
DEBATES

Contemporary Spanish Economic History

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Interest in the study of economic history has developed quite recently in Spain. Before the civil war there were a few economists who had studied with Flores de Lemus and who were in contact with the German Historical School, and the most representative of this otherwise scattered group of experts was Ramón Carandé. In Catalonia, the creation of the *Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Económicas*, in 1933, within the framework of the *Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona*, marked a great step forward, and very soon a solid nucleus of scholars made its presence felt: Soldevila, Sardà, Vicéns Vives, etc., but the civil war frustrated these promising beginnings. It was not until the fifties that Vicéns Vives began to introduce the methodology of the French School of the *Annales* in Spain, and from then on he began building up a new team of economic historians which became known as the *Escuela de Barcelona*. Some first-class studies have been produced by this School, as a result of its receptivity to new problems, methods and techniques. J. Vicéns' influence (together with the intellectual stimulus provided by Pierre Vilar) has been the determining factor in the development of modern Spanish economic history. The purpose of this bibliographical survey is to publicise the contributions of the scholars who followed Jaime Vicéns and especially the studies published in recent years.¹

¹ A more complete bibliographical survey can be found in RAFAEL ARACIL and M. GARCÍA BONAFÉ, eds. *Lecturas de Historia Económica de España (siglos XVIII-XX)* (Oikos-Tau, Vilassar de Mar, 1976-7), II, pp. 379-491. A general view and a selected bibliography in J. HARRISON, *An Economic History of Modern Spain* (Manchester U.P., 1978); the same author helps to complete our bibliography in "Spanish Economic

I. THE MANORIAL ECONOMY IN CASTILE

Gonzalo Anes is the only historian to have attempted an overall survey of the Ancient Regime Castilian economy.² Applying, "the classical macro-economic model for national income distribution, which, as is well known, can be considered as a model for economic development", he has studied the changes in Castilian agriculture. A number of variables have to be taken into account: population, prices, output, exchanges and incomes. Gonzalo Anes applied the model used by Ernest Labrousse in his studies on the French economy of the Ancient Regime. His findings are of considerable importance and reveal some important features of the Castilian manorial economy: 1) A general although uneven increase in population throughout the country, resulting in a more marked demographic imbalance between the centre and the periphery. The population increase, however, was still tied to an economy of the *Ancien Régime* type, and therefore cannot be considered revolutionary. 2) A predominance of certain cereals, both in value and in the cultivated area devoted to them (although other crops were introduced at the time, and were to become slowly more and more important). 3) An increase in agricultural output, based on the reclamation of marginal lands; without leading to improved relative yields (since, with some local exceptions, better techniques were lacking) and the assimilation of a greater sector of the population by the agrarian economy. 4) Higher prices for agricultural products, profits going to the landowners, the nobility and the clergy, through their rents and tithes (tithes increased in proportion to the volume of the crops). 5) Agrarian rents tended to rise following the pace of land demand. 6) The increase in the bulk of tithes and of the income received in goods increased the supply of agricultural products in the market. In short, it can be said that, in qualitative terms, G. Anes's conclusions fit the pattern that Robert Brenner described as "Malthusian".

On the other hand, within the *Ancien Régime* Spanish economic cyclical and seasonal fluctuations, sharpened by the low yields, gave rise to violent social protest. We have abundant evidence of the frequency of such explosions although we still lack adequate knowledge of them. Among these urban revolts, the only one to have received much attention has been the so called "*motín de Esquilanche*". According to Pierre Vilar³ the roots of these revolts

History: From the Restoration to the Franco Regime" (due to be published in *Economic History Review*).

² G. ANES, *Las crisis agrarias en la España moderna* (Taurus, Madrid, 1974z). See, also, A. GARCÍA SANZ on Segovian economy in *Desarrollo y crisis del antiguo régimen en Castilla la Vieja. Economía y Sociedad en tierras de Segovia, 1500-1814*. (Akal, Madrid, 1977).

³ 'El Motín de Esquilache y las crisis del antiguo régimen', *Revista de Occidente*, CVII (1972), 199-249.

are to be found in the economic crisis characteristic of the *Ancien Régime*. The periodical crises caused scarcities and famines, so bringing to the foreground the class struggles of Enlightenment Spain. Laura Rodríguez,⁴ using the concepts of E. P. Thompson, reaches the conclusion that in the 1766 revolts we find such specific features as a demand for a change in cereal policies (what Thompson calls "the death of the moral economy of supply") and the transition to free trade. G. Anes⁵ has studied the immediate origins of the "*motín de Esquilache*", while Irene Castells⁶ has worked on the Barcelona revolts. However, the desintegration of the "moral economy" took place over a long period, as it is shown by the persistence of the food crisis throughout the XIXth century. Another related problem is that of agrarian rent, but unfortunately this has been little studied, either empirically and theoretically, although some work has been done by A. Domínguez Ortiz.⁷

II. AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIAL TAKE-OFF: THE CATALAN CASE

Pierre Vilar's work provides a meeting point for the methodological themes of the *Annales* school and the theories of the French socialist School, from Jaurès and Labrousse, to Mathiez, Lefebvre and Soboul. Vilar has studied in great depth the Catalan situation,⁸ and has concentrated on the complex problem of the rural economy, although within the terms of a wider programme designed to reveal what he calls "the social origins of a country". From his starting point he has gone further and has succeeded in revealing the mechanics of the Catalan industrial 'take-off' of the XVIIIth Century. The increase in population and the agricultural transformations that took place in the first half of the century gave a powerful impulse to commerce with the outside world, which was also strengthened by the opening up of the American colonial market. The problems of the end of the century diverted capital towards industrial investments.

⁴ 'El Motín de Madrid de 1766' and 'Los motines de 1766 en provincias', *Revista de Occidente*, CXXI and CXXII (1973), 24-29 and 183-207.

⁵ 'Antecedentes próximos del motín contra Esquilache', *Moneda y Crédito*, CXXVIII (1974), 219-24.

⁶ 'Els rebomboris del pa de 1789 a Barcelona', *Recerques*, I (1970), 51-77. In the Valencian Country this subject has been studied by J. M. PALOP, *Hambre y lucha anti-feudal. Las crisis de subsistencias en Valencia (siglo XVIII)*. (Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1977).

⁷ 'Las rentas episcopales de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XVIII', in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds. *Agricultura, comercio colonial y crecimiento económico en la España contemporánea* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1974), pp. 13-43.

⁸ P. VILAR, *La Catalogne dans l'Espagne moderne. Recherches sur les fondaments économiques des structures nationales* (SEVPEN, Paris, 1962).

The rapid increase in population between 1715 and 1735, favoured by the low prices of cereals, resulted in the lowering of wages paid to the farmers, while landowners' profits went up, as did output and productivity. The inflated profits went above all to the vinticultors, since wine enjoyed a great foreign demand. A substantial share of these profits was invested in commerce by Barcelona's bourgeoisie. However, towards the middle of the century, the predominance of this crop caused a serious imbalance, as a result of which the demographic trend was halted, and even reversed. Twenty years later the labour market had shrunk greatly, and consequently wages rose and profits fell while capital was seeking more promising investment, especially in the manufacture of printed calicos.

Vilar shows that there were three forms of agriculture in Catalonia at that time. The most primitive was to be found in the mountainous part of the country ("desiertos-fronteras") where agriculture was poor, stagnant, and the way of life traditional. In sharp contrast with this, the area surrounding Barcelona had an intensive and commercialized agriculture. Between these two categories there was in a transitional stage, where old structures conflicted with the new ones. Each of these areas reacted differently to the drive towards industrialization.

In the last volume of this work, Vilar devoted himself to explain the development of commercial capitalism, and here again his study is of invaluable importance. Colonial trade (from the time of the wars with England) and domestic markets were the combined forces which brought to life the first take-off, which was based on the cotton industry.⁹

Ramón Grau and Marina López¹⁰ have emphasized the low volume of capital initially invested in the calico factories. Their research confirms Kuznets theory (also confirmed by the work of S. D. Chapman) based on the British model, on the non-existence of a solid fixed capital in the first stages of industrialization. Roger Alier¹¹ has also studied the complete process involved in setting up a calico plant.

As for the development of a unified market, Josep Fontana¹² has shown that commercial relations between the centre and the periphery did not exist. He gives as evidence the testimonies of many travellers of that time, so confirming the fact that the Catalan case was a Mediterranean rather than a Continental

⁹ P. VILAR, 'La Catalunya industrial: reflexions sobre una arrencada i un destí', *Recerques*, III (1974), 7-22.

¹⁰ 'La manufactura catalana del segle XVIII', *Recerques*, IV (1974), 19-57.

¹¹ 'La fàbrica d'indianes de la família Canals', *Recerques*, IV (1974), 59-91.

¹² 'Formación del mercado nacional y toma de conciencia de la burguesía', in J. FONTANA, *Cambio económico y actitudes políticas en la España del siglo XIX* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1975²), pp. 13-53.

peculiarity. From a more localized perspective, Ramón Garrabou¹³ has shown that the Catalan domestic market was more advanced than that of the Iberian high plateau, as Vilar had claimed.

On colonial trade and the Catalan take-off, the *Actas del Primer Coloquio de Historia Económica de España* provide a very useful guide. C. Martínez Shaw¹⁴ has studied the complex of relationships between the first industrial enterprises and colonial trade. A. García Baquero¹⁵ has shown that overseas trade yielded profits which permitted the accumulation of capital and that this money was used for further developing the textile industry, as well as hat and paper factories. Miguel Izard¹⁶ examines the consequences of the long European wars fought by Spain between 1778 and 1812 on her commerce with the American colonies. Finally, J. Fontana¹⁷ has revealed the basic differences between the goods exported from Cádiz and those exported from Barcelona; the first were mainly foreign products, while the Catalan products were locally made, so allowing a greater margin of capital formation and giving rise to more positive changes. We should also mention that the subject of Cádiz colonial trade has been thoroughly studied by A. García Baquero,¹⁸ who has also carried out, together with A. M. Bernal, a detailed analysis of Seville trade.

P. Vilar's studies on Catalonia and those by G. Anes on Castile have had a great influence on subsequent Spanish economic history, as is evident from the studies by J. García-Lombardero, A. M. Bernal, E. Fernández Pinedo and, more recently, P. Fernández Albadalejo. García-Lombardero¹⁹ has discussed the factors contributing to economic stagnation and backwardness in Galicia between the XIXth and XXth centuries. A. Miguel Bernal²⁰ has studied the evolution of land ownership in Andalusia, during the transition from the Old to the New Order, at three key periods of the XIXth century: 1837-38, the

¹³ 'Sobre la formació del mercat català en el segle XVIII. Una primera aproximació a base dels preus dels grans a Tàrraga (1732-1811)', *Recerques*, I (1970), 83-121.

¹⁴ 'Los orígenes de la industria algodonera catalana y el comercio colonial', in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds. op. cit., pp. 243-67.

¹⁵ 'Comercio colonial y producción industrial en Cataluña a fines del siglo XVIII', in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds. op. cit., pp. 268-94.

¹⁶ 'Comercio libre, guerras coloniales y mercado americano', in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds. op. cit., pp. 295-321.

¹⁷ 'Comercio colonial e industrialización: una reflexión sobre los orígenes de la industria moderna en Cataluña', in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds. op. cit., pp. 356-65.

¹⁸ A. GARCÍA BAQUERO, *Comercio colonial y guerras revolucionarias* (Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, Sevilla, 1972); A. M. BERNAL and A. GARCÍA BAQUERO, *Tres siglos de comercio sevillano (1598-1969). Cuestiones y problemas* (C.O.C.I.N., Sevilla, 1976).

¹⁹ *La agricultura y el estancamiento económico de Galicia en la España del Antiguo Régimen* (Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1973). See also L. ALONSO ALVAREZ, *Industrialización y conflictos sociales en la Galicia del Antiguo Régimen 1750-1833* (Akal, Madrid, 1976).

²⁰ *La propiedad de la tierra y las luchas agrarias andaluzas* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1974).

decree on manors and ecclesiastical disamortisation; 1855-56, civil disamortisations; 1868-73, when the bourgeoisie attained political power. On the Basque country (*País Vasco*), the subject of its transition to capitalism is of extraordinary interest; since that region has played a fundamental role in Spain's development during the present century. But so far the available bibliography does not match the importance of the problem, although references should be made to the study by E. Fernández Pinedo,²¹ which shows the evolution of the Basque economy over a broad period, and the work of P. Fernández Albadalejo.²² Taking as departure point the Ancien Regime crisis in Guipuzcoa, he has examined the rural changes that destroyed the Ancien Regime between 1766 and 1833.

III. BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION: MANORIAL REGIME, TREASURY AND DESAMORTISATIONS

As in the other European countries, in Spain the differences among the various manorial regimes were very marked. Even in the *Cortes de Cádiz* the wide range of attitudes amongst the representatives, with respect to the abolition of the manors, reflected such differences. This should not be overlooked, indeed it should be the guiding principle in the study of the feudal regime and the bourgeois revolution. However, there have so far been few studies orientated in this way.²³ Salvador de Moxó is still the author who has approached the problem most convincingly,²⁴ and he has argued that the abolitionist campaign did nothing except make a capitalist landowner out of the feudal lord, so that rural society remained structurally unchanged, the high nobility still being the most powerful class of landowners. However, Moxó does not assess the real scale of the change which took place in the first 30 years of the XIXth century.

On the origins, development and emancipation of the noble *mayorazgos*, there is the very valuable study by Bartolomé Clavero.²⁵ The author shows how the abolition of the juridical-patrimonial system of the nobility, which reproduced the feudal relationships of production, was one of the first pre-

²¹ *Crecimiento económico y transformaciones sociales del País Vasco 1100-1850* (Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1974).

²² *La crisis del Antiguo regimen en Guipuzcoa, 1766-1833: cambio económico e historia* (Akal, Madrid, 1975).

²³ P. VILAR, 'La fin des éléments féodaux et seigneuriaux en Catalogne au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècle, avec quelques vues comparatives pour le reste de l'Espagne et le Roussillon', in *L'abolition de la féodalité dans le monde occidental* (C.N.R.S., Paris 1971), pp. 745-61.

²⁴ *La disolución del régimen señorial en España* (C.S.I.C., Madrid, 1965).

²⁵ *Mayorazgo, propiedad feudal en Castilla (1369-1836)* (Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1974).

requisites for the achievement of the bourgeois Revolution and the imposition of a capitalist system of relations.

The links between the problems of the Treasury and the transition to a fully capitalistic, liberal, bourgeois society, has been studied by Josep Fontana.²⁶ In his first study he analyses the two ways in which bourgeois society advanced; the first being the British way, the classical example of transition without violence (the XVII century Revolution was not repeated), and the second being the French way, where political violence overthrew the feudal class, and the foundations of industrial development were laid. In Spain, neither of these ways succeeded. The state limited itself to accommodating absolutism to new needs without causing any harm to the privileges of the dominant classes. This is the explanation for the convulsions suffered by the absolutist regime in 1820. The troubles of the Treasury remain the fundamental variable examined by Fontana in his later studies.²⁷ In *Hacienda y estado* he analyses the long period known as the *decada absolutista*, which witnessed two important projects that were never carried out: the reform of the tax system and the settlement of both the national and the foreign debt. These problems were to be taken up again towards the end of the period, when it was obvious that the system could not go on working without major improvements. Finally, in *La revolución liberal*, Fontana examines the Treasury and political and institutional transformations between the death of Ferdinand VII and the reforms of the tax system in 1845. In short, Fontana seeks to establish the fundamental relationships from which we can build an overall view of the great transformations experienced by Spanish society from the end of the XVIIIth century to the middle of the XIXth century, that is to say the period of the rise of the bourgeoisie.

The problems of the Treasury in the *trienio liberal* have also been studied by such scholars as Jaime Torras²⁸ and J. del Moral Ruiz,²⁹ and by J. Martín Niño³⁰ for the period of the 1868 Revolution.

Land amortisation was a major problem in Spain. The advent of capitalist modes of production required that land be considered simply as one among many circulating commodities. This is one of the factors that explain the process of disamortisation. The process had been initiated legally in 1789, in the reign of Charles the IV, and continued for over a century. 20 per cent

²⁶ *La quiebra de la monarquía absoluta* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1971).

²⁷ *Hacienda y estado en la crisis final del Antiguo régimen español* (Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Madrid, 1973); and *La revolución liberal (Política y Hacienda 1833-45)* (Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Madrid, 1977).

²⁸ 'Política tributaria y descontento campesino durante el Trienio Constitucional', in J. TORRAS, *Liberalismo y rebeldía campesina 1820-23* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1976), pp. 149-76.

²⁹ *Hacienda y sociedad en el Trienio Constitucional* (Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Madrid, 1975).

³⁰ *La Hacienda española y la revolución de 1868* (Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Madrid, 1972).

of the state's land changed hands, the sales reaching a total of about 14,500 *reales de vellón*. This is the essential problem in XIXth century Spanish economic history, and holds the key to the interpretation of the transition to bourgeois society. This the reason why, in recent years, a great number of studies on the subject have been produced, although we still lack an overall study that explains the phenomenon qualitatively.

The first stage of process, the disamortisation carried out in the XVIIIth century, has been studied by Richard Herr,³¹ who reaches the conclusion that in an overwhelmingly rural country, as Spain then was, far from destroying the existing structure of ownership, the process of disamortisation reinforced it.

Herr's study can be compared with the analysis by J. Mercader Riba³² of the disamortisation carried out by José I, which mainly affected the possessions of the Church. Apart from the fiscal profits of this manoeuvre the primary goal of the disamortisation was to benefit the supporters of the new monarch.

A good summary of the disamortisation programmes can be found in the work of F. Tomás y Valiente,³³ who, besides this, has provided an up to date review of current research.³⁴ He argues that the peculiarity of the Spanish bourgeois revolution is to be found in the weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie, which meant that it was difficult to introduce capitalist mode of production.

Valuable research has also been carried out by F. Simón Segura,³⁵ who argues that disamortisation did not bring about the redistribution of property, nor the creation of a middle class of farmers. If such a class had come to life, economic development would have been more dynamic and more balanced. The way in which the disamortisation was carried out, only served to sharpen the division between the big owners and the proletarianised farmers.

³¹ 'Hacia el derrumbe del antiguo régimen: crisis fiscal y desamortización bajo Carlos IV', *Moneda y Crédito*, CXVIII (1971), 37-100; and 'La vente des propriétés de mainmorte, 1798-1808', *Annales E.S.C.*, XXIX (1974), 215-28; and see also, for a explanation of the failure of the desamortisation, 'El significado de la desamortización en España', *Moneda y Crédito*, CXXXI (1974), 55-94.

³² 'La desamortización en la España de José Bonaparte', *Hispania*, XXXII (1972), 586-616.

³³ *El marco político de la desamortización en España* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1971). The same author has recently written a synthesis in "El proceso de desamortización de la tierra en España", *Agricultura y Sociedad*, 7 (1978), 11-33.

³⁴ 'Recientes investigaciones sobre la desamortización: intento de síntesis', *Moneda y Crédito*, CXXXI (1974), 95-160; an earlier bibliography can be found in P. PONSOT, 'Révolution dans les campagnes espagnoles au XIXe siècle: les désamortissements. Récup des études récentes', *Estudes rurales*, XLV (1972), 104-23. This bibliography can be completed by G. RUEDA HERNANZ, "Bibliografía sobre el proceso desamortizador en España", in J. P. MERINO, *La desamortización en Extremadura* (Fue, Madrid, 1976), pp. 107-32.

³⁵ *La desamortización española del siglo XIX* (Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, Madrid, 1973).

Finally, with respect to the effect of the emancipation and abolition of the manorial regime, and disamortisation on the development of agriculture (expansion of cultivated land, increase or reduction in yields, technological innovations, etc.), information remains scant, and even very general works on the subject are few; we can only refer to the general study by G. Anes³⁶ carried out on the basis of indirect estimates; R. Carrabou's methodological analysis³⁷ and the studies of the agrarian question in Andalusia by A. M. Bernal and M. Drain.³⁸

IV. INDUSTRIALIZATION

In the XVIIIth century few changes took place in traditional industrial organization. Manufactures supplied the local and regional markets, and, except for Catalonia, there were neither industrial sectors nor regional exchanges of importance. Decentralized manufacturing was the prevalent feature, and the few existing factories (some of them private, others under the protection of the state), did not bring about change, either in techniques or in productive processes, as J. Clayburn La Force has shown.³⁹ However, in the Valencian silk industry there was a certain potential, but this was later to decline.⁴⁰ E. Giralt Raventós has developed some interesting ideas on the Valencian industrialization and its final failure.⁴¹

The iron industry had changed little since the XVIIIth century. However, between 1716 and 1759, the mills of Liérganes and La Cavada experienced a great period of expansion, due to the recurrence of war throughout the century.⁴²

³⁶ La agricultura española desde comienzos del siglo XIX hasta 1868: algunos problemas, in *Ensayos sobre la economía española a mediados del siglo XIX* (Servicio de Estudios del Banco de España, Madrid, 1970), pp. 235-63.

³⁷ Las transformaciones agrarias durante los siglos XIX y XX, in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 206-29.

³⁸ *Les campagnes sevillanes au XIX-XX siècles* (Publications de la Casa de Velazquez, Editions E. de Boccard, Paris, 1975).

³⁹ *The Development of the Spanish Textile Industry, 1750-1800* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1965).

⁴⁰ V. MARTINEZ SANTOS, 'Sedería i industrialització. El cas de València (1750-1870)', *Recerques*, V (1975), 111-37.

⁴¹ E. GIRALT I RAVENTOS, 'Problemas históricos de la industrialización valenciana', *Estudios Geográficos*, CXII-CXIII (1968), 369-95. A wide synthesis on Valencian economy can be seen in E. LLUCH, *La vía valenciana* (Tres i Quatre, Valencia, 1976). Must also be consulted V. MARTINEZ, E. REIG, and V. SOLER's work *Evolución de la economía valenciana* (Caja de Ahorros, Valencia, 1978).

⁴² J. ALCALÀ ZAMORA Y QUEIPO DE LLANO, *Historia de una empresa siderúrgica española. Los altos hornos de Liérganes y La Cavada, 1622-1834* (Diputación Provincial de Santander, Santander, 1974).

The *Catastro de Ensenada* clearly show the degree of industrial dispersion and the importance of craft workshops. And, as had been emphasized by P. Vilar,⁴³ they also show the predominant influence of agriculture. In short, we are confronted with an archaic rural society, in which a backward agriculture found a necessary complement in domestic industry. The latter is still poorly studied in Spain, but played an important role in the transition to the centralized factory⁴⁴ and survived through the XIXth century. We find numerous references to an apparently still vigorous domestic production, destined for local or regional consumption, in Pascual Madoz classic *Dictionary*, which was published between 1845 and 1850. By then, the system was no longer progressive and domestic industry failed to evolve towards new centralized forms when it should have done (with some rare exceptions). As a result it remained in a stagnant condition of proto-industrialization. In short, the lack of integrated markets, the incapacity of industrial capitalism to consolidate itself, the poor performance of agriculture, etc., forced rural villages to depend on themselves which, in the mid XIXth century constituted a barrier rather than a step towards industrialization.

In Spain, industrialization does not become a general phenomenon until well into the present century. However, in two areas, Catalonia and the Basque Country (*País Vasco*), textiles and the iron and steel industries, have a long tradition, and their development has been studied by Jordi Nadal,⁴⁵ who carried out a systematic analysis of Spanish industrialization, and tried to establish a pattern that would make it possible to formulate a model for such a process. Using Hoffmans' formulations, he claims that, as far as consumption is concerned, the Spanish take-off had a relatively early start, which went beyond the first stage categorized by the German economist. However, progress to the next stages, in which increases in the production of capital goods were faster than those in consumer goods, did not take place. In short, success for the cotton industry and failure for capital goods, which, taken together, meant the lack of a secure base, without which Spain could not become an industrial nation.

⁴³ 'Estructura de la societat espanyola cap al 1750. Algunes lliçons del Cadastre d'Ensenada', *Recerques*, I (1970), 9-32.

⁴⁴ RAFAEL ARACIL and M. GARCIA BONAFÉ, *Industrialització al País Valencià: el cas d'Alcoi* (Tres i Quatre, València, 1974). See, also our paper "Industria doméstica e industrialización en España", due to be published in *Hacienda Pública Española*, 1979. A. GONZALEZ ENCISO'S, "La industria dispersa lanera en Castilla en el siglo XVIII", *Cuadernos de Investigación Histórica*, 2, 1978, 269-89, is of interest too.

⁴⁵ *El fracaso de la Revolución industrial en España, 1814-1913* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1975); the author has also published other works: 'Los comienzos de la industrialización española (1823-68): La industria siderúrgica', in *Ensayos sobre la economía española*, op. cit. pp. 203-33; 'La economía española, 1829-1931', in *El Banco de España. Una historia económica* (Banco de España, Madrid, 1970), pp. 317-417; 'Industrialización y desindustrialización del Sureste español, 1817-1913', *Moneda y Crédito*, CXX (1972), 3-80.

The Spanish example would suggest that the cotton industry does not necessarily fulfil the leading sector function attributed to it by such authors as Schumpeter and Rostow.

Jordi Nadal's studies on these two sectors have been complemented by the contributions of other historians. Miguel Izard⁴⁶ has worked on the cotton industry, tracing the evolution of the labour force: their numbers, life and working condition. J. Maluquer de Motes⁴⁷ has also studied the mechanization process, the dimension of the factories, size of the market and the role of the state. Pierre Vilar⁴⁸ in an article full of interesting ideas has claimed that although the cotton industry was of fundamental importance for the industrialization of Catalonia and therefore follows the British model, it is still the case that an economy which was still based on that sector as late as in 1900 must be considered backward. The Antillan colonial system, so essential to the cotton industry, and the attitude of the Catalan bourgeoisie toward slavery have been researched by J. Maluquer,⁴⁹ while J. Harrison⁵⁰ has studied the efforts of the failure of the colonial market on economic development in Catalonia.

The Basque iron and steel industry, played an essential part in the development of Spanish capitalism, and M. González Portilla⁵¹ has shown how the initial accumulation of capital took place in the last quarter of the XIXth century, simultaneously with the Industrial Revolution proper. Basque economic development eventually sharpened regional imbalances and was strengthened further by the profits derived from the First World War.

The First World War and its consequences for the Spanish economy and capitalist development, have been studied by Santiago Roldán and J. L. García Delgado,⁵² in collaboration with Juan Muñoz. But these studies are limited to certain specific sectors, namely, the merchant marine, coal mining and private banking, and important subjects, such as the *Mancomunidad de Cataluña* or the textile industry, have not been studied. The general evolution of the expansive

⁴⁶ *Industrialización y obrerismo* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1973).

⁴⁷ 'La estructura del sector algodonero en Cataluña durante la primera etapa de la industrialización (1832-61)', *Hacienda Pública Española*, XXXVIII (1976), 133-48.

⁴⁸ 'La Catalunya industrial: reflexions sobre una atrencada i un destí', *Recerques* III (1974), 83-136.

⁴⁹ 'La burguesia catalana i l'esclavitud colonial: modes de producció i pràctica política', *Recerques*, III (1974), 83-136.

⁵⁰ 'Catalan Business and the Loss of Cuba, 1898-1914', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. XXVII (1974), 431-41. For the Basque Country see "Big Business and the Rise of Basque Nationalism", *European Studies Review*, 7 (1977), 371-91, by the same author.

⁵¹ 'El desarrollo industrial de Vizcaya y la acumulación de capital en el último tercio del siglo XIX', *Anales de Economía*, XXIV (1974), 43-83.

⁵² *La formación de la sociedad capitalista en España, 1914-1920* (Confederación Española de Cajas de Ahorro, Madrid, 1973).

cycle started around 1915 and culminated in 1918, and this contributed greatly to the accumulation of capital and the development of capitalism, but by 1920 this trend had already been reversed and a general crisis had developed. However, J. Nadal has assessed the scope of capital accumulation due to the war, and through sector analysis, has revealed the deep contradictions in Spanish economic development in the period.⁵³

V. BANKING AND TRANSPORT

The favourable economic trend of the second half of the XVIIIth century made the need for a state banking organization obvious, and the model of the Bank of England was chosen. These first banking experiences and the different forms of credit organization have been studied by F. Ruiz Martín,⁵⁴ while E. J. Hamilton has studied the evolution of the *Banco de San Carlos*.⁵⁵

The role of transport, prior to the coming of the railways in the Spain of the *Ancien Régime*, has been researched by David R. Ringrose,⁵⁶ who argues that the lack of a good road network was the major factor leading to the economic stagnation of the XIXth century. Ringrose claims that in the second half of the XVIIIth century, the only organized network, was the one used to supply Madrid.

Gabriel Tortella⁵⁷ has specialised on the history of the Spanish banking system of the XIXth century, and he has also tried to follow Hirschman's formulations, and set up a model that would allow us to identify the causes of the failure of Spanish industrialization. Three essential elements determined the path followed by Spain: disamortisation, that took capital away from industry; the budgetary deficit; and finally, the commercial laws and the legislation on the railways.⁵⁸ According to Tortella, the Spanish situation is similar

⁵³ J. NADAL and J. FONTANA, 'Spain 1920-1970', in CARLO M. CIPOLLA, ed. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, VI, pt. 7, *Contemporary Economies* (Collins, 1976, pp. 460-529).

⁵⁴ 'La Banca en España hasta 1782', in *El Banco de España*, op. cit., pp. 5-196.

⁵⁵ E. J. HAMILTON, 'El Banco Nacional de San Carlos', in *El Banco de España*, op. cit., pp. 199-231.

⁵⁶ *Los transportes y el estancamiento económico de España (1750-1850)* (Tecnos, Madrid, 1972); see also, of the same author, 'The Government and the Carters in Spain, 1476-1700', *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. XXII (1969), 45-57.

⁵⁷ *Los orígenes del capitalismo en España. Banca, industria y ferrocarriles en el siglo XIX* (Tecnos, Madrid, 1973).

⁵⁸ The available bibliography does not match the importance of the problem, but for a simple description of the evolution of the railways, see ANIBAL CASARES ALONSO, *Estudio histórico-económico de las construcciones ferroviarias españolas en el siglo XIX* (Instituto Iberoamericano de Desarrollo Económico, Madrid, 1973). A decisive study, *Los ferrocarriles en España (1844-1943)* (Servicio de Estudios del Banco de España, Madrid,

to the Italian experience between 1850 and 1880. In Italy (as has also been shown by Rosario Romeo) as in Spain, investments in public works proved a great mistake, since it deprived industry of the capital needed for its development.

Various aspects of the Spanish banking system have been dealt with by Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz⁵⁹ and by Josep Fontana,⁶⁰ the first being concerned with the sources of Spanish banking capital, while the latter has studied the problems of Barcelona.

The banking legislation of 1856 stimulated the creation of new banks, which were divided in two groups: *bancos de emisión* and *sociedades de crédito*, which provided conduits for the entry of foreign capital. The investment of this capital has been studied by Rafael Anes,⁶¹ N. Sánchez-Albornoz⁶² and Albert Broder,⁶³ and the latter has tried to study long-term capital movements in a backward economy as a whole.

The study of the Spanish banking system during the Restoration period has been undertaken in an ambitious work directed by Gabriel Tortella, which includes monographs by D. Mateo del Peral, R. Anes and P. Tedde de Lorca.⁶⁴ Juan Muñoz⁶⁵ has also examined the private banks and the financial bourgeoisie of the last half of the XXth century. The greatest expert on Catalan banking in the last century is, without doubt, Francesc Cafana⁶⁶ who has studied the causes for the absence of large-scale capitalist banking in that region. One aspect of the subject, the commercial companies in Spain, is also taken up by Tomás Jiménez Araya.⁶⁷

1978, 2 Vols.), has been published very recently by M. ARTOLA, R. ANES, R. CORDERO, D. MATEO, F. MENENDEZ and P. TEDDE.

⁵⁹ 'La formación del sistema bancario español, 1856-1863', in N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *Jalones en la modernización de España* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1975), pp. 16-79.

⁶⁰ 'La vieja Bolsa de Barcelona (1851-1914)', in *La Bolsa de Barcelona de 1851: líneas generales de su evolución* (Instituto Municipal de Historia, Barcelona, 1961), pp. 15-69.

⁶¹ 'Las inversiones extranjeras en España de 1855 a 1880', in *Ensayos sobre la economía*, op. cit., pp. 187-202.

⁶² 'De los orígenes del capital financiero: el Crédito Mobiliario español, 1856-1902', in N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *España hace un siglo: una economía dual* (Península, Barcelona, 1968), pp. 179-218.

⁶³ 'Les investissements étrangers en Espagne au XIX siècle: Methodologie et Quantification', *Revue d'Histoire Economique et Sociale*, LIV (1976), 29-63.

⁶⁴ *La Banca española en la Restauración: I. Política y finanzas. II. Datos para una historia económica* (Banco de España, Madrid, 1974).

⁶⁵ *El poder de la Banca en España* (Zero, Algorta, Vizcaya, 1970).

⁶⁶ *La Banca a Catalunya* (Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1965). And *Banca i Banquers a Catalunya* (Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1972).

⁶⁷ 'Formación de capital y fluctuaciones económicas. Materiales para el estudio de un indicador: creación de sociedades mercantiles en España entre 1886 y 1970', *Hacienda Pública Española*, XXVII (1974), 137-85.

VI. DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNAL MARKET

One of main traits of the development of capitalism, is to be found in the formation of the domestic market. In Spain however there is no systematic study on the subject. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz has devoted several articles to it, but he limits himself to the XIXth century. In one of this essays,⁶⁸ he examines interregional differences in the prices of agricultural products, concluding that one cannot talk about a unified market in Spain before the last quarter of the XIXth century, although after 1880, and through the next decade some two thirds of the market were organically related. Not least among Sánchez-Albornoz's merits is his application of Emilio Sereni's combination of the spatial dimension of the market together with the economic-historical features. In a later work,⁶⁹ he used an impressive amount data to examine the period from 1856 to 1890, bringing to light some very interesting phenomena, such as the changes in the modes of property that resulted from disamortisation, the beginning of crop specialization and the first signs of capitalism.

J. Fontana⁷⁰ and J. García-Lombardero⁷¹ have also made valuable contributions to this field of research. Fontana draws attention to the need to study the formation of the domestic market in order to understand the whole process of the industrialization of Spain. García-Lombardero has also explored the problems of the Galician regional market.

VII. XIXTH CENTURY ECONOMIC CRISIS

If there is little on the growth of the internal market, the situation is equally dismal in relation to another crucial subject: economic crises. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz⁷² has studied the recurrence of *Ancien Régime* forms of crisis in XIXth century Spain. He has dealt with the financial crisis prior to the 1868 Revolution,⁷³ emphasizing its more general economic aspects,⁷⁴ and

⁶⁸ N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, 'La integración del mercado nacional. España e Italia', in J. NADAL and G. TORTELLA, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 158-87.

⁶⁹ N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *Los precios agrícolas durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX* (Servicio de Estudios del Banco de España, Madrid, 1975).

⁷⁰ 'Formación del mercado nacional', *loc. cit.*

⁷¹ 'La formación de un mercado regional: Galicia 1860-1890', *Moneda y Crédito*, CXIX (1971), 67-88.

⁷² *Las crisis de subsistencias de España en el siglo XIX* (Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Rosario, 1963).

⁷³ N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, 'La crisis de 1860 en Barcelona', in N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, *España hace un siglo*, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-77; and 'La crisis de 1866 en Madrid: la Caja de Depósitos, las Sociedades de Crédito y la Bolsa', *Moneda y Crédito*, C (1967), 3-40.

⁷⁴ N. SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, 'El trasfondo económico de la Revolución', *Revista de Occidente*, LXVII (1968), 39-63.

applying E. Labrousse's methodology. Josep Fontana⁷⁵ has also studied the causes of this Revolution, and investigated the effect of temporary economic factors on the specific interests of the leading groups.

As for the crisis of the last quarter of the XIXth century, the most comprehensive work is that of Ramón Garrabou.⁷⁶ His research traces the formation of a world market for agrarian products, and the effects of the consolidation of the capitalist system on rural Spanish society, which up to that moment had enjoyed high prices, thanks to protectionism, which had permitted some increase in output in spite of the minimal technical transformations. A solution, albeit temporary, to the crisis, was found once more in a new protectionism, and this consolidated the most reactionary sectors of Spanish agriculture. It should be added that this did not take place without the support of the Basque and Catalan bourgeoisie.

Finally, this crisis has also been dealt with by M. González Portilla,⁷⁷ who shows that the public sector through the *emisión de Deuda pública* and through the budget deficit, syphoned off the greatest part of the accumulation generated in the agrarian sector between 1850 and 1890. Teresa Carnero⁷⁸ has also studied the crisis at a regional level.

VIII. REPUBLIC AND CIVIL WAR

The repercussions in Catalonia of the crisis of 1929 have been studied by Alberto Balcells,⁷⁹ who claims that the depression sharpened class struggles, and made it impossible to overcome the contradictions in the social and economic development of the country. Jordi Palafox⁸⁰ has concentrated on the particular seriousness of the crisis in the *País Valencià*, due to the fact that its economy was mainly dependent on exports. Xosé M. Beiras⁸¹ has rejected the Keynesian criticism of the Republican economic policies, since they neglect both the pluralism of the Spanish state and the problems of underdevelopment.

⁷⁵ 'Cambio económico y crisis política. Reflexiones sobre las causas de la revolución de 1868', in J. FONTANA, *Cambio económico y actitudes*, op. cit., pp. 97-145.

⁷⁶ 'La crisi agrària espanyola de finals del segle XIX: una etapa del desenvolupament del capitalisme', *Recerques*, V (1975), 163-216.

⁷⁷ 'Acumulación de capital y crisis en el sector agrícola', in J. L. GARCÍA DELGADO, ed., *La cuestión agraria en la España contemporánea* (Edicusa, Madrid, 1976), pp. 31-98.

⁷⁸ 'Crisi i burgesia conservadora durant la Gran Depressió: el País Valencià, 1879-1889', *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, I (1978), 98-113.

⁷⁹ *Crisis económica y agitación social en Cataluña (1930-36)* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1971).

⁸⁰ 'Contradicciones del capitalismo español durante la depresión económica de los años treinta', *Información Comercial Española*, DXXIV (1976), 110-18.

⁸¹ 'La economía española durante la Segunda República', in M. RAMÍREZ, ed., *Estudios sobre la segunda República española* (Tecnos, Madrid, 1975).

The agricultural policies of the Republic and the attempts made by the Republican governments to achieve structural change, have been described in the very valuable study by Edward Malefakis,⁸² who argues that the failure of the agrarian reform attempted by the Republic was a fundamental cause of the Civil War.

The economic aspects of the Civil War have not been researched fully although one can refer to the classic work by Gabriel Jackson⁸³ and Hugh Thomas.⁸⁴ Experiments in collectivization have been examined by Frank Mintz.⁸⁵ Josep M. Bricall⁸⁶ has studied the effects of the war on the Catalan industrial economy, as well as the problems and socio-economic tensions generated by it and the rise of the new regime, which he defines as an economy in transition to socialism, through worker self-government.

To conclude for the period as a whole Professor P. Vilar's⁸⁷ work remains a fundamental starting point for all future research.

⁸² *Reforma agraria y revolución campesina en la España del siglo XX* (Ariel, Barcelona, 1971).

⁸³ *La República y la Guerra Civil* (Grijalbo, Barcelona, 1976).

⁸⁴ *La Guerra Civil española* (Grijalbo, Barcelona, 1977).

⁸⁵ *L'Autogestion dans l'Espagne révolutionnaire* (Maspero, Paris, 1977). The Spanish translation (La Piqueta, Madrid, 1977) contains a good bibliography on this subject.

⁸⁶ *Política econòmica de la Generalitat* (Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1970).

⁸⁷ La guerra de 1936 en la historia contemporánea de España. Intento de orientación y problema de fuentes', *Historia Internacional*, XIII (1976), 33-47.