
Language, press and contemporaneity: Newspapers in Catalan, 1641-1939

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the overall results of research co-funded by the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC) with the participation of twenty-four researchers from eight universities in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Country. Records and cataloguing were obtained for 3,087 Catalan-language newspapers published primarily in the second half of the nineteenth and first four decades of the twentieth century, in addition to their forerunners from 1641 and the first half of the nineteenth century. The first part of this article is by all five authors and outlines the criteria, methodology and overall results. It is followed by four more parts, each written individually by their respective authors, describing in bold strokes the inception and historical evolution of Catalan-language newspapers in each of the three Catalan-speaking countries, as well as in other Catalan-language cities outside Spain and yet others outside the Catalan linguistic domain on three continents.

KEYWORDS

General catalogue, history, press, Catalan.

Introduction

In the contemporary world, the Catalan language became a presence in the public space via the press far before it did in education and official and administrative life, and more extensively and powerfully than in politics, culture and publishing. The isolated forerunners in 1641, when Catalonia was associated with the French monarchy, and 1810, under the rule of Napoleon, predated the liberal and the literary *Renaixença* movements, the two main hallmarks of the contemporary period that promoted the use of Catalan in the nascent periodical press.

The *Renaixença* occurred simultaneously in the Catalan-speaking countries of Catalonia, the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands, albeit with different paces, intensities and characteristics in each of them. Their respective demographics in 1900 as a point of reference – Catalonia with 1,966,382 inhabitants, the Valencian Country with 1,587,533 and the Balearic Islands with 306,316 – are not enough to explain the uneven evolution and outcomes of the swift, steady growth from the mid-nineteenth century to the years of the Second Republic.

In Catalonia, the Catalan-language press was soon part of the industrial journalism news system, while in the Valencian Country and the Balearic Islands it developed less intensely yet steadily, with high-quality publications and large readerships in the spheres of culture and politics. The Catalan-language press appeared to a much lesser extent and later in the Principality of Andorra, the French department of Pyrénées-Orientales – also known as Northern Catalonia – and the city of L'Alguer/Alghero on the Italian island of Sardinia. Outside the Catalan linguistic domain, Catalan-language newspapers were recorded quite early in thirty-two cities and twelve countries on three continents, the initiative of Catalan-speaking emigrant and exile colonies.

The importance of the history of the Catalan-language press has been recognised and explained by different authors since the first third of the twentieth century (Navarro Cabanes, 1928 [1988]; Givanel, 1931-1937; Rosselló, 1935; Alemany Vich & Muntaner Bujosa, 1955; Torrent & Tasis, 1966; Alemany Vich, 1974; Blasco, 1983; Guillamet, 2003, 2010 & 2022; Surroca i Tallaferro, 2004; Pont & Guillamet, 2009). Now we can confirm and document its scope thanks to the results of an exhaustive study that has led to the publication of the *Catàleg històric general de la premsa en català, 1641-1939* (General Historical Catalogue of the Press in Catalan) in three printed volumes¹ and a digital database.² It is the outcome of a research project promoted by the Journalism Research Group (GRP) at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra,³ financed by the

1. Jaume Guillamet and Marcel Mauri (eds.) (2015), *Catàleg històric general de la premsa en català*, Vol. I, 1641-1898, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans; Jaume Guillamet, Marcel Mauri and Francesc Salgado (eds.) (2024), *Catàleg històric general de la premsa en català*, Vol. II, 1, 1899-1923, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, in press; Jaume Guillamet, Marcel Mauri and Francesc Salgado (eds.) (2025), *Catàleg històric general de la premsa en català*, Vol. II, 2, 1923-1939, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, in preparation.

2. UPF repository and IEC, in preparation.

3. Currently the Political Communication, Journalism and Democracy Research Group (POLCOM-GRP).

Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC), with the participation of twenty-six researchers from eight universities.⁴

In this article, we present the overall results of the research and an interpretation of its evolution in each of the Catalan-speaking countries and in other cities inside and outside the Catalan linguistic domain. The research examined the appearance of newspapers in Catalan throughout three periods, as well as their distribution by towns and counties, their thematic specialities and how long they lasted. Here we shall highlight three main aspects: the number of newspapers that appeared and their evolution over the three periods analysed, how long the newspapers lasted and their unique features in each region.

The first period, 1641-1898, ranging from the isolated appearance of the first two newspapers under French jurisdiction in Barcelona during the Reapers' War to the advent of the press supporting political Catalanism, necessarily dates back to the year when those first two Catalan-language newspapers were published and extends to 1898, with the close of the emergence of newspapers in the last half of the nineteenth century. The second period, 1899-1923, until the end of the Restoration regime with the rise to power of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, is when Catalan managed to carve a stable niche for itself in the press. The third period, 1924-1939, documents the consolidation of the Catalan language in the Principality of Catalonia's newspaper market and a new impetus and culmination of its expansion during the years of the Second Republic.

Several extremely important figures are worth citing. In 1868, the year that the Democratic Sexennium (1868-1874) got underway, 17 Catalan-language newspapers appeared, after several attempts since the 1810s. 60 Catalan-language newspapers appeared and/or were published in 1898, 120 in 1923 and 186 in 1931. The figures from the subsequent years are similar, and they only plummeted in 1937, in the throes of the Spanish Civil War.

The table with the overall results (Table 1) shows the steady, notable increase over all three periods. A total of 475 newspapers were published in the first period; if we omit from the count the first two from 1641, this leaves 473 newspapers over the course of 89 years (1810-1898). In the second period, there were 1,695 newspapers over twenty-five years (1899-1923) and in the third period there were 1,741 over sixteen years (1924-1939).

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TABLE 1

Overall results of the *Catàleg històric general de la premsa en català*

	1641-1898	1899-1923	1924-1939	Total	Towns
Total	475	1,765	1,693	3,933	273
Catalonia	337	1,592	1,574	3,503	202
Balearic Islands	26	50	16	92	15
Valencian Country	99	62	38	199	20
Andorra	–	–	2	2	2
Pyrénées-Orientales - Northern Catalonia (France)	–	3	1	4	2
L'Alguer/Alghero (Italy)	–	1	–	1	1
Outside the Catalan linguistic domain	13	57	62	132	31

SOURCE: Prepared by the authors.

The political instability in all three periods – with the constant effects of discontinuations, censorship and suspensions of constitutional guarantees – was an added difficulty inherent in the newspapers' consolidation. It has not been possible to determine for how long one third of the almost four thousand registered media were published. Another third did not reach one year of publication. Among the remainder, about fifty were published for over five years and only another fifty were published for over twenty years.

The trends were uneven in the three main Catalan-speaking regions. Catalonia witnessed a stronger and steadier increase. After a very productive nineteenth century, there was a decrease in intensity in the Valencian Country after the turn of the twentieth century, while on the Balearic Islands the powerful expansion in the second period slowed down in the third.

Demographics is a partial factor, although perhaps not very salient when interpreting these figures. Between 1900 and 1930, the population of Catalonia rose from 1,966,382 to 2,890,974 inhabitants, a 47% increase, the steepest of the three areas. In the Valencian Country, it went from 1,587,533 to 2,176,670 inhabitants, a 37% increase, while in the Balearic Islands it rose from 306,316 to 411,273 inhabitants, a 34% increase. In terms of the number of towns with newspapers, the highest proportion is found on the Balearic Islands (15 out of 54 towns, around 30%), ahead of Catalonia (194 out of 947 towns, around 20%) and the Valencian Country (18 out of 542 towns, around 3%).

There was indeed higher demographic growth in Catalonia, correlating to the industrialisation process, economic growth and incoming migrants, but we should also take into consideration political and cultural factors associated with the characteristics of the liberal and the literary

Renaixença movements in each of the regions. The political factor exerted a different influence, which was less intense in the Balearic Islands and more centred on republicanism in the Valencian Country in the nineteenth century, while it was steadier and more diversified in Catalonia as political Catalanism gained social clout.

The conquest of the press market in Catalonia

Jaume Guillamet Lloveras

While the fleeting harbingers from 1641 and 1810 were due to the social attraction policy of the French authorities at each point in time, the subsequent upswing was due to society's impetus under a receptive political power, namely the moderate liberal governments prior to the 1868 revolution. In just a few years, and with this impetus, republicanism and Catalanism managed to carve out new spaces of their own in the nascent Catalan press market, so much so that *La Campana de Gràcia* and *L'Esquella de la Torratxa* soon reached higher readership levels than Barcelona's leading newspapers.

On the one hand, the literary and cultural magazines of the Renaixença contributed to the founding of a publishing industry represented by La Renaixensa, the publishing house of Pere Aldavert and Àngel Guimerà that began to publish the magazine of the same name in 1876, which became a newspaper in 1881; L'Avenç/L'Avenç, the publishing house of Jaume Massó i Llorens and Joaquim Casas i Carbó, which started publishing a magazine by the same name in 1882; and *La Il·lustració Catalana*, a magazine that appeared in 1880 and was issued by the publishing house of Francesc Matheu. On the other hand, the federal republicans' many weekend, illustrated and folksy newspapers consolidated a popular press space comparable to the Sunday weeklies in Great Britain, which attracted audiences beyond the daily press.

Religion also played a role, as it had in some of the earliest attempts, like *Lo Pare Arcàngel* (1841) and *Lo Verdader Català* (1843). Some of the religious publications, like *Fulla Dominical (Parròquia del Carme)* (1891-1936) and *Fulla Parroquial (Parròquia de Santa Maria)* (1891-1936), both from Badalona, and *Lo Missatger del Sagrat Cor de Jesús* (1893-1936) were among the longest-lasting, at almost half a century. They were only surpassed by *Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya* (1891-1938) and the two main republican weeklies, *La Campana de Gràcia* (1870-1934) and *L'Esquella de la Torratxa* (1872-1939), which lasted far longer and weathered all the political ups and downs for more than 60 years.

The emergence of political Catalanism in the late nineteenth century spread to the leading Catalan cities the first generation of Catalan-language newspapers – including names inspired by *La Veu de Catalunya* – which gradually grew in the first few decades of the twentieth century until Catalan was confirmed as the majority language in the regional press. The initial momentum of federal republicanism, with Valentí Almirall's *Diari Català* (1879-1881), continued with

the renunciation of political action by *La Renaixensa* (1881-1905) and was revived by *La Veu de Catalunya* (1899-1937) of Enric Prat de la Riba and the Catalanist and conservative political party Lliga Regionalista. The expansion of Catalan's own space continued with a new generation of very successful illustrated weeklies and weekend editions disconnected from federal republicanism, such as the combative *Cu-cut!* (1902-1912) of the Lliga Regionalista, the children's magazine *En Patufet* (1904-1938), the satirical *Papitu* (1908-1937) and later the sports publication *Xut!* (1922-1936), which also had regional imitators and less successful competitors.

The press in Catalan was part of industrial journalism's first major push, dovetailing with the 1888 Barcelona Universal Exposition. At the end of the century, its increasing diversity could be seen in illustrated magazines, which, after decades of the primacy of engraved drawings, were able to include photographs in high-quality publications on Modernisme (Catalan Art Nouveau movement) and hiking, the latter as the forerunner of sports journalism. The scope of ideological pluralism also spread to labour unionism and anarchism in *Tramontana* (1881-1895).

In the expansion of the market and readership in the first third of the twentieth century, Catalan newspapers consolidated an initial space in both Barcelona and throughout Catalonia at a time characterised by the cultural action of the Commonwealth of Catalonia, established in 1914, and the instatement of the Linguistic Rules inspired by Pompeu Fabra and approved by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (IEC). The almost unanimous response to the 1913 appeal from the president of Barcelona Provincial Council, Enric Prat de la Riba, reveals the time when the Catalan-language press matured, led by *La Veu de Catalunya*, which Prat himself ran, and *El Poble Català* (1906-1918), whose director, Pere Corominas, was one of the founding members of the IEC.

In addition to these organs of the Lliga Regionalista and republican nationalism in the capital, other newspapers included *Diari de Mataró* (1895-1936), *El Pla de Bages* (1904-1937), *Bages Ciutat* (1909-1919) and *L'Avenç* (1919-1920) in Manresa; *Gazeta del Vallès* (1908-1917) and *Diari de Sabadell* (1910-1936) in Sabadell; *Foment* (1909-1923, 1931-1934, 1936) in Reus; *El Dia* (1918-1939) in Terrassa; and *El Pallaresa* ([1895]1918-1919) and *El Poble* (1920) in Lleida, as well as an increasing number of weeklies in the county capitals.

Paradoxically, this space expanded under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, which suspended the Catalan Parliament, replaced the municipal and provincial corporations, abolished the Commonwealth of Catalonia, instated censorship and persecuted public use of the Catalan language and many small republican and Catalanist newspapers. The recent Catalanisation of the former republican mouthpiece of the centre-left Catalanist political party Acció Catalana, whose name changed from *La Publicidad* (1876-1922) to *La Publicitat* (1922-1939), was followed by the successive appearance of the newspapers *L'Avenç* (1924), *La Nau* (1927-1933) and *El Matí* (1929-1936) in Barcelona, and of the also republican weeklies *Mirador* (1929-1937) and *L'Opinió* (1928-1931), the latter the driving force behind the founding of the political party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya. Catalan was less powerful in the rise of the mass sporting press

– except for the popular *Xut!*, the creator of Barça's iconography – and German-inspired photojournalism. In this field, *Imatges* (1930), an innovative venture, had to cease publication as it was unable to compete with the power of the big Spanish weeklies.

The upsurge in journalism catalysed by the proclamation of the Second Republic and the instatement of the Government of Catalonia in April 1931 turned Catalan into the majority language in the regional press. In addition to the newspapers and weeklies that appeared in Catalan at the end of the dictatorship and afterward, several veteran newspapers in Spanish adopted Catalan as their main language, including *Diari de Reus* ([1859] 1930-1938) and *Les Circumstàncies* ([1874] 1930-1936) in Reus, and *Diari de Tarragona* ([1853] 1932-1939), *Diari de Girona* ([1889] 1932-1936) and *L'Autonomista* ([1920] 1933-1939) in Tarragona and Girona. This phenomenon remained in place during the Spanish Civil War, and the Catalan language was even adopted by communist and anarcho-syndicalist newspapers in that new scene, as also happened in Barcelona.

In Barcelona, the possibility emerged to conquer a larger share of the daily press market for the Catalan language. However, no newspapers changed language there but for the fleeting exception of the tiny *Diari Mercantil*, while the newspapers with the largest readership – *La Vanguardia* and the popular republican *El Diluvio* – maintained if not increased their hegemony in a market in which the former captured almost half the share. The impetus of nine new newspapers – *La Ciutat* (1931), *Diari del Migdia* (1931), *L'Opinió* (1931-1934), *La Humanitat* (1931-1939), *La Veu del Vespre* (1933-1934), *Avui* (1933), *L'Instant* (1935-1936), *Última Hora* (1935-1938) and *La Rambla* (1936-1939) – poses some hypotheses on the growth of the Catalan-language daily press had history taken a different course after the Civil War.

Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya was able to maintain the three newspapers available at the beginning of summer 1936. *La Humanitat* became the morning newspaper once *L'Opinió*, the great innovator, disappeared. *Última Hora* was a somewhat successful evening newspaper inspired by the US models, and *La Rambla* was a second more political evening paper, a continuation of the weekly founded in 1930 by the MP and industrialist Josep Sunyol i Garriga. The somewhat unreliable readership figures available indicate that *La Veu de Catalunya* retained its audience and *La Publicitat* was positioned as a high-quality newspaper.

Besides the newspaper of the Lliga Regionalista, which was seized by the CNT-FAI anarchist organisation and briefly transformed into *Catalunya* (1937-1938), these four newspapers belonging to parties in the left-wing government coalition of the presidency of Lluís Companys survived the subsequent predominance of anarcho-syndicalist and communist newspapers during the Spanish Civil War. The new communist party Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya seized *El Correo Catalán* to create *Treball* (1936-1939) and appropriated *La Rambla*, while the Marxist party Partit Obrer d'Unificació Marxista published *La Batalla* (1936-1937), which soon transitioned to Spanish. The pro-independence nationalist party Estat Català, created outside Esquerra Republicana after 6 October 1934, took over the old *Diario de Barcelona*, which was

published in Catalan as *Diari de Barcelona* (1936-1937) for a few months before it became *Diari de Catalunya* (1937-1939).

To conclude, we would like to ask a question that verges on a hypothesis. If they had survived the Republic, at what point would the Catalan-language newspapers have been taken over by non-partisan publishers? If the market space was beginning to expand, as it seemed to, this would have been the next step in the normalisation of the use of Catalan in the press market.

The Catalan-language press on the Balearic Islands

Arnau Company Matas and Sebastià Serra Busquets

Throughout the nineteenth century, 22 Catalan-language newspapers were founded on Mallorca and five on Menorca. Most of them were published in Palma and Mahon, but there were no Catalan-language publications on Ibiza or Formentera during this period.

Within the context of the Peninsular War (1808-1814), Mallorca and Menorca witnessed an intense proliferation of patriotic and political newspapers. The Catalan-language press started with the appearance of the only issue of *Gaceta triunfo mensual del centro de Soller en obsequi de una Aurora qui comparegué en esta isla de Mallorca en el present any 1812 á mitxa añada de juñy (segons varios estrolechs) pera que lograsen un bon esplet de sol ab arpes esmolades* in 1812. This newspaper, which espoused an absolutist ideology, was founded to combat the liberal press. Other absolutist newspapers were also prominent at that time, including *Diari de Buja* (1812-13) and *Lluna Patriótica Mallorquina* (1813) as well as the biweekly *Nou Diari de Buja* (1813), promoted by the Trinitarian Miquel Ferrer Bauçà (1770-1857). Meantime, the antiliberal weekly *Talaya contra Brivons, o el Desaristarcador* (1814) was being published in Mahon.

Semmanari Constitucional Politic y Mercantil de Mallorca (1820-1822), the newspaper *Es Prat i sa Bufera* (1822) and the weekly *Es Desxondidor* (1822-1823) appeared again during the Liberal Triennium (1820-1823), associated with the journalism of the liberal lawyer Joan Josep Amengual Reus (1793-1876), which once again entailed the use of Catalan in the press. Again, during the Democratic Sexennium (1868-1874), the ideologically republican newspaper *Es Pandero* (1869) emerged in Mahon.

The Catalan-language press on Mallorca and Menorca expanded in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and reached its peak in the first third of the twentieth century. From 1879 to 1899, fifteen Catalan-language publications appeared on Mallorca and three on Menorca. The appearance in Palma of the folksy weekly *L'Ignorancia* (1879-1885), founded by Bartomeu Ferrà and Mateu Obrador, clearly established the model of homespun, humoristic and satirical press, with most Mallorcan writers contributing to it. It came to print as many as 7,500 copies, and its success came from its adaptation of the language and its folksy content.

Likewise, following this weekly's successful model, another one, *La Roqueta* (1887), was spear-headed by Pere d'Alcàntara Peña and Mateu Obrador. Once again, most of Mallorca's literati contributed to it. The second period of the weekly *La Roqueta* (1889-1892) was launched, again directed by Mateu Obrador with Miquel dels Sants Oliver. With almost the same contributors as in the first period, it became quite popular and reached print runs of 4,000 copies (1889). The second period of the weekly *L'Ignorancia* (1892) was also launched.

In the 1880s, satirical and humorous publications came out in Palma, like the weekly *El Violón* (1879-1880), *Es Festé de Ciutat* (1883, published erratically), the weekly *La Juventut* (1887) and the weekly *La Tortuga* (1889), which also had literary content. The popular literary weekly *El Glosadó* (1882) was published in Mahon, and the satirical and humorous *Mestre Libori* (1886-1887) appeared in Ciutadella de Menorca. The cultural biweekly *Es Menurquí* (1891), published in Mahon, should also be highlighted.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the weekly *En Figuera* (1893) and the literary bi-weekly *Nova Palma* (1898) emerged, the latter founded and directed by Joan Torrendell. Catholic magazines also came out at that time, including the biweekly *Guia de Lluch* (1884) directed by Bartomeu Ferrà; the weekly *Mallorca Dominical* (1897-1901), founded by Bartomeu Ferrà with a conservative regionalist ideology; and the thrice-monthly literary magazine *Mallorca* (1898-1901), directed by Josep Miralles.

The third period of the weekly *La Roqueta* (1898-1901) got underway, promoted by Gabriel Alo-mar and Joan Muntaner, who waged a campaign to condemn provincialism and support the modernisation of Mallorcan society, as did the biweekly agriculture publication *Pla y Montanya* (1898-1899), the first specialised periodical in Catalan.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, in addition to cultural, humorous, satirical and religious magazines, the first signs of Catalan in nationalist and specialised press emerged, as well as in periodicals published beyond Palma. We have counted 58 Catalan-language periodicals on Mallorca and six on Menorca between 1900 and 1939. There was an avid interest in humorous and satirical weeklies and biweeklies, despite their brief lifetimes. Examples include *Sa Llonja* (1906-1908), *N'Eloy* (1907), *Pu-Put* (1907-1914), *Es Mussol* (1908), *En Tomeu* (1913), *Es Gallet* (1914-1917), *En Toful* (1917) and *Es Vigilant* (1919). We should highlight the role played by Jordi Martí Rosselló – known as “es Mascle Ros” – (1891-1973), who published the bilingual humorous and satirical weekly entitled *Foch-y-Fum* (first period: 1917-1920; second period: 1922-1927; third period: 1931-1936). Even though it was a bilingual publication, it used Catalan more frequently as a tool to help its republican, anti-cacique and progressive ideas reach working-class people.

The periodicals *Lluch* (1908 and after 1921), *Bolletí Dominical* (1910), *El Bon Mot* (1917-1951) and *Fulles Marianes* (1917) were launched in connection to the Church. Yet there were also literary and cultural magazines, like *Gazeta de Mallorca* (1903), *Mitjorn* (1906-07), *Ramon Llull* (1915), *Mallorca* (1917) and *Quadern Mensual* (1923-1925), published by the cultural organisation

Associació per la Cultura de Mallorca. The *Bolletí del Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana* (1901-1936), founded and directed by Father Antoni Maria Alcover, must also be highlighted.

La Veu de Mallorca, with three brief periods, was particularly prominent within the national press. During the first period (1900) it was directed by Joan Torrendell; the second period (1917-1919) was promoted by Francesc Muntaner, Joan Estelrich and Joan Pons Marquès; and the third one (1931) was the initiative of Andreu Ferrer Ginard.

Likewise, the city of Inca stood out within the phenomenon of the press published outside Palma thanks to the publishing efforts of Miquel Duran Saurina (1866-1953), who first contributed to the weeklies *Es Ca d'Inca* (1901 and 1903-1905) and *El Hogar* (1902-1903) and later directed the conservative regionalist newspapers *La Bona Causa* (1904-1905), *Ca-Nostra* (1907-1914, 1919-1926 and 1928-1929), *La Veu d'Inca* (1915-1918), *Nostra Joventut* (1917) and *L'Ignorancia* (1918-1919). In this period of expansion, newspapers were created in the towns of Sineu (*Mestre Tomeu Ciri*, 1910-1911, and *Sa Defensa*, 1911), Santanyí (*Es Moscart*, 1909), Sóller (*En Xerrim*, 1917-1919, and *Bolletí Parroquial de Sóller*, 1921-1927), Manacor (*La Aurora*, 1906-1916, by Father Antoni Maria Alcover), Artà (*Llevant*, 1916-1931, and *Tresor dels Avis*, 1922-1928, promoted by Andreu Ferrer Ginard), Ses Salines (*Vida Pagesa*, 1920-1921) and Sa Pobla (*Sa Marjal*, 1909-1928).

At that time, the weekly *La Roqueta* (1912-1913), directed by Pere Rosselló, was launched in Mahon, and the biweekly *Llum Nova* (1912-1913) was founded by Bartomeu Pons and Andreu Ferrer Ginard in Es Migjorn Gran. The monthly *Butlletí de Nostra Parla* (1923-1924), directed by Joan Mir Mir, which upheld the unity of the Catalan language, was also published in Mahon. The high-brow culture magazine *La Nostra Terra* (1928-1936) was launched during the Primo de Rivera dictatorship and became the mouthpiece of the Associació per a la Cultura de Mallorca in 1930. It espoused nationalistic autonomy and strongly advocated the political and cultural modernisation of Mallorca.

With the proclamation of the Second Republic (1931-1936), political, satirical and anticlerical newspapers started to crop up away from Palma, such as *Esquitxos* (1932) in Algaida; *Maculí* (1933-1935), *Pedra Foguera* (1933-1934) and *El Felanitxer* (the Catalanisation of *El Felanigense*, August 1933), all in Felanitx; and the religious newsletter *Bona Llevor* (1932-1935) in Cas Concos. The cultural supplement to the Catholic newspaper *El Iris*, *Full Menorquí* (1934-1936), was launched in Ciutadella de Menorca.

The start of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) broke the continuity of the Catalan-language press on Mallorca reaching back to the late nineteenth century. The only exception was the popular weekly *Es Borino Ros* (1936-1937), directed by the clergyman Andreu Casellas. In contrast, the monthly *Impuls* (1938) was launched on republican Menorca as the newsletter of the cultural association Llar Catalana de Menorca.

The continuity of the Valencian-language press

Francesc-Andreu Martínez Gallego

Between 1813 and the start of the transition to democracy, around 500 Valencian-language publications appeared in the Valencian-speaking parts of the Valencian Country. Not all of them are part of this catalogue, because many of them were associated with festivals, were annual or did not match the criteria we established. Beyond festivals – especially the Falles in Valencia, the Fogueres in Alicante and the Magdalena in Castellón – and with considerable variations over time, the Catalan press in the Valencian Country – the press in different varieties of Valencian, we should say – developed only discreetly if we compare it with Catalonia, although considerably if we compare it with other regions in Spain with their own language (Balearic Islands, Galicia, Basque Country). Almost 200 publications (199) between 1813 and 1939 is many fewer than in Catalonia (3,503) and many more than in the Balearic Islands (92).

This shows a relative strength, especially bearing in mind that some of the counties in the Valencian Country are Spanish-speaking: Alto Mijares, Alto Palancia, Los Serranos, Valle de Ayora-Cofrentes and Rincón de Ademuz, due to repopulation mostly by Aragonese during the time of conquest; Hoya de Buñol-Chiva, Canal de Navarrés, Vinalopó Medio and Bajo Segura, which were Castilianised upon the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609; and Plana de Utiel-Requena and Alto Vinalopó, which were added to Valencia's territory in the nineteenth century. That is, 21 of the 32 traditional counties in Valencian Country are Valencian-speaking and 11 are Spanish-speaking. Even though the Catalan-speaking counties have traditionally been more populous, the progress of Castilianisation has been powerful, especially via education during the Franco regime and the media in the subsequent period.

Perhaps for this reason, we are unaware of any newspapers published in Catalan in the Valencian Country. Actually, there is one, *L'Hora* (1936), but it literally lasted four days. It is also true that the hugest upswing in history of the press in Valencian came after the transition to democracy (1975-1982) in the guise of a wide array of magazines, including political and cultural ones. It has been calculated that 95% of these publications adopted the standardised Castellón Norms and were committed to using the language in society as a form of cultural, linguistic and identity activism (Martínez Sanchis, 2023).

Right now there are around 851 media of all kinds in the Valencian Country (figures from 2017), 91 of which are monolingual in Valencian and 95 bilingual, while the rest use Spanish (605) or other languages (33). Most of the Valencian-language media are magazines, and it should be noted (figures from 2023) that the audience of the written media in the Valencian Country is around 8.3% of the population over the age of fourteen, 5.5 points under the state average. In other words, except for public radio and television – whose figures dropped in 2013 and then rallied in 2018 – the Valencian-language media audience is very small. Right now, À Punt Ràdio has 42,000 daily listeners. The average audience of À Punt Televisió is 750,000 people, and 15% of Valencians watch it every day. However, it is the regional station in Spain with the lowest

audience, with 3.1% of screen share (in 2023), far below the figures of Televisió de Catalunya (14.1%), Televisión de Galicia (10.5%) and Euskal Telebista (10.6%), just to cite other regional TV stations in local languages.

If we look back in time, we can find some clues as to why there are more Valencian-language publications and media than ever before, and also why there have been periods when some of the publications in this catalogue managed to attract quite large audiences. Viewed in retrospect, the major media phenomenon associated with the active use of Valencian, in publications that were more often bilingual than monolingual, was republicanism.

Things began with *El Mole*, the publication that was tiny in size but large in readership: it was published in the city of Valencia (in different periods between 1837 and 1870) and spread beyond its walls (they were not torn down until 1865) to be sold in the Horta and other central counties. In the 1840s, it had 4,500 subscribers and many more readers, because it was a dialogue-driven newspaper in which the writers – authors with folksy pseudonyms – encouraged the readers-listeners to engage in public conversation. The driving force behind *El Mole*, Josep María Bonilla and his main partners – Josep Bernat i Baldoví and Pasqual Pérez i Rodríguez – built the grassroots side of the Valencian Renaixença, because there was another side that was not expressed in newspapers but in books, specifically poetry collections, led by Teodor Llorente, who was, interestingly, the director of a Spanish-language newspaper, *La Opinión*, later *Las Provincias*.

El Mole created an educational, mobilising press model associated with the vernacular which was naturally expressed in the language of most of the common folk at that time: Valencian. It almost always avoided using cultivated language because its main goal was to be understood. Ultimately, it had a single mission: to build a political community of active citizens. The model was followed by many weekly newspapers.

Expansion abroad

Marcel Mauri de los Ríos

In the late nineteenth century, the Catalan-language press began to spread outside its traditional geographical boundaries and reached different parts of Europe, the Americas and even Asia. Most of these publications were driven by political exiles, migratory waves and the need felt by Catalans abroad to keep in touch with their culture and language. After a tentative start in the last few decades of the nineteenth century, in the early twentieth century, especially after the 1920s, they began to be published in countries where they had previously only had a scant presence. Many of these publications had a political tone and served as organs of resistance against the authoritarian regimes. Political circumstances and migrations were key factors in the international spread of Catalan language and culture and offered Catalan expatriates a way to maintain a connection with their cultural identity.

The first Catalan-language publication outside the linguistic domain appeared in Madrid: between 1844 and 1845, *La Donsayna* was published by a Valencian MP in the Parliament in Spain's capital. This was just an initial one-off publication that did not last long; the Catalan communities in Madrid and the Americas did not really begin to issue publications until the 1870s and 1880s, many of which had the goal of preserving Catalan culture and politics in distant lands. Nostalgia for their homeland and a desire to keep their identity alive led these groups to create and disseminate newspapers and magazines.

In Madrid, half a century went by after *La Donsayna* (1844-1845) before we find a new publication, *Les Albaes* (1896), created by a community of Valencian artists. Even though they originated in Valencia, both publications helped to set a precedent for the Catalan-language press outside the linguistic domain. *Madrid-Català* (1897), an illustrated monthly magazine which purported to be a bridge between Madrid and Catalonia, was another more direct example of a publication that defended Catalan interests and culture in Spain's capital. Madrid also became a key point in the Catalan press during the Spanish Civil War.

The expansion was even greater on the other side of the Atlantic. In Argentina, *L'Aureneta* (1876-1890) was a literary and humorous publication whose mission was to import news from Catalonia to Buenos Aires, with the slogan "*Tot per Catalunya, tot per Espanya*" (Everything for Catalonia, everything for Spain). A further example is another weekly, *La Papallona* (1887-1888), which sought to defend the interests of the Catalan community in Argentina. Nearby, in Montevideo (Uruguay), *La Gralla* (1885-1888) was a weekly publication that aimed to promote Catalan culture and literature among the Catalan community living in the city.

The situation in Cuba was different, given that the country was in the midst of its war of independence against Spain. A range of Catalan publications appeared during this period, like *La Gresca* (1869), a humorous magazine that covered political and cultural issues. *Eco de Catalunya* (1880) was another weekly magazine that began in Catalan and Spanish but started publishing solely in Catalan in the fifth issue, given its strong Catalanist orientation. Other examples of this expansion in Cuba include *L'Atlàntida* and *Lo Missatger Català* (both in 1881), along with *L'Almogàver* (1885-1886), a bilingual publication that reported on cultural activities in Catalonia. *La Opinió Catalana* (1898-1899) emerged after Cuba won independence; it was a regionalist publication with a clearly dissident spirit. Another notable example of the Catalan press abroad is *La Llumanera* (1874-1881), a monthly magazine published in New York and directed by Artur Cuyàs. Its goal was to disseminate Catalan culture among Catalans living all over the world.

In Europe, France stood out as the country with the highest number of Catalan publications, especially in Paris and Montpellier, with 36 titles between 1880 and 1939. Other European countries like Switzerland, Belgium and the United Kingdom also had Catalan-language publications, albeit fewer of them.

There was also a single Catalan-language periodical in Asia: *Avant Sempre* was published in Manila (Philippines) in late 1899, a fleeting yet important publication within the international expansion of the Catalan press.

Within the linguistic domain but outside Spain, the press in Catalan grew in Northern Catalonia, Andorra and L'Alguer/Alghero (on Sardinia). In Northern Catalonia, the phenomenon began in 1905 with the publication of *Espero de Katalunjo* in Céret. But the majority of publications appeared in Perpignan, starting in 1907 with *Revue Catalana*, a bilingual magazine more in Catalan than French. From then until 1939, eight more Catalan-language publications appeared in the capital of Roussillon. In L'Alguer/Alghero, the Catalan-language press was limited to two noteworthy publications, *La Sardenya Catalana* (1908) and *Catalunya* (1927-1929). Andorra had two titles during this period: *Andorra Agrícola* (1933) and the unique *Butlletí del Govern Provisional d'Andorra* (1934).

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