

**11-09-1714: "The End of the Catalan nation".
An International Conflict, in the Time of Gazettes
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"Three September 11th in the history of communication"

I. Introduction

Due to the terrorist attacks in USA, in September 11th of 2001, in Barcelona and others cities the official celebrations of the facts of 1714 September 11 commemorations were cancelled.

The National Day of Catalonia, September 11, is related to the facts in 1714, near three centuries ago: the end of heroic resistance of Barcelona in front of the blockage by the French and Spanish armies of the king Felipe V of Borbon. Finally, when they occupied the city, it meant "the end of the Catalan nation", as an historian puts it.

Therefore, the date of September 11th of 1714 means the last day of the old independence of Catalonia within the Aragon Crown, from the Middle Age. The Count of Barcelona had been the king of Aragon, from the XII century, as a head of composed monarchy that joined the Principality of Catalonia and the kingdoms of Aragon, Majorca and Valencia. From the end of XV century, the marriage of the Catholics Kings, Fernando of Aragon and Isabel of Castile, had joined their crowns but had still kept alive their respective independent institutions and laws until 1714. At the end of the Succession War (1702-1714) Spain was, for the first time, submitted to a united and centralised regime, according to the French model of absolute monarchy.

The day of September 11th of 1714 is, also, the starting point of political and cultural movement of the Catalan autonomy in modern and contemporary history.

This room where we have met this morning is on the line of the south wall of that old Barcelona. Near from here, in the subsoil of the old central market of Born, the rest of a quarter that had to be destroyed by their own inhabitants after the war had been found recently.

2. World powers war.

September 11th of 1714 was the end of a succession war to the Spanish crown and the victory was for the first ancestor of the present king. But this war meant, essentially, the back of an international conflict between the main world powers in the beginning of the XVIII century.

- Spanish monarchy was already a declining power, regardless that was still the biggest empire in the known world, thanks to its possessions in America, a new and still unknown continent.

- Both France and England were the growing world powers with the will to control the Spanish succession.

- When Carlos II, the last king of Austria dynasty, died, the crown passed to a niece of Louis XVI, the French "king sun", Felipe of Anjou became Felipe V of Castile and Leon and Felipe IV of Catalonia and Aragon. He called the Catalan Parliament in Barcelona (1701-1702) and got married in the frontier town of Figueres.

- England did not like that France could take control of the Spanish empire and gave his support to the aims of Carlos of Austria, little brother of the emperor, within a international coalition including Netherlands, in 1702.

- Catalonia also supported Carlos, in spite of its initial acceptance of Felipe V and the benefits earned from him.
- Carlos became suddenly emperor of Austria and Hungary, when his brother died (1711), England abandoned the war and the Catalans remained alone in front of Felipe V.
- Therefore, from July 1713 until the 11th September of 1714, Barcelona fought on its own against the Borbonic siege of the city.
- The defeat meant the end of political independence of the Catalans. Felipe V suspended the Catalan government and submitted this country to the united and centralised regime of Castile.

Succession War was also "a bloody civil conflict": people from Castile, Andalusia, Galician and Basque Country supported Felipe V; people from Catalonia, Aragon, Majorca and Valencia supported Carlos.

3. The time of gazettes

The publication of newspapers had been very irregular during 17th century, but in the early 18th there are some important novelties, in many ways related to the development of Succession war. This was the time of gazettes, official weekly newspapers with the exclusive ability to give political and military news, but not in England, where the suspension of the Licensing Act (1695) opened the door to the first development of the press in a regime of freedom of speech and print.

The different speed and intensity of the development of early press in different countries may explain the situation. From the beginning of the weekly sheets of news at 1609 -Angers, Strasbourg, Wolfenbuttel, Paris.... -, governments did not permit the publication of political and military news out of official gazettes and decided, also, to control the licenses of literary journals, as well as establishing censorship on its contents. The first sheet of news will not appear in America until 1694.

In Spain, Gaceta de Madrid was published weekly only from 1696, with a monthly precedent from 1661, according to the model of French Gazette from 1631, main hand of a powerful State press, characteristic of the Enlightenment. Germany had a great number of weekly gazettes because the local structure of political power and the city of Leipzig had bi-weekly, three-weekly, four-weekly and daily newspapers in 1660-65, always submitted to license and censorship. Their definitive abolition in 1695 gave a strong impulse to England first development of political and informative press in freedom.

The first steps of weekly gazettes in Spain were in Barcelona in 1641, more than 30 years later than in Central Europe, with translations into Catalan language of Gazette and Nouvelles ordinaires des divers endroits of Paris. At this moment, Catalonia had taken part for some years of French monarchy of Louis XIII, in occasion of Segadors war (1640-1659). Leaving aside these translation into Catalan and Spanish languages of many sheets of news from France, we know the first weekly gazette published by Jaume Romeu in Barcelona, entitled Gazeta, in June 1641, which was also a translation into Catalan of a recent number of French Gazette. This Gazeta is accepted to be the first periodical newspaper published in Catalonia and Spain .

Until September 11th of 1714, Catalonia had its own print freedom. Except for a restrictive edict in 1621 and a license established during the annexation to France from 1640, no license was necessary "to stamp books or leaflets in Catalonia, always in not religious matters, because these were under the vigilance and punishment, but not permission of license, of the Court of Inquisition, moreover of an old constitution of Catalonia banning the discussion about the truths of Catholic faith", as explained the first historian of Catalan journalism, Josep Pella i Forgas.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, Barcelona printers worked within a less regulated environment than their colleagues of Castilian cities, in which Felipe II had hardened, since 1558, the regulations of Catholic Kings, who in 1502 had considered foreigners the print sheets from Aragon Crown and Navarre. In 1542, Catalan Parliament invited "printers to print a lot of books in the Principality of Catalonia and Counties of Rosellón and Cerdaña".

Within that "Catalan freedom" of print, we know the documentary and continued existence of weekly gazettes in Barcelona, from 1684, as the three series of Noticias Generales de Europa venidas a Barcelona by the posts of Flandes, Italy and French. At that time, the main printer was Rafael Figueró, who got from Carlos III in 1706 a royal privilege to publish the official Gazeta de Barcelona, speaker of the pretender until 1712 and journal of siege and defence of Barcelona, until August 1714.

Succession war was central to the first development of Spanish press: it confirmed the adoption by Spanish Monarchy of the French gazette model of State informative press by royal privilege and monopoly. Felipe V gave a definitive impulse to Gaceta de Madrid as official weekly gazette from 1701, confirming the royal privilege to Juan de Goyeneche, according to "the King's interest to maintain the informative monopoly about political matters". Carlos III created in the same conditions the Gazeta de Barcelona, in charge of Rafael Figueró.

Interest for news from France and the England commitment in the Spanish war are related to the appearance in London of Daily Courant (1702-1738), usually considered as the first daily newspaper. Published by Samuel Buckley -"a shrewd and opportunistic entrepreneur"-, it is considered "fundamentally a gazette and contained little of the kind of material met in the journal", but presents for the first time the idea of distinction between facts and comments, so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon journalism. More progressive than the continental one, the English press is the more dynamic covering the war. In 1712, London had ten newspapers with a global number of 40.000 copies.

4. Gazeta de Barcelona and Diario del sitio de Barcelona.

Rafael Figueró was the main print office in Barcelona during the war. On the 2nd January of 1706, Figueró, father and son, got the royal privilege to publish any kind of informative editions. Carlos II recognised their services to the monarchy 40 years ago, including the first years of Felipe V, in the following terms: "as also in the time of illegitimate intrusion of de Duke of Anjou, when they made entirely demonstration of the fidelity that they have to profess to us". Like other ten printers

known in Barcelona those years, Figueró published any kind of brochures, pamphlets, folders and leaflets, but his job is remarked because their big number and the official condition they had.

Rafael Figueró -from who Pella i Forgas says as a "famous publisher of Barcelona that by his prints could be compared with the best prints in Venice and Lyon"- will publish official relations of facts and battles and the official weekly newspaper *Gazeta de Barcelona*. Probably, the historian is speaking of Figueró son -born in 1669 after the wedding of Rafael Figueró father and the daughter of the printer Jolis-, who in the young years did a long learning journey to foreign countries and incorporated a types foundry to the family business. King Carlos III conferred to both Figueró, father and son, "the title of our Royal Printer, with de faculty of print Gazettes, Political papers, of State, Relations of services" and others, with expressed prohibition that any other printer do it without their consent, in a period of ten years" .

We know the origins of *Gazeta de Barcelona* in 1706 and we have been able to examine copies of 1708-1710 and 1713-1714. These last years, it became the journal of the siege and defence of the Catalonia capital at the end of the fight. It is a four pages brochure, with numbered pages in every edition with and irregular headline, not always in high types.

It is the first time among the gazettes known in Barcelona in which every edition comes numbered and includes news from the same city, in the last place and the same date of the day of publishing. The oldest news in the gazette number 39, October 16 of 1708, is from Vienna, August 27th. This is a copy of an official report, "Diario de las marchas y disposiciones que el Señor Mariscal de Campo General Conde de Heister hizo para atacar al Exercito Rebelde en Ungria, contra el qual consiguió la Victoria ya publicada". Local information, that occupies one and a half from the four pages, is an account of Kings activities in Barcelona, the distinctions conferred and other news arrived, except of Italy, from where there haven't been post services for many days.

Gazeta de Barcelona is an original gazette, not a simple copy and translation from others, like the precedent newspapers published in the city. According to the Paris and Madrid models, for the first time a weekly newspaper as an official gazette of government is published in Barcelona, as Renaudot defined three quarters of century ago. The initial printer feet -"With licence and privilege. Barcelona: By Rafael Figueró, Printer of the King our Lord"- is enlarged in 1710 with reference to the "Holy crusade".

From the numbers conserved from 1709, we know that in this year the weekly regularity is low, but it maintains its function as an official gazette, with a large information about Barcelona, capital of the Spanish monarchy of Carlos III. Usually, local news talks about the good health of Kings and their assistance to the divine services and sermons at Santa Maria del Mar (February 28th of 1709). The delay is very visible when in December of 1709 only 28 numbers have been published, not the 52 of the week. Next year, 1710, no more than 21 copies will be published and official news from Barcelona will be higher than foreign news that occupied only one of its four pages.

In 1713, after the leaving of Kings and the imperial armies, *Gazeta de Barcelona* becomes the journal of the siege, without a specific headline. This is a single text, without data, completed sometimes with letters and others documents. We find in the first number an official text in Catalan, but the usual language is Spanish. From number 3, the headline will always be *Continuación del diario del sitio de Barcelona*. From summer to December of 1713, there are 17 numbers, nearly weekly, 4 or 8 pages. From January to August 1714 there are 24 more weekly numbers, printed by orders of the City Town. The last edition is in August 23rd of 1714, 20 days before September 11, the day of the defeat.

5. Opinion war: brochures, leaflets and pamphlets.

This is, still, the time of brochures, leaflets and pamphlets. It is the time of publicists, the authors of opinion and propaganda, globally known as "publicistica", a kind of prints characteristic of the early press, before its periodicity.

Opinion and propaganda had an important function in Spanish Succession War. That was different in England than in other countries. In England, people could already speak freely in favour or against of intervention, in a political regime based in the fight among two parties, Tory and Whig. In the rest of countries, there is not any opinion or propaganda than this one controlled by the absolute power of government.

At this point, it can be discussed Maria Teresa Pérez Picazo's argument, when she says than "the publicistica played in the states society the same role than the newspaper in the bourgeois society". But, it can be sustained that in the Spain of early XVIII, brochures, leaflets and pamphlets occupied one part of the space of the free press of news and opinions than already existed in England, but not still in France.

The catalogue of 274 brochures by Pérez Picazo contains five types of papers: a) long law allegations in prose; b) popular short pieces in prose and verse; c) brief news; d) libels in prose and verse; e) short polemical leaflets in prose. Extensions, style and aims are different, but all they are always brochures of agitation and propaganda of every part, Borbonics in favour of Felipe V or Austriacists in favour of Carlos III. According to the four categories established by this author - brochures from clergy, middle class, aristocracy and popular class-, clergy and middle class ones were more elaborated than others. The Aristocracy ones were emphatic and haughty and people ones direct and vulgar, but both were so simple. On 274 brochures in catalogue, at least 55 were printed in Catalonia and 22 by Figueró.

A recent study of Rosa María Alabrús, which focuses on opinion genre, informs about the annual average of brochures printing: between 16 and 79 by year, 1705 as the most productive year and 1712 as a start to decline. There are more papers in Spanish than in Catalan and this was increasing during the war, except for the two last years. Romance, popular and cult, is predominant in such papers with a diversity of poetical forms.

Publicistica is always depending on power and reflects the changes in balance of forces along the war. Studying the brochures, Ricardo García Cárcel establishes three different profiles of Felipe V along the time: legitimate king, but French (1701-1705), brave king (1705-1707) and despotic king (1707-1714).

Before 1704, official rhetoric is stronger in Catalonia than Castile, perhaps because the presence of the King in Barcelona and his marriage to Maria Luisa de Saboya. Borbonic publicistica is globally defensive, through three strategies: a) to legitimate the new dynasty; b) to relate personal qualities of the young king; c) to attack Austriacists and denying the accusation of a majority of French officers in the Court. Austriacism appears as a collection of odds and ends, with many satires to politics who are so much well disposed towards Felipe V. We can find also in brochures of the first years examples of an old hostility among Catalan and Castilian people.

Next years, 1705-1706, we cannot find any text in favour of Felipe V. There are a large Austriacist literature, based upon emotive rather than argued opinion on his regime: eulogies of "vigatans" (partisans of Carlos III); repulse of "botiflers" (partisans of Felipe V); glosses to sieges of Barcelona, etcetera.

In other sense, 1707-1711 were the years of the offensive of the publicistica of Felipe V, the time of the great Borbonic texts, of a new exaltation of the king, and a growing aggressiveness against Catalonia, in front of a defensive Austriacism, that insists against the ghost of a French universal monarchy and religious attacks, thanks to the support than Pope Clement XI gave in 1709 to Carlos. Denounce of economic interests of different countries in the war was also present.

The last three years of war were the contrast between the absolute loneliness of Catalan in front of the Borbonic arrogance, with the war nearly won by Carlos withdrawal and the England desertion. Utrecht and Rastatt peace treaty (1714) left the future of Catalonia as an exclusive Spanish question, in spite of securities given by England in Genoa treaty in 1704?

At least, Austriacist publicistica got than main European countries suffer pangs of conscience about the called "Catalan case". As says García Cárcel, "the Catalan victimise discourse was most successful in the media than the Borbonic superb exhibition of power", because the Felipe V radicalism against Catalonia was not seen as "politically correct" in the contemporary Europe. Hardness of siege of Barcelona in 1713-14 -the fifth one suffered from 1697- made Felipe V face up to his grandfather French king Louis XIV. Borbonic propaganda accused Catalans of making agreements with Turkey.

During the war there are some papers which highlight the manipulation of the news and campaigns of propaganda. We can find contemporary authors like Narcís Feliu de la Peña, who underline a police action to forbid the entry in Barcelona of not convenient news to Borbonics. Also historians like Josep Maria Torras Ribé talks about a campaign of international alliance to maintain in Catalonia a climate in favour of Carlos. We also can find complaints in popular romances, like this one from the Austriacist:

"In every corners
famous gazetteers are found
that lie more than predictions
and as they would like to speak"

The fall of Tories and Whig back to government in England, August 1714, was an agonizing hope to Barcelona defenders. The most relevant English journalists had sustained divide positions on the Catalan case, according to their own political preferences. Whigs Joseph Addison and Richard Steele had been in favour of the English intervention in the Spanish Succession war and opposed to Felipe V, while Tories Jonathan Swift and Daniel Defoe supported the abstention and the abandonment of support to Catalonia.

6. Conclusions.

Moreover its deep signification to the history of Catalonia, September 11 of 1714 is related to incipient process of internationalisation -a first steep of what at present we know as globalisation? - in a moment of change in political and economic relationships.

Spanish Succession War may be considered as a modern case of strategic interests' war:

- France and England tried to control and manage at its own convenience the Spanish empire decline, as a political and economic strategy.
- The danger of a French universal monarchy, denounced by Catalan people, is not weaker than the English effort to rule the seas and the colonisation of other continents.
- The rule of economic interests of the growing mercantile bourgeoisies is more visible in England and Catalonia than in France and Castile, where prevails a perception of politic interests of absolute monarchies.
- England started free political action of parties in a liberal aristocratic regime, a century before other countries did so.
- In Catalonia, king physical distance from his territories reinforced, from XV century, the function of old Middle Age Courts, where was visible the political rule of third state members defending the mercantile bourgeoisie interests.

Considering those arguments from the history of journalism perspective, it is important the perception of different speeds in development of early forms of periodical press according to the analyses about factors of progress and delay that I already proposed on the previous IAMCR conference in Singapore 2000.

- The most developed phase of journalism was in two growing and opposite world powers: a new informative and opinion free journalism in England and a State press of long tradition in France.
- Delay in developing the French model of official gazette in Spain can be explained by home political instability, the cultural weight of catholic Holy Inquisition and the decline of Spanish Empire.
- The publications of a first periodical newspaper in Barcelona corresponds to the years of Catalonia adhesion to French monarchy.
- Both the declining Spanish and the uprising English empires are reticent to accept the periodical press development in American colonies. In spite of many precedents of irregular newsheets, we should not speak of a first monthly gazette in Spanish America until 1727, in the same years that in the present United States the early attempts of periodical newspapers are found.

Spanish Succession War was a moment of contrast between three elements:

- a) The emergence of an early liberal journalism in England
- b) The tradition of the State press in France -which will have a new impulse in 18th century thanks to Enlightenment
- c) The reinforcement of Gaceta de Madrid and the creation of a Gazeta de Barcelona

In this context, the brochures and leaflets rule as a main support of the opinion war has a special interest. This sort of prints will have a continuing significance along the continent in 18th century and, in Spain, also in the first part of the 18th century, in the more intensive years of political liberalism emergence.

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