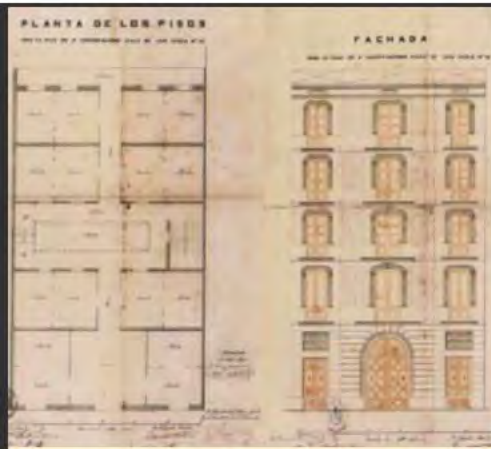
Origin & History

The building where the Hotel Peninsular is located today was for many years occupied by the rooms where the Augustinian monks slept, in the old convent located in that area. The convent was vacated in 1935 with the Mendizábal Confiscation. A few years later, in 1863, Agustin Valarino, an Italian born in Barace who had made a great fortune in Venezuela, returned to Spain and decided to buy several plots to build buildings that would be dedicated to housing and a large inn. Among them we can find the building of the Hotel Peninsular, in Carrer de Sant Pau. However, Valarino died in 1864, and between that year and 1875 there are no documentary sources that explain what the evolution of the hotel was.

In 1875, Francesco Totti, Basilio Gamba, Carlo de Silvestri, Baldassare Ondolo y Francesco Maffioli decided to buy the property, renewing it and maintaining the original essence. Therefore today, the rooms are located in the same place where the monks once had theirs. In this way, there are still some rooms with low ceilings, wooden beams, tiled floors and simple furniture. Furthermore, we can also find some curious remains from this period, such as a tunnel that connects the hotel with the church of Sant Agustí, located on the back street.

The establishment is composed of a ground floor plus 4 floors, and you can see the great influence that modernism had on society at the time. The inner courtyard is undoubtedly the most representative of the building, and where you can see typical modernist features, such as long, rectilinear corridors, beautiful decoration with ceramic tiles, large doors and high ceilings. It will be during the 1888 Universal Exhibition of Barcelona where the establishment will experience its great emergence as a hotel business, ranking among the most famous in the city.

The Italian owners will keep the establishment until 1909, where they will transfer it to the businessmen Regás, Badó i Maulini who carried out a reform in 1912 and increased the capacity of the hotel to 90 rooms. Finally, in 1960 it was acquired by the current owner family, who undertook a deep reform in 1980, an intervention that allowed to provide better services to the guests, and to highlight and recover the modernist character that the hotel had lost over the years.



Barcelona la gran ciudad del Mediterráneo, clima ideal de invierno, hospédate confortablemente en el **Hotel Peninsular**.



HOTEL CENTRAL Y FALCON

Founder: Pietro Giuseppe Durio

Year of Foundation: Founded in 1779 but not completed until refurbishment of 1877 that the establishment could be compared to other hotels in the city

Address: Plaça del Teatre 5-7, 08002, Barcelona, Spain
Currently located at the Rambla dels Caputxins 30-32, 08002, Barcelona, Spain

T: +34 93317 47 15

General Manager: N/A

Rooms Nº: N/A

Historic Building: Built specifically to house the Hotel Central i Falcon

Distinguished Guests: N/A

Origin & History

The Fonda Falcon began its activity in 1779, when Guiseppe Durio and other Piedmontese entrepreneurs such as the Maffioli family bought the building located in the Plaza del Teatro. Between 1852 and 1872 the building was demolished in an ambitious renovation by the architect Julio Marial to build the new Hotel Central i Falcon, which from 1877 will become an establishment with a category and levels of quality comparable to those we have seen so far.

The building consists in a ground floor with cafe and four floors for accommodation. Its layout was similar to the one seen with the Gran hotel Internacional. The hotel had electricity, central heating and a lift. It is interesting to note that the history of the inn is linked to one of the most famous dishes of Barcelona's gastronomy: the loin with beans. However, when the main chef and animator, Tano, died, and the hotel rebranded, it stopped preparing the dish and started to serve a French cuisine.

During the Civil War, the building was requisitioned by the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (POUM), which will reform it and use it as the headquarters of the party's Military Committee and as a residence for foreign militiamen who arrived in Barcelona, as well as militiamen fighting at the front that had days off. Among the visitors, George Orwell, the prestigious journalist, stands out. After the war, the hotel became the headquarters of the electricity company Riegos y Fuerzas del Ebro, which later became FECSA. In 1991, this part of the city underwent a remodelling and a change in the numbering of the streets, becoming number 32 on the Rambla dels Caputxins. In the same year, building 5 will be demolished to build a complex that, since then, has belonged to Pompeu Fabra University who offered the studies of Journalism, Audiovisual Communication, Advertising or Computer Engineering... until 2009, when ELISAVA was installed.



GRAN HOTEL INTERNACIONAL

Founder: The Barcelona City Council, through a public competition won by Ricardo Valentí in collaboration with Lluís Domènech i Montaner, funded by el Credito Español

Year of Foundation: April 5th, 1888

Address: Passeig Colon with Via Laietana Avenue. In front of the Capitanía General Building. Currently not numbered as it is part of an unbuilt promenade.

T: N/A

General Manager: N/A

Rooms Nº: 30 apartments large families sized and 600 rooms

Historic Building: Built specifically to house the Gran Hotel Internacional

Distinguished Guests: N/A

Origin & History

In 1888, Barcelona organizes the Universal Exposition that completely transformed the city. As a consequence of the calculations and forecasts of attendance, the need to increase hotel beds in order to absorb such a large number of visitors became evident. After an intense debate, the authorities considered that the best option was to build a new hotel, which should be the most luxurious in the city, but at the same time be designed for a short life, since they understood that Barcelona could not afford having such a big hotel.

The Barcelona City Council approved in 1887 the construction of a "Great Fonda" and freely ceded the land located on Paseo de Colon with the Vía Laietana. A public contest will be organized, and various projects will be presented. Among all of them, Ricard Valentí together with an architectural design by Lluís Domènech i Montaner, will be entrusted to the construction of the Gran Hotel Internacional.

The Hotel would be 150 meters long and 35 meters wide, consisting of five-floors with 30 apartments for large families and 600 normal rooms with all the comforts of the time, allowing 2,000 people to be accommodated. The architect chose a linear scheme to be able to take full advantage of the site, with a central passageway that crossed the hotel from end to end. Several services such as a hairdresser, a telephone, a flower shop, a tobacconist and a kiosk and a theatre ticket sales point were available in the central courtyard.

Throughout his career, Domènech i Montaner tried to find his own style. In a context of loss of power at the international level, Spanish society, through its architecture, defined itself in a very pessimistic way, which led Montaner to criticize the present and try to look in past generations for unique elements. Its architecture ended up combining the glorious past of Catalonia with the application of new materials and techniques. And this is how he designed the hotel, applying different styles. A medieval style predominated, with heraldic references that, for him, represented the will to study the past to ground the future. You can also see Gothic, Modernist, and even Art Nouveau styles.

From a construction management point of view, the land where the hotel was located was unstable because it had been won to the sea, which led to many complications. The building had no foundation so it was based on a metal structure that distributed weight to maintain stability. The participation of 850 workers, divided into 10-hour shifts a day, also working at night, was needed.

A construction system comparable to Taylorism was devised. The unskilled workers advanced in the constructions, without stopping to face any difficulty. Meanwhile, a specialized brigade repaired the mismatches to improve the finish. A modern working structure where Bonaventura Pollès and Josep Forteza acted as assistant architects. In this way, the hotel was completely built in just 3 months, in 83 days, from December 5th, 1887 to March 15th, 1888. And the hotel was able to open the hotel on April 5th of the same year.

At first, citizens expressed their doubts about the project's viability. The popular Catalan politician Valentí Almirall, founder of the Cercle Català, will stand against the Universal Exhibition and the construction of the Gran Hotel Internacional. He considered Barcelona as not prepared to host an event of that calibre in the midst of an economic crisis. However, upon seeing the final result, the citizens took great esteem at the hotel and a popular initiative was started to make it permanent. This controversy led to the loss of support from the Cercle Català within the Catalan Nationalist movement, the division of important figures such as Àngel Guimerà, Josep Puig i Cadafalch or Enric Prat de la Riba and the formation of a new political force led by Domènech i Montaner: La Lliga de Catalunya. It is therefore clear that the hotel was a key milestone on the itinerary of the Catalan nationalist movement.

Once the Exhibition was over, people demanded to renovate the hotel and make it permanent. In this way, El Credito Español, society that had financed the building, asked the government to renew the land concession to maintain the hotel. However, authorities recalled that the land was unstable, and that the materials used were not of quality, although at first glance they seemed excellent. After a tense discussion that reached the Spanish Parliament in Madrid, the hotel was demolished.



GRAN HOTEL CONTINENTAL

Founder: Francesc Soler

Year of Foundation: 1892

Address: Nº 2, on the corner between
La Rambla and Old Street Fontanella.
Currently nº 23 of the Plaça Catalunya, 08002, Barcelona,
Spain.

T: 346

General Manager: N/A

Rooms Nº: 50 rooms

Historic Building: Casa Ignacio Serra

Distinguished Guests: N/A

Origin & History

In 1884, Francesc Soler bought the Casa Ignacio Sierra, located at the confluence between Fontanella street and La Rambla, in what is currently the building located at Plaza Catalunya, number 23. Associated with Josep Ribas and Jaume Coll, owners of the famous Gambrinus brasserie & brewery, they open the Gran Café Restaurant Continental. In 1893, Soler bought the upper floors of the property and created the Gran Hotel Continental, which will be the first built in Plaza Catalunya.

Casa Ignacio Sierra was built in 1876 and until the construction of the hotel it housed the headquarters of the Spanish Electricity Society. In this way, the hotel had four floors with 50 rooms with bathroom, which all the comforts of the time, as well as a lift, a library, a reading room and a piano room. On the other hand, on the ground floor, the restaurant gained great fame, becoming known as the Ribas Restaurant. In 1916, Antoni Albareda will buy the Gran Hotel Continental and the Nuevo Hotel de Inglaterra and will carry out a thorough renovation to restore the facilities and include new amenities.

The hotel was active until 1922, but despite efforts to maintain it, the building was purchased by Banca Arnús who wanted to expand its headquarters from the annex building at number 22. In 1948 the building was acquired by the private Banco Central and became famous for a robbery carried out on May 23rd, 1981, in mysterious events that have not yet been clarified. Later it has been acquired by several fashion multinationals such as El Corte Ingles or Primark.



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HOTEL
CONTI-
NENTAL**

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El mejor Situada. Porque está en el centro de la Plaza de Catalunya, rodeada por la Rambla.

El más Importante. Por su nombre de Salsbrasserie y Restaurant.

El más Conquerido. Por su excelente servicio y sus precios baratos. — de todos los viajeros famosos.

BARCELONA

Propiedad de Salsbrasserie y Restaurant "GRAN HOTEL CONTINENTAL"

Establecido en 1893

Completamente renovado y ampliado por sus nuevos propietarios

ALBAREDA EN COMANDITA

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GRAN HOTEL AMBOS MUNDOS - PALACE HOTEL



91 - Ronda S. Pedro cruze con la calle Ali-Bei.
91 - Cirkularno Bulvarno de Sta. Petro, kruciglo kun ulato "Ali-Bei"
BARCELONA.



Founder: Rafael Puig i Puig

Year of Foundation: August 16th, 1896

Address: Confluence of Street Girona, Street Bailèn, Street Ali Bei & Ronda Sant Pere, at Ronda de Sant Pere 35-41 Bis

Currently at Ronda de Sant Pere 41, 08010, Barcelona, Spain

T: 1350

General Manager: N/A

Rooms N°: 80 rooms

Historic Building: Built specifically to house the Hotel Ambos Mundos

Distinguished Guests: Mario de Sa Carneiro

Origin & History

In 1896, Rafel Puig i Puig decided to design and build the Ambos Mundos Hotel at the confluence of Girona, Bailèn, Ronda de Sant Pere and Ali Bei streets, giving it a spending panoramic view and allowing to have every room facing the exterior. This great location, close to the Estacio del Nord, gave it a competitive advantage in the race to attract business clients visiting the city. It will be the first building built to house a hotel after the Gran Hotel Internacional, as reflected by Francesc Rogent in his book "Modern Architecture of Barcelona" (1897): "The architectural type, without being inspired by scholastic purism, is graceful and superior to what should be expected from an exclusively utilitarian construction".

It was an extreme neo-Gothic building combined with the modernist tendency that we can find in other hotels in the city, which gave it a particular look. The building consisted of a ground floor plus 5 floors with 80 rooms. The ground floor of the building was initially conceived to house the hotel's warehouses, but later, and also following the trends, it was transformed into a café-restaurant that gained a great prestige thanks to the quality of its cuisine, being the first restaurant in the city that established the BÍ-Metal service, a system that replaced tin with silver and allowed dishes to be served at the table with the same utensils that had been used in the kitchen.

Since 1914, the city council will choose the space in front of the hotel main door to install the statue of Rafael Casanovas, since it is precisely in this enclave, where the political icon was wounded in the 1714 battle, in the context of the Spanish War of Succession.

Over the time, the hotel passed through the hands of several owners such as Vicenç Saurí, who changed its name to Palace Hotel-Restaurant. However, in 1938 the owner sold the building to the government, which demolished the hotel and built a new building that since then has housed different public administration headquarters, until all offices were finally moved to the Ciutat de la Justicia, so as the building is now empty associations such as the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH) ask wants to use it for social housing.

HOTEL INGLATERRA - BRISTOL

Founder: Ercole, Camillo y Luigi Cacciami

Year of Foundation: 1897 - 1907

Address: Street Fontanella 18, 08001 Barcelona, Spain
Building located at Plaça Catalunya 16, 08001 Barcelona, Spain

T: N/A

General Manager: N/A

Rooms Nº: Gran Hotel de Anglaterra - 75 rooms
Hotel Bristol - 130 rooms

Historic Building: Casa Manuel Baixeras

Distinguished Guests: N/A

Origin & History

In 1897 the brothers Ercole, Camillo and Luigi Cacciami bought the Casa Manuel Baixeras, a building located at the confluence between Calle Fontanella and Portal del Àngel, in what is currently the building located in Plaza Catalunya, number 16, and inaugurated the Hotel Inglaterra in a renovation by the architect August Font.

Casa Manuel Baixeras was built in 1875 by the master builder Josep Marimón, in an eclectic style. Its construction was commissioned by Manuel Baixeras and Carmen Felip, a couple of the Barcelona upper bourgeoisie, who lived in the building for years. A few years after her husband's death, Mrs. Felip decides to sell the house to the Piedmontese entrepreneurs who will build the hotel.

This is how the Hotel Inglaterra was born, in a building that consisted of a ground floor and four floors with about 75 rooms and had also a reading room and a large dining room with separate small private rooms. As a differentiating factor, it was the first hotel in Spain with interurban phone in all bedrooms. As a result of its great success, the hotel expanded by purchasing an annex building on the old Fivaller Street. It was at this time that the hotel was renamed as the Nuevo Gran Hotel-Restaurant de Inglaterra.

Later, in 1917 Antonio Albareda acquired the Hotel Inglaterra and the Continental. The Hotel Inglaterra then renamed itself as Hotel Bristol, carrying out a reform that would increase the capacity of the hotel, which will now have 130 rooms. The Bristol served its clients until 1926, when Telefónica bought the hotel, demolished the building and built a new one, becoming the historic building that has survived to this day.

It is also interesting to note that the founders, the Cacciami brothers, decided to leave and sell the hotel, to build a new one on Passeig de Gracia with Carrer Valencia, which they called the Majestic Hotel Inglaterra, antecedent of the current prestigious Hotel Majestic.



NUEVO GRAN HOTEL DE INGLATERRA
Plaza de Cataluña, Avenida Fivaller y Paseo de Gracia. BARCELONA (España)
CARA DE PRIMER ORDEN. ——— Instalaciones modernas, Ascensor Eléctrico y Calefacción Central.
H- CACCIAMI, Prop.



HOTEL COLON

Founder: Artur Vilaseca and Ramon Pou Riu

Year of Foundation: October 20th, 1902

Address: Corner between Passeig de Gràcia Avenue and Plaça Catalunya square
The Building would be located at Plaça Catalunya 10, 08002, Barcelona, Spain

T: N/A

General Manager: Luis Scatti as first hotel manager, and advisor to hotel owners

Rooms Nº: 57 rooms in 1902
200 rooms in 1918

Historic Building: Built specifically to house the Hotel Colón

Distinguished Guests: María Guerrero, Paul Morand, Winston i Clementine Churchill, Albert Einstein, Paulino Uzcundun, Charles Lindbergh, Federico Garcia Lorca



Origin & History

On May 26th, 1897, Artur Vilaseca, owner of the popularly known café “La Gàbia”, and Ramon Pou i Riu, owner of the ground, inaugurated the Gran Café-Restaurant Colón, in a building designed by Francesc Rogent, and located in the confluence between Passeig de Gràcia and Plaça Catalunya. A few years later, the business was going so well that they decided to turn the café into a hotel and entrusted the renovation to Andreu Audet i Puig, who had designed buildings such as the Teatre Apolo or the Onofri. It will be the first urbanization of Plaça Catalunya, an important moment in which the hotel was key to consolidating the square as the emblematic connection space that we know today, between the historic city and the Eixample.

In this way, on October 20th, 1902 the Gran Hotel Colón was inaugurated. The new building retained the large floor-to-floor windows of its predecessor and added one more floor. Thus, the hotel would consist of a ground floor and two floors, including 57 modern rooms with private bathroom, a luxury at the time since other similar hotels still offered shared bathrooms. It became the most emblematic of its time, due to its location and majesty, but above all because it represented a new understanding of what a hotel meant, going from strict functionality to conceiving comfort and customer service as the true purpose. At that time, it had a restaurant, a luxurious reception, a hairdressing salon, a photographic laboratory, cinema halls...

As a consequence of the success of the hotel, in 1916 the owner Ramon Pou decided to refurbish the hotel, entrusting the task to Enric Sagnier, who was one of the most important architects in Barcelona, in a two-phase renovation to avoid affecting the hotel's activity. The new building modifies its style from Modernist to Noucentist and will consist of 7 floors with 200 modern and comfortable rooms. The monumentality of the new building was key to consolidate the square's northern façade and to strengthen its value.

The hotel had unthinkable luxuries and amenities for the time, such as a cabaret, an Andalusian Tavern, an American bar with a bartender... In this sense, it is interesting to note that on November 14th, 1924, the first "radiotelephony" message was broadcast from the top of the hotel, from EAJ-1 Radio Barcelona station.

The hotel played a relevant role during the Civil War. During the first days of the uprising, it was the place where some insurgent military became strong until, besieged by the republican forces, they surrendered. The hotel then became the headquarters of the Unified Socialist Youth of the PSUC and the UGT. Its façade was then used to hang banners with communist proclamations and portraits of Lenin and Trotsky, leaders of the Bolshevik revolution. After the war and the consequent change of political regime, having been the face of the republic for years cost the hotel its disappearance. The Spanish Bank of Credit, under the orders of the fascist coup-maker General Franco decided to demolish the building and build a new one, designed by Eusebi Bona and faithful to the strict neoclassical line promoted by the regime. In 1950 there was nothing left of the emblematic hotel.

*Stories are verbal
acts of hospitality*



SARALÍ CAMPS LÓPEZ-BAGO & NADER ZIBAQUI CUNILLERA

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter aims to recapitulate all the information presented throughout the thesis to check the argumentative consistency of the research, in order to give a final answer to the stated objectives. These conclusions are intended to be presented in a simple and visual way, so that they can be useful in the future for those interested in the topic. Likewise, possible recommendations for future researchers are also presented below, as well as the limitations that have appeared throughout this process.

There are key moments in city's histories that produce big changes that have major impacts and repercussions on many generations to come. The appearance of hotels in Barcelona is one of those key moments, although, at that time, its inhabitants would probably not realize it. In this sense, their emergence would entail a change of era, the beginning of a modern society that would base a large part of its economic activity on the commercialization of the city.

After a detailed review of the previous literature and our investigation process, first we may conclude that **the 19th century was a fundamental period in the history of the city**. It was a stage of transformations that would imply the evolution from a medieval, militarized city to a modern, cosmopolitan and proud metropolis. Scientific advances, industrial progress and social revolutions for rights and freedoms will be the foundations that will shape the new Barcelona. Having said that, it would also be interesting to highlight that **the development of the hospitality industry, has always been very linked to the city's development itself**.

At this point, we are going to focus on the first goal, related to the description of the emergence of the first contemporary hotels in the city. In first place, it is important to analyse when did this process began. From this, it can be concluded that the first hotels in the city underwent a **development process that lasted the entire 19th century**. However, it was undoubtedly after the **1888 Universal Exhibition** when the city understood the benefits of developing its hotel sector and, consequently, the first modern hotels began to be built.

In regards to how did they arise, we could conclude that accommodation has existed since the Middle Ages but, beyond any doubt, as a consequence of the 19th century advances, it suffered a modernization process that would be influenced by new trends. The arrival of new visitors will consolidate the idea that, in order to modernize the city, it was urgent to build new or refurbish the existing establishments. And this is how first fondas, and later hotels, were born.

The reasons identified that explain why the first hotels emerged are, in first place, **the impact of the Industrial Revolution and its related effects**: the construction of modern transportation systems especially railways, the resumption of trade with America and the return of some “*indianos*” to the city, and the generalization of travel in Europe, which became a more massive phenomenon and not so reserved for the elites. Secondly, the **urban transformation of the city**, with the demolition of the walls and the subsequent Pla Cerdà, the Confiscations of Mendizabal, the inauguration of the Plaza Real, the displacement of the commercial life axis from Pla de Palau to La Rambla and the opening of the Passeig de Gràcia. Third, the **1888 Universal Exposition**, which boosted the construction of new establishments to accommodate the expected demand. Fourth, the **political context** characterized by periods of peace and stability. Fifth, the creation of a **new contemporary hotel concept** promoted by Cesar Ritz, that would have a significant impact worldwide. Finally, the new use given to tourism by Barcelona's bourgeois elites, who were close to the nationalist movement, and who saw a **mean of consolidating their power** and, consequently, promoted the construction of new hotels.

We think it is also important to mention and conclude that, since 1888, Barcelona has **known how to take advantage of the impulse given by major international events**, such as the 1888 Universal Exposition, the 1929 International Exposition, and also the 1992 Olympic Games, to promote and develop the city.

Finally, a relevant conclusion or discovery would be the arrival to the city of **Italian piedmontese entrepreneurs**, as the answer to who was behind the first hotels. They were of vital importance to promote the first forms of modern accommodation. Furthermore, the **Franco-Swiss influence**, established in Barcelona since the French presence at the beginning of the century, also had an important impact, favouring a more European architectural style, the growth of shopping centres, restaurants, cafes, and obviously the creation of the first hotels. Those contemporary hotels would be fostered by the **Catalan nationalist urban bourgeoisie** who understood the benefits that tourism could bring, and therefore built the first hotels designed and conceived under contemporary standards that were being developed throughout Europe.

Once the questions of the first objective have been answered, the conclusions of the second objective are now exposed. As a form of introduction, we firmly believe and conclude that the impact or contribution that the first hotels had on the historical, architectural, urban, social, cultural and economic heritage of the city, **is much greater than what is generally known and recognized today**, largely and probably due to the lack of documentary sources to explain the facts.

Regarding the first question of this objective, on which was the contribution to the urban and architectural heritage of the city that those hotels had, we could conclude that this impact was fundamental. This fact is reflected in several specific contributions, such as: **their consolidation as urban benchmarks for innovation**, i.e. symbols of the economic development of the city. Their key impact on **the urban constitution and consolidation of new spaces** in the city, such as La Rambla due to confiscations, or Plaza Catalunya. Finally, also for its impact as mean to consolidate a **new type of modern and nationalist architecture, modernism**, being used as test canvases by renowned artists such as Domenech i Montaner.

On the other hand, we can conclude that they also had a key impact in the economic heritage of the city. After the loss of the colonies, it was necessary to pilot a restructuring of productive models to maintain economic growth levels. Hotels were a mean that the urban bourgeoisie used to pivot **from an industry-based economy, to the conception of a new economic system based on the commercialization of the city for consumption**. Hotels became the means to carry out this model.

Finally, they also made a fundamental contribution to the city's social and cultural heritage. This fact is concretized in specific contributions such as: **becoming symbols of modernity and valuation**. Allowing the consolidation of a **new urban bourgeoisie**. Becoming a **direct mean for modernization and Europeanization**. Through their **impact on the Catalan nationalist movement**, causing a change of leadership in the movement as a result of the positions in front of the 1888 Universal Exposition, and later on being used as a means of national and patriotic self-affirmation, and a tool to show the world the historical uniqueness of the city. Also, with the creation of the **first tourist lobby in Spain** and, consequently, sowing the idea that **public administrations should involve themselves to manage and promote tourism** in the city. Finally, they were key in the **consolidation of a leisure space** for the different social classes of Barcelona.

In regard to the third and principal objective of this thesis, the creation of a unified catalogue of the first originals historic hotels in Barcelona, we could first conclude that all those first hotels had a unique contribution to the history of the city. However, it seems curious that **few are those still existing today, and those that continue to operate are little known and of a much lower category**. On the other hand, it is also important to highlight that identifying the first one to arise in the city of Barcelona has been difficult. This is since most of them existed throughout the 19th century, and after the Universal Exposition refurbished to adapt to the new standards. So, the question to answer would be, when did they started giving a differentiated service, even if they did not have the facilities to offer a high-class quality service?

In summary, this thesis has not only managed to fulfil all the initial research questions and objectives, but also has contributed to the academic literature in two ways. On the one hand, exploring the existing knowledge about the history and origins fo the Hospitality Industry in the city of Barcelona, as well as its evolution and current state. On the other hand, it has contributed through the creation of a unified catalogue of the original hotels, through which the history and impact of these on the city of today is appreciated

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no doubt that this topic about Historic Hotels in Barcelona, presents clear limitations due to the lack of knowledge by the general public, as well as the ignorance of the existence and importance of them to the heritage of our city. The existing information today is abundant, but at the same time scattered, which generates an added difficulty in order to have a broad and accurate vision of what happened at the time. Therefore, the tourism industry in general should give greater relevance and dissemination to the birth of hotels in the city of Barcelona in order to better preserve their heritage and history.

Secondly, it must be said that the hotel sector has proven to be increasingly important and influential, not only at the national level but throughout the planet. Despite the challenges that it has faced and will surely have to face in the future, the sector has been shown to have a great impact at the economic, social, cultural, political, humanitarian and urban level.

After having completed this thesis, we believe that it would be very interesting to continue researching and developing this topic, first of all focusing in our beloved Barcelona, and therefore it is recommended to carry out a second part or sequel, to explain the evolution that the sector has had in the following hundred years, from the conception of the 1929 International Exposition to the transformative impact that Barcelona went through as a consequence of the celebration of the 1992 Olympic Games.

On the same way, this study could be expanded to other big cities, as for example could be Madrid. It has been demonstrated that tourism can really be an engine of regenerative change in societies and places. But for this to happen, some dynamics that today cause imbalances and inequalities must be changed. Likewise, it will be necessary to bet on the sector, and understand the benefits that it can bring, which in turn, will require studying the past, in order to design a new future.

5.3 LIMITATIONS & FURTHER RESEARCH

As any type of research, unforeseen events may arise or there may be limitations that do not allow participants to reach the maximum splendor of a project or objective/s. These factors can hinder the development of the work as originally planned. According to Shipman (1997), the need to spell out the limitations of social research arises from the power of research to convince. Unlike other authorities it does not depend on reference to external sources, but on agreement among peers, said the author. In this particular case, there have been several reasons or factors why the development of the work has not been induced as planned from the beginning.

Of course, as many other researches the first limitation to carry out this project, has been the lack of time for developing this thematic. The second great limitation is that there has been an overwhelming number of interesting documents but, however, few of scientific papers exist that specialize in this topic. Therefore, the authors have been to read, compare and synthesize large amounts of information. To this limitation must be added, on the one hand the lack of general information on the internet as the main part was not open to the public, and on the other hand the complications that have occurred for accessing official documents and resources, as for example to the *“Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona”*, due to the difficult combination of academic schedule and the opening hours of the offices.

Last but not least, the Coronavirus or Covid-19 crisis, has been a major limitation to this thesis. Confinement has reduced opportunities to go to the Official Archives, contact with hotels (as they were closed), as well as having more opportunities to get in touch with professionals and experts in the field. In this sense, we think is important to highlight that our original plan was to conduct interviews with four specific groups of individuals or entities: historians on the city of Barcelona, family members descendants of the first’s hotel owners, current managers of those hotels that continue to operate and finally current public managers of the city’s tourist promotion. However, due to the current situation the participation of different experts through interviews has been difficult.

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APPENDICES: ETHICS FORM

It is important that you are sufficiently prepared to collect data doing fieldwork with ‘human participants.’ Your supervisor will support you in completing the Ethics Form.

The Ethics Form **MUST BE COMPLETED BY YOURSELF AND SIGNED OFF BY YOUR SUPERVISOR BEFORE UNDERTAKING RESEARCH.**

THE SIGNED ETHICS FORM **MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL DEGREE THESIS.**

Risk checklist – Please answer ALL the questions in each of the sections below.

Risk category 1	Yes	No
Use any information OTHER than that which is freely available in the public domain?	X	
Involve analysis of pre-existing data which contains sensitive or personal information?		X
Involve direct and/or indirect contact with human participants?		X
Require consent to conduct?		X
Require consent to publish?		X
Have a risk of compromising confidentiality?		X
Have a risk of compromising anonymity?		X
Involve risk to any party, including the researcher?		X
Contain elements which you OR your supervisor are NOT trained to conduct?		X
Risk Category 2		
Require informed consent OTHER than that which is straightforward to obtain to conduct the research?		X
Require informed consent OTHER than that which is straightforward to obtain to publish the research?		X
Require information to be collected and/or provided OTHER than that which is straightforward to obtain?		X
Risk category 3		
Involve participants who are particularly vulnerable?		X
Involve participants who are unable to give informed consent?		X
Involve data collection taking place BEFORE consent form is given?		X
Involve any deliberate cover data collection?		X

Involve risk to the researcher or participants beyond that experienced in everyday life?		X
Cause (or could cause) physical or psychological negative consequences?		X
Use intrusive or invasive procedures?		X
Include a financial incentive to participate in the research?		X

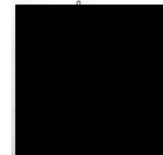
IF APPLICABLE:

<p>List agreed actions with your tutor to be taken to address issues raised in questions Risk Category 2:</p> <p>.....</p>

Student Declaration: I confirm that I will undertake the Degree Thesis as detailed above. I understand that I must abide by the terms of this approval and that I may not make any substantial amendments to the Degree Thesis without further approval.

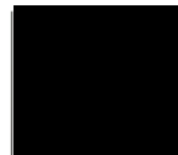
Name: Saralí Dongshuang Camps López-Bago
Date: 17/04/2020

Signed:



Name: Nader Zibaoui Cunillera
Date: 17/04/2020

Signed:



Agreement from the supervisor of the student:

Name: F. Xavier Puertas Montoro
Date: 17/04/2020

Signed:



Risk Category 1: If you answered NO to all the questions, your study is classified as Risk Category 1. In this case:

- The supervisor can give immediate approval for undertaking the field work for the Degree Thesis.
- A copy of this signed Form MUST be included in the Degree Thesis.

Risk Category 2: If you answered YES only to questions in Risk Category 1 and/or 2, your study is classified as Risk Category 2. In this case:

- You must meet with your supervisor and clarify how the issues encountered are going to be dealt with before taking off with the field work.
- Once clarified, the actions taken must be stated in the Form. Then the supervisor can guarantee approval for the field work for the Degree Thesis.
- A copy of this signed Form MUST be included in the Degree Thesis.

Risk Category 3: If you answered YES to questions included in Risk Category 3, your study is classified as Risk Category 3. In this case:

- You must discuss with your supervisor how to re-direct the research and data collection thesis to avoid risks mentioned in Category 3.
- You must complete the Ethical Form again until Risk Category 1 or 2 is obtained.



Rambla dels Caputxins, Barcelona



Passeig de Gràcia, Barcelona

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