

ANEXO 26 – MODOS DE CONSTRUÇÃO DE VIAS-FÉRREAS E RESPECTIVAS EXTENSÕES (1852-1899)¹

PELO ESTADO		POR COMPANHIAS PRIVADAS					
		SEM APOIO		SUBVENÇÃO QUILOMÉTRICA		GARANTIA DE JURO/RENDIMENTO	
LINHA/RAMAL	EXTENSÃO (EM KM)	LINHA	EXTENSÃO (EM KM)	LINHA	EXTENSÃO (EM KM)	LINHA	EXTENSÃO (EM KM)
Do Carregado a Santana	32	Do Porto à Póvoa e Famalicão	57	Do Entroncamento ao Porto	230	De Lisboa ao Carregado	36
De Beja a Faro	185	De Cáceres	72	De Santana a Elvas	184	De Torres Vedras à Figueira da Foz e Alfarelos	167
De Évora a Estremoz	49	De Guimarães	33	Do Barreiro a Setúbal, Évora e Beja	195	Do Tua	55
De Beja a Pias	43	De Lisboa a Torres Vedras e Sintra	75	Da Pampilhosa a Vilar Formoso	202	De Viseu	50
De Tunes a Algoz	5	De Cascais	26	De Coimbra	2	Da Beira Baixa	212
Do Minho	146	Urbana de Lisboa	3				
Da alfândega do Porto	4	De cintura	12				
Do Douro	192	Da Figueira da Foz à Pampilhosa	50				
Subtotais	656		328		813		520
Percentagens do total (2317 km)	28,31%		14,15%	71,69%			22,44%

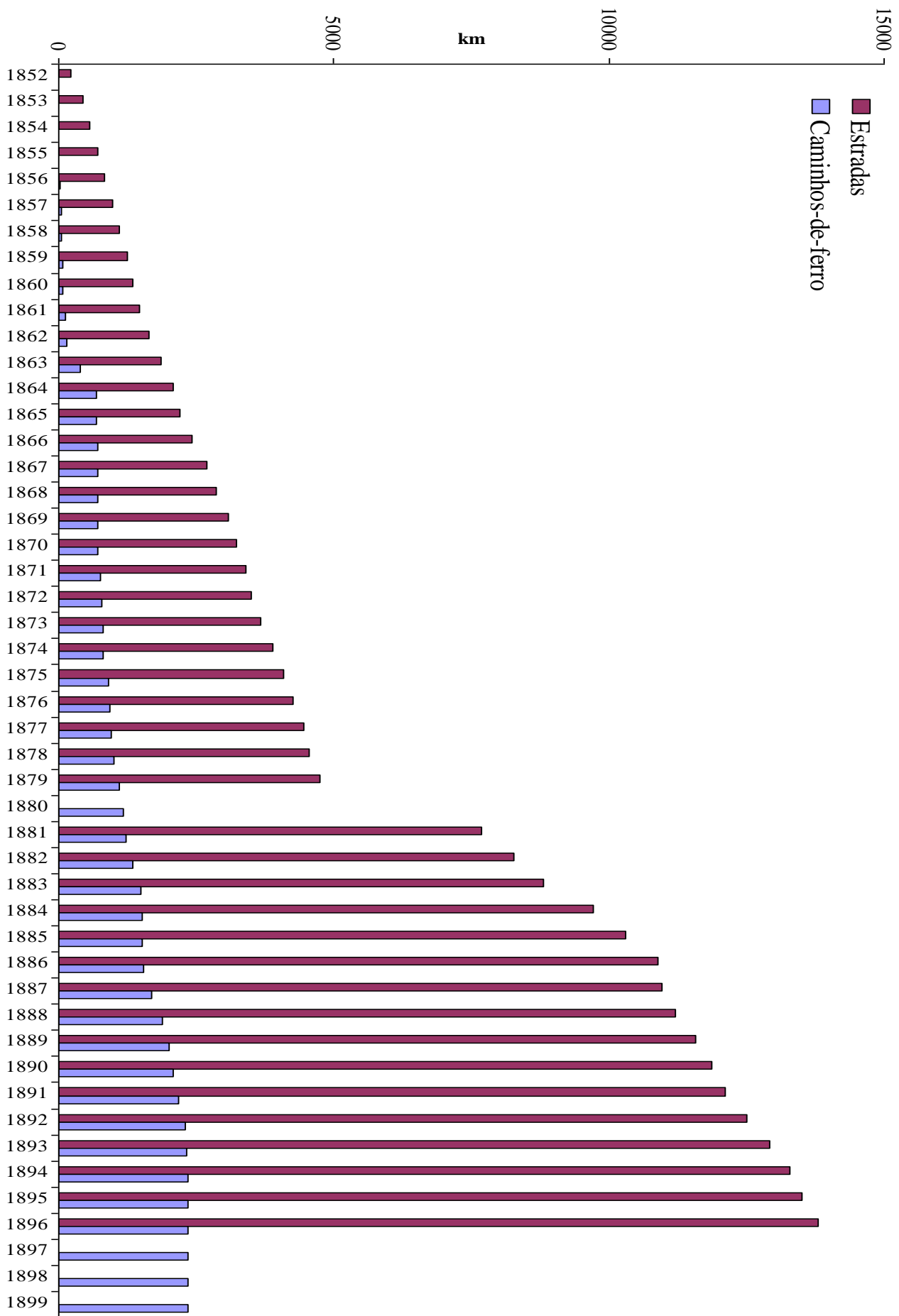
¹ ALEGRIA, 1990: 330. PIMENTEL, 1893-1894.

**ANEXO 27 – EVOLUÇÃO DAS REDES RODO E FERROVIÁRIA
EM PORTUGAL (1852-1899)¹**

ESTRADAS	
	EXTENSÃO (EM KM)
1852	218
1853	437
1854	562
1855	713
1856	838
1857	983
1858	1107
1859	1240
1860	1350
1861	1464
1862	1636
1863	1859
1864	2092
1865	2195
1866	2431
1867	2681
1868	2863
1869	3084
1870	3223
1871	3395
1872	3505
1873	3679
1874	3884
1875	4083
1876	4258
1877	4449
1878	4558
1879	4745
1880	-
1881	7684
1882	8280
1883	8797
1884	9708
1885	10301
1886	10897
1887	10968
1888	11214
1889	11578
1890	11870
1891	12116
1892	12494
1893	12932
1894	13287
1895	13497
1896	13797
1897	-
1898	-
1899	-

CAMINHOS-DE-FERRO	
ANO	EXTENSÃO (EM KM)
1852	0
1853	0
1854	0
1855	0
1856	36
1857	50
1858	60
1859	68
1860	68
1861	132
1862	144
1863	399
1864	691
1865	694
1866	701
1867	711
1868	714
1869	714
1870	719
1871	766
1872	791
1873	819
1874	819
1875	911
1876	933
1877	952
1878	1014
1879	1099
1880	1177
1881	1234
1882	1356
1883	1486
1884	1525
1885	1529
1886	1530
1887	1689
1888	1875
1889	1996
1890	2071
1891	2175
1892	2288
1893	2323
1894	2342
1895	2343
1896	2344
1897	2346
1898	2346
1899	2346

¹ VALÉRIO, 2001b: 361-363 e 372-373.



ANEXO 28 – LISTA DE CAMINHOS-DE-FERRO AMERICANOS PROPOSTOS AO GOVERNO (1856-1899)

DATA ¹	PROPONENTE(S)	DIRECTRIZ(ES)	TRACÇÃO	NOTAS	FONTE
1856	Luís Teixeira de Sampaio, Duarte Medlicot, Jorge Croft, o conde de Farrobo e Thomas Rumball	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre o porto de S. Martinho e a linha do norte 	Vapor	Construído pelo estado entre aquele primeiro ponto e o pinhal de Leiria	NORONHA, 1926. PEREIRA, 2008: 123-124.
22-12-1856, 30-9-1857	Luís de Leuve (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre a estação do cais dos soldados e a alfândega grande de Lisboa 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 4 (1856): 74v e ss. AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 5 (1857): 247v e ss.
5-12-1857	Luís Vicente d'Afonseca e o conde de Courson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Braga a Montalegre, Guimarães e Basto com ramal para Vizela Guimarães a Famalicão Chaves a Vila Real, Régua e/ou Pinhão De Portalegre a Castelo de Vide, Vila Velha de Ródão, Castelo Branco, Fundão, Covilhã, Lamego e Bragança Alhandra a Torres Vedras Carregado a Merceana e Torres Vedras Campo Grande a Sto. António do Tojal Sete Rios a Belas Vila Real de Sto. António, Faro, Portimão e Lagos com ramal para Silves 	Animal	-	BMOP, 1858, n.º 1: 96-103.
27-5-1858	Albino Francisco de Paiva Araújo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do Porto à Foz do Douro 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 6 (1858): 60v e ss.
1-9-1858	Guérinat e Déjante	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre o Carregado e Alenquer com possibilidade de o prolongar até Merceana e/ou Alcoentre 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 6 (1858): 110v-112v.
10-11-1859	J. Pemberton Hutchinson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre o Arsenal do Exército e a Praça dos Jerónimos em Belém 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 8 (1859): 89-90.
21-1-1860	J. Pemberton Hutchinson	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desde o Arsenal do Exército até Pedrouços pela rua do Jardim do Tabaco, Terreiro do Trigo, Ribeira Velha, Terreiro do Paço, rua 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 9 (1860): 75-77.

¹ Da concessão, do requerimento ou da consulta do CGOP(M) ou da JCOPM.

		Direita do Arsenal, Largo do Corpo Santo, Arco do Marquês, rua de S. Paulo, rua da Boavista, largo do Conde-Barão, calçada do marquês de Abrantes, Santos-o-Velho, rua das Janela Verdes, Pampulha, Alcântara, Junqueira e Belém			
9-2-1860	Diogo Mason	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Da mina de S. Domingos à ao Guadiana 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 9 (1860): 98-101.
11-10-1862	G. A. Ballera (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre Sta. Apolónia e S. Paulo a prolongar por Pedrouços pelo Largo de S. Paulo e Tercenas 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 15 (1862): 27v-29.
23-4-1863, 8-6-1863	Mathias Feuerheed Sênior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Americano para explorar as minas do Braçal 	Animal	Voltou para a posse do estado por portaria de 3-3-1887 em virtude de ter terminado o prazo da concessão	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 16 (1863): 183v-185v. AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 17 (1863): 112v-114. COLP, 1864: 317-318 e 600 e ss; 1878: 164. FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 2: 173-174. NORONHA, 1926. VITORINO, 2002: 15 e ss.
4-5-1863	Luís de Leuve (?)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre as alfândegas de Lisboa e a estação de Sta. Apolónia 	Animal	-	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 17 (1863): 9v-13v.
18-4-1864	José Eugénio Chabert	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Americanos no Alentejo e Algarve • Mais tarde limitados à ligação entre as linhas do leste e sueste, de Beja à fronteira por Baleizão e de Beja a Castro Verde 	Animal	Preparado para tracção a vapor	AHMOP. COPM. Liv. 19 (1864): 306-310.
14-5-1870	R. Knowles & C. ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De Sta. Apolónia ao Terreiro do Paço e daqui a Belém, Caxias e Campo Grande 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
17-6-1870 23-2-1871	Francisco Maria e Luciano Cordeiro de Sousa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • De Alcântara a Belém e Cascais e Sintra • Depois, de Sta. Apolónia, rua do Jardim do Tabaco, Ribeira Velha, Alfândega, Terreiro do Paço, largo do Pelourinho, rua do Arsenal e cais do Sodré • Incluía ramais para cada cais na margem do Tejo, do Terreiro do Paço ao Passeio Público, da praça da Figueira pela rua dos Fanqueiros, do Corpo Santo ou cais do Sodré à linha de S. Paulo ao Rato, do cais do Sodré pela rua das Janelas Verdes até Alcântara, do Rato ao Príncipe Real por 	Animal	Trespasada depois à Companhia dos Carris de Lisboa.	COLP, 1871: 213-214. <i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873). SALGUEIRO, 1987: 127-129.

		Sta. Isabel à Estrela e do Rossio pela rua Nova da Palma, Intendente e Igreja dos Anjos até as portas da cidade			
25-8-1870, 23-5-1871, 28-11-1877, 31-12-1879	Barão da Trovisqueira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano do Porto à Foz e eventualmente a Matosinhos Depois prolongado a Leça da Palmeira 	Animal	Solicitada a sua electrificação em 1894.	COLP, 1870: 482; 1877: 271; 1879: 308-309. AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 32 (1871): 141v-157; CSOPM. Cx. 42 (1894), parecer 24448 (5-11-1894). SALGUEIRO, 1987: 127-129 GUILLEMOIS, 1995: 51-53.
12-10-1870	Visconde de Sanches Baena	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
21-11-1870	Luís Cândido Furtado Coelho & C. ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
1871	Companhia das Minas do Cabo Mondego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Da Figueira a Coimbra De Celorico da Beira a Moimenta da Beira e Lamego Da Mealhada a Viseu, S. Pedro do Sul e Lamego Do Porto a Penafiel, Amarante, Régua, Vila Real e Chaves Do Porto a Bragança Entre a Covilhã e o Rossio de Abrantes 	Animal ou Sistema Alfred Cottran		AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 32-A (1871): 8v-9v e 27-28.
22-5-1871	Waring Brothers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
9-6-1871	António Avelino Amaro da Silva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
18-6-1871 28-6-1871 17-4-1873	José Dionísio de Melo e Faro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Da estação de Sta. Apolónia ao mosteiro dos Jerónimos pela Praça do Comércio, Arroios, Alcântara Belém e Cascais, com possível prolongamento até Sintra 	Animal	Mais tarde trespassado à Companhia dos Carris de Lisboa	<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873). COLP, 1871: 184; 1873: 90. AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 34 (1873): 124v-125.
6-7-1871	Henri Lazeu e outros	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Lisboa, Mafra e Sintra e também entre a estação de Sta. Apolónia, Belém e a estação de Sintra 			AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 32 (1871): 224v-226v e 242-249v.
11-7-1871	Bernardino Martins da Silva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Faro a Vila Real de Sto. António De Beja a Mértola 	Animal		COLP, 1871: 209-210.
	Simão Gattai	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Porto e Braga por Sto. Tirso e Guimarães 	Animal		COLP, 1871: 210.
28-8-1871	D. Francisco de Almeida	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do largo de S. Miguel a Sta. Apolónia e Alcântara 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
2-10-1871	Vitorino Joaquim Gonçalves da	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).

	Rocha				
24-4-1872 20-3-1873	Evaristo Nunes Pito e Camilo Mangeon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre Coimbra e a estação de caminhos-de-ferro 	Animal	Trespasado à Matosinhos & C. ^a por decreto de 28-6-1874	COLP, 1872: 33-34; 1874: 124-125. AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 34 (1873): 125-125v. NORONHA, 1926.
11-7-1872	Eduardo Pinto Basto & C. ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
2-10-1872	Duarte Vila Pouca	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
3-10-1872	Marquês de Nisa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nas ruas de Lisboa 	Animal		<i>RELATÓRIO...</i> (1873).
17-10-1872	James Wheaworth Shaw	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Da estação do Crato à margem do Tejo em frente a Vila Velha de Ródão 	Animal		COLP, 1872: 292-293.
13-11-1872	Luís Teixeira de Sampaio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre a Ponte de Santana e o Cartaxo 	Animal		COLP, 1872: 314.
1873, 28-10-1875, 27-11-1875, 16-2-1888, 12-12-1889	Francisco Alves Peixoto Gama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nas ruas de Braga desde a sua estação de caminho-de-ferro • De Braga ao Bom Jesus • De Braga a Arcos de Valdevez • De Braga à vila de Prado • Com ramal da estação da companhia à linha até à estação de Braga 	Animal e depois vapor	Passado à Companhia dos Carris e Ascensor do Bom Jesus por decreto de 25-10-1883	COLP, 1876: 482-483; 1883: 332-333; 1888: 75-77; 1889: 515-516. AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 33 (1887), parecer 14546 (28-7-1887). CNDF. Caminhos de Ferro do Estado. Construção. Cx. 23 (1805), proc. 6, pst. 32. Caminho de ferro americano de Braga. Caminhos americanos cuja concessão era solicitada do Governo. NORONHA, 1926.
21-5-1873	António Maria Kopke de Carvalho, Gustavo Justino Ferreira Pinto Basto e Vasco Ferreira Pinto Basto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre S. João da Madeira e Vila Nova de Gaia 	Animal		COLP, 1873: 140-141.
2-9-1873, 10-12-1886	Padre Manuel Gomes Duarte Pereira Coentro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ligando o cais de Ovar, o Furadouro e o Carregal com a estação ferroviária de Ovar 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 32 (1887), parecer 14214 (18-4-1887).
28-10-1873	Guilherme Dushener, João Ferreira Dias Guimarães e João Ferreira de Araújo Guimarães	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre Nine e a mina dos requerentes de Rates 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 34-A (1873): 160-161.
19-12-1873	Maximiliano Schreck	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre a Régua e Vila Real 	Animal (mais tarde, vapor)	Trespasado à Companhia Transtagana por decreto de 20-5-1874	COLP, 1873: 318-319; 1874: 94. AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 19 (1875-1876), parecer 6746 (19-8-1875); cx. 20 (1876-1877), parecer 7637 (27-12-1877). NORONHA, 1926.
1874	João Ferreira Dias Guimarães	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entre Neiva e Darque 	Animal	-	AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 35 (1874): 147-149.

1874	Henrique Freire de Andrade e Outros	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Servindo Braga, Monção, Ponte de Lima, Guimarães, Viana do Castelo, Lindoso, Barcelos e Valença 	Animal		CNDF. Caminhos de Ferro do Estado. Construção. Cx. 23 (1805), proc. 6, pst. 32. Caminho de ferro americano de Braga. Caminhos americanos cuja concessão era solicitada do Governo.
22-1-1874	João Ferreira Dias Guimarães e João Ferreira de Araújo Guimarães	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre a Póvoa de Varzim e Vila do Conde 	Animal	-	COLP, 1874: 269-270. AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 35 (1874): 86-88. NORONHA, 1926.
24-1-1874	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Coimbra e Celorico da Beira 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 35 (1874): 41-43.
7-4-1874	João Ferreira Dias Guimarães e João Ferreira de Araújo Guimarães	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Viana do Castelo e Famalicão 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 35 (1874): 147-149.
28-5-1874	Thomas Rumball	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre a Marinha Grande e o mar 	Vapor	Transformação do caminho do pinhal de Leiria	AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 35 (1874): 333-335.
10-9-1874	José Maria Veríssimo de Morais	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Da estação de Valença à cidade De Valença a Monção 	Animal	-	AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 36 (1874): 68-70.
17-9-1874 26-1-1888	Companhia das Minas do Cabo Mondego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desde as minas da companhia a Buarcos e Figueira da Foz Mais tarde alargado com uma outra linha ao forno de cal da companhia 	Animal	Previa-se a sua transformação em caminho-de-ferro de leito próprio.	COLP, 1874: 152-153; 1888: 14. AHMOP. JCOPM. Liv. 37-A (1876): s/p. FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 2: 222-224. NORONHA, 1926
23-12-1875 23-3-1893 26-10-1893 31-5-1897	Companhia Carris de Ferro do Porto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prolongamento da sua rede à rua de Sta. Catarina e largo da Cruz das Regateiras e entre a rua do Bonfim, praça das Flores e rua da Lameira 	Animal (eléctrica em 1899)		COLP, 1876: 492-493. FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 209-214 e 362-364. AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22645 (23-3-1893); cx. 47 (1899), parecer 29672 (10-8-1899).
5-12-1876	Companhia Carris de Ferro do Porto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ligação à estação de Campanhã (desde a rua do Bonfim) 	Animal		CNDF. Caminhos de Ferro do Estado. Construção. Cx. 33 (1815), proc. 110. [Contrato entre a Direcção dos Caminhos de Ferro do Douro e Minho e a Companhia dos Carris de Ferro do Porto]. 5 de Dezembro de 1876; AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 42 (1894-1895), parecer 24585 (17-12-1894)
28-8-1883, 30-11-1886	Aires de Sá Nogueira de Abreu e Vasconcelos e Francisco Rebelo de Andrade	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Vila Estefânia e Colares 	Animal ou vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 38 (1892), parecer 21692 (23-5-1892)

26-10-1885, 18-11-1886	António Avelino Serrão Coelho de Sampaio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre o campo de D. Luís em Leiria e a estação na linha do oeste 	?		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 38 (1892), parecer 21691 (23-5-1892).
2-4-1885	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre a linha do leste e o centro de Santarém 	Animal (depois vapor)	Recusado o emprego de vapor	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 29 (1885), pareceres 12400 (2-7-1885) e 12673 (25-9-1885).
25-1-1886	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No tabuleiro superior da ponte Luís I 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 30 (1886), parecer 13036 (25-1-1886). SALGUEIRO, 1987: 130
9-6-1886	António Pedro de Aragão Morais & C. ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre a estação de Santarém e a cidade 	Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 32 (1887), parecer 14077 (24-2-1887). FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 2: 164-168. COLP, 1886: 300-301.
17-6-1886	Sebastião Ramires	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desde a fábrica de conservas do requerente à baixa-mar do rio Guadiana 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 30 (1886), parecer de 17-6-1886.
9-8-1886, 17-3-1887, 3-2-1888	Barão de Matosinhos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Alcanena a Golegã por Torres Novas 	Animal ou a vapor	Bitola de 0,953 m. Trespasada à Companhia do Caminho de Ferro de Torres Novas a Alcanena. Aberto em 1893, suspendeu a exploração nesse mesmo ano (portaria de 26-7-1893)	FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 2: 175-180, 224-225; vol. 3: 41, 176-177, 195. COLP, 1887, 138-140; 1888: 54-55. AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 36 (1891), parecer 20236 (27-4-1891); cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22418 (9-1-1893). FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 195.
3-11-1886	Visconde de Barreiros	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Viana do Castelo e Ponte de Lima 	?		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1892), parecer 21178 (18-1-1892).
6-12-1886	António Agostinho Lobo de Miranda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Portimão e Monchique 	?		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1892), parecer 21177 (18-1-1892)
9-2-1887	Companhia Carris de Ferro de Lisboa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ligação à estação de Alcântara 	?		FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 2: 173.
25-2-1887 16-11-1891 16-8-1894	Narciso Alves Xavier e Francisco José Gonçalves Júnior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Cacilhas a Almada e ao lazareto De Cacilhas a Sesimbra De Cacilhas à Caparica 	Vapor	Recusado o uso de vapor	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1891), parecer 20967 (31-10-1891). GCF, a. 51, n.º 1225 (1-1-1939): 46; n.º 1226 (16-1-1939): 82
30-3-1887, 27-4-1887	Jacinto Parreira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Vila Estefânia à praia das Maças por Colares Mais tarde de Sintra a Colares 	Animal ou vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 38 (1892), parecer 21692 (23-5-1892).

25-8-1887	Companhia das Minas do Cabo Mondego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre os armazéns da companhia e a estação da Figueira (linha da Beira Alta) 	Animal		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 33 (1887), parecer 14632 (25-8-1887).
22-9-1887	Eduardo da Costa Correia Leite	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Santarém e Vendas Novas por Coruche e Canha 	Vapor	Depois promovido a caminho-de-ferro em leito próprio	COLP, 1887: 516-518; 1888: 517 e ss.
1-10-1887	António Bernardo de Figueiredo, Júlio César de Miranda Monteiro e Leonildo de Mendonça e Costa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Tomar e a estação de Paialvo 	Vapor	Bitola de 0,75 m	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1892), parecer 21317 (25-2-1892)
2-12-1887	Joseph William Henry Black	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pelo litoral do Algarve entre Lagos e Vila Real de Sto. António 	Vapor		COLP, 1887: 629 e ss.
1888	António Brandão, Amaro Gama, Gustavo Peters e Camilo Mangeon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano do Porto (Bonfim) a Gondomar por Rio Tinto, Valbom, Quintã, S. Cosme, Montalto e Covelo 			GCF, a. 11, n.º 253 (1-7-1898): 202; n.º 254 (16-7-1898): 234.
20-3-1888	Pedro Augusto Loureiro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Santarém ao lugar de Valverde 	Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1892), parecer 21305 (18-2-1892).
19-11-1888	Augusto Pinho & Irmão	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre as Caldas da Rainha e a foz do Arelho 	?		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1891), parecer 20995 (12-11-1891).
1889	Eduardo Teixeira de Sampaio e Henrique Eugénio de Castro Rodrigues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decauville entre Lisboa e Arruda dos Vinhos 	?		GCFPH, a. 2, n.º 31 (1-6-1889): 107.
1889	Abel Nunes e Damião Guedes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano de Algés a Lousa passando por Benfica, Carnide, Odivelas e Loures, com ramal para Sacavém 	?		GCFPH, a. 2, n.º 33 (21-6-1889): 138.
1899 11-10-1890	José Domingues Martins	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decauville de Aveiro à barra, à Vista Alegre, à estação de Aveiro, a Ílhavo e a Águeda passando pelo Eixo e Travassô e noutras estradas do distrito 	Vapor		GCFPH, a. 2, n.º 41 (11-9-1889): 266. AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 35 (1891), parecer 20160 (19-3-1891).
25-4-1889	Eduardo António da Rosa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Ericeira e Mafra 	Vapor	Recusado	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37, parecer 21020 (19-11-1891). GCFPH, a. 2, n.º 29 (11-5-1889): 71; a. 51, n.º 1225 (1-1-1939): 44.
17-6-1889, 15-10-1891, 10-3-1892	Jaime Henriques Pereira Bramão (a quem se juntava mais tarde Abel Nunes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre a Cruz Quebrada e Carnaxide Depois prolongado até Ribamar 	Animal, vapor ou eléctrica	Concedido com tracção animal. Caducada em 1899	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 36 (1891), parecer 20389 (1-6-1891); cx. 37 (1891), parecer 21009 (16-11-1891); cx. 41 (1894), parecer 24183. COLP, 1891: 631-634; 1892: 51. FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 128 e 487-488. GCF, a. 61, n.º 1469 (1-3-1949): 169.

8-11-1889	José Maria do Couto Pestana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do Seixal à estrada de Almada a Sesimbra por Santana 	Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1891), parecer 20968 (31-10-1891).
1890	Eduardo Augusto Nunes Colares e Vicente José Pereira e C. ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano em Setúbal 	?		GCFPH, a. 3, n.º 66 (16-9-1890): 282.
3-1-1890 22-11-1894 11-1-1896 15-7-1897 22-6-1899	José António Duro, José Fernandes Dias (substituído por Bento Maria Barbosa), António Luís Pereira (mais tarde vendeu a sua parte na concessão aos outros dois sócios) e mais tarde António José da Silva. A 8-4-1894 foi fundada uma companhia com 120 contos de capital por: visconde de Peso de Melgaço, João Manuel Correia, Francisco José da Cunha Guimarães, Miguel Dantas Gonçalves Pereira, Narciso C. Alves da Cunha, António Fortunato Feitosa, Augusto Caraux, Guilherme José da Silva, Agostinho António Lopes Cardoso, António Domingues Canedo, Francisco António de Lima, João Ferreira da Silva, José Bento Pereira e António José Nogueira da Silva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Linha (americana e depois decauville) de Valença a Monção e Melgaço 	Animal (mais tarde vapor)	Com o sistema decauville passava a ser um misto de americano com leito próprio. O projecto do americano foi elaborado por Gustavo Adolfo de Figueiredo	FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 252-258 e 486-487. DCD, 30-8-1897: 876-877. AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22682 (10-4-1893); cx. 41 (1894), parecer 24403 (25-10-1894); cx. 45 (1895), parecer 25685 (31-10-1895); cx. 46 (1899), parecer 29509 (5-6-1899). GCFPH, a. 8, n.º 174 (16-3-1895): 90; n.º 176 (16-4-1894): 122; a. 9, n.º 206 (16-7-1896): 219-220.
22-3-1890	Frederico Pinto Pereira de Vasconcelos e J. J. Lima de Azevedo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Faro e Vila Real de Sto. António 	Vapor	Prazo de 99 anos	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22404 (9-1-1893)
1891	Câmara de Almada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre Cacilhas, Almada e Capuchos, junto à Costa de Caparica 	Vapor		
1891	Henrique Verón	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano da rua de S. Bento à avenida da Liberdade (Lisboa) 	?		GCFPH, a. 4, n.º 94 (16-11-1891): 350.
15-1-1891	Parceria do Ascensor da Nazaré (formada por Tavares Crespo, Francisco Morais Afonso, Joaquim Carneiro de Alcáçovas Sousa Chicorro, José Eduardo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Da Nazaré à estação de Alcobaça 	Vapor	Detinha também o ascensor da Nazaré	FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 63-71. GCFPH, a. 2, n.º 36 (21-7-1889): 181-182.

	Ferreira Pinheiro, barão de Kessler e Raul de Mesnier)				
21-1-1891, 2-3-1891	Francisco Liberato Teles de Castro e Silva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Tomar e a linha do norte (Entroncamento) 	Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 35 (1891), parecer 20104 (2-3-1891). GCFPH, a. 4, n.º 80 (16-4-1891): 80.
1-5-1891 18-2-1892	Barão de Kessler & Bosset	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Santarém a Almeirim, Alpiarça, Chamusca, Golegã e Torres Novas 	Vapor	Ligava-se à cidade por um sistema de cremalheira	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1892), parecer 21306 (18-2-1892). GCFPH, a. 4, n.º 81 (1-5-1891): 142. GCF, a. 51, n.º 1225 (1-1-1939): 45.
10-6-1891 1-12-1894	Francisco Moreira Freire Correia, Manuel Torres de Aboim, Eduardo António da Rosa, Vicente José Pereira, e Eduardo Augusto Nunes Colares	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Queluz, Belas e Ericeira 	Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1891), parecer 21024 (19-11-1891). GCF, a. 51, n.º 1226 (16-1-1939): 82.
19-9-1891	Agostinho José da Costa Batalha e António Higinio Magalhães Mendonça	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre as Caldas da Rainha, S. Martinho, Foz da Lagoa e Óbidos 	Animal ou Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 37 (1891), parecer 20997 (12-11-1891).
1892 1897	Alexandre Saldanha da Gama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano em Sesimbra 	?		GCFPH, a. 10, n.º 233 (1-9-1897): 266. SOUSA, 1909a.
1892	Visconde de Roboredo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano com início no Seixal 	?		CALIXTO, 1963a.
16-7-1892	José António Duro, João Emídio da Silva Dias, João Frederico Teles Moreira e Joaquim António Duro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Portalegre à sua estação, Monforte, Veiros e Estremoz 	Vapor		AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 38 (1892), parecer 22124 (26-9-1892).
12-8-1892	George H. Hastings, Guilherme Diogo Pereira Allen e Evaristo Nunes Pinto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do Porto, a Gaia e Lavadores pelo tabuleiro superior da ponte Luís I 	Vapor	Renovação de requerimento de 1889	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22294 (17-11-1892).
17-11-1892 18-6-1894 10-10-1895 12-3-1896 16-11-1898	José Leão e José César Pinto Guimarães	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Da praia de Lavadores, pela estrada de Rei Ramiro ao Candal, às Devesas, a Coimbrões e a Lavadouros Ligação da estação das Devesas à estação de S. Bento (mais tarde também até à Batalha pela rua Saraiva de Carvalho) pelo tabuleiro superior da ponte Luís I Mais tarde incluído o troço até Sto. Ovídio. 	Animal, mais tarde vapor e eléctrica	Trespasado a João Baptista de Carvalho e António de Pádua Meneses Russel. Trespasado a Francisco Dourado e António Rodrigues Ribeiro dos Santos. Indeferido na parte relativa ao tabuleiro inferior. Concessão	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22293 (17-11-1892); cx. 41 (1894), parecer 24012 (18-6-1894); cx. 46 (1899), pareceres 29451 (15-5-1899) e 29638 (27-7-1899). FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 292-298, 308-309 e 441-442.

				passada à empresa Biel, Morais & C. ^a .	
17-11-1892 11-2-1893 4-5-1893 31-1-1894 18-2-1895 20-6-1895 28-6-1899	Narciso Teixeira Martins Ferro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do Porto a Gaia pelo tabuleiro superior da ponte Luís I até Vendas de Grijó e S. Félix da Marinha e com ramal para ponte de Tabuaços Em 1895, adicionado à concessão um americano entre o tabuleiro inferior da ponte Luís I e a rua de Camões a entroncar na linha anterior 	Animal	Concessão de 99 anos. Solicitada em 1895 a tracção eléctrica. Concessão trespassada à Carris do Porto	AHMOP. JCOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), pareceres 22299 (17-11-1892) e 22587 (2-3-1893); cx. 41 (1894), parecer 23876 (4-5-1894); cx. 42 (1894-1895), parecer 24832 (18-2-1895); cx. 43 (1895), parecer 25183 (3-6-1895). COLP, 1893: 295 e ss. FINO, 1883-1903, vol. 3: 184-191, 288 e 487.
1893	António Pinto Santos Júnior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano em Gaia (rua Rei Ramiro e avenida Diogo Leite) até ao tabuleiro inferior da ponte Luís I, entroncando no americano que se dirigia à Alfândega 	?		GCF, a. 5, n.º 132 (16-6-1893): 186.
5-1-1893	António Pinto dos Santos Júnior	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre Campanhã ou Melres e a ponte Luís I ou a Ribeira. 	?	Indeferido por omitir diversa informação	AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22393 (5-1-1893).
16-1-1893	Manuel Francisco da Silva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano na estrada da circunvalação do Porto 	?		AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22432 (16-1-1893).
16-1-1893	Frederico Pinto Pereira de Vasconcelos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre S. Bartolomeu de Messines e Silves 	Vapor		AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 39 (1892-1893), parecer 22434 (16-1-1893).
19-12-1893	Diogo do Souto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre Viana do Castelo e Ponte de Lima (mais tarde até Arcos de Valdevez, Ponte da Barca e Lindoso) 	Vapor	Foi passado um alvará mas este nunca foi assinado. Indeferido por estar prevista a linha do Lima em leito próprio.	AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 46 (1899), parecer 29446 (15-5-1899). GCF, a. 5, n.º 139 (1-10-1893): 298.
1894	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano desde a praça D. Pedro V (Porto) até ao Picoto da Maia, extensível a Castelo da Maia e Carriça 	?		GCFPH, a. 7, n.º 158 (17-7-1894): 238.
1894	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre o Seixal e Sesimbra 	?		SOUSA, 1909a
1894	Visconde da Idanha, Pedro Inácio Moreira, António Bento Franco, José Roberto Franco, Eduardo Augusto Nunes Colares e João Figueiredo de Sousa Mascarenhas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre a Ericeira e Queluz 			GCFPH, a. 7, n.º 167 (1-12-1894): 382.

20-4-1894	Companhia Elvense de Moagens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre a sua fábrica e a linha do leste 	?		AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 41 (1894), parecer 23926 (17-5-1894).
??-5-1894	H. C. Garland e L. Lacombe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decauville entre Cacilhas e o Alfeite (depois Almada) 	Vapor	Largo Costa Pinto, rua Direita, rua da Oliveira, estrada de Mutela, largo da Prelada, rua do Tenente Valadim, rua da Borneira, largo da Romaria	AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 45 (1895), parecer 25831 (2-12-1895). GCFPH, a. 7, n.º 160 (16-8-1894): 271.
16-7-1894	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Do Rossio ao Castelo (Lisboa) 	?		GCF, a. 51, n.º 1226 (16-1-1939): 82.
16-10-1894	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Da estação de Gaia ao tabuleiro superior da ponte Luís I 	?		GCF, a. 51, n.º 1226 (16-1-1939): 83.
17-6-1895 19-1-1899	César Justino de Lima Alves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre Muge e Chamusca, Almeirim e Santarém, Alpiarça e o Tejo e Muge e Sabugueiro (ou Salgueiro) 	Animal	Mais tarde requisitado a vapor usando o sistema Decauville	AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 43 (1895), parecer 25230 (17-6-1894).
19-8-1895 13-7-1899	António Luís Soares Duarte e Paulo Ferreira	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre Guimarães e Famalicão 	Vapor ou eléctrica	-	AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 44 (1895), parecer 25447 (19-8-1895); cx. 47 (1899), parecer 29810 (17-10-1899).
1896	João Burnay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano servindo Sesimbra 	?	-	SOUSA, 1909a. CALIXTO, 1963a.
1896	José Inácio Paulo da Costa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano de Cintra à praia das Maçãs 	Vapor ou eléctrica	-	GCFPH, a. 9, n.º 208 (16-8-1896): 251.
1897	Henrique Mitchell e João da Câmara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decauville entre a estação de Garvão e Portimão por Odemira e Aljezur com ramal para Lagos 	Vapor?	-	GCFPH, a. 10, n.º 224 (16-4-1897): 119.
1897	Alexandre Saldanha da Gama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano e caminho-de-ferro em leito próprio entre Benfica e Alenquer e entre Torres Vedras e Peniche 	?	-	GCFPH, a. 10, n.º 229 (1-7-1897): 203.
1897	José Júlio Junqueiro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre a estação de Setúbal e o centro da cidade 	?	-	GCFPH, a. 10, n.º 233 (1-9-1897): 266.
1897	Raul Mesnier	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americanos em Sintra 	?	-	GCFPH, a. 10, n.º 233 (1-9-1897): 266.
16-5-1897	Barão de Matosinhos	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Três linhas no Alentejo (Sines a Casa Branca por Santiago do Cacém, Grândola e Alcácer do Sal; Évora a Mourão por Reguengos; e Évora, Redondo e Alandroal 	Vapor	Dever de alargar a bitola das linhas assim que a receita bruta fosse igual ou superior a 2,5	GCFPH, a. 10, n.º 226 (16-5-1897): 150-151. GCF, a. 51, n.º 1226 (16-1-1939): 84.

				contos/km em três anos seguidos	
1898	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Sesimbra e o Seixal 	?		CALIXTO, 1963a.
1898	Eurico Allen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre Queluz e Venda Seca e mais tarde Idanha 			GCF, a. 11, n.º 253 (1-7-1898): 202; n.º 254 (16-7-1898): 234.
16-11-1898	José Emídio Pinheiro Borges e José Joaquim Nunes de Carvalho	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Entre Sintra e Colares 	Vapor	Deu origem à companhia da linha de Sintra à praia das Maçãs e depois à companhia da linha de Sintra ao Oceano	CALIXTO, 1964c.
1899	Conde de Moser	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano entre a Parede e Oitavos 	Eléctrica	-	GCF, a. 12, n.º 267 (1-2-1899): 43.
1899	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Americano em Setúbal entre a estação, o centro da cidade e a torre do Outão 	?	-	GCF, a. 12, n.º 282 (16-9-1899): 282.
5-1-1899	Machado & Irmão	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decauville de Cascais a Oitavos 	Vapor	Cruzamento da avenida D. Carlos I com a estrada real a Oitavos pela Boca do Inferno e farol da Guia	AHMOP. CSOPM. Cx. 46 (1899), parecer 29119 (5-1-1899).
?	?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Elvas à estação 	?		GUILLEMOIS, 1995: 53-55

ANEXO 29 – COMUNICAÇÃO DE ALLENDE PORTILLO (2010)

FICTIONAL LITERATURE AS A MEANS OF UNDERSTANDING ECONOMIC HISTORY

1. INTRODUCTION

The first issue to be addressed in this essay is the supposed advisability of using literature as a source of information to contribute to our knowledge of economic history.

The research methods used by historians are obviously the core on which we base our reconstruction and interpretation of history. In this regard, literature as a historical document corresponds to a value merely alternative, subordinate to the tools and research methods specific to the economic historian. Therefore, it is inappropriate to overestimate the importance of literature to analyze the social and economic history. But, on the other hand, I think that its significance should not be underestimated as a source of information for our understanding of the social and economic past.

The literature (either as a novel, drama or poetry) helps us view the history –in our case the economic and business history– from a different perspective. Literature allows us to virtually put ourselves in another time and place, something like experience history from within. Of course, it would be absurd to claim for specific facts and rigorous scientific information in literary works for our historical analysis. But what the literature gets is to help us feel the pulse of the history. If a particular aspect of history, that we are interested in analyzing, has been used by a great writer as a backdrop for the plot of his or her fictional work, we will have relevant material available for our research.

For example, when making a historical analysis of the European mining sector in the nineteenth-century, if we read *Germinal* by French writer Émile Zola, we will feel more alive and strong the mining sector from within, and our perception of the subject will increase enormously. Similarly, if we are to study the family firm as a whole from a historical perspective, reading *Buddenbrooks* by German writer Thomas Mann, we will be witnesses to the vicissitudes of a family business for several generations in the nineteenth century. Or, for example, when we read any novel by English writer Thomas Hardy, we will better understand the definite shift from the rural to the modern world. Equally, if we read the novels of American novelist Edwin Lefèvre or of other financial novel authors, we will be shaken by the intricacies of the stock market a century ago.

The second point I want to mention –and about which I wish specially to draw attention, is how little interest economic and business historians in general have been devoting in literature as a document for the business and economic history¹.

Other social scientists quite often use literature as a supplementary source for analysis. For instance, social historians or sociologists may well be included in this group. Among economists, historians of economic thought also often use literature as a source of information. Likewise, economists as a whole sometimes refer to the literature to explain various economic theoretical concepts, thus using literature as teaching materials. And of course there is also a growing number of philologists, literary historians and literary critics interested in the study of great literary works related to economic issues. Instead, economic historians hardly use the literature in our research. I dare say that this circumstance is largely due as much to our own lack of acquaintance

¹ An example of this is the fact that of all the academicians that are cited throughout this work, the number of historians is probably less than five.

with literary subjects, as some disdain that we feel unfairly toward literature, academic field to which we do not consider strictly scientific, but merely a product of the imagination of writers and as such, not valid for our historical analysis.

Well, even the most sceptical would be amazed at the possibilities of literature for economic historians. Of course, and as I said earlier, we can not seek to acquire historical information on it in the strictest sense of the term. But literary works do provide sensations, experiences and perceptions which are capable of virtually moving us to anytime we want to analyze, and which are able to make us feel and evoke the economic past more substantially, while complementing our knowledge acquired through rigorous historical analysis.

Some scholars have expressed their opinion about whether or not to use literature as a source of information for history. Such is the case, for instance, of AYDELOTTE (1948); BRANDIS (1961); CAZAMIAN (1973 [1903]); DeGREGORI (1979); McKENDRICK (1986); RUSSELL (1986); and WILLIAMS (1984 [1970]). Arguably, all of them in general –of course with certain clarifications–, share the opinion that searching in literature for specific and factual information is inadequate. However they do not discount the importance of literary sources as a document to contribute to know the thinking of the author and public opinion in a given context. They further recognize the literary influence in helping to create public opinion, especially when due to the novel published in instalments the practice of reading was popularized in the context of the realistic novel. Precisely, the realistic novel in serial form, based on the daily reality, attended to nuances which rarely were taken into consideration by other documentary sources available to the historian².

² AYDELOTTE (1948, 43) is sceptical on the potential advantages of literature as a historical document. He asserts on this matter: “What can the historian learn from these novelists? (...) the factual information they provide about social conditions is highly suspect for the scholar’s purposes (...). These writers were primarily novelists and artists; their reporting of social conditions is always (...) subordinate to his artistic purpose. (...) for the facts about social conditions in this period, our other and more conventional sources are far more satisfactory; and the attempt to tell the social history of a period by quotations from its novels is a kind of dilettantism which the historian would do well to avoid. (...) The historical interest of these novels lies in something quite different: (...) The historical value of fiction (...) is not for the history of facts, but for the history of opinions.”

CAZAMIAN (1973, 10 [1903]). As back as 1903 this French academician wrote in relation to the English social novel of the 1840s: “novels might be regarded as historical documents, and scrutinised for the material for a reconstruction of social life. (...) The novel of manners does, indeed, give us evidence on aspects of society concerning which other documents all too often leave us in ignorance. It shows us the dynamics of social exchange (...), life and action are breathed into modes of conduct which we would otherwise only know as laws, regulations, and surface appearances.”

BRANDIS (1961, 38) states in that respect: “the license of the literary imagination can provide insights into the character and environment of the businessman that the more pedestrian approaches of the economist, sociologist, or social psychologist are unlikely to reveal (...) What the novelist or playwright has to say about the businessman (...) it cannot be safely ignored by those who try to make a more scientific study of this same important figure.”

DeGREGORI (1979, 225-6) asserts “The literary view of life and society is not one that economists and other social scientists seek out as an aid to their inquiries. Yet some of the finest minds that our or any other civilization produces have committed their talents to literary endeavors and in these have focused their attention on societal problems. At times they have been aware of difficulties that contemporary scientists ignored (...). And we as social scientists are dealing with human behaviour. Human behaviour involves values, motivations, and moral questions. Literary sensitivity and sensibility ought certainly to give us some insight on the value consequences and the normative dimensions of our social science theorizing.”

McKENDRICK (1986, 102) says: “Literary attitudes are often partial (...). But few sources can tell us more about prevailing social attitudes and preferred social values.”

In turn, RUSSELL (1986, 7) states: “One may accept that the novelist exaggerates reality for effect, but there can be little doubt that he genuinely reflects a true social dilemma of his time.”

This paper briefly reviews the representation of economy in literature, specifically what time and in what literary genres economic issues have attracted further attention of the writers. Then several specific aspects that have special interest to writers will be analyzed, for instance: labour relations and the images of the entrepreneur and the firm. Later will be discussed the evolution of two fundamental academic trends in understanding the relationship between literature and economy, such as *Cultural Studies* and the *New Economic Criticism*. Finally, I also refer briefly to the literature as a pedagogical tool for teaching economic history. At the end of the work is also included an annex containing several major literary books that deal with economic issues.

2. THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ECONOMY IN LITERATURE

Curiously, the eighteenth-century British literature barely touches on the topic of emerging industrialization in England. This country was the pioneer in industrializing, but the writers seemed not to notice the important changes that were taking place from a social and economic standpoint. Or perhaps they simply did not consider any novel circumstances arising from the industrialization worthy to be regarded as material for their literary fictions.

The truth is that if we read the novels by Henry Fielding, Samuel Richardson, Laurence Sterne, or even those of Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe, references to the changes caused by mechanization of industry hardly appear. In these novels we meet with entrepreneurs engaged in commerce, or with farm owners, and with many rentiers, but almost nothing on manufacturing.

Something similar happens with other literary expression: poetry. Romantic poets, such as Wordsworth and Goldsmith, frequently refer to a rural world that was being altered by the enclosures and the modernization of agriculture. That traditional world on the brink of extinction is considered by these poets in an idealized and nostalgic way. And they clearly opposed it to a growing, unstoppable and somewhat dehumanized urban world.

And still it took several decades in the nineteenth century until English novelists began to use the backdrop of industrial activity for their plots. For example, Jane Austen's fiction is rich in references to landlords, gentry, rural middle-classes, etc. But, instead, she pays little attention to urban and industrial life. In fact, as late as in the 1840s literature finally began to become familiar with the issue of industrial activity as a backdrop for narrative frames. That is to say when England had more than half a century of industrialization, finally the British writers began to consider normal the theme of industrial activity and its social consequences³.

Influenced by the hardship and harsh conditions of the factory workers in general and child labour in particular, and also spurred by the extreme circumstances of the years 1839-42, several writers finally decided to use the world of factories and industry as material for their literary fictions. First Frances Trollope, and soon other

And WILLIAMS (1984, 191 [1970]) says about literature in general: "What we are told of the history of ideas and of the general history of the society is different, looks different, when these novels have been read."

³ In this regard, CARNALL (2000, 38) asserts referring to the early decades of the nineteenth century in England: "The fact is that the literature of the period pays surprisingly little direct attention to Britain's economic transformation."

Similarly, says WILLIAMS (1984, 155 [1970]): "In the second half of the nineteenth century most English experience was urban but most English fiction was rural." Likewise WILLIAMS (1993, 2 [1973]): "Even after the society was predominantly urban, its literature, for a generation, was still predominantly rural."

writers as Benjamin Disraeli (later Prime Minister), Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Kingsley and, at times, Charles Dickens, began to develop in a literary way the theme of industrial relations, mostly in the textile industry. At last, thanks to them, industrialization and the social problem that entailed would become literary stuff. This was the moment of the so-called British industrial or social novel. Concepts such as *The Condition of the People* or *The Two Nations* would be developed in the popular serialized novels.

Actually, the fashion of the English industrial novel was ephemeral: it lasted about one decade. Already during the 1850s the interest for such social issues was diluted. Writers as W. M. Thackeray and Anthony Trollope would provide more care in their narratives to other matters, such as the concept of gentlemanly or the businessperson engaged in commerce or finance. Neither George Eliot nor other writers would have industrial environment among their thematic priorities.

In the late nineteenth century, with the advent of literary realism and its desire to capture reality as close as possible, there will be a renewed interest in narrative fiction in addressing issues such as industrial and business environment in general. In United Kingdom this is evident with George Gissing and Arnold Bennett; in Spain with realist novelists as V. Blasco Ibáñez, B. Pérez Galdós, or E. Pardo Bazán. And in France, especially worth mentioning is the key figure of Émile Zola, the father of literary naturalism, i.e. an extreme and radical realism. Zola's influence would be felt much in Spain, but also in countries such as the United States, by means of novelists like Frank Norris.

In America the literature dealing then with economic issues paid particular attention to two specific points. On the one hand, at the turn of the century it was to arise the so-called financial fiction. This literature was focused mainly on the stock market activity of Wall Street in New York or La Salle Street in Chicago. In this genre are located novelists such as E. Lefèvre, who assumed without highly questioning the structure of investment and business world. But novelists critical of the whole network of high speculative finance predominated; as is the case of W.D. Howells, D.G. Phillips, or F. Norris. On the other hand, the so-called American socialist or proletarian literature was booming also, which was highly critical of the capitalist system, and very committed to the reporting of harsh living conditions of those who did not reach the American dream. Representatives of this genre include, among others, Upton Sinclair, Theodore Dreiser and Jack London.

Meanwhile, in Britain –and always from the viewpoint of the economic literature– the turn of the century is confronted with the figures of Thomas Hardy, who saw the influence of modern industrial activity in the English countryside, and of Joseph Conrad, especially interested in the backstage of the maritime and colonial activity. In turn, in the early decades of the twentieth century the narrative of D. H. Lawrence was basically located in the context of the mining sector in Nottinghamshire.

Anyway, during the first decades of the twentieth century, the so-called *isms* in the world of literature and art in general were more concerned with symbolic issues and matters of thought than with material things. So they devoted less attention to material culture and the business sphere as a whole. Such is the case of European writers as Marcel Proust and Virginia Woolf.

Nevertheless, the impact of the 1929 crash and the subsequent economic crisis again would revive literary interest in dealing with the harsh reality of social and economic issues; as will become apparent in the United States with John Steinbeck, Ernskine Caldwell or Upton Sinclair.

3. LABOUR RELATIONS AND LITERATURE

The theme of living and working conditions during the early stages of industrialization has been one of the first to draw attention to academics and historians of literature related to economic topics.

Among the pioneering works when approaching the social novel, is that of the French academician L. CAZAMIAN, published in 1903 under the title *Le Roman Social en Angleterre*, which is referred to the English industrial literature⁴. Thereafter several works were published throughout forthcoming decades, works such as AYDELOTTE (1948)⁵; HICKS et al (eds.) (1935); and RIDEOUT (1956).

But the high point of interest in the topic of labour relations in literature is in the 1970s. One reason for this renewed curiosity derived from the cycle of social, labour and even political instability that then affected worldwide, as well as from the resurgence of union activity of demands since 1968. Another reason for the unusual importance achieved by the essays on social and industrial novels during the seventies was the economic crisis that followed and occupied much of the decade, and still would continue in the 1980s. This situation would eventually lead to a revival of the subjects of industrial relations in literature. Examples are the works of BLAKE (1972); GALLAGHER, (1985); JEFFERSON (1972); KEATING (1971a) and (1971b); SMITH (1980); and VICINUS (1974).

Among the topics most generally studied by these academicians are, of course, the social consequences of British industrialization. Information source of this topic comes chiefly from the so-called English social novel, which was initiated by Frances Trollope (*Michael Armstrong, the factory boy*), and continued by B. Disraeli (*Sybil*); Mrs Gaskell (*Mary Barton; North and South*); Ch. Kingsley (*Alton Locke*); Ch. Dickens (*Hard Times*) and others. The social consequences of American industrialization also have become traditionally another important topic of study, paying particular attention to the called American socialist novel, represented among others by U. Sinclair, J. London, Th. Dreiser or E. Caldwell. American academicians also have analyzed the literature that deals with the consequences of the 1930's crisis; as for example is the case of J. Steinbeck (*The Grapes of Wrath*) or E. Caldwell (*Tobacco Road*).

However, this interest in analyzing how the literature has addressed the issue of labour relations was to be somewhat ephemeral. In fact, this interest declined again during the second half of the 1980s: when gradually the economic recovery became reality. Appears to be clear, therefore, that in times of crisis such literary topic become more relevant, and that, instead, their interest is reduced in periods of economic prosperity⁶.

⁴ CAZAMIAN (1973, 4 [1903]). Where we read: "One distinct type of novel emerged (...). It maintained a close relationship with political agitation (...). challenging novels took as their subject the grave problems with concerned the whole society."

⁵ Where we read: "It was only in the forties that English literature began to deal on a major scale with the social problems raised by the industrial revolution" (AYDELOTTE 1948, 42).

⁶ However, some recent works on labour relations and literature show a novel approach to the topic; such as HAPKE, L. (1995), referring to female labour relations in the United States during the 1930s. See also: BIGELOW, G. (2003) for Great Britain and Ireland during 1845-52.

4. THE COMPANY AND THE BUSINESS PEOPLE AS SEEN BY THE LITERATURE

The business people in particular and the representation of the company in general is undoubtedly one of the major issues treated by writers in the literary works which, to greater or lesser extent, concern the field of economy. In that respect, one of the most relevant research topics carried out by academicians is the portrayal that writers have made about business people; whether if such literary descriptions are favourable or unfavourable and under what circumstances this occurs. Related to that is the chronological aspect, that is in which specific periods literature offers a positive representation of the firm and the business person and in which a negative one.

In the British case, virtually no academic states that literature offers mostly a positive image of the business people. Some argue that literature represents at various times a clearly negative portrayal of business people; others, however, state that literature recreates both positive and negative images of entrepreneurs, i.e. that there is ambivalence.

Regarding those who argue that English novelists depict a notoriously negative profile of business people in several periods it is possible to mention, among others, CARNALL (2000); COLEMAN (1972); MORRIS (2000); POLLARD (2000), RAVEN (1989); SIMMONS (2000); SPECK (2000) and WIENER (1981).

CARNALL (2000, 38) referring to the first half of the nineteenth century states: "The fact is that the literature of the period pays surprisingly little direct attention to Britain's economic transformation, and although, (...), the world of trading and business is not completely ignored, it commonly appears in an unfavourable light."

MORRIS (2000, 138) argues that: "It is difficult to find positive and appreciative images of business in 20th-century English literature. This is especially true in the period leading up to the Second World War"

POLLARD (2000, 2, 4, 11) asserts that: "the chronicle of suffering inflicted by industry, as we have it in the 19th century novel, takes us through sweated labour, class conflict, cut-throat capitalism, bankruptcies and suicides. It is often a grim story." He continues: "graft, unrestrained greed, and oppression of the poor are among the evils which literature has associated with business (...) persists into the 20th century."

RAVEN (1989, 181, 184-5) asserts that "literary rejection of the business world was not dependent upon the development of industrialism but was apparent in the earlier reception to overseas trade." But, he adds that "representation of business similar to those discovered in modern Britain can be found in countries which supposed to have followed very different routes towards or way from an enterprise culture." In short, he recognizes that literature often provides a negative image of the business people, but that this circumstance did not necessarily lead to the subsequent British economic decline.

SIMMONS (2000, 99) states that "T. S. Eliot's damning portrayal of the power of economic forces, in the opening section of *The Waste Land*, is illustrative of how business is represented in the literature of the early-20th century."

In turn, SPECK (2000, 31) asserts that "writers in the late 18th century (...) deplored the increasing urbanisation of the century's closing decades and advocated a rural rather than an urban way of life. (...). The early Romantics thus anticipated the debate on whether or not the social impact of the Industrial revolution had been more detrimental than beneficial, a debate which still can divide historians into optimists and pessimists. The Romantic view was definitely pessimistic".

On the other hand, another group of scholars argues that in British literature there is not necessarily a bias towards a negative representation of business people; but instead the portrayal of the entrepreneur is sometimes favourable and sometimes unfavourable. In this group are, among others: EASSON (2000), McKENDRICK (1986), McVEAGH (1981) and RUSSELL (1986).

EASSON (2000, 69) provides both positive and negative examples relating to the image of the entrepreneur. On the other hand, he shows how, finally, by the mid-nineteenth century novelists clearly introduced in their fictions the businessperson and the modern economic world resulting from industrialization: "Industry, trade, transport transformed the age (...). The age was a business age and the writers were well aware of this transformation: it was the material of their fiction and they saw themselves increasingly as part of it."

McKENDRICK (1986, 102, 114-5) asserts that when it is said that literature as a whole considers the entrepreneur adversely, this is due to ignorance. McKendrick says that in the literature there are actually representations of both favourable and unfavourable business persons. As to the grounds of possible opposition to the entrepreneur in literature, he says that "partly this arises from simple ignorance (...). Partly it arises from the effects of selective anthologies (...). Partly, too, it arises from the influence of powerful critical traditions (...)". Another reason is "the Luddite interpretation of History (...) the tyranny of technophobia"⁷.

McVEAGH (1981) analyzes English literature from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, and concludes that there are representations of entrepreneurs of all kinds, and that it is possible to outline a general trend for each specific period. For instance, Chapter 3 is entitled "The Merchant as Hero (1700-1750)". In contrast, Chapter 5, entitled "The Response to Industrialism (1790-1830)", presents a clear condemnation of the business, condemnation especially made by the Romantic poets. The bad image of the entrepreneur continues in Chapter 6, entitled "From Industrialism to Big Business."

RUSSELL (1986, 19, 21, 24) states that "the nineteenth century was a commercially literate age", in which "imprudent speculation and widespread fraud and mismanagement" were frequent. And he continues: "All these things furnished the novelist with fertile material for dramatic or moralistic fiction (...). This was a literary tradition of suspicion about the doings of 'money-getters' which had its genesis at least as early as the seventeenth-century." But, on the other hand, Russell continues: "Mercantile pursuits were in the main kindly regarded, as being essential to the nation's well-being (...). But those who dealt solely in money, or who manipulated commercial undertakings purely out of 'greed for gain', were subject to varying degrees of literary invective. It was, perhaps, inevitable that the defalcations of the few should condemn the many, producing in literary works violent distortions." The author clearly distinguishes thus between mere speculators, –whose image is negative in literature– and businesspeople, with a more benevolent literary projection⁸.

⁷ McKENDRICK says, regarding the concept of *literary Luddism*: "I am using 'literary Luddism' in its general sense of anti-industrial, anti-entrepreneurial and anti-technological rather than in the sense of actual machine-breaking" McKENDRICK (1986, 102). See also: McKENDRICK (1978, ix-lvi).

⁸ For these topics see also: McKENDRICK (1979) and MELADA (1970 [1955]). See also: McTAGUE (1979, 73-4), who, after reviewing several works by European and American writers, concludes: "The works studied here range from the view that businessmen are all bad to a mixed view – some businessmen are bad and some are good." Meanwhile, WINTER (1986, 185), after analyzing G. B. Shaw's *Major Barbara* and Bertold Brecht's *St Joan of the Stockyards*, asserts that in these plays the attack is not on the business person but on the capitalism. Similar idea that literature does not offer a uniform vision about business people's representation is also expounds in WATTS, M. (2003, 308), who after reviewing several English and American literary Works, concludes: "literary authors and critics, like

In turn, in the case of American literature, the focus of discussion in economic fiction generally stresses on the chronology that corresponds either with a kind or with an unfavourable portrayal of business people. As in the British case, nobody seems to consider that American literature clearly offers a benevolent portrayal of the business person. Again, a succession of positive and negative representations of the entrepreneur is the norm: different trends depending on different economic and social circumstances. This issue is discussed, among others, by BRANDIS (1961); BURDEN (1977); BURGUM (1947); CHAMBERLAIN (1948); DeMOTT (1989); FIENBERG (1988); GEORGI (1959); HALSEY (1959); HORNER (1992); KAVESH (1955); LYNN (1956); SMITH (1964); VAN NOSTRAND (1959); WATTS, E.S. (1982) and WESTBROOK (1980).

BRANDIS (1961, 30-1) argues that already in the 1920s there was a poor image of business in American literature, even before the 1929 crash and the 1930's crisis. However, he recognizes that it was in the 1930s when the bad image of the business persons and the firms hit bottom.

CHAMBERLAIN (1948) argues that business people reflected in literature had been bad considered during the Depression years; but he also asserts that a similar situation occurred during the 1940s. Regarding the beginning of antibusiness literary sentiment, Chamberlain places it in the post-Civil War period.

DeMOTT (1989, 129-30) states that during the Depression "abuse of business entered so fully into the national psyche via the popular arts", and that the onset of the good image began in 1945 with the publication of the novel *The Other Margaret* by L. Trilling.

HALSEY (1959) examines the treatment the business person receives in American literature during the first half of the twentieth century. He divides into two sources: *Critical Novel* and *Marginal Novel*. The first type of novel was developed by authors such as F. Norris, Th. Dreiser, S. Lewis, J. Marquand, etc. He asserts that this is a recognized quality literature. He argues too that this kind of literature condemns the business person; but also that this sort of fiction does not stop just to describe the details of the business world. Regarding the second kind of fictional sources, the *Marginal Novel* –represented by writers such as E. Lefèvre or D. G. Phillips–, he says that in this narrative the entrepreneur is not necessarily bad considered. Halsey also argues that this sort of fiction is more realistic and detailed for the professional world and more knowledgeable about the business environment; but, on the other hand, its quality is not as artistic as the previous one.

LYNN (1956, 117) examines American literature from 1930 to 1955. He says that there is not necessarily a bad image of the entrepreneur; but instead there are all kinds of portrayals of business persons. He states that in the Depression years there was a tone of conviction against business people; but later this was mitigated. In this regard, he asserts: "Most of the new generation of novelists who began to write in the 1940's and early 1950's have approached the businessman in a spirit which is quite different

economists, are hardly a uniform, regimented lot. My own conclusion is that while some literary authors, critics, and historians are certainly more adept in describing economic material than others, there is no single literary point of view on economic topics, no uniformly pro- or anti-business attitude pervading the work of the greatest essayists, novelists, and playwrights. Instead, the range of opinions on economic activity (...) basically resembles the range of opinion found among economists." In turn, for the concept of gentleman in the Victorian novel, see GILMOUR (1981). And for the representation of business people in Elizabethan literature, see STEVENSON (1984) and STONEX (1916). While for the topic of family firms reflected in literature see ALLENDE (2009).

from that of the depression authors (...) the business novel is leaving behind it the atmosphere of gloom and the tone of accusation that was typical of depression times.”

WATTS, E. S. (1982, 5, 7) outlines the development of business people character in two centuries of American literature. And she states: “The truth of the matter is that American writers produced works with anticapitalistic tendencies from the very beginning, despite our current clichés about the Puritan work ethic and the economic motives of our Founding Fathers. The capitalist has been attacked (...) throughout our literary history.” But she also says below: “I have found ‘viable’ businessman heroes in the work of several major authors as well as a growing tendency among our recent writers to treat the businessman with compassion, understanding, and even admiration.” Watts also refers to how “by the post-1945 period, the American writer was distinguishing between corporate and private capitalism.” The former was the subject of numerous attacks in fictional literature; the latter was treated with more consideration⁹.

Meanwhile, WESTBROOK (1980, 96) asserts that “progressive complaints against the abuses of capitalism rose in volume in the first decade of the 1900s (...). Wall Street, the symbolic heart of American capitalism, stood out in these novels as a specific target of attack”.

5. MONOGRAPHS

Outside the field of labour relations and business people, literary criticism and literary historians as a whole have also addressed other issues in which highlight the relationship between economy and literature. These matters include, for example, railways, farming sector, economic crises, bankruptcies, and so on.

The representation of railway sector in literature can be analyzed, for instance, in ATHILL (1961); BRIGHTFIELD (1962); and STEIG (1971). ATHILL (1961, 130) compares Dicken’s description of the railway in *Dombey and Son* with *Rain, Steam and Speed*, the painting by Turner. He says that “both painting and novel salute the beginning of a new epoch.” In turn, BRIGHTFIELD (1962) presents a comprehensive anthology of excerpts relating to railways, gathered from novels published in England between 1840 and 1870. Meanwhile, STEIG (1971) analyzes the term ‘Stag’, used by Dickens in the world of railways.

For their part, some aspects of the agricultural sector reflected in literature are included, for example, in DeGREGORI (1979), where several ideas on property in land that have been put forward in great works of literature are explored; or in WILLIAMS, M. (1972), where Thomas Hardy’s rural England is studied. While, in CONLOGUE (2001) the topic of analysis is American modernization of rural sector according to literature.

The theme of the economic crises thorough the literature is studied, for example, in RUSSELL (1981), particularly the crisis of 1825 and the speculative mania. The subject of bankruptcy in the Victorian novel is reviewed in WEISS (1986). And the various crises in the American economy as seen through the prism of literature are

⁹ Chapter 13 of Watts’s essay is entitled: *The Businessman as Hero*. This is a title that sometimes appears in the literature on the subject of fictional business people. As we already know, also one chapter in McVEAGH (1981) is entitled *The Merchant as Hero (1700-1750)*. A very similar title is found in VAN CLEVE (1986), specifically Chapter 5, entitled *The Merchant as Hero: Lessing*, where the representation of German business person in the eighteenth century is analyzed. And also SMITH (1964) is entitled: “The Search for a Capitalist Hero.”

presented in ZIMMERMAN (2006). While DUKORE (1980) analyzes the role of money in the works of several writers¹⁰.

In terms of authors, Shakespeare, of course, is among the most studied. As far back as 1931 was published FARNAM's essay, entitled *Shakespeare's Economics*. Dickens is also undoubtedly another author who is devoted attention. For instance in: ATHILL (1961); BROWN (1982); HOUSTON (1994); KLAVER (1993); RUSSELL (1981); SMITH (1968); STEIG (1971); WALSH (1993) and WEISS (1982).

For example, BROWN (1982, 167) considers that: "What the novels reveal about the way in which the new industrial economic relations and social institutions permeate the quality of everyday social life, and colour the general experience, makes Dickens the most modern and relevant of the great nineteenth-century English realists." And SMITH (1968, 212) argues that "Dickens did achieve the social awareness that differentiates him so markedly from his contemporaries."

The works of the nineteenth century utilitarian writer, Harriet Martineau has also been the subject of extensive studies; for example those of FLETCHER (1974); FREEDGOOD (1999); HIGHFILL and WEBWE, (1991); and O'DONELL (1983) and (1989)¹¹.

In terms of specific works, among those which are getting more dedication from the academics who study economic literature are the following:

Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, studied, among others, by DRAPER (1935) and KISH-GOODLING (1998). *Don Quixote* by Cervantes is studied by JOHNSON (2000). *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift, studied by BARLETT (1992) and FERNANDES (2001). *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe, reviewed by NOVAK (1962). Goethe's *Fausto* by BINSWANGER (1994) and DARITY (1999). Mark Twain's *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* by BIDDLE (1985) and SCAHILL (1998). Meanwhile, *The Wizard of Oz*, by L. F. Baum, has led to an academic debate about its potential consideration as a monetary allegory in the United States. And *Animal Farm*, by G. Orwell, is other work traditionally referenced by the academic world because of its relations with the economy; such is the case, for example, of HAMLEN (2000) and ROBACK (1985).

6. CULTURAL STUDIES

Another form of interaction between literature and economy has resulted from the so-called *Cultural Studies*, which deal with the implications of the various fields of culture (not only literature) in historical processes of social change. This interdisciplinary field analyzes, for example, the social and political context of the culture, the culture in its relation to power, or the relationship between ideology and culture.

This intellectual trend develops from the 1960s, especially from Birmingham, and thereafter its influence would be noticeable for several decades in various European countries as well as in North America. In Europe, Cultural Studies would remain for a time very close to Marxism and cultural materialism, using Marxist methods of

¹⁰ In turn, the history of economic thought in literature is discussed, for example, in PERDICES DE BLAS and SANTOS REDONDO (2006) for the case of Spain; and in SCHEFOLD (1994) for Germany.

¹¹ For other authors, for example, the fiction of American W.D. Howells in his relationship with the financial world has been studied by TAYLOR (1930) (1932) and (1942). While Th. Dreiser's financial novels have been analyzed by MILLGATE (1961). Among the non-Anglo-Saxon writers, the French Émile Zola, whom I consider "a gold mine" for the economic history, deserves, in my opinion, more attention by historians of economic literature.

analysis, by studying the relationships between superstructure (cultural aspects) and the political economy. In America, however, Cultural Studies will develop in a more plural way.

Among the major pioneers of this intellectual movement in Europe are academicians from various fields, including Richard Hoggard, E. P. Thompson, Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams. The latter broadly devoted to literature in the 1970s and 1980s. As regards the relationship between literature and economy, Williams wrote an influential theoretical study entitled *Marxism and Literature* (1977)¹². But mostly he concerns us here for other works not as theoretical, such as *The English novel from Dickens to Lawrence* (1984 [1970]) or *The Country and the City* (1993 [1973]). Among other aspects, in both books relates to the historical and sociological difference between town and city analyzed under the literary point of view, referring to “the rhetorical contrast between town and country” (WILLIAMS, R., 1993, 46 [1973]). He also scans the frequent references to poetically considered rural old-good times, the ideas of “happier past” and “mystification of the land and the estate”. In his essays on the rural world he studies romantic poets such as Goldsmith, Wordsworth or Shelley, in their links with rural environment and agricultural modernization. These poets generally offer an image of “combination of protest and nostalgia” (WILLIAMS, R. (1993, 40, 46, 76 [1973]).

Williams also notes the changing country reflected in the narratives of emblematic writers dealing with the rural world, such as George Eliot and Thomas Hardy. And he says: “The profound disturbances that Hardy records cannot then be seen in the sentimental terms of a pastoral” (WILLIAMS, R. 1984, 115 [1970]).

He observes, on the other hand, the impersonal image of the city, the perception of the large urban centers as an anonymous environment. Williams uses for this observation both the opinion of poets and the opinion of novelists as Dickens and Gissing. He says about Dickens in relation to the city: “Most English novels before Dickens are centred in rural communities (...) he has to find strength and basis in an alternative tradition: in the popular culture of urban industrial society” (WILLIAMS, R. (1984, 17 [1970]).

An academician who might be considered halfway between the field of Cultural Studies and the subsequent *New Economic Criticism* is I. WEBB. In his work, *From Custom to Capital. The English Novel and the Industrial Revolution* (1981), WEBB analyzes the connections between the industrial revolution and the ideas and values of the people, in the context of the transition “from an agrarian to an industrial nation: from custom to capital”. He also develops a Marxist analysis in his approach to establish correspondences between elements of social attitudes and the forms of fiction. Webb argues that the novel is “a vital practice in the broader response in consciousness to the Industrial Revolution” (WEBB, 1981, 213).

7. THE NEW ECONOMIC CRITICISM

The New Economic Criticism is another academic trend that also emphasizes on the links between economy and literature. Emerged in the United States in the late 1970s, this intellectual movement focuses on aspects such as the symbolism of money, the rhetoric of economic discourse, or the relation between linguistic and economic systems.

¹² WILLIAMS (1977) discusses fundamental concepts such as culture, language, literature and ideology. The essay also relates to Marxist theory in its relation to literature.

Its scientific production is really quite prolific in recent decades. Examples of this are, among others, AMARIGLIO; CHILDERS and CULLENBERG (eds.) (2009); AMARIGLIO, CULLENBERG and RUCCIO (eds.) (2001); GOUX (1994); HEINZELMAN (1980); HENDERSON (1995); McLAUGHLIN (1995); MICHAELS (1987); MILLER (1995); NUNOKAWA (1994); OSTEEN and WOODMANSEE (1999); PURDY (ed.) (1993); VERNON (1984); WICKE (1988); and WOODMANSEE and OSTEEN (eds.) (1999).

OSTEEN and WOODMANSEE (1999) offer an historical introduction of the New Economic Criticism. They explain how in this context of relations among literature, culture and economics, the first wave of this movement, which appeared during the late 1970s and early 1980s, has given way to a second wave, when in the mid 90s took place the merger between two research lines. On the one hand, the linguists in favour of “an emerging body of literary and cultural criticism founded upon economic paradigms, models and tropes”; and, on the other hand, the economists who “attempts to use literary and rhetorical methods to unveil the discipline’s buried metaphors and fictions” (OSTEEN and WOODMANSEE, 1999, 3).

Important forerunners in this academic movement have been D. McCLOSKEY, with her highly influential work *The Rhetoric of Economics* (1985), and M. SHELL (1978) in his innovative studies *The Economy of Literature* (1978), and *Money, Language and Thought* (1982). McCLOSKEY (1985) sets out the idea that the speech of economists is made up of rhetorical and literary devices¹³. In turn, SHELL, M. (1978, 7, 152) argues that “literary works are composed of small tropic exchanges or metaphors, some of which can be analyzed in terms of signified economic content and all of which can be analyzed in terms of economic form (...) The economy of literature seeks to understand the relationship between literary exchanges and the exchanges that constitute a political economy”. Likewise, SHELL (1982) also expounds the idea that money is a system of tropes and an internal participant in the organization of language.

8. LITERATURE AS A TOOL FOR TEACHING ECONOMIC HISTORY

Another aspect, finally, also related to literature and the economy is made up of works devoted to providing the educational and pedagogical aspect of literature as a tool for teaching economics. In this respect, once again, there are increasingly important achievements in the field of economy as a whole; but very few still in the field of economic history in particular. For this reason, we use here primarily the work done by economists interested in making use of literature as an auxiliary tool in the daily practice of the university classroom when teaching economics.

There are, among others, the works of BRAWER (1998); BREIT and ELZINGA (2002); DIGHE (2007); HANSEN (2002); HARTLEY (2001); KISH-GOODLING (1998); O’DONELL (1983) and (1989); PERSLTEIN, R. (1995); and (1989); SCAHILL (1998); STOCKWELL and TENGER, Z. (2001); and, especially WATTS, M. (1999) (2002) (2003) (2004a) (2004b) and WATTS, M. and SMITH (1989).

¹³ McCLOSKEY (1992) advocates for breaking the dichotomy separating letters and the economy. And she calls for greater humility and recognition from the literature and the arts on economic and daily professional activity. She says: “It is hurtful for the nine of ten adults who work in home, office, or factory to be told their main occupation is beyond the reach of poetry and fiction. No wonder they turn to other sources of lyric and myth, to rock music and country, the TV soaps and the National Football League. The literary people keep telling them that what they do is ‘alienating’ and that the only real living happens in leisure time and in libraries”.

The issues addressed by economists in this field are very different. For example: BADARACCO (2006) refers to the concept of leadership analyzed through literature. BRAWER (1998, 223) relates some aspects of daily management of the companies with certain passages of literary texts. And he says that “the fictions of business prompt us to examine and to reexamine the values, biases, and preconceptions that underline the tasks we undertake as professional managers.” BREIT and ELZINGA (2002, 368) argue that “almost all good economic analysis is structured like classical detective fiction.” While O’DONELL (1989) asserts that as far back as between 1832 and 1834, the novelist Harriet Martineau showed that fictional narrative was valid to help popularize economics, and to explain principles of economics in an easier way.

Other scholars discuss the potential advantages of a particular work as teaching materials. Such is the case of KISH-GOODLING (1998), who states that the reading of Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* provides an interesting way for an interdisciplinary interpretation of the modern concept of interest. The question had already aroused interest some decades earlier in DRAPER (1935). Similar is also the case of SCAHILL (1998) in relation to Mark Twain’s story *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur’s Court*, which is considered adequate to explain the concept of real wages.

The academic discussion about the conception or not of L. F. Baum’s story, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* as an allegory of the monetarist debate in the United States in the late nineteenth century, also extends to the use of literature as a pedagogical tool for teaching economy. There are, as we know, academics positioned both for and against if Baum’s intention, when writing the story, was to write a fable of the debate on bimetallism. But in what appears to be greater consensus is regarding *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* as an interesting and valid teaching tool. A significant number of scholars have analyzed the topic, including: DIGHE (2007); HANSEN (2002); LITTLEFIELD (1964); PARKER (1994); RITTER (1997); ROCKOFF (1990) and ZIAUKAS (1998).

Other scholars show in their essays the practical lessons they have made using literature as teaching material. This is the case, for example, of HARTLEY (2001) and STOCKWELL and TENGER (2001).

As mentioned above, Michael Watts is one of the academicians who more effort has devoted to spread the virtues of the interaction between literature and economy from an educational point of view. In WATTS (2004a) we read that the biggest advantages of using literature to the economist come from the field of didactics. But always –the author clarifies–, using literature as a supplementary material. A similar concept is expounds in WATTS (2004b): “the literary passages provide a vivid introduction to the topics for students, which then serves as a common set of material that can be discussed or referred to in class discussions or other assignments”. However, “the literary and economic approaches are, or at least can be, complements, not substitutes”. And, in *Introduction* to WATTS (2003) we read: “Literary works often describe human behaviour and motivations more eloquently, powerfully, or humorously than economist typically do, even when dealing with economic subjects (...) Literature is therefore a rich resource to economists as writers and researchers”.

9. BIBLIOGRAPHY

9.1. Introduction

AYDELOTTE, William O. (1948). “The England of Marx and Mill as reflected in fiction.” *Journal of Economic History, supplement 8, The Tasks of Economic History*, 42-58.

- BRANDIS, Royall (1961). "The American Writer Views the American Businessman." *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business* 1 (3), 29-38.
- CAZAMIAN, Louis (1973). *The Social Novel in England. 1830-1850* (trans. Martin Fido), London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Original edition: (1903). *Le Roman social en Angleterre*.
- DeGREGORI, Thomas. R. (1979). "In perpetuity: Some reflections on literary views of land and other forms of property." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 38 (3) July: 225-236.
- McKENDRICK, Neil (1886). "'Gentleman and Players' revisited: the gentlemanly ideal, the business ideal and the professional ideal in English literary culture." In N. McKendrick and R. B. Outhwaite (eds), *Business Life & Public Policy. Essays in honour of D. C. Coleman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 98-136.
- RUSSELL, Norman (1986). *The Novelist and Mammon: Literary Responses to the World of Commerce in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- WILLIAMS, Raymond (1984). *The English Novel from Dickens to Lawrence*. London: The Hogarth Press (1st edition 1970).

9.2. The representation of the economy in literature

- CARNALL, Geoffrey (2000). "Early Nineteenth Century: Birmingham - 'Something Direful in the Sound'." In A. Pollard (ed). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 35- 64.
- WILLIAMS, Raymond (1984). *The English novel from Dickens to Lawrence*. London: The Hogarth Press. (1st edn 1970).
- _____ (1993). *The Country and the City*. London: The Hogarth Press (1st edn 1973).

9.3. Labour Relations and Literature

- AYDELOTTE, William O. (1948). "The England of Marx and Mill as reflected in fiction." *Journal of Economic History, supplement 8, The Tasks of Economic History*, 42-58.
- BIGELOW, Gordon (2003). *Fiction, Famine, and the Rise of Economics in Victorian Britain and Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- BLAKE, Fay M. (1972) *The Strike in the American Novel*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press.
- CAZAMIAN, Louis (1973). *The Social Novel in England 1830-1850*. (Trans. Martin Fido). London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Original edition: (1903) *Le Roman social en Angleterre*.
- GALLAGHER, Catherine (1985). *The Industrial Reformation of English Fiction. 1832-1867*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HAPKE, L. (1995). *Daughters of the Great Depression: Women, Work, and Fiction in the American 1930s*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press.
- HICKS, Granville et al (eds) (1935). *Proletarian Literature in the United States: An Anthology*. New York: International Publishers.
- JEFFERSON, M. (1972). "Industrialization and poverty: In fact and fiction". In *The long debate on poverty* . London: Institute of Economic Affairs.
- KEATING, P. J. (ed) (1971a). *Working-class Stories of the 1890s*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- _____ (1971b). *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- RIDEOUT, Walter B. (1956). *The Radical Novel in the United States, 1900-1954: Some Interrelations of Literature and Society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- SMITH, Sheila M. (1980). *The Other Nation: The Poor in English Novels of the 1840s and 1850s*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- VICINUS, Martha (1974). *The Industrial Muse: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Literature*. London: Croom Helm.

9.4. The Company and the Business People as seen by the Literature

- ALLENDE, Fermín (2009). "Poor Thomas Buddenbrook! Family Business in Literature". *Business and Economic History On-Line*, 7.
- BRANDIS, Royall (1961). "The American Writer Views the American Businessman." *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business* 1 (3), 29-38.
- BURDEN, Charles, et al, (1977). *Business in Literature*. New York: David McKay.
- BURGUM, Edwin Berry (1947). *The Novel and the World's Dilemma*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- CARNALL, Geoffrey (2000). "Early Nineteenth Century: Birmingham - 'Something Direful in the Sound'." In A. Pollard (ed). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 35- 64.
- CHAMBERLAIN, John (1948). "The Businessman in Fiction." *Fortune*, 38 (November), 134-48.
- COLEMAN, Donald. C. (1972). *What Has Happened to Economic History?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DeMOTT, Benjamin (1989). "Reading fiction to the bottom line." *Harvard Business Review* 67, (May/June), 128-134.
- EASSON, Angus (2000). "The High Victorian Period (1850-1900): 'The Worship of Mammon'." In A. Pollard (ed). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*, London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 65-97.
- FIENBERG, Lorne (1988). *A Cuckoo in the Nest of Culture: Changing Perspectives on the Businessman in American Novel, 1865-1914*. New York: Garland.
- GEORGI, Charlotte (1959). *The Businessman in the Novel*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Library.
- GILMOUR, Robin (1981). *The Idea of the Gentleman in the Victorian Novel*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- HALSEY, Van R. (1959). "Fiction and the Businessman: Society Through all its Literature." *American Quarterly*. 11 (3) (Autumn), 391-402.
- HORNER, Carl S. (1992). *The Boy Inside the American Businessman. Corporate Darwinism in Twentieth-Century American Literature*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- KAVESH, Robert. A. (1955). *Businessmen in Fiction: The Capitalist and Executive in American Novels*. Hanover, New Hampshire: Amos Tuck School, Dartmouth College.
- LYNN, Kenneth S. (1956). "Authors in Search of the Businessman." *Harvard Business Review*, September-October, 116-124.
- McKENDRICK, Neil (1978). "Literary Luddism and the Businessman." General Introduction to P. N. Davies, *Sir Alfred Jones, Shipping Entrepreneur Par Excellence*. London, 1978, ix-lvi.

- _____ (1979). "The Enemies of Technology and the Self-Made Man." General Introduction to Roy Church, *Herbert Austin, The British Motor Car Industry to 1941*. London, ix-1.
- _____ (1986). "Gentleman and Players' revisited: the gentlemanly ideal, the business ideal and the professional ideal in English literary culture." In N. McKendrick and R. B. Outjwaite (eds), *Business Life & Public Policy. Essays in honour of D. C. Coleman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 98-136.
- McTAGUE, Michael J. (1979). *The Businessman in Literature: Dante to Melville*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- McVEAGH, John. (1981). *Tradefull Merchants: The Portrayal of the Capitalist in Literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- MELADA, I. (1970). *The Captain of British Industry in English Fiction. 1821-1871*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. (1st edn 1955)
- MORRIS, John (2000). "Mid-Late Twentieth-Century: 'An Unprecedented Moral Quagmire'." In A. Pollard (ed). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 137-182.
- POLLARD, Arthur (ed.) (2000). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs.
- _____ (2000). "Introduction." In A. Pollard (ed) 2000. *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 1-6.
- RAVEN, James (1989). "British History and the Enterprise Culture." *Past and Present* 123, 178-204.
- RUSSELL, Norman (1986). *The Novelist and Mammon: Literary Responses to the World of Commerce in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- SIMMONS, Allan (2000). "The Early Twentieth Century: Uniformity, Drudgery and Economics." In A. Pollard (ed). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 99-134.
- SMITH, Henry Nash (1964). "The Search for a Capitalist Hero. Businessman in American Fiction." In Earl F. Cheit (ed), *The Business Establishment*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 77-112.
- SPECK, W.A. (2000). "Eighteenth-Century Attitudes Towards Business." In A. POLLARD (ed). *The Representation of Business in English Literature*. London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 9-33.
- STEVENSON, Laura Caroline (1984). *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- STONEX, A. B. (1916). "The Usurer in Elizabethan Drama." *PMLA* 31.
- VAN CLEVE, John Walter (1986). *The Merchant in German Literature of the Enlightenment*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press.
- VAN NOSTRAND, Albert. D. (1959). "Fiction's Flagging Man of Commerce." *The English Journal* 48 (January).
- WATTS, Emily Stipes (1982). *The Businessman in American Literature*. Athens, Georgia: The University of Georgia Press.
- WATTS, Michael (2003). *The Literary Book of Economics. Literary Passages on Economic Concepts, Issues, and Themes*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books.
- WESTBROOK, Wayne W. (1980). *Wall Street in the American Novel*. New York: New York University Press.
- WIENER, M. J. (1981). *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

WINTER, J.M. (1986). "Bernard Shaw, Bertold Brecht and the Businessman in Literature." In N. McKendrick and R.B. Outjwaite, (eds), *Business Life and Public Policy: Essays in Honor of D. C. Coleman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 185-204.

9.5. Monographs

- ATHILL, Robin (1961). "Dickens and the Railway." *English* 13, 130-5.
- BARLETT, B. (1992). "Jonathan Swift: Father or supply-side economics?" *History of Political Economy* 24 (3), 745-748.
- BIDDLE, J.E. (1985). "Veblen, Twain, and the Connecticut Yankee: A note." *History of Political Economy* 17 (1), 97-107.
- BINSWANGER, Hans Christoph (1994). "Money and magic: A critique of the modern economy in the light of Goethe's Faust." Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- BRIGHTFIELD, Myron F. (1962). "The coming of the railroad to early Victorian England, as viewed by novels of the period (1840-1870)." *Technology and Culture* 3, 45-72.
- BROWN, James. M. (1982). *Dickens: Novelist in the Market-Place*. Totowa, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books.
- CONLOGUE, William (2001). *Working the Garden: American Writers and the Industrialization of Agriculture*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- DeGREGORI, Thomas.R. (1979). "In perpetuity: Some reflections on literary views of land and other forms of property." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 38 (3) July, 225-236.
- DARITY, W. Jr. (1999). "Review of Money and magic: A critique of the modern economy in light of Goethe's Faust by Hans Christoph Binswanger." *History of Political Economy* 31 (Spring), 207-209.
- DRAPER, J.W. (1935). "Usury in *The Merchant of Venice*." *Modern Philology* n° 33, 37-47.
- DUKORE, B. F. (1980). *Money and Politics in Ibsen, Shaw, and Brecht*. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press.
- FARNAM, Henry.W. (1931). *Shakespeare's Economics*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. (New edition (1978), Philadelphia, PA: R West).
- FERNANDES, Marcelo (2001). "Economics and Literature: An Examination of Gulliver's Travels." *Journal of Economic Studies* 28 (2-3), 92-105.
- FLETCHER, M.E. (1974). "Harriet Martineau and Ayn Rand: Economics in the guise of fiction." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 33 (3), 367-379.
- FREEDGOOD, Elaine (1999). "Banishing Panic: Harriet Martineau and the popularization of political economy." In M. Woodmansee and M. Osteen, *The New Economic Criticism*. London and New York: Routledge.
- HAMLEN, W.A., Jr. (2000). "The Economics of Animal Farm." *Southern Economic Journal* 66 (April), 942-56.
- HIGHFILL, J.K. and W.V. WEBWE (1991). "Harriet Martineau: An economic view of Victorian arts and letters." *Journal of Cultural Economics* 15 (1), 85-92.
- HOUSTON, Gail Turley (1994). *Consuming Fictions: Gender, Class, and Hunger in Dickens's Novels*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- JOHNSON, Carroll B. (2000). *Cervantes and the material world*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

- KISH-GOODLING, Donna M. (1998). "Using The Merchant of Venice in Teaching Monetary Economics." *Journal of Economic Education* 29, (4), 330-339.
- KLAVER, Claudia (1993). "Revaluing Money: Dombey and Son's Moral Critique." In *Literature and Money*. Ed. A. Purdy. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 105-36.
- MILLGATE, Michael (1961). "Theodore Dreiser and the American Financier." *SA VII*, 133-145.
- NOVAK, Maximillian (1962). *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press.
- O'DONELL, Margareth G. (1983). "Harriet Martineau: A popular early economics educator." *Journal of Economic Education* 4 (fall), 59-64.
- ____ (1989). "A Historical Note on the Use of Fiction to Teach Principles of Economics." *Journal of Economic Education* 20 (3), 314-320.
- PERDICES DE BLAS, L. y SANTOS REDONDO, M. Coords. (2006). *Economía y Literatura*. Madrid: Ecobook.
- ROBACK, J. (1985). "The economic thought of George Orwell." *American Economic Review* 75 (2), 127-132.
- RUSSELL, Norman (1981), "Nicholas Nickleby and the Commercial Crisis of 1825." *The Dickensian*, 77, 144-50.
- SCAHILL, E. M. (1998). "A Connecticut Yankee in Estonia." *Journal of Economic Education* 29, 340-346.
- SCHEFOLD, B. (1994). "The revival of economic thought in Germany. *The Dogmenhistorischer Ausschuss*." *History of Political Economy* 26 (2), 327-335.
- SMITH, Grahame (1968). *Dickens, Money and Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- STEIG, Michael (1971). "Dombey and Son and the Railway Panic of 1845." *The Dickensian*, 67, 145-8.
- TAYLOR, Walter Fuller (1930). "On the Origin of Howells' Interest in Economic Reform." *AL*, II, 3-14.
- ____ (1932). "William Dean Howells and the Economic Novel." *AL*, IV, 103-113.
- ____ (1942). *The Economic Novel in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press (repr. New York, 1973)
- WALSH, Susan (1993). "Bodies of Capital: Great Expectations and the Climateric Economy." *Victorian Studies* 37 (3), 73-98.
- WEISS, Barbara (1982). "Secret Pockets and Secret Breasts: *Little Dorrit* and the Commercial Scandals of the Fifties." *Dickens Studies Annual* 10, 67-76.
- WEISS, Barbara (1986). *The Hell of the English: Bankruptcy and the Victorian Novel*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press.
- WILLIAMS, Merryn (1972). *Thomas Hardy and Rural England*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- ZIMMERMAN, David A. (2006). *Panic!: Markets, Crises, and Crowds in American Fiction*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

9.6. Cultural Studies

- WEBB, Igor (1981). *From Custom to Capital. The English Novel and the Industrial Revolution*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- WILLIAMS, Raymond (1984), *The English novel from Dickens to Lawrence*. London: The Hogarth press. (1st edn 1970).
- ____ 1993, *The Country and the City*. London: The Hogarth Press. (1st edn 1973)
- ____ (1977). *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford University Press.

9.7. The New Economic Criticism

- AMARIGLIO, Jack; CHILDERS, Joseph W. and CULLENBERG, Stephen (eds) (2009). *Sublime Economy: On the intersection of art and economics*. New York: Routledge.
- AMARIGLIO, Jack, CULLENBERG, Stephen and RUCCIO, David F. (eds), (2001). *Postmodernism, Economics and Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
- GOUX, Jean-Joseph (1994). *The Coiners of Language*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- HEINZELMAN, Kurt (1980). *The Economics of the Imagination*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- HENDERSON, Willie (1995). *Economics as literature*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McCLOSKEY, Deirdre (1985). *The Rhetoric of Economics*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- ____ (1992). "Reading the Economy." *Humane Studies Review* 7 (2) Spring.
- McLAUGHLIN, Kevin (1995). *Writing in Parts: Imitation and Exchange in Nineteenth-Century Literature*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- MICHAELS, Walter Benn (1987). *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism: American Literature at the Turn of the Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- MILLER, Andrew H. (1995). *Novels Behind Glass: Commodity Culture and Victorian Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- NUNOKAWA, Jeff (1994). *The Afterlife of Property: Domestic Security and the Victorian Novel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- OSTEEN, Mark and WOODMANSEE, Martha (1999). "Taking Account of the New Economic Criticism. An historical Introduction." In M. WOODMANSEE and M. OSTEEN (eds) *The New Economic Criticism: Studies at the Intersection of Literature and Economics*. London and New York: Routledge, 3-50.
- PURDY, Anthony, ed. (1993). *Literature and Money*. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi.
- SHELL, Marc (1978). *The Economy of Literature*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- ____ (1982). *Money, Language and Thought. Literary and Philosophic Economics from the Medieval to the Modern Era*. University of California Press.
- VERNON, John (1984). *Money and Fiction: Literary Realism in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- WICKE, Jennifer A. (1988). *Advertising Fictions: Literature, Advertisement, and Social Reading*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- WOODMANSEE, Marta and Mark OSTEEN, eds. (1999). *The New Economic Criticism: Studies at the Intersection of Literature and Economics*. London and New York: Routledge

9.8. Literature as a Tool for Teaching Economic History

- BADARACCO, Joseph, L. (2006). *Questions of Character: Illuminating the Heart of Leadership Through Literature*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- BRAWER, Robert, A. (1998). *Fictions of Business. Insights on Management from Great Literature*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- BREIT, William and ELZINGA, Kenneth G. (2002). "Economics as Detective Fiction." *Journal of Economic Education* 33 (4), 367-376.

- DIGHE, Ranjit S. (2007). "The Fable of the Allegory: The Wizard of Oz in Economics: Comment." *Journal of Economic Education* 38 (3), 318-24.
- DRAPER, J. W. (1935). "Usury in the Merchant of Venice." *Modern Philology* 33, 37-47.
- HANSEN, Bradley A. (2002). "The Fable of the Allegory: The Wizard of Oz in Economics." *Journal of Economic Education* 33 (3), 254-264.
- HARTLEY, James E. (2001). "The Great Books and Economics." *Journal of Economic Education* 31 (2), 147-159.
- KISH-GOODLING, Donna M. (1998). "Using the Merchant of Venice in Teaching Monetary Economics." *Journal of Economic Education* 29 (4), 330-339.
- LITTLEFIELD, Henry M. (1964). "The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism." *American Quarterly* 16 (1), 47-58.
- O'DONNELL, Margaret G. (1983). "Harriet Martineau: A popular early economics educator." *Journal of Economic Education* 4, 59-64.
- _____. (1989). "A Historical Note on the Use of Fiction to Teach Principles of Economics." *Journal of Economic Education* 20 (3), 314-320.
- PARKER, D. (1994). "The rise and fall of The Wonderful Wizard of Oz as a 'parable of populism'." *Journal of the Georgia Association of Historians* 15, 49-63.
- PERLSTEIN, R. (1995). "Breakthrough books: The Market." *Lingua Franca* (July/August), 12-3.
- RITTER, G. (1997). "Silver slippers and a golden cap: L. Frank Baum's The Wonderful Wizard of Oz and historical meaning in American politics." *Journal of American Studies* 31 (2), 171-202.
- ROCKOFF, H. (1990). "The Wizard of Oz as a Monetary allegory." *Journal of Political Economy*, 98, 739-60.
- SCAHILL, E. M. (1998). "A Connecticut Yankee in Estonia." *Journal of Economic Education* 29, 340-346.
- STOCKWELL, W.B. and TENGER, Z. (2001). "Using Economics and Literature to Understand Changing Perceptions About the Individual's Relation to Society." *Journal of Private Enterprise* 16 (2), 46-55.
- WATTS, Michael (1999). "Using literature and drama in undergraduate economics courses." In W.E. Becker and M. Watts (eds) *Teaching economics to undergraduates: Alternatives to chalk and talk*. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 185-207.
- _____. (2002). "How Economists Use literature and Drama." *Journal of Economic Education* 33 (4), 377-86.
- _____. (2003). *The Literary Book of Economics. Literary Passages on Economic Concepts, Issues, and Themes*. Wilmington, DE: ISI Books.
- _____. (2004a). "Economic Insights From and About Literature, Drama, and Literary Criticism." (Working paper).
- _____. (2004b). "Passages on Entrepreneurship and the Economic Role of Government from Literature and Drama: A Common Resource." (Working paper).
- WATTS, Michael and SMITH, Robert F. (1989). "Economics in Literature and Drama." *Journal of Economic Education* 20 (3), 291-307.
- ZIAUKAS, Tim (1998). "Baum's Wizard of Oz as gilded age public relations." *Public Relations Quarterly* 43 (3): 7-11.

APPENDIX

LITERARY WORKS DEALING WITH SEVERAL ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC HISTORY

(Some of the works here referred might contain only some chapters related to economic matters)

Agricultural topic

Autor	Title	Date of the first edition	Country
ELIOT, G.	<i>Middlemarch</i>	1871-2	UK
GOLDSMITH, O.	<i>The Deserted Village</i>	1770	UK
HARDY, Th.	<i>Far from the Madding Crowd</i>	1874	UK
HARDY, Th.	<i>The Major of Casterbridge</i>	1886	UK
HARDY, Th.	<i>The Woodlanders</i>	1887	UK
HARDY, Th.	<i>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</i>	1891	UK
KINGSLEY, Ch.	<i>Yeast</i>	1848	UK
NORRIS, F.	<i>The Octopus</i>	1901	USA
NORRIS, F.	<i>The Pit: A Story of Chicago</i>	1903	USA
STEINBECK, J.	<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	1939	USA
SWIFT, J.	<i>Gulliver's Travels</i>	1726	UK
WORDSWORTH, W.	<i>Lyrical Ballads</i>	1798	UK
ZOLA, É.	<i>La Terre</i>	1887	France

Mining

BLASCO IBÁÑEZ, V.	<i>El Intruso</i>	1904	Spain
LAWRENCE, D. H.	<i>Sons and Lovers</i>	1913	UK
LAWRENCE, D. H.	<i>The Rainbow</i>	1915	UK
LAWRENCE, D. H.	<i>Women in Love</i>	1920	UK
PALACIO VALDÉS, A.	<i>La Aldea Perdida</i>	1903	Spain
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>King Coal</i>	1917	USA
ZOLA, É.	<i>Germinal</i>	1885	France

Iron and Steel Industry

BLASCO IBÁÑEZ, V.	<i>El Intruso</i>	1904	Spain
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>The Jungle</i>	1906	USA
ZOLA, E.	<i>L'Assommoir</i>	1877	France
ZOLA, E.	<i>Travail</i>	1901	France

Textile Industry

AGUSTÍ, I.	<i>Mariona Rebull</i>	1944	Spain
BRONTË, Ch.	<i>Shirley</i>	1849	UK
DISRAELI, B.	<i>Sybil</i>	1845	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>Mary Barton</i>	1848	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>North and South</i>	1855	UK

Railway

ALAS CLARÍN, L.	<i>¡Adiós “Cordera”!</i>	1893	Spain
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Dombey and Son</i>	1846	U K
ELIOT, G.	<i>Middlemarch</i>	1871	UK
KIPLING, R.	<i>Captains Courageous</i>	1897	UK
NORRIS, F.	<i>The Octopus</i>	1901	USA
PALACIO VALDÉS, A.	<i>La Aldea Perdida</i>	1903	Spain
TROLLOPE, A.	<i>The Way We Live Now</i>	1875	UK
TWAIN, M. and WARNER, C. D.	<i>The Gilded Age</i>	1873	USA
VERNE, J.	<i>Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours</i>	1873	France
ZOLA, É.	<i>La Bête Humaine</i>	1890	France

The beginnings of the automobile

FORSTER, E. M.	<i>Howards End</i>	1910	UK
PROUST, M.	<i>À la recherche du temps perdu. 4. Sodome et Gomorrhe</i>	1922	France
PROUST, M.	<i>À la recherche du temps perdu. 5. La prisonnière</i>	1925	France

Sailing and steam navigation

BAROJA, P.	<i>Las Inquietudes de Shanti Andía</i>	1911	Spain
COLCORD, L.	<i>The Drifting Diamond</i>	1912	USA
CONRAD, J.	<i>An Outcast of the Islands</i>	1896	UK
CONRAD, J.	<i>The Nigger of the ‘Narcissus’</i>	1897	UK
CONRAD, J.	<i>Lord Jim</i>	1900	UK
CONRAD, J.	<i>Typhoon</i>	1902	UK
CONRAD, J.	<i>The Mirror of the Sea</i>	1906	UK
CONRAD, J.	<i>The Rescue</i>	1920	UK
DANA, R. H.	<i>Two Years Before the Mast</i>	1840	USA
LONDON, J.	<i>The Sea Wolf</i>	1904	USA
LONDON, J.	<i>The Mutiny of the Elsinore</i>	1914	USA
MELVILLE, H.	<i>Moby Dick</i>	1851	USA
MELVILLE, H.	<i>Billy Budd</i>	1891	USA
O’NEILL, E.	<i>The Moon of the Caribbees and six other plays of the sea</i>	1919	USA
O’NEILL, E.	<i>The Hairy Ape</i>	1922	USA
RIESENBERG, F.	<i>Mother Sea</i>	1933	USA

Seaports

CONAN DOYLE, A.	<i>The Sign of Four</i>	1890	United Kingdom
CONRAD, J.	<i>The Mirror of the Sea</i>	1906	United Kingdom
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Great Expectations</i>	1861	United Kingdom

Aviation pioneers

PROUST, M.	<i>À la recherche du temps perdu. 4. Sodome et Gomorrhe</i>	1922	France
PROUST, M.	<i>À la recherche du temps perdu. 5. La Prisonnière</i>	1925	France

PROUST, M.	<i>À la recherche du temps perdu. 7. Le temps retrouvé</i>	1927	France
------------	--	------	--------

Commerce

BENNETT, A.	<i>The Old Wive's Tale</i>	1908	United Kingdom
MALAMUD, B.	<i>The Assistant</i>	1957	USA
PÉREZ GALDÓS, B.	<i>Fortunata y Jacinta</i>	1887	Spain
ZOLA, E.	<i>Le Ventre de Paris</i>	1873	France
ZOLA, E.	<i>Au Bonheur des Dames</i>	1883	France

Imperialism

CARY, Joyce A.	<i>Aissa Saved</i>	1932	United Kingdom
CARY, Joyce, A.	<i>The African Witch</i>	1936	United Kingdom
CARY, Joyce, A.	<i>Mister Johnson</i>	1939	United Kingdom
CONRAD, J.	<i>Almayer's Folly</i>	1895	United Kingdom
CONRAD, J.	<i>Heart of Darkness</i>	1899	United Kingdom
CONRAD, J.	<i>Lord Jim</i>	1900	United Kingdom
CONRAD, J.	<i>Nostromo</i>	1904	United Kingdom
FORSTER, E.M.	<i>Pasagge to India</i>	1924	United Kingdom
KIPLING, R.	<i>The White Man's Burden</i>	1899	United Kingdom
LONDON, J.	"The Chinago"	1909	USA
ORWELL, G.	<i>Burmese Days</i>	1934	United Kingdom

German hyperinflation of 1923

REMARQUE, E. M.	<i>The Black Obelisk</i>	1956	Germany
-----------------	--------------------------	------	---------

1929 crisis

CALDWELL, E.	<i>Tobacco Road</i>	1932	USA
MARX, G.	<i>Groucho and Me</i>	1959	USA
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>Dragon's Teeth</i>	1943	USA
STEINBECK, J.	<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	1939	USA

Company and Business People

AUCHINCLOSS, L.	<i>The Embezzler</i>	1966	USA
BALZAC, H.	<i>Eugénie Grandet</i>	1833	France
BALZAC, H.	<i>César Birotteau</i>	1837	France
BLASCO IBÁÑEZ, V.	<i>El Intruso</i>	1904	Spain
BULWER, E.	<i>Paul Clifford</i>	1830	UK
BULWER, E.	<i>The Caxtons</i>	1849	UK
CONRAD, J.	<i>Chance</i>	1914	UK
DEFOREST, J.W.	<i>Honest John Vane</i>	1875	USA
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Nicholas Nickleby</i>	1837	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>A Christmas Carol</i>	1843	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Dombey and Son</i>	1846	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Bleak House</i>	1852	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Hard Times</i>	1854	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Little Dorrit</i>	1857	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Our Mutual Friend</i>	1864	UK
DISRAELI, B.	<i>Voyage of Captain Popanilla</i>	1827	UK
DISRAELI, B.	<i>Coningsby</i>	1844	UK

DOS PASSOS	<i>Manhattan Transfer</i>	1925	USA
DREISER, Th.	<i>The Financier</i>	1912	USA
DREISER, Th.	<i>The Titan</i>	1914	USA
DREISER, Th.	<i>Hey Rub-A-Dub-Dub</i>	1920	USA
DREISER, Th.	<i>Tragic America</i>	1931	USA
DREISER, Th.	<i>The Stoic</i>	1947	USA
ELIOT, G.	<i>Middlemarch</i>	1871	UK
FAULKNER, W.	<i>The Sound and the Fury</i>	1929	USA
FAULKNER, W.	<i>The Hamlet</i>	1940	USA
FAULKNER, W.	<i>The Town</i>	1957	USA
FAULKNER, W.	<i>The Mansión</i>	1959	USA
GALSWORTHY, J.	<i>The Forsyte Saga</i>	1922	UK
GALT, J.	<i>Annals of the Parish</i>	1821	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>Mary Barton</i>	1848	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>Ruth</i>	1853	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>North and South</i>	1855	UK
GRANT, R.	<i>The Chippendales</i>	1909	USA
HAWTHORNE, N.	<i>The House of Seven Gables</i>	1851	USA
HERRICK, R.	<i>The Memoirs of an American Citizen</i>	1905	USA
HOLLAND, J.G.	<i>Sevenoaks: A Story of To-Day</i>	1882	USA
HOWELLS, W. D.	<i>The Rise of Silas Lapham</i>	1885	USA
HOWELLS, W. D.	<i>A Hazard of New Fortunes</i>	1890	USA
HOWELLS, W. D.	<i>The Quality of Mercy</i>	1892	USA
HOWELLS, W. D.	<i>The World of Chance</i>	1893	USA
IBSEN, H.	<i>Juan Gabriel Borkman</i>	1896	Norway
LAWRENCE, D. H.	<i>Women in Love</i>	1920	UK
LAWSON, Th.	<i>Friday, the Thirteenth</i>	1906	USA
LEFÈVRE, E.	<i>Wall Street Stories</i>	1901	USA
LEFÈVRE, E.	<i>The Golden Flood</i>	1905	USA
LEFÈVRE, E.	<i>Sampson Rock of Wall Street</i>	1907	USA
LEFÈVRE, E.	<i>The Plunderers</i>	1916	USA
LEFÈVRE, E.	<i>Reminiscences of a Stock Operator</i>	1923	USA
LEFÈVRE, E.	<i>The Making of a Stockbroker</i>	1925	USA
LEWIS, S.	<i>Babbitt</i>	1922	USA
LEWIS, S.	<i>The Man Who Knew Coolidge</i>	1928	USA
LEWIS, S.	<i>Dodsworth</i>	1929	USA
LONDON, J.	<i>Burning Daylight</i>	1910	USA
MANN, Th.	<i>Buddenbrooks</i>	1901	Germany
MARQUAND, J.P.	<i>The Late George Apley</i>	1937	USA
MARQUAND, J.P.	<i>Point of No Return</i>	1949	USA
MARTINEAU, H.	<i>Illustrations of Political Economy</i>	1832-4	UK
MELVILLE, H.	<i>Bartleby the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street</i>	1853	USA
MELVILLE, H.	<i>The Confidence Man: His Masquerade</i>	1857	USA
MILLER, A.	<i>All My Sons</i>	1947	USA
MILLER, A.	<i>Death of a Salesman</i>	1949	USA

NORRIS, F.	<i>"A Deal in Wheat"</i>	1903	USA
NORRIS, F.	<i>The Pit</i>	1903	USA
PAYNE, W.	<i>The Money Captain</i>	1898	USA
PAYNE, W.	<i>On Fortune 's Road</i>	1902	USA
PAYNE, W.	<i>The Automatic Capitalists</i>	1909	USA
PHILLIPS, D. G.	<i>The Cost</i>	1904	USA
PHILLIPS, D. G.	<i>The Master-Rogue.</i>	1903	USA
PHILLIPS, D.G.	<i>The Deluge</i>	1905	USA
POOLE, E.	<i>Silent Storms</i>	1927	USA
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>A Captain of Industry</i>	1906	USA
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>The Metropolis</i>	1908	USA
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>The Money-changers</i>	1908	USA
SINCLAIR, U.	<i>Oil!</i>	1927	USA
SCOTT. W.	<i>Rob Roy</i>	1817	UK
SCOTT FITZGERALD, F.	<i>The Last Tycoon</i>	1941	USA
SHAW, G. B.	<i>Major Barbara</i>	1905	UK
SWIFT, J.	<i>The South Sea Project</i>	1721	UK
TARKINGTON, B.	<i>The Plutocrat</i>	1927	USA
THACKERAY, W. M.	<i>Vanity Fair</i>	1847	UK
THACKERAY, W.M.	<i>The Great Hoggarty Diamond</i>	1849	UK
TRILLING, L.	<i>The Other Margareth</i>	1945	USA
TROLLOPE, A.	<i>The Way We Live Now</i>	1875	UK
TROLLOPE, F.	<i>Michael Armstrong</i>	1840	UK
TWAIN, M. and Ch. D. WARNER	<i>The Gilded Age</i>	1873	USA
WELLS, H. G.	<i>Tono-Bungay</i>	1909	UK
WEST, N.	<i>A Cool Million</i>	1934	USA
WHARTON, E.	<i>The House of Mirth</i>	1905	USA
ZOLA, É.	<i>Au Bonheur des Dames</i>	1883	France
ZOLA, É.	<i>L'Argent</i>	1891	France
ZOLA, É.	<i>Travail</i>	1901	France
ZUNZUNEGUI, J.A.	<i>La Quiebra</i>	1947	Spain

Labour Relations

BLASCO IBÁÑEZ, V.	<i>El Intruso</i>	1904	Spain
BRONTË, Ch.	<i>Shirley</i>	1849	UK
BYRON, Lord	<i>"Song for the Luddites" (Poetical Works)</i>	1816	UK
DICKENS, Ch.	<i>Hard Times</i>	1854	UK
DISRAELI, B.	<i>Coningsby</i>	1844	UK
DISRAELI, B.	<i>Sybil</i>	1845	UK
DISRAELI, B.	<i>Tancred</i>	1847	UK
ELIOT, G.	<i>Felix Holt the Radical</i>	1866	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>Mary Barton</i>	1848	UK
GASKELL, E.	<i>North and South</i>	1855	UK
GISSING, G.	<i>Workers in the Dawn</i>	1880	UK
GISSING, G.	<i>The Nether World</i>	1889	UK
KINGSLEY, Ch.	<i>Alton Locke</i>	1850	UK
LONDON, J.	<i>The Iron Heel</i>	1908	USA
PARDO BAZÁN, E.	<i>La Tribuna</i>	1883	Spain

SINCLAIR, U.	<i>The Jungla</i>	1906	USA
STEINBECK, J.	<i>The Grapes of Wrath</i>	1939	USA
TROLLOPE, F.	<i>Michael Armstrong. The Factory Boy</i>	1840	UK
WORDSWORTH, W.	<i>The Excursion</i>	1814	UK
ZOLA, É.	<i>Germinal</i>	1885	France
ZOLA, É.	<i>Travail</i>	1901	France