Abstract

In 1625 an Anglo-Dutch fleet attacked the Spanish port of Cádiz. It was the main campaign of the 1624-1630 war between England and Spain. The event was widely recorded in different genres of Spanish and English news. In this thesis I will analyse how this news contributed to shaping images of the enemy around specific concepts, such as nation and religion. By addressing the construction of the other, the news also contributed to the formation of images of self- identity. While the Spanish news mainly appealed to the Catholic religion, the English news appealed to a sense of Englishness. The battle of Cádiz and the news produced around it opened a public discussion about the responsibility for it. By studying the news, we can examine the political tensions within both states and how the news reflected it. These debates contributed to the definition of a public sphere of discussion.

Shaping Images of Identity in the News: The Battle of Cádiz (1625)

Beatriz Álvarez García

Oxford, 26 June 2015

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been written during the MA Europaeum Programme in European History and Civilisation (2014-2015). I would like to thank Dr. Raymond Fagel (Leiden Universiteit) and Dr. Miles Pattenden (Oxford University) for their valuable suggestions and insightful supervision. I would also like to thank all the people who have accompanied me on this journey for their support.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

BNE – Biblioteca Nacional de España (National Library of Spain, Madrid)

DBE – Diccionario Biográfico Español

EEBO – Early English Books Online

OED – Oxford English Dictionary

RAH – Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy of History, Madrid)

1. Introduction

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries news became an object of trade. It circulated along the communications and trade networks around the world. It disseminated information about what was happening, when and where in different parts of the world and gave the population with access to it the possibility of broadening their viewpoint. In a stroke, printed news changed the perception and understanding of the world. It provoked fascination as it allowed greater access to information and stimulated a desire for knowledge among the population, with its coverage of a broad range of topics, from miracles and religious issues to battles and court festivities. News also shaped a new construction of the present, creating a temporal zone between the past and the future that offered space for discussion of current events.[1]

News also played a role in the political sphere. It was a tool for spreading the official perspective, aiming to achieve social cohesion or a certain perspective, as was the case in conflicts such as the Thirty Years War in Germany.[2] At the same time, news was used as a tool of information by diplomats and agents involved in the decision-making process at court.[3] The aim to influence politics is involved in rhetorical

[1] D. Woolf, 'News, History and the Construction of the Present in Early Modern England' in B. Dooley and S. Baron ed., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2001), pp. 94-100.

[2] H. Medick, 'Historical Event and Contemporary Experience: The Capture and Destruction of Magdeburg in 1631' *History Workshop Journal*, lii (2001), pp. 23-48; R. Asch, 'Wo der Soldat hinkömbt, da ist alles sein: Military Violence and Atrocities in the Thirty Years War Re-examined' *German History*, xviii (2000), pp. 291-309; J. Theibault, , 'The Rhetoric of Death and Destruction in the Thirty Years War', *Journal of Social History*, xxvii (1993), pp. 271-290; J. Theibault, 'Jeremiah in the Village: Prophecy, Preaching, Pamphlets and Penance in the Thirty Years War' *Central European History* xxvii (1994), pp. 441-460; C. Gilly, 'The Midnight Lion, the Eagle and the Antichrist: Political, Religious and Chiliastical Propaganda in the Pamphlets, Illustrated Broadsheets and Ballads of the Thirty Years War' *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, lxxx (2000), pp. 46-77; O. Ulbricht, 'The Experience of Violence during the Thirty Years War: a Look at the Civilian Victims', in J. Canning, H. Lehmann and Winter, J. eds., *Power, Violence and Mass Death in Pre-Modern and Modern Times* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 97-127.

[3] P. Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix: How they Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands* (Leiden, 2014).

elements of news. In Spanish news, it was common to find such expressions as: 'si Dios me pone en Madrid lo diré a vozes'.[4] The fascination that news produced was also observed by contemporaries. Roger L'Estrange, a writer and government licenser for the press in seventeenth century England, drew attention to the potential danger of news stating that it 'made the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors'.[5]

In this thesis I will analyse how the battle of Cádiz was described in the printed news of the time. The definition of news here has a broader sense than merely informational broadsheets. It also includes different accounts of the battle, such as the diaries which were published next year, and satirical forms of information, such as libels. In this thesis the word 'news' compiles a broad category.

The battle of Cádiz occurred in 1625, when an Anglo-Dutch fleet attacked the city of Cádiz. It was the main campaign of the 1624-1630 war between England and Spain. The war had broken out after the failure in 1624 of the marriage negotiations between the Prince of Wales Charles, son of James I, and the Spanish *infanta* María, sister of Philip IV. In 1604, only one year after he became king of England, James I (of England from 1603-1624, VI of Scotland from 1567-1614) had signed a peace treaty with Philip III (1598-1621) of Spain. The Treaty of London laid the foundations for Anglo-Spanish diplomacy for the following half century. The points they agreed upon can be resumed as the promotion of free trade, neutrality regarding third parties, the granting of a certain degree of tolerance from the Inquisition to English citizens living in Spain, and respect for tradition –this latter was a mere diplomatic formula related to

[4] 'If I happen to be in Madrid, I will say it'.
[5] Cited in Dooley and Baron ed., *The Politics…,* p. 42.

the early modern practice of international relations. Philip IV (1621-1665) continued at first the peaceful policy that his father had earlier initiated regarding England.

The policy towards Catholicism developed by James I, although inconsistent over the time of his reign, can be generally defined as conciliatory. After the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 the law was reinforced as it was after the assassination of Henry IV of France in 1610. From that year until 1614 James was determined to punish Catholic disobedience. Despite this, the law relaxed during the negotiations with Spain and Catholics enjoyed a fair level of tolerance. That fact shaped the approach towards Spain, which marked a clear change regarding the previous relations, defined by military conflict during the reigns of Elizabeth I and Philip II. The Spanish Ambassador in London, the Count of Gondomar, who became a personal friend of James I, led the negotiations about a potential marriage between Prince Charles and the *infanta* María. Philip IV expected that those negotiations would cause England to convert to Catholicism. However, that was never the intention of James I, whose aim was to create family connections which would allow him to avoid war and to be able to act as a mediator in international conflicts.

In 1624 the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Buckingham travelled in secret to Madrid to see the *infanta* and reach a marriage agreement. However, it was made clear that the Spanish Court would not accept a marriage as long as Charles refused to convert to Catholicism. After six months in Madrid, Charles returned to England and decided to break the marriage negotiations. Further, the return of Gondomar to Spain and the crisis of the Palatinate made it even more difficult to reach an agreement. War eventually broke out in 1624 following the pressure initiated and maintained by Charles I and the duke of Buckingham. The campaign against Cádiz was the first and the main

battle of the war, which ended in 1630. Cádiz was therefore a turning point in the relations between England and Spain.

Cádiz was located within the Crown of Castile on the Southern coast of Spain, facing the Atlantic coast. Because of its closeness to Seville, which had a monopoly on trade with America and was the arrival and departure port of the Spanish silver fleet, Cádiz became an important trading port. According to parish statistics of the time, Cádiz in 1640 had a population of barely 1492 inhabitants. However, a nearby town, Puerto de Santa María, had a population of 1600 inhabitants, a fact that reflects the large population in the area.[6] The economy of Cádiz was not based on agricultural production, but rather on trade. It was also a central point in the smuggling networks and had an important community of foreign traders, including English.[7] All of these factors made Cádiz a wealthy city.

The siege of 1625 was led by Lord Cecil, viscount of Wimbledon and Admiral of the English fleet, and the Count of Essex, whose father had attacked Cádiz in 1596. A number of Dutch ships took part in the expedition under the command of Lord Cecil. The United Provinces were at war with Spain and they sought to secure the military assistance of England as a reward for joining the Cádiz expedition. The battle started on Saturday, 1 November 1625 and lasted for one week, until the English fleet left the city and sailed back to England. The attackers clearly expected to capture the fleet coming from America, as Lord Cecil stated in his diary: 'If the Plate-fleete had kept the course

[6] M. Bustos; A. Buzón; I. Gómez; A. Morgado; D. Núñez and M. Rodríguez, 'La población de la provincia de Cádiz en los siglos XVI y XVII', *Trocadero*, ii (1990), pp. 5-71. On Cádiz see also J. Calderón, *Las defensas del golfo de Cádiz en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid, 1976).

[7] Gamboa y Eraso, L., *Verdad de lo sucedido con ocasión de la venida de la armada inglesa del enemigo sobre Cádiz. En primero de Noviembre de mil y seyscientos y veynte y cinco*, printed by Salvador de Cea (Córdoba, 1625), BNE VC/224/68.

they ever have done theis forty yeares, for they had no manner of newes of us'.[8] However, according to the news, a message was sent to the marquis of Caldereyta in order to avoid the arrival of the fleet in Cádiz.[9] Nonetheless, the fleet was already delayed and it arrived 21 days afterwards.

The battle of Cádiz was widely described in the news, which created different narratives for a single event and influenced collective memory by creating certain types of images and a sense of common past. It is worth examining this event more closely, since Cádiz can be considered as a turning point in the Anglo-Spanish relations of the early seventeenth century. The aim of this thesis is to identify the patterns of dissemination and the reflecting of identities in the news, in order to analyse how it created images of self and other, a process which was done by displaying certain images and appealing to distinctive solidarities. The news which with it appeared connected –in some cases some events of the same year, in other cases references to previous events- contributed to the creation of a certain opinion. By analysing its content we can also examine what was the political aim of the news and what role it played in the political situation and divisions within the states.

[8] Cecil, E., viscount of Wimbledon, *A Iournall and Relation of the Action which by His Maiesties Commandement, Edward Lord Cecil, Baron of Putney and Vicount of Wimbledon, Admirall, and Lieutenant Generall of His Maiesties Forces, did undertake upon the Coast of Spaine* (London, 1625).
[9] BNE VC/224/68.

2. Methodology

There are three possible approaches to considering the news.[1] The first is from the point of view of the development of news and how it was published and disseminated: where, when and by whom. This perspective is related to communication theories, which analyse the manner in which a message is transmitted from a sender to a receiver.[2]

Secondly, it can be considered from the point of view of the imagology, i.e. the creation of images, which have national and religious characteristics.[3] The imagological methodology is often defined as 'the study of such images of national character'.[4] It raises questions about the mechanism of national or ethnic 'othering' and its underlying self-images.[5] This method focuses on the process of emergence, formation and dissemination of representations. To understand the images of identity, it is necessary to take a constructivist approach, in order to analyse how the images originated and their fictionality. The process of construction of identity and the perception of the self and other has multiple variations. However, it is usually expressed in the discourse of travel writings and in literary representations, which include the news. A discourse is a set of themes, concepts and values that certain individuals have in common when they talk or write about the world and therefore it is spread to the community and accepted as general assumptions.[6] In a discourse of representation, images of other (hetero-images) appear interwoven with the individual identity (self-images or auto-images). Therefore, the

[1] Y. Rodríguez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes. Self and Other in Historical and Literary Texts of Golden Age Spain (c. 1548-1673) (*Bern, 2008); M. Beller, and J. Leerssen, J. ed., *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam, 2007).
[2] M. Espagne, 'Comparison and Transfer. A Question of Method' in M. Middell and L. Roura eds., *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing* (London, New York, 2013), p. 47.
[3] Rodríguez, *The Dutch…*
[4] T. Hoenselaars and J. Leerssen, 'The Rhetoric of National Character: Introduction' *European Journal of English Studies,* xiii (2009), p. 251.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] A. Rigney, 'Discourse' in Belle and Leerssen ed. *Imagology…*, p. 313.

study of images is a comparative enterprise that addresses crossed identities, as they are integrated by religious, national and regional concepts, tightly linked with each other. These identities may provoke conflicts but they may also coexist with each other.

The third approach is from the point of view of the propaganda tools, which requires a deeper study of the mechanisms and control of the networks of information. The focus of such study is to consider whether the upper political spheres had an influence on the way the news was presented and how this was represented, or alternatively to consider if the news was published independently. News published in different cities of the same territory or at different times would portray slightly different accounts of the same event, due to internal tensions. Thus, it is important to consider who published the news and if it makes any reference to the source of the news. The rhetoric displayed in the news also shows the differences in political context. The 'propaganda approach' has to be considered in order to analyse in depth these possible political influences in the representation of images.

3. Historical debate

Since the 1970s, cultural historians have developed an increasing interest in the role of the printed culture in the shaping of the society. The interest of historians in the news is thus not new, but in recent years new areas of research have been developed. New questions, mainly related to the existence of propaganda, the analysis of the networks of communication and how the international context is described in the news, are now occupying much of the efforts of the historians researching in this field, as well as the analysis of manuscript letters in order to integrate all the different communication systems.

The first steps to integrate the printed culture in a wider sociological explanation came from the German sociologist Jürgen Habermas, who developed the theory of the emergence of the public sphere in the eighteenth century in the coffee houses that proliferated around England.[1] The concept of the public sphere refers to the degree of political debate that can be recorded in all social classes on the basis of a rational-critical discourse. Therefore, the first element that allowed the development of a public sphere was the access to the discourse. The assumption that the news around Cádiz actually had an influence in the later political development has to take into account the existence of a public sphere, in which that news could be discussed and create an opinion.

Since the publication of Habermas' theory about the public sphere, many scholars have contested it, focusing on the development of the printed culture, its networks of dissemination and its influence in politics and on the mentality of the

[1] J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1989, 1st ed. 1962).

population.[2] One of the most recent works contesting this theory is A. Pettegree's *The Invention of News*.[3] He argues that a long-term historical perspective casts doubt on the claim of Habermas that a new form of participatory politics was being practised in the eighteenth century. He traces this development back to the fifteenth century, arguing that there was a 'thirst for news' even then.[4] According to him, the printed news attempted an explanation of causes and consequences, a fact which would have encouraged the rational and critical debate.

Pettegree also challenges the view of newsgathering as a series of evolutionary steps from manuscript to print and from pamphlets to newspapers, arguing that the communication environment was far more complex and comprised newspapers, word of mouth, letters, non-serial print, proclamations and pamphlets. In recent years there has been a renewed interest in the non-periodical news and in the manuscript news, both of which were still being published after the initial appearance of the periodical news.[5] I will argue that other genres, such as theatre plays, songs, libels or accounts of travels, were also part of the communication environment and can be defined as news in a broader sense. In the non-periodical press, the news contained a unity that could be understood in itself, without being part of any series or having to wait for the next publication to be completed and fully understood.

A major question that has been widely discussed is whether one can talk of propaganda in the early modern news, since its current definition seems to encompass much greater resources and methods that the ones in practice in the early modern period. Most scholars have agreed on defining it as propaganda, a term widely used

[2] C. Calhoun ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992).
[3] A. Pettegree, *The Invention of News*. *How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, 2014).
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[5] S. Davies and P. Fletcher ed., *News in Early Modern Europe. Currents and Connections* (Leiden, 2014), p. 8.

when examining the Dutch Revolt, in which pamphleteering played a great role. P. Wilson, in his major work on the Thirty Years War, regards confessional motivated propaganda as a means of rallying opinion on the basis of faith to undermine and isolate opponents, in furthering the argument that the conflict was a religious war.[6] Numerous historians agree that propaganda was already apparent in early modern news and pamphlets, as a reflection of the political interests.[7] However, some scholars, such as K. Sharpe, are critical of this point of view and consider that the notion of an early modern government engaging in propaganda is anachronistic.[8]

The term 'propaganda' appeared in Latin in 1622, when Pope Gregory XV founded the *Congregation de Propaganda Fide*, a committee of cardinals responsible for foreign missions, whose aim was to spread the catholic faith.[9] Therefore, 'propaganda' already carried the sense of spreading a practice or belief. In modern times, propaganda also implies a governmental control of the means of communication, but the existence of pre-censorship and post-censorship in many early modern states can take back the origins of propaganda, if understood as the dissemination of information in order to promote a political or religious cause or point of view. I will address this debate by showing how the news in the battle of Cádiz was manipulated for political purposes.

Related to the concept of propaganda and its role in the news, there is also the analysis of the networks of communication. In order to broaden the scope of how news travelled along the networks of communication and how it was reinterpreted, scholars

[6] P. Wilson, *Europe's Tragedy. The Thirty Years War* (London, 2014), pp. 824-827.
[7] Theibault, 'The Rhetoric...'; Asch, 'Wo der Soldat...'
[8] K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* (Cambridge, 1987).
[9] 'Propaganda' OED. [http://ezproxyprd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2355/view/Entry/152605?rskey=6gNXB4&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid] (accessed on 02/05/15).

have recently highlighted the international dimension.[10] I will address this topic in the thesis, showing how international events can be reinterpreted on a national basis and manipulated to serve specific political purposes.

Contextualising the authors of the news, pamphlets and any other genre of the printed culture is central to studying the patronage and the possible influences and intentions of the author when writing the source.[11] New trends in the history of the printed culture are more concerned with tracing the impact of the printed word on society and the links between them and government. New studies try to include the popular response to the political decisions, as well as looking at the networks of communication.[12] The history of politics is therefore studied as a process of communication directed towards the decision-making process. This implies that the news did have a political influence.

In England, the historiography around the printed culture has mainly focused on the Civil Wars and the Interregnum but new areas of research include the emergence of news in England, the reception of the Thirty Years War and the re-examination of the past for political purposes.[13] The rise of the numbers of pamphlets published and the fierce political division has led to the conceptualization of 1650 as a turning point in the English printed culture. However, the political and religious divisions in English society appeared long before the Civil Wars and can be traced back to the reigns of James I and

[10] See Daviesand Fletcher ed. *News…* See also R. González, 'El poderoso príncipe transilvano: la larga guerra contra los turcos (1593-1606) a través de las relaciones de sucesos' *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna,* xxviii(2006), pp. 277-299; J. Álvarez, 'Información, control e identidad. El relato sobre el "Turco" en las relaciones de sucesos granadinas' *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada*, xxv (2013), 161-180; H. Morgan, 'News from Ireland: Catalan, Portuguese and Castilian Pamphlets on the Confederate War in Ireland', in Ó Siochrú Ohlmeyer ed. *Ireland: 1641. Contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013).

[11] J. Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers. Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 11.

[12] M. Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam, 2012); L. Manzano Baena, *Conflicting Words. The Peace Treaty of Münster (1648) and the Political Culture of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Monarchy* (Leuven, 2011).

[13] Peacey, *Politicians…*; J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003).

Charles I, as will be proved in the thesis. In fact, it has been pointed out that from the 1620s the Crown was increasingly concerned about controlling the content of printed materials and news.[14]

In Spain there has been an important effort made to compile and analyse the *relaciones de sucesos,* due to the action of research groups such as the SIERS at the University of A Coruña. Attention has been focused both on the printing centres and on the rhetoric and language used in order to convince of the truthfulness of the news.

Therefore, whereas the English historiography has focused on the political role of the news, it had mostly done so throughout the decades of the Civil War. The Spanish historiography, on the other hand, has focused more on the literary analysis of the *relaciones*, paying attention to the language and expressions.

This thesis aims to contribute to the debate of the non-periodical news from an international perspective by comparing the narrative of a single event in two different countries. By looking at how the news reflected the internal and external political situation, we can see the way in which people saw the world and obtain an insight into the influence news had on the political life. I will argue that it contributed to the creation of identities of both self and other. During the early modern period, these identities usually included a religious character, which makes it difficult to distinguish the national identities that underlie those religious approaches.

Since it is beyond the scope of this research, I am not going to deal with the nature and total number of the public who read the news. Nonetheless, it is estimated that around two hundred copies were made of each broadsheet.[15] However, the news reached a wider public than those who purchased the broadsheet. The news was usually voiced abroad in taverns, churches, marketplaces and among families and even disseminated in

[14] Dooley and Baron ed. *The Politics…*, p. 42.
[15] F. Dahl, *Short-Title Catalogue of English Corantos and Newsbooks, 1620-164 (*London, 1938).

the form of songs and theatre.[16] In fact, the original meaning of the word 'publish' was not printing, but 'to make public or generally known'.[17] The fact that the news was publicly read in such central places, where people gathered in the course of their daily lives, means that it was received by a wider public than would be expected by only taking into account the number of editions. However, calculating the number of people who actually heard this news is a difficult task for historians, although it would clarify the debate around the public knowledge of political affairs and the influence of people in the political sphere.

[16] See L. Steveker, 'English News Plays of the Early 1620s: Thomas Middleton's *A Game at Chess* and Ben Jonson's *The Staple of News*' and N. Moon, 'This is Attested Thruth: The Rhetoric of Truthfulness in Early Modern Broadside Ballads' both in Davies and Fletcher ed. *News…*

[17] 'Publish' OED [http://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2355/view/Entry/154072?redirectedFrom=publish#eid] (accessed on 02/05/15).

4. The construction of identities

Approaching the study of identities presents several methodological problems. First of all, identity is the mental structure of reality which is formed by two dimensions, both personal and collective, and each of them might have different variations. However, identity is not something given at any level, but a construction. It is based on social interaction, which leads to the self-definition and the definition of the otherness. In order to create this sense of internal cohesion, communication has a key role, identifying the characteristics that lead to the sense of community. Sometimes it might be difficult to determine whether a personal point of view, represented in an historical source, can be extrapolated to a group.

Secondly, there are a wide range of sources that express identity. Identifying which source can suit best the purposes of the historical analysis depends on the historical context and the research question. In this case, the studying of news seems suitable in order to study the construction of collective identities, since in wartime situations there is a clear interest in strengthening both the image of the enemy and the self-image.[1] This situation leads to the construction of positive and negative images, which are afterwards conceptualized and fixed in the collective memory. Groups are usually defined in terms of territory, ethnicity, nationhood, language, religion, history… In this case the central approaches are religion and nationhood and the analysis of which solidarities the news appealed to and what role it played in the construction of self-images or partial identities. The most common process in the creation of collective identities is the negative approach, i. e. defining a group only in relation to an out-

[1] Y. Rodríguez, *The Dutch…*, p. 14.

group, a 'we' against an 'other'.[2] Thus the self-valorisation is highlighted by representing other peoples negatively.

It created the narrative of the event and how it was going to be remembered by the collective memory. The prevalence of certain images is evidence that there was a shared code of values and representations common to a group. The news expressed itself in terms of the two main features to create collective identities in the early modern period: the belonging to a specific religious community and the link to a territory. Since in this case the conflict takes place between two different states, the territory is represented in national terms, although it is difficult to determine whether this feeling of nationality was common and shared by the whole of the population.[3] Probably there was not a shared sense of belonging to a national community, but the belonging to a state was constructed in a top-down process in which administration was a key element to make the concept of the state more agreeable to the population. There are three possibilities: the appeal to the different religious identities, the strengthening of the national identity or the influence in internal politics. It is interesting to note that whereas in Spain the cornerstone of the collective identity was the appeal to religion, namely Catholicism, in England the sense of Englishness was the keynote of the identity.

4.1. Sources

Regarding the Spanish news, it is understood as news printed in the Spanish language in the territories of the Iberian Peninsula under the rule of the Spanish monarchs. In 1625 this included the whole of the Iberian Peninsula, divided into three

[2] C. Lorenz, 'Representations of Identity: Ethnicity, Race, Class, Gender and Religion. An Introduction to Conceptual History' in S. Berger and C. Lorenz ed., *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories (*New York, 2008), p. 25.
[3] See B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 2006, 1st ed. 1983) and E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (New York, 2008).

different kingdoms: the Crown of Castile, the Crown of Aragon and the Crown of Portugal. The news published in other languages of the territories belonging to the Spanish monarchy in 1625, such as Naples, Sicily or Flanders, is beyond the scope of this thesis. The Iberian Peninsula constitutes, geographically speaking, a homogeneous territory where news could travel along land routes and where communication was not hindered by the necessity of sea travel. It was also the centre of the political decision-making process, due to the Court's location in Madrid.

The main corpus of the Spanish sources are the *relaciones de sucesos*, generally described as a type of proto-newspaper printed mostly with poor quality paper, which allowed the printers to produce greater quantities and in turn sell them at a lower price, thus reaching a wider population.[4] It was usually written in rhetorical and triumphalist language and appealed more to the sentiments of the reader than to objectively reporting the news. The exact moment in which they first appeared is unknown but it was probably around 1472-1474.[5] However, it is difficult to determine how many *relaciones de sucesos* have survived, since they were not numbered. At the same time, there might be some which have not yet been catalogued and therefore remain unknown.

The fact that it was politically controlled is proved by the fact that they barely appear in the inquisition indexes of forbidden works, since their aim was to create an idea of historical truth imposed in a top-down process and to be accepted by the common population.[6] The main publishing centres were Seville, Madrid and Barcelona.[7] Regarding the news about the battle of Cádiz, the largest proportion was

[4] Fernández, 'Información…`; V. Infantes, V. '¿Qué es una relación? (Divagaciones varias sobre una sola divagación)' in M. C. García de Enterría, H. Ettinghausen, V. Infantes and A. Redondo ed., *Las relaciones de sucesos en España (1500-1750)* (Alcalá de Henares, 1996).
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] V. Campo, 'La historia y la política a través de las relaciones en verso en pliegos sueltos del siglo XVII' in *Ibid.*, pp. 19-32.

published in Seville, due to its closeness to Cádiz and the participation of the people of Seville in the battle. There were also *relaciones de sucesos* printed in Córdoba, Madrid, Cádiz, Huesca and Barcelona. According to J. Delgado Casado, there were at least ten publishers in Seville in 1625.[8] Out of them only four are known to have printed *relaciones* about the battle of Cádiz. However, there is at least one further publisher, Simón Fajardo (or Faxardo), who printed news about the preparation of a fleet in England and the events in Dunkirk that year, where Spanish ships captured some of the English ships.[9] In Madrid there were at least thirteen publishers of which only one, Luis Sánchez, published a *relación*. A similar situation can be found in all the other cities (Córdoba, Granada, Barcelona, Huesca), where only one piece of news was published in each. In Cádiz there is evidence that of the two publishers, both printed *relaciones*, which is a clear indicator of the general concern of the population about events that personally affected them.

The case of the English news poses fewer problems regarding its definition. Language was the same in all the states under the rule of the king of England, who was also king of Scotland and Ireland. However I will deal here only with the news published in the territory of the Kingdom of England, with its political centre in London. As with Spain, it was also a composite monarchy, formed by three kingdoms joined in 1603. In spite of this union, scholars point out the existence of a clear sense of

[8] J. Delgado, *Diccionario de Impresores Españoles (siglos XV-XVII)* (2 vols, Madrid: 1996).

[9] *Relación de la gran victoria que ha tenido el Emperador de Alemania contra el rey de Dinamarca, el exército que le ha desbaratado el conde de Tilli, su Capitán General, con muerte de dos mil cavallos y prisión de muchos grandes de su Corte. Otra gran victoria, que ha tenido la Armada de Flandes, en otra segunda pesquería de los arenques de Inglaterra y Olanda, en que les han quemado y echado a fondo más de ochenta navíos, con pérdida de toda la gente de aquella pesquería. También se avisa de la gran pérdida y destrucción que la armada de Inglaterra ha tenido en los puertos de La Coruña, en Galicia*, printed by Simón Fajardo (Seville: 1625), BNE VC/224/41.

Englishness.[10]

The English news can be divided between *corantos* and newsbooks. The former were half-sheet folios printed on both sides. The first *corantos* appeared in 1621, as a translation of Dutch news. They developed into periodical publications known as *newsbooks*. Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne created the *Weekly Newes* in 1622 and shortly afterwards Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne founded the *Mercurius Britannicus*. *Newsbooks* were numbered since 1624, which makes it easier to identify lost news.[11] Sadly, most of the news corresponding to the years 1625-1627 has been lost, especially that printed by Thomas Archer, according to F. Dahl's information.[12] There is no clear reason for that, but, as a consequence, the amount of English news that can be analysed is inferior. Additionally, there is a reference to a piece of news describing the preparation for the expedition which appeared in the *Mercurius Britannicus* of November 1625, printed by Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, in issue number 40.[13] According to F. Dahl's reference the article can be found at Trinity College in Dublin. However, the librarians there have not been able to locate it, and it appears to have been lost at some point.

Newsbooks were not the only type of news published in England. Lord Cecil published his own diary in 1626 in order to justify himself, while other accounts were published some years later, such as *The History of Cales Passion*, which was published in 1652 and reprinted in 1654 and 1659.[14] There were a further two publications which

[10] C. Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999); B. Bradshaw and J. Morrill, *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707. State Formation in the Atlantic Archipielago* (Basingstoke, 1996).
[11] F. Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks, 1620-1642* (London, 1952).
[12] Dahl, *Short-Title…*, pp. 50-51.
[13] Reference is Nov 1625, no. 40. *The Continuation of our Newes, Contayning Many Memorable Matters. List of the Expedition to Spain and News from It*, printed by Mercurius Britannicus. Cited in Dahl, *A Bibliography…*
[14] Cecil, *A Journal…*; G. Tooke, *The History of Cales Passion: or as some will by-name it, the miss-taking of Cales, presented in the vindication of the sufferers* (London, 1659).

reedited journals unpublished in the 17th century.[15] Although they provide an insight into what happened and an account of the reason for the defeat, the fact that they were published more than a century later makes it unlikely that they had any real influence. Although these types of news have a much larger format, similar to a book, it is still impossible to determine if there was other news similar to this which has been lost.

In addition to that, there are other sources of news: the libels or pamphlets made in the form of songs.[16] These were told in public and had the advantage of not being under the royal control, since they were a form of oral tradition, and evolved in a context of political contestation. They clearly intended to influence people's views through the use of simple and generalist language. This wide range of news is probably related to the financial and political problems that the failure of the battle of Cádiz posed to the king and his relationship with the English Parliament.

Consequently, there is a clear difference in the people involved in publishing the news. The large amount of news in Spain in comparison with England can be explained by the fact that it directly involved the population, whereas the fact that in England the accounts were longer and usually had a recognized author is related to the need for justifying the defeat and defending themselves against accusations.

4.2. Identifying the foe in national terms

The news contributed to the association of a certain land or people with positive or negative concepts. The aim was to create collective identities based on characteristics

[15] *Two Original Journals of the Sir R. Granville, viz., I. Of the Expedition to Cádiz, anno 1625. Of the Expedition to the Isle of Rhee, anno 1627*, ed. J. Clarke (London, 1724); J. Glanville, *The Voyage to Cádiz in 1625*, ed. A. Grossart (Westminster, 1883).
[16] *Early Stuart Libels: an Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources*, ed. A. Bellany, and A. McRae (2005) [http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html] (accessed on 14/06/2015).

that could be applied to the whole group, becoming an inherent association. There were therefore three different groups that could be defined in terms of national origin: Spanish, English and Dutch. However, the latter barely appear in the sources. Both English and Spanish news attempted to highlight the bravery of their own group, while dismissing the actions of the enemy by portraying them as cowards. To achieve this, the news displayed different rhetorical tools, such as the exaggeration of the differences in numbers, the association of specific characteristics to the military leaders and the using of negative concepts, such as treason, dishonour and cruelty.

England and Spain had been ideological, political and military enemies since the times of Philip II and Elizabeth I.[17] These images only disappeared during times of truce or negotiations. Under James I the marriage negotiations resulted in more positive images, but this process ended abruptly with the outcome of the war. As a consequence, new images of enemy had to be developed in order to explain the political changes. Thus, they called upon the previous cordial relations to identify the enemy as the cause of the war. The war was traditionally explained as a consequence of the failure of the negotiations and Charles' sense of humiliation after his stay in Madrid. The story of the battle begins in fact in one of the *relaciones* with the visit of Charles to Madrid in 1623, where he was welcomed with great celebrations. Despite such efforts, the *relación* goes on; Charles called on the war against Spain. He is portrayed as a greedy prince who underestimated the efforts of the Spanish Crown to attain peace and decided to join the Spain's enemies. Even worse, he is said to have broken an oath ('rompiendo la fe del juramento y pazes con España').[18] The breaking of such an oath signifies dishonour,

[17] H. Ettinghausen, 'Muy grandes herejes': los ingleses e Inglaterra en las relaciones españolas de los siglos XVI y XVII' in P. Begrand, ed., *Representaciones de la alteridad, ideológica, religiosa, humana y espacial en las relaciones de sucesos (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Besançon, 2009), pp. 159-171.

[18] 'Breaking the faith of an oath and peace with Spain'. *Relación certíssima y copia de una carta, embiada a la ciudad de Cádiz a esta de Granada, en que se da larga quenta de todo lo sucedido en ella y*

which in the Spanish society was considered as one of the worst offenses someone could commit. The attack on the figure of the king for such a sin, the dishonour, meant that the whole country was represented by that.

The first news in Spain about the preparation of a fleet in England came in March.[19] However, the news indicates that the route of the English fleet was unknown to the Spanish government, in spite of the efforts of the Spanish ambassador there. According to the Spanish references, the English Crown had clearly stated that it was not intended against Spanish territory, with the underhand purpose of catching the Spanish army off guard.[20] Be it true or not, this reference is again a way of representing the lack of honesty under which the English would be represented in all the news.

It was assumed that the whole aristocracy would collaborate with the defence of the city, as it was one of the duties of being a noble. In fact, Luis de Gamboa y Eraso reports that all the nobles came to Cádiz to support the defence of the city: 'no huvo señor tan retirado en su estado, ni tan ocupado en Madrid, que por la posta no viniese a sustentar la reputación de su nación'.[21] Obviously, this fact was an exaggeration and a rhetorical tool to call upon the commitment of what a true and noble Spaniard was.

In England a similar rhetoric was used to explain the outcome of the war. They feared a Spanish attack on the English coast and this created a feeling of insecurity in

---

su bahía y heredades cercanas al mar, desde el día de Todos los Santos, que entró el enemigo, hasta que se bolvió a salir de la dicha bahía, printed by Francisco Heylán (Granada, 1625), BNE VC/1016/6.

[19] *Copia de una carta que don Fernando de Legaspi embió desde Xerez de la Frontera a Madrid, a don Francisco de Mendoça*, printed by Luis Sánchez (Madrid, 1625), RAH 9/3660(13); *Relación famosa en que se da aviso de la infantería que el señor don Fernando Remírez Fariña, asistente desta ciudad de Sevilla y Capitán General della y su tierra mandó lebantar para embiar de presidio y socorro a la ciudad de Cádiz, por el mes de março de este año de mil y seiscientos y veynte y cinco*, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville, 1625), RAH 9/3666(92); *Relación verdadera de la extraordinaria tormenta que ha tenido la Armada Olandesa y Inglesa, que estava sobre Dunquerque, y de cómo los nuestros le tomaron y destruyeron toda su pescaría y otros varios sucesos*, printed by Pedro Craesbeeck (Lisbon, 1625), BNE VC/224/43.

[20] BNE VC/1016/6

[21] 'There was lord neither so retired in his land nor so occupied in Madrid who did not travel to maintain the reputation of his nation'. BNE VC/224/68.

which the expedition was seen as a way of self-protection. The English accounts regarded the outcome of the war as a consequence of the behaviour of the Spanish king, who 'hath so often broke his worde'.[22] Thus, in one case this appeal is used to justify the war, whereas in the other case it is used to change the previous positive image of the current enemy. In any case, the reference to the king is seen as the whole representation of the nation. They also recurred to a traditional animosity explained in the following way: 'for if wee consider the Hate which the Spaniard and his Colleagues beare to our Kingdom'.[23]

Secondly, a very appealing way of characterizing the enemy is stressing the differences in numbers between the attackers and the defenders (or reducing them). This was a rhetorical tool in order to impress the audience and highlight the positive characteristics of their own community. In Spain, many of the *relaciones de sucesos* reported higher numbers of ships and soldiers than there actually were. A *relación* published before the battle by Juan de Cabrera in Seville stated that at least 150 ships were prepared in England to sail to the Mediterranean.[24] However, such a number was not quoted again and most of the news reported a figure of between 100 and 130 ships. The number of soldiers quoted varies between 12,000 and 20,000. This number is compared to the size of the Spanish garrison at the city, which, according to the

[22] Letter from E. Cecil to J. Coke, February 27, 1626. Cited in: Glanville, *The Voyage*…, p. XXXV.
[23] *(A) Relation of a New League Made by the Emperour of Germnay with Other Princes, Potentates and States Catholicke, against the Enemies of the Roman Catholick-Religion, with the Names of those Princes*, printed by Mercurius Britannicus (London, 1626), EEBO. On English perception of Spain in the news, see G. Waite, 'Empathy for the Persecuted or Polemical Posturing? The 1609 Spanish Expulsion of the Moriscos as Seen in English and Netherlandic Pamphlets' *Journal of Early Modern History*, xvii (2013), pp. 95-123; J. López-Peláez Casellas, ' 'Race' and the Construction of English National Identity: Spaniards and North-Africans in English Seventeenth-Century Drama', *Studies in Philology*, cvi (2009), pp. 32-51; M. Sanchez, 'Anti-Spanish Sentiment in English Literary and Political Writing, 1553-1603' (Ph. D. Thesis, Leeds University, 2004).
[24] *Verdadera relación de la Armada que se apresta en Inglaterra y la guarda que manda su Magestad se ponga en los puertos de España, particularmente en Lisboa. Y de la grande peste que ay en la ciudad de Londres*, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville: 1625). BNE VC/224/50.

relaciones, was formed by less than a hundred men.[25] In *Relación de lo sucedido en Cádiz con la venida de la Armada de Inglaterra*, the author reports that 'con doze galeras (y aun con con cinco) se puede dezir que se a socorrido y defendido a Cádiz', thus highlighting the heroism of the action.[26]

However, if these figures are compared with what the English sources relate, there is a great difference. Georges Tooke stated that there were only 85 English ships, to which Lord Cecil added in his diary seven more ships coming from the Netherlands.[27] In *The Voyage to Cádiz*, written by J. Glanville, secretary of Cecil, the number is surprisingly inferior, with only nine ships per squadron –and there were three of them.[28] However, his figures of the soldiers seem more accurate, referring to 10,000 soldiers divided into ten regiments. Apparently, the real number was around 10,000 soldiers and 5,000 seamen, divided into 64 or 74 ships (no agreement has yet been reached on this latter point).[29]

Regarding the size of the Spanish garrison, Tooke affirmed that there were around 35 ships waiting in the port of Cádiz and that fifteen others arrived in support of them sent by the Duke of Fernandina, and E. Cecil also reports a higher number of ships.[30] This would mean that the difference between both armies was not as significant as the Spanish news portrayed, namely that there were only twelve Spanish ships at the port, having arrived from Brazil and Naples. In any case, it is clear that the differences

[25] *Papeles Varios de Felipe IV*, BNE MSS/18175, v. 29-36; BNE VC/224/50.
[26] 'We can say that Cádiz has been defended with twelve ships (and even with five)'. *Relación de lo succedido en Cádiz, con la venida de la Armada de Inglaterra* (n.p., 1625), RAH 9/3660(14).
[27] Tooke, *The History*…
[28] Glanville, *The Voyage*…
[29] R. Stewart, 'Arms and Expeditions: the Ordnance Office and the Assaults on Cádiz (1625) and the Isle of Rhé (1627)' in M. Fissel ed., *War and Government in Britain, 1598-1650* (Manchester, 1991): pp. 112-132; R. Lockyer, *Buckingham. The Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London, 1981).
[30] Tooke, *The History*…; Cecil, *A Iournal*...

in numbers were a tool to improve the image of their own group through the reinforcement of their bravery.

Additionally, by referring to specific and courageous actions led by military leaders, the news reinforced the feeling of cohesion around an identity, which is defined on the whole by that person. Thus, the few members of the Spanish garrison who resisted the English attack in the fortress of Puntal did so because it was inherent in their identity, defined in national terms ('hazaña al fin de pechos españoles').[31] Several *relaciones* refer to this fact in similar terms, and portrayed the Captain as a hero who refused to surrender. This defence until death and the refusal to surrender, referred to in many of the Spanish sources, are seen as the ideal prototype of what is a loyal subject of the king and what is a proper Catholic. So it is clearly defined in one of the *relaciones*: 'y que él [Fernando Girón] procuraría defenderse de su armada hasta morir, por su Dios como católicos y por su Rey como leales españoles'.[32] Thus, the definition of identity is linked by both loyalty towards the Crown and Catholicism. From this point of view, it is implied that the worst offence would be the dishonour of not defending those principles.

However, when the English news is analysed, that 'heroic' defence of the fortress storyline blurs, as they report that it was seized by the English after a discussion in which the Spanish garrison agreed to surrender and leave it in English hands. This fact is of course neglected in the Spanish news, as it would have supposed a

[31] 'Feat eventually of Spanish souls'. Herrero, Simón, *Veríssima relación en que se da quenta del cerco que los ingleses y olandeses pusieron a la ciudad de Cádiz, día de Todos los Santos, primero del mes de noviembre, este año de mil y seiscientos y veinte y cinco*, printed at the house of Gaspar (Cádiz, 1625), RAH 9/3681(87).

[32] 'and he [Fernando Girón] would try to defence himself from the fleet until the death, for their God as Catholics and for their king as loyal Spanish'. *Copia de la carta que el señor don Fernando Girón, capitán general de infantería de Cádiz embió al ecelentíssimo señor duque de Medina y la orden que del Consejo se le embió al señor don Fadrique de Toledo. Con el valeroso hecho que hizo el mancebo Platero hijo de Sevilla, en Cádiz*, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Sevilla, 1625), RAH 9/3667(39).

dishonouring of the Spanish identity, while when seen from the perspective of the English news it becomes clear that the mere sighting of the English ships was enough to frighten the enemy. In this case, they highlighted the surprise factor that was decisive in Drake's attack in 1587. At the same time, it is implied that this frightening sight goes back to the previous battles in which England was victorious and which laid the basis for that self-image. Apparently, however, it was the Dutch ships that attacked the fortress of Puntal, while the English ships remained in the background. Although this fact does not appear in the diaries, it does appear in the libels: 'the collyers that day, did all runne away / and would not batter the fort'.[33]

This example highlights the fact that escaping from the battlefield was one of the most dishonourable acts that a soldier could commit. It is a recurring appeal in all the sources, both English and Spanish. Both sides report cases in which the enemy escaped the battlefield driven by fear and cowardice. Additionally, when referring to English flights, all news pieces reported that they were drunk. However, while in Spain it was presented as an additional condition to their flight, under the equation 'they fled and they were drunk', in England it was regarded as a cause: 'they fled because they were drunk, lacking conditions to fight'. At the same time, the writers of that news criticized the lack of supplies, since it was the lack of beer and water that made the soldiers drink the wine.[34] By doing that, they contributed to the later discussion of whom was to blame for the defeat.

Despite the efforts of the authors of news to create a negative image of the enemy, some private sources give a different viewpoint. In a letter sent to king Philip IV the English are defined as organized people: 'començó la armada enemiga a entrarse en

[33] 'Upon the English Fleete Sett Forth. Anno 1625', *Early Stuart...*
[34] BNE VC/1016/6; Cecil, *A Iournall…*

la vaíia con mui gentil horden que en todo le an tenido siempre'.[35] This explanation of the battle is practically the same as the report published in Seville by Francisco de Lyra, which indicates that both stories were sent from the same informant. However, in the latter case, the positive connotation of the English had disappeared. Thus, there is a controlled attempt to create a negative image of the enemy, manipulating the information in order to delete any positive characteristic by portraying an image of cruelty and cowardice as inherent characteristics. There are also references to an 'internal enemy', those English people living in the region previously but that are now considered to be in favour of the enemy because of their nationality.[36] Nationality therefore becomes the binding element to create a cohesive group, while Englishness is seen as an inherent characteristic.[37]

4.3. Defining the enemy in terms of heresy

In the early modern period religion played a key role in constructing identities and it was a general issue discussed by the population at large. In fact, news regarding religious issues was some of the most popular. The division between Protestantism and Catholicism in Europe became an issue in the political sphere, with the continent plagued by religious wars. It had also played a role in the marriage negotiations between England and Spain and had definitely had a key role in its failure. Shortly before the death of Elizabeth, James wrote to the earl of Northumberland promising that he would not persecute Catholicism nor spare Catholics of the good services they deserved.[38]

[35] 'the enemy fleet started to enter the bay with great order, as they have always had'. BNE MSS/18175, v. 29-36.
[36] *Relación de la llegada, entrada y efetos de la Armada de Inglaterra de 106 navíos, con 4 capitanas y 4 almirantas en 3 esquadras, una de Inglaterra, Palatinado y Olanda*, printed by Baltasar Sánchez (Seville, 1625), RAH 9/3649(94).
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] S. Houston, *James I* (London, 1995), p. 63.

Some, such as the Howard family, who were crypto-Catholics, were welcomed at the Court and made a career there. That led to the division in political factions at the English Court. The Catholic or Spanish party promoted the alliance with Spain and made it effective through the marriage negotiations. James had tried to avoid the publishing of anti-Catholic pamphlets in order to please the Spanish Ambassador, but the failure of the negotiations saw a revival of the Protestant publications. The differences between the two parties increased towards the end of the reign of James and were evident during Charles I's reign. In 1624 a pamphlet published by Protestant Thomas Scott called support for the war against Spain. The pamphlet was entitled '*Certaine Reasons and Arguments of Policie. Why the King of England should Hereafter giue Overall Further Treatie and Enter into Warre with the Spaniard* '. Philip III and after him Philip IV had expected that the negotiations would lead to the conversion of England towards Catholicism. Meanwhile, James I expected to strike a balance as the mediator between both sides in the European conflicts. However, both assumptions proved to be false.

Since England and Spain had different religions, it is clear that it would be one of the elements to characterize the enemy, as well as appealing to solidarities in both communities. Surprisingly, although religion played an important role in the Spanish news, portraying the Anglo-Spanish war as a clash between heresy and Catholicism, it did not do so in the English news, in which the appeal to Englishness is the distinctive element. The reason for that might well be the religious differences in England, with the result that appealing to the nation around the figure of the king would likely gain a greater degree of cohesion among the population.

An example of the importance of religion is the role played by France in the Anglo-Spanish relations. France had been represented as an enemy as a consequence of

its participation in the Valtellina, one of the most reported news events that year.[39] However, when considering the situation of the Catholics in England, France becomes an ally, represented by the situation of the wife of Charles I, French princess Henrietta Maria. Spanish news expressed great concern about the situation of the Catholics in England, given that it was a cornerstone to legitimate their position. In fact, in1626 a *relación* was published in which it was said that more than ten thousand Catholics, excluding priests and frays, had been imprisoned in England and that persecution was worse than at any other time.[40] Religion therefore became a key element able to link political enemies for specific causes.

The English had traditionally been represented in the Spanish mentality as heretics, and the problems and fractures of England were seen as a resulting divine punishment.[41] However, during the time of negotiations the image was somewhat positive, giving examples of conversion, such as a *relación* in which thirty-six English corsairs converted to Catholicism. They were defined as 'ingleses de nación y hereges de profesión', but the fact that they converted actually disseminates a positive image of them.[42] This image was reinforced by the assumption that the English were in fact honest people.[43] This situation sharply contrasts with the context some years later, after the outcome of the war. However, in the *relaciones* around Cádiz, the English are usually described as 'heretics' and 'Luterans', overlooking the religious differences that

[39] *Feliz victoria que don Baltasar de Barradas, cavallero del ávito de San Iuan y capitán general de un exército, por la Católica Magestad del Rey Nuestro Señor, ha tenido en los presidios y fuerças de la Baltolina,* printed by Simón Faxardo, Seville: 1625. BNE VE/180/69.
[40] *Veríssima relación en que se da quenta en el estado en que están los católicos de Inglaterra por parte de los hereges, y con el zelo que la Reyna los favorece,* printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville, 1626), RAH 9/3660(40).
[41] Ettinghausen, 'Muy grandes…'
[42] 'English of nation and heretics of profession'. *Relación sumaria de la insigne conversión de treinta y seys corssarios, Ingleses de nación y de profesión herejes, y de la justicia que se hizo de algunos dellos en el Puerto de Santa María. Dispuesta por el padre Iuan de Armenta de la Compañía de Iesús*, printed by Hernando Rey (Cádiz: 1616) RAH 9/3556 bis (6), (7).
[43] 'Solo por cumplir la palabra, de que se precia mucho la nación inglesa'. *Ibíd.*

existed among them. By contrast, English presented both sides as Christian, in order to avoid the confessionalization of the conflict and thus avoiding tensions at home. In some accounts there are also references to the Bible as a way of appealing to Christianism on the whole and proving that God was on their side.[44]

Their commitment to a 'heretic League', which was opposing the 'Catholic League', linked them with the events in the Empire, especially with the situation in the Palatinate, with a much higher degree of religious conflict. It was regarded as part of the Thirty Years War. Likewise, the English news reported the creation of a Catholic League, as well as Spanish plans to invade England.[45] In Spain the victory was therefore explained within a broader context as being the protection of God, who was securing the 'true religion'. To prove this, the news included some extraordinary accounts, such as the discovery in Lisbon of an incorrupt dead body of an English Catholic sir who had fled from England.[46] Some news also reported that the figure of the Virgin Mary in a hermitage in Cádiz disappeared during the battle.[47] These miracles and extraordinary events were a way of appealing to the popular forms of religiosity and making the story much more digestible for the general public.

[44] Tooke, *The History*…, pp. 7; 29.
[45] *A Relation of a New League …*
[46] *Verdadera relación de la Armada que se apresta en Inglaterra y la guarda que manda su Magestad se ponga en los puertos de España, particularmente en Lisboa. Y de la grande peste que ay en la ciudad de Londres*, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville, 1625), BNE VC/224/54.
[47] RAH 9/3667(39).

5. Constructing memory and history

Networks of information were essential to decipher how news travelled and in which context it was published. The battle of Cádiz occurred in a polemical and difficult atmosphere for both countries and the news reflected this context. In both cases, the battle took place soon after a king had freshly arrived to the throne and that created some instability.

During the battle news was sent to other captains in order to inform about the situation. Sometimes, this private news was also printed. It provides an insight of how the battle was perceived, while the rest of the *relaciones* were published after it finished.[1] However, it was clearly not the only one of this type. The evidence of news travelling along information networks during the battle are clearly reflected in the numerous references in the news. Fernando Girón, member of the Counsel of War [*Consejo de Guerra*] who was in charge of the defence of Cádiz, sent several letters to the lords of the region in order to ask for more troops for the city, which was poorly defended at that moment. In a *relación* it is said that he gave notice of the arrival of the English fleet to the king, to Malaga and to Lisbon, where a fleet was being prepared as a security measure against a feared attack form England.[2]

[1] Fernández de Portocarrero, Luis, conde de Palma, *Relación de lo sucedido con la armada enemiga en la baya de Cádiz desde 1º de noviembre a las 5 de la tarde que acabó de entrar hasta oy 5 del dicho mes a medio día y lo que el duque de Medinasidonia a dispuesto y prevenido para la defensa de la ciudad de Cádiz y puente de Suaso, esta costa y lugares della (*Cádiz, 1625), RAH 9/3667(40).
[2] RAH 9/3649(94).

5.1. Spanish news within the context of Court disputes

In Spain the change of policy after the death of Philip III and the fall of his favourite, the duke of Lerma, encouraged the rise of the new favourite, the count-duke of Olivares. This caused several changes at Court, which was driven by different factions, groups and personal ties and divided between the supporters and the neglecters of Olivares aggressive policy. Regarding those involved in Cádiz, Fernando Girón was appointed member of the Counsel of State and War the same day as the count-duke of Olivares, shortly after the accession of Philip IV.[3] Although his relation with Olivares was far from being stable, Fernando Girón was close to the king. As such he was appointed on 8 February, 1625 to prepare and lead the defences of Cádiz and to increase royal authority in the area.

However, although the city of Cádiz was under the direct authority of the king, most of the territory of the west coast of Andalusia belonged to the nobility. Among them, one of the greatest landlords was the duke of Medina Sidonia, Juan Manuel Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, who was also Captain of the Coasts of Andalusia and the Ocean Sea.[4] Additionally, the increasing emphasis given to the north in Spanish policy, belittling the role of the Mediterranean, undermined the position that Medina Sidonia had achieved during the reign of Philip III, when the Mediterranean Sea was a cornerstone of royal policy.

His opposition to Olivares is still controversial and subject to debate. While some scholars consider that this opposition was developed both at the political and at the personal level, L. Salas argues that this conflict was not as important as has been regarded. He points out that both men actually agreed in most cases, one of them being

[3] 'Girón de Salcedo y Briviesca, Fernando', DBE (50 vols, Madrid, 2009-2013), xxiii, pp. 167-168; 'Hurtado de Mendoza, Juan', DBE, xxv, pp. 550-552.
[4] 'Pérez de Guzmán el Bueno, Juan Manuel Alonso', DBE, xli, pp. 112-115.

the defence of Cádiz. He regards the appointment of Girón as a conciliatory proposal towards Medina Sidonia, since both men were on good terms.[5] From a political perspective, the duke of Medina Sidonia positioned himself with the duke of Lerma, former favourite of Philip III and who was condemned under arrest in Lerma under the order of Olivares. Nonetheless, this might have been just a political strategy to balance his position between both sides.[6]

A third point of controversy was Olivares' fiscal policy plans. Apart from trying to develop his well-known plan of the Unions of Arms, Olivares also developed a more inclusive fiscal policy which reinforced the income of the Royal Treasury. According to this policy, all the *grandes de España* (the highest noble rank in Spain) had to cooperate with it by providing soldiers and money to the Crown when needed –and, in fact, the continuous wars in the north of Europe made this contribution a very regular one. As a consequence, several nobles opposed Olivares, among them the duke of Medina Sidonia. Although in the 1620s it was still not a direct confrontation, as it would become later in the 1640s when the son of Medina Sidonia would rebel against the king; the origins of this conflict can be traced back to 1625 and the organization of the defence of Cádiz, as the news clearly demonstrates. In spite of this conflict, Medina Sidonia was nonetheless appointed member of the Counsel of State by Philip IV.

The *relaciones* reflected the different political programmes that were being promoted by different members of the Court, especially highlighting the tensions between royal and noble authority. L. Salas argues that these *relaciones* did not really reflect with complete truthfulness the relationship between Olivares and Medina

[5] See 'Pérez de Guzmán …', DBE and L. Salas, *Medina Sidonia. El poder de la aristocracia, 1580-1670* (Madrid, 2008).
[6] Salas, *Medina Sidonia*…, pp. 301-302.

Sidonia.[7] He argues that the private correspondence reflects a different situation in which they agreed on most matters.

However, the news gives a different perspective, disseminating the image of a political opposition. As a consequence of the cooperation in the defence between Fernando Girón, representative of the king and therefore of Olivares, and Medina Sidonia the explanation around their personal role in it is different and so it is reflected in the news. While Girón was presented as a hero in order to reinforce royal authority, Medina Sidonia's aim was to reinforce his own authority. The fact that Medina Sidonia was clearly interested in spreading his perspective is proved by the evidence of the only *relación* which was printed in Madrid –at least the only one that has survived.[8] This *relación* was printed by the royal publisher, Luis Sánchez. Additionally it is the only one that is devoted to someone, namely the duchess of Pastrana, sister of Medina Sidonia, which means that it was directed towards a Court audience. In fact, right at the beginning it is stated that the aim of it was that 'se sepa algún rasguño del modo con que el gran Duque, su hermano, sirve a Su Magestad'.[9]

Many of the *relaciones de sucesos* actually portray Fernando Girón as the main person behind the defence, while reducing the activity of Medina Sidonia to the provision of soldiers from his own lands, as many other nobles did. This is the case of the *relación* published by Francisco de Lyra in Seville, as does the letter to Philip IV, which makes plausible the possibility of authorship of Fernando Girón, or someone close to him. Also the *relación* published by Baltasar Sánchez in Seville continues that

[7] L. Salas, 'Combates después de la batalla: nobleza, propaganda política y defensa (Cádiz, 1625)' in *Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (14 vols, Córdoba, 2003), iv.
[8] RAH 9/3660(13).
[9] 'so that it is known some of the way the Great Duke, your brother, serves His Majesty'. *Ibid.*

path, as well as Francisco Heylán, printer of the Royal Chancellery in Granada.[10] In this case, it is even more noticeable, since his job as official printer surely provided him with more credibility in the public opinion. The argument is that the royal authority would have been reinforced by stressing the importance of Girón. He definitely regards him as the main man charged with organizing the city. His high qualities as a general and his commitment to the situation are expressed and highlighted in the *relación* by stating that he went to the battlefield even though he had to go in his chair because of the gout he suffered. In Seville Juan de Cabrera, one of the most prolific publishers of the city, printed a letter in which Fernando Girón asked the duke of Medina Sidonia to send provisions and additional troops. He finishes it by stating that if he would be in Madrid he would broadcast it.[11]

However, the *relación* published by one Gaspar, neighbour of Cádiz (there is no surname given), and written by Simón Herrero, who assures having been present in the battle, takes a more even approach. It is the more rhetorical of the *relaciones* conserved and includes several classical references, which probably hindered its interpretation. However, he refers to Medina Sidonia and Fernando Girón, described as a 'brave leader', in order to please both.[12]

This situation sharply contrasts with the one expressed by Luis de Eraso y Gamboa in a *relación* which was published in Córdoba and Cádiz. In contrast with the previous news, the aim in this case is not to describe the battle but to praise Medina Sidonia's action. It is made clear right at the beginning when he states that the previous

[10] RAH 9/3649(94); BNE VC/1016/6; 'Heylán, Francisco', DBE, xxv, pp. 226-227; Delgado, *Diccionario…,* p. 322.
[11] 'Si Dios me pone en Madrid lo diré a vozes'. RAH 9/3667(39).
[12] 'como valeroso caudillo'. RAH 9/3681(87).

news had been altered and therefore it is not possible to know the truth.[13] In order to rally against that, he calls on his sources, which include archives of the duke and the books of the royal officials of Cádiz and Andalucía. Therefore, it focuses on the organization of the defence.

As expressed before, the battle of Cádiz marked an important event for the Spanish Crown, which was enjoying a period of military victories coinciding with the turn of policy. Surprisingly, the letter to Philip IV is in a dossier with information of the attack in 1596.[14] Both events appear therefore linked, giving the impression that the victory in 1625 was seen as redemption of the defeat in 1596 and portraying the image of a powerful state, without signs of decline. The implicit rhetoric in it also paints the reign of Philip IV as a glorious reign, even moreso than that of Philip II, thus increasing the king's reputation and erasing any sense of decline.

However, the period of glory was to be short and the military defeats of the next decade, together with increasing financial problems, would create the memory of the year of 1625 as the *annus mirabilis*. In fact, the importance of Cádiz was such, that only one year later a theatre play was written about it reinforcing the sense of glory: *El Socorro de Cádiz*, by Juan Pérez de Montalbán.[15] Years later, in 1654 a comedy theatre play written by Rodrigo de Herrera was published in Valencia, *La fe no ha menester armas y venida del ingles a Cádiz*. By that time, the Spanish Crown had lost a great part of its influence in Europe and the successive bankruptcies made the general sense of

[13] 'las de esta ocassión públicas fueron, pero ya corren tan adulteradas [probably in reference to the previous *relaciones*] con impresiones apóchrifas que dificultosamente averiguará lo sucedido quien las leyere todas'. BNE VC/224/68.
[14] BNE MSS/18175, v. 29-36.
[15] T. Ferrer Valls, 'El auto sacramental y la alegorización de la Historia: *El socorro de Cádiz* de Juan Pérez de Montalbán' *Studia Aurea,* vi (2012), pp. 99-116.

decline even more notable.[16] The context of war against France made it favourable to remember the by then old glories of the country.

In the 1630s, Philip IV decided to decorate the main room of the Palace of Buen Retiro, in Madrid, with a series of paintings commemorating that year and cementing what was considered the official history.[17] He commissioned for that the best painters in the country. The painting of the battle of Cádiz was done by Francisco de Zurbarán and represents Fernando Girón sitting in a chair and giving orders to Lorenzo Cabrera, governor of Cádiz, and another who might be Diego Ruiz, Captain of the army.[18] This latter assumption, however, is not clear. Nonetheless, there is no reference to Medina Sidonia or other nobles in the painting, probably due to the then need of Philip IV to reinforce his authority and his achievements.[19] However great the efforts of Medina Sidonia to impose his perspective might have been, he lost the battle of recognition in the official history, which was clearly made in line with the accounts that supported Girón's actions –who knows if maybe it was based on Francisco Heylán's *relación*.

5.2. English news in an increasingly polarized atmosphere

In England the confessionalization of the society was increasing after a period of relative tolerance under James I. Difficulties were arising as well for Charles I as a consequence of his complicated relationship with the Parliament, which denied him more subsidies. The failure of the attack on Cádiz caused financial problems as well as making evident the problems of the English army, which could be traced back to the

[16] J. Elliott and A. García ed., *La España del conde-duque de Olivares* (Valladolid, 1990).
[17] J. Brown, and J. Elliott, *A Palace for a King. The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, 1980), pp. 161-178.
[18] *Ibid*.; Salas, 'Combates…'; see appendix 2, p. 50.
[19] *Ibid*.

reign of Elizabeth.[20] At the same time, the Parliament increased its pressure to help Protestants in other areas of Europe, such as the Empire, the United Provinces or France. In turn, Charles I redirected his efforts towards the situation of the Huguenots in France and commanded the expedition to the duke of Buckingham. However, the expedition failed at the Isle of Rhé and Parliament and public opinion blamed Buckingham, who was dismissed from government.[21]

While it was easier for the printers of Spanish news to celebrate a victory, in England they had to justify the defeat, but without dismissing all the characteristics that should be applied to a proper Englishman. Therefore, they usually attributed the blame for the defeat to specific persons, while trying to save the good name of the English identity and the values associated with it. Thus, the blaming process clearly showed the differences in the political sphere. As late as 1652 the debate was still open and Georges Tooke blamed captain Thomas Love, while public opinion tended to blame Edward Cecil.[22] However, Tooke reported that 'but for Sir Thomas Loves unhappie interpose, he [Edward Cecil] had no doubt out of the shipping alone return'd a considerable victorie'.[23] Thus he blames a sole person for the failure of the attack but the reputation of the English as a whole is maintained, as well as the reputation of the commander of the expedition. But Tooke was not the only one to blame Love. The libel *Upon the English fleete sett forth* also blames Thomas Love, although also directs its attention to Buckingham:

[20] Stewart, R. *'Arms and…'*
[21] T. Cogswell, 'Foreign Policy and Parliament: The Case of La Rochelle, 1625-1626' *The English Historical Review*, cccxci (1984), pp. 241-267.
[22] Tooke, *History of Cales*…
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

> 'some say that sir Tomas Loove, God keepe him from us / did sett this project on foote / and his great masters [Buckingham] to boote. / Amongst them twill fall, but who shall have all / the weight on't is not knowne'.[24]

And the author finishes by stating 'and his next choyse hee shall have my voice / for a wiser man to commande', which is a clear critique towards everyone in charge of the expedition, from Buckingham to Cecil. Edward Cecil himself knew that he was going to be blamed as in one of his letters to J. Coke he states that

> 'which troubleth me most is to have so many come home before me, in so unfortunate a journey, when there are so many mouths open to do ill offices, and untruth hath most credit, and maketh most impression at the first'.[25]

He was convinced therefore that, being the commander of the fleet, charges would be upon him, which was the reason why he decided to publish his journal in 1626. However, he reported that captain Geere was the person who really acted with most blameworthiness during the campaign. Cecil also blamed the seamen for the defeat. He criticizes them ('but it seems they are not great seamen', 'these which His Matie hath had in this action wer the worst that ever were seene [...] for they are so out of order and commaund and so stupified'), and points out the substantial differences with the Dutch sailors that joined them in the expedition, whom he defines as much better prepared and with greater experience at sea ('but the five Dutch shippes which sewes the difference of men practised at sea, and of them that are not, I was much troubled here at').[26] Tooke also addressed the topic of the poor preparedness of the English seamen, but remarking that the cause was that they were not proper soldiers, but

[24] 'Upon the English fleete*…', Early Stuart…*
[25] E. Cecil, February 27, 1626, cited in Glanville, *The Voyage…*, p. XLII.
[26] *Ibid.*; Cecil, *A Iournall…*

people recruited through levies 'in the city and in the country'.[27] This implies that there was a collective blame by the community of the English nation, but not directly of the king or the aristocracy, who were held out to be models of Englishmen.

There is therefore a top-down process of discharging blames, always based on personal accusations or, in the most extreme case, on the whole of the seamen group as they were the least representative of the English virtues and values. In this case, the negative images are linked with the soldiers, the people who are not well prepared for sailing, but the officials and government, as well as the king himself and the duke of Buckingham, who had led the organization of the fleet, remained unquestioned. Although none of the sources pointed directly to the king, there is an assumption in Cecil's diary that can be understood as an indirect accusation:

> 'then I demanded both of the Sea-Captains and Masters why they could not speak of these difficulties before His Maiestie (when at Plymouth). Their answer was: it is now in the depth of winter and stormie and they did tell His Maiestie that it was a Barrd Haven and dangerous to all men'.[28]

Indirectly this implies that the ultimate blame of the failure of the attack would be on the king himself, since he was aware of the poor weather conditions.

Printers were only allowed to publish news on foreign affairs and therefore it was also a tool to indirectly discuss internal affairs. The failure of the expedition to Cádiz caused not only an increase in the religious divisions of the society, but also increased the distance between the king and public opinion, to the point that some scholars regard it as a key factor in the development of the Civil War in the 1640s.[29] It also led to a renewal of the literature around the existence of internal enemies, namely

[27] Tooke, *The History…*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] Stewart, *'Arms and…',* p. 129.

the Catholics and the Duke of Buckingham. They were considered to have rendered England vulnerable to Spanish power, as the libel *Vox Britannia ad Hispaniam. 1626* tells:

> 'Since heer at home do staye, worse enemyes unto us, / thus they saye / […] since that you have a Devyll, / on your side / […] Spaine lett your roodes [rods] alone, wee have enoughe to whip us / of our one [own]'.[30]

The defeat in Cádiz also supposed a turning point in the defining of England's own past. The people looked back at Elizabethan times as the Golden Age and compared it with Charles I's reign, which was considered to be bringing the kingdom into ruin.[31] In fact, in 1626 there were several books published which dealt with the assaults on Cádiz in 1587 and 1596, as well as on the previous relations between England and Spain and the causes for the war. An example of this is the book by Thomas Scott, who in 1624 called upon the war. In 1626 he published *Sir VValter Ravvleighs ghost, or Englands forewarner Discouering a secret consultation, newly holden in the Court of Spaine. Together, with his tormenting of Count de Gondemar; and his strange affrightment, confession and publique recantation: laying open many treacheries intended for the subuersion of England.* That same year, the *newsbooks* reported some successful raids against Spain in order to blur the previous humiliating defeat.[32] Even in the 19th century, Whig historiography regarded it as a milestone in its narrative of the history of England. The expedition was seen as a moment of decline, although some historians tried to restore the reputation of Cecil by analysing his life and

[30] 'Vox Britannia ad Hispaniam. 162'. *Early Stuart...*
[31] P. Hammer, 'Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596', *The Historical Journal*, xl (1997), pp. 621-642.
[32] *(A) True Relation of a Brave English Stratagem, Practised Lately upon a Sea-Towne in Galizia (One of the Kingdomes in Spain) and Most Valiantly and Succesfully Performed by One English Ship Alone of 30. Tonne, with No More than 35. Men in her*, printed by Mercurius Britannicus (London, 1626), EEBO.

publishing private letters.[33] In 1896 M. Oppenheim stated that Cádiz was 'the low watermark of English seamanship', while J. Fortescue added in 1910 that 'this seems on the whole to have been the very worst'.[34]

[33] Danton, C. *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbleton, Colonel of an English regiment in the Dutch service 1605-1631 and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy Council 1628-1638* (London, 1885).
[34] M. Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* (London, 1896); J. Fortescue, *History of the British Army* (London, 1910), both cited in Stewart, R. *'Arms and…',* p. 114.

6. Conclusion

The analysis of the news of the battle of Cádiz shows a dynamic cultural atmosphere in which political issues were widely discussed. All those who took part in the process of communication (printers, authors, nobles and soldiers) were aware of the potentiality of the news and, more generally speaking, the potentiality of printing and disseminating their own perspective of the story. As the existence of different versions of news demonstrates both in England and in Spain, there was a clear interest in controlling the news, since it was a tool to disseminate specific ideas, perspectives and political programmes. This interest indicates that the news had an influence in political developments –or that, at least, it was believed to have. Propaganda was therefore one of the most important functions of the news, as the different versions of the battle of Cádiz show. In order to achieve that, they used different kinds of news, which included the publishing of private accounts of the battle, such as Lord Cecil's diary, and the spreading of libels.

The analysis of news around the battle of Cádiz contributes to the discussion of identities, self-perception and historical memory throughout history. In the accounts of the battle of Cádiz the past was exploited for political reasons. They made references to the Anglo-Spanish relations in 1616-1623 in order to explain the current events and to justify the war, developing the idea of an enemy contrary to the previous images. They expressed this enemy in various terms and the election of one over another was related to the internal context of the country. It was also a means of self-definition, setting the boundaries of what was considered foreign to the local community. In the case of England, the religious differences hindered the possibility of achieving consensus

through the appeal to religion and therefore they called upon the nation and the sense of Englishness. On the contrary, in Spain the main common element was religion, namely Catholicism. This would help to raise support for the Thirty Years War in the Empire, while avoiding the regional and cultural differences that existed within the Spanish Crown. News mainly appealed to religion and to the king. There were therefore dual identities which could be politically influenced, as has been proved; yet there was no contradiction between their different characteristics.

The battle of Cádiz fitted in the internal discourses of each state, playing a role in the development of the different conflicts or tensions. In Spain, a detailed comparison of the *relaciones* shows a clear tension between royal and noble authority, defined by the role of the two main characters in the defence: Fernando Girón, appointed by the king, and the duke of Medina Sidonia. This public tension contradicts the private agreement analysed by L. Salas, but it can be explained by acknowledging differences between the private and the public practice of politics, i. e. between the private and the public sphere.[1] Personal characters became the representation of a larger discussion in terms of political theory regarding power relations. Similarly, it had a key role in England regarding power relations. It increased the tensions between Charles I, the duke of Buckingham, the Parliament and the general public. It added to religious tensions, which forced Buckingham to prepare the new expedition to La Rochelle, but the financial problems resulting from the failure of the attack intensified the tensions with the Parliament, which refused to provide more subsidies. Therefore, J. Peacey's assumption of the 1650s as the transformative period of English news can be also traced back to the 1620s, as the originating period of the later tensions in the 1650s.[2]

[1] Salas, 'Combates después…'; Salas, *Medina Sidonia*…
[2] Peacey*, Print and Public…*

The news used as many rhetorical elements as possible, including manipulation of past and present, in order to give a specific point of view. The references to the sixteenth century campaigns in the English news are a clear indication of the feeling of decline among the English population, who looked back to the Elizabethan times as the Golden Age. In Spain the victory boosted self-confidence, especially when considered against the defeats of the sixteenth century. But this self-confidence would play a major role in the 1630s, when the signs of decline were so evident that Philip IV had to evoke the battle of 1625 as a way of reinforcing his prestige.

After having examined the different news and accounts of the battle of Cádiz and its aims, we can conclude that although the public sphere was regulated and controlled from the state, there were political motivations which escaped this control and opened up possibilities of public discussion. It confirms the trend that considers that the public sphere emerged at the same time as the news.[3] Historians have not yet fully defined the scope and the mechanisms of information of the public sphere in the seventeenth century.[4] However, more research is needed in order to cast light on the range of audience who received the news and, especially, its nature. This thesis has contributed to that debate by stating that the news can be regarded as part of a top-down process of shaping public opinion. This theory is supported by the fact that the most polemical publications, i.e. the *relaciones* about Medina Sidonia and Cecil's diary, were directed towards a Court audience but they were also widely printed for a public audience. Therefore, it was probably intended to a very specific and much more restricted audience than other informational broadsheets. A research that would coordinate the information published, its aims, the territories in which it was published and the audience would broaden the picture of the role that news played in the political

[3] Pettegree, *The Invention…*
[4] *Ibid.*; Peacey, *Print and Public…*

sphere. A deeper analysis of the relation between the authors and the publishers, as well as their patronage, would also expand that view, by defining the interests behind the publishing of news.

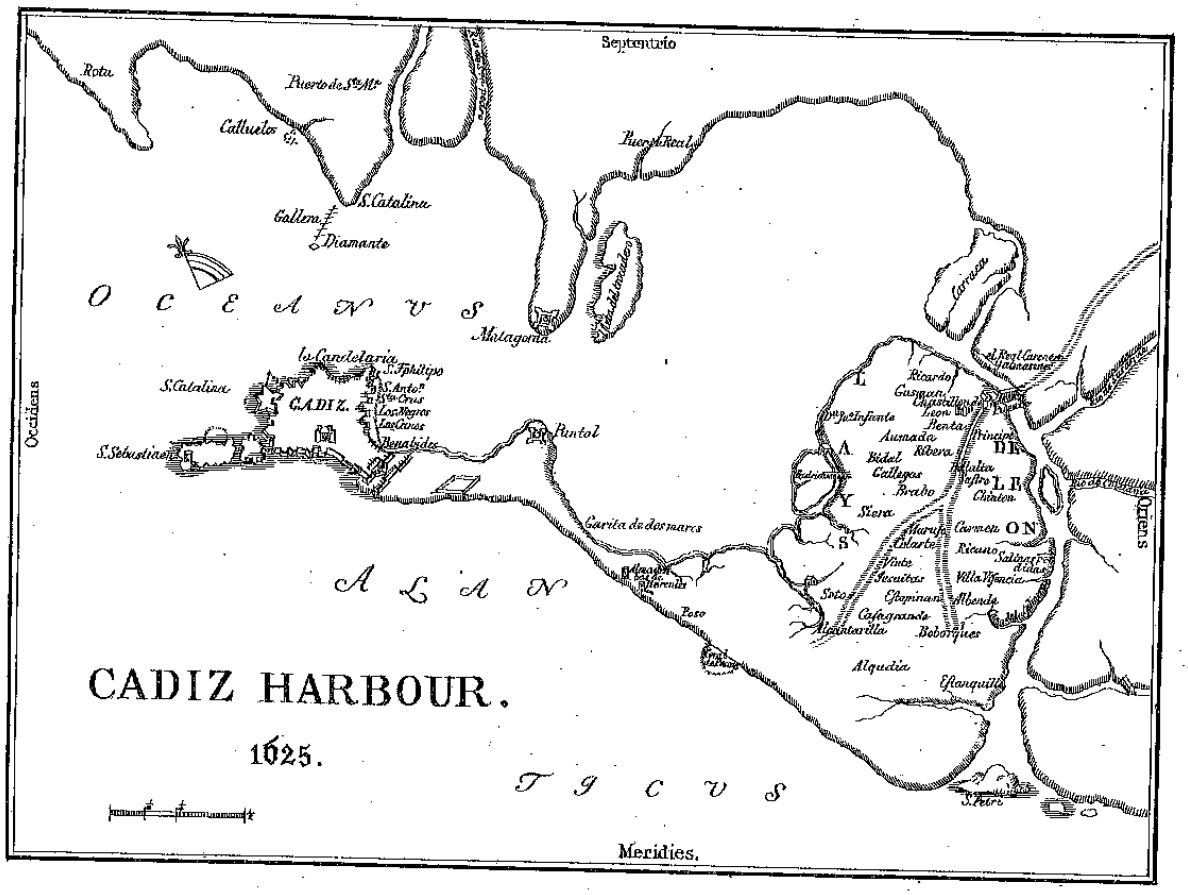
The battle of Cádiz marked a turning point in the Anglo-Spanish relations. Although Cádiz was the main campaign of the war, it did not finish until 1630, when a new treaty was signed. It maintained most of the points already present in the Treaty of London of 1604.[5] The analysis of the news around the battle of Cádiz contributes to the history of the international relations, since it broadens the view of how the siege was understood and the effects that it had, and how these effects influenced the opinion and contributed to the tensions that would develop in the following decades in Spain and in England.

[5] M. Á. Ochoa Brun, *Historia de la diplomacia española. La Edad Barroca II.* (10 vols, Madrid, 2006), viii.

Appendix

1. Map of the city of Cádiz, 1625.

(Danton, *Life and Times…*)



2. *The Defence of Cádiz against the English*

Previously at Salón del Buen Retiro (Madrid), by Francisco de Zurbarán (1634-1635). Currently at the Museo del Prado (Madrid).

Bibliography

1. Manuscript Sources

Fernández de Portocarrero, L. *Relación de lo sucedido con la armada enemiga en la baya de Cádiz desde 1º de noviembre a las 5 de la tarde que acabó de entrar hasta oy 5 del dicho mes a medio día y lo que el duque de Medinasidonia a dispuesto y prevenido para la defensa de la ciudad de Cádiz y puente de Suaso, esta costa y lugares della, embiada por el conde de Palma al obispo don Juan de la Sal en 6 de noviembre de 1625* (Cádiz, 1625), RAH 9/3667(40).

Papeles varios de Felipe IV, BNE MSS/18175, v. 29-36.

2. Printed Sources

2.1. Primary Sources

Cecil, E., viscount of Wimbledon, *A Iournall and Relation of the Action which by His Maiesties Commandement, Edward Lord Cecil, Baron of Putney and Vicount of Wimbledon, Admirall, and Lieutenant Generall of His Maiesties Forces, did undertake upon the Coast of Spaine* (London, 1625).

Copia de la carta que el señor don Fernando Girón, capitán general de infantería de Cádiz embió al ecelentíssimo señor duque de Medina y la orden que del Consejo se le embió al señor don Fadrique de Toledo. Con el valeroso hecho que hizo el

mancebo Platero hijo de Sevilla, en Cádiz, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Sevilla, 1625), RAH 9/3667(39).

Copia de una carta que don Fernando de Legaspi embió desde Xerez de la Frontera a Madrid, a don Francisco de Mendoça, printed by Luis Sánchez (Madrid, 1625), RAH 9/3660(13).

Danton, C. *Life and Times of General Sir Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbleton, Colonel of an English regiment in the Dutch service 1605-1631 and one of his Majesty's most honourable privy Council 1628-1638* (London, 1885).

Early Stuart Libels. An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources, ed. A. Bellany and A. McRae (2005) [http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/index.html].

Feliz victoria que don Baltasar de Barradas, cavallero del ávito de san Iuan y capitán general de un exército, por la Católica Magestad del Rey Nuestro Señor, ha tenido en los presidios y fuerças de la Baltolina, printed by Simón Faxardo (Seville, 1625), BNE VE/180/69.

Gamboa y Eraso, L., *Verdad de lo sucedido con ocasión de la venida de la armada inglesa del enemigo sobre Cádiz. En primero de Noviembre de mil y seyscientos y veynte y cinco*, printed by Salvador de Cea (Córdoba, 1625), BNE VC/224/68. Also printed by Juan de Borja (Cádiz, 1626).

Glanville, J. *The Voyage to Cadiz in 1625*, A. Grosart ed. (Westmisnter, 1883).

Grenville, R., *Two Original Journals of the Sir R. Granville, viz., I. Of the Expedition to Cadiz anno 1625. Of the Expedition to the Isle of Rhee anno 1627*, J. Clarke ed. (London, 1724).

Herrero, S., *Veríssima relación en que se da quenta del cerco que los ingleses y olandeses pusieron a la ciudad de Cádiz, día de Todos los Santos, primero del mes de noviembre, este año de mil y seiscientos y veinte y cinco*, printed at the house of Gaspar (Cádiz, 1625), RAH 9/3681(87).

Relación certíssima y copia de una carta, embiada a la ciudad de Cádiz a esta de Granada, en que se da larga quenta de todo lo sucedido en ella y su bahía y heredades cercanas al mar, desde el día de Todos los Santos, que entró el enemigo, hasta que se volvió a salir de la dicha bahía, printed by Francisco Heylán (Granada, 1625), BNE VC/1016/6.

Relación de la gran victoria que ha tenido el emperador de Alemania contra el rey de Dinamarca, el exército que le ha desbaratado el conde de Tilli, su Capitán General, con muerte de dos mil cavallos y prisión de muchos grandes de su Corte, printed by Simón Faxardo (Seville, 1625), BNE VC/224/41.

Relación de la llegada, entrada y efetos de la Armada de Inglaterra de 106 navíos con 4 capitanas y 4 almirantes en 3 esquadras, una de Inglaterra, Palatinado y Olanda, printed by Baltasar Sánchez (Seville, 1625), RAH 9/3649(94).

Relación de lo succedido en Cádiz, con la venida de la Armada de Inglaterra (n.p., 1625), RAH 9/3660(14).

Relación embiada a un personage de esta ciudad avisándole de algunos ordinarios que de Italia y otras partes an venido a la Corte de su Magestad y de la muerte de Iacobo Rey de Inglaterra y Coronación de su hijo, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville, 1625), BNE VC/224/47.

Relación embiada a un personaje de esta ciudad avisándole de algunos ordinarios que de Italia y otras partes an venido a la Corte de su Magestad y de la muerte de Iacobo Rey de Inglaterra y Coronación de su hijo. También se avisa de los lutos que por su muerte pusieron sus Magestades y cómo en la villa de Madrid nacieron dos niñas pegadas, con dos cabeças, quatro pies y quatro braços y un ombligo, recibieron agua de bautismo y murieron y oy su madre está viva, printed by Diego Flamenco (Madrid, 1625), BNE VC/224/47.

Relación embiada del conde de Tilli, capitán general del exército de la Ceśarea Magestad, de la Serenísisima Infanta Doña Isabel, printed by Simón Faxardo (Seville, 1626), RAH 9/3660 (58).

Relación famosa en que se da aviso de la Infantería que el señor don Fernando Remírez Fariña Assitente desta ciudad de Sevilla ... mandó levantar para embiar a presidio y socorro a la ciudad de Cádiz por el mes de Março, de este año de mil y seyscientos veinte y cinco. También se da aviso de los Capitanes nombrados para llevar esta Infantería, que embían al dicho socorro dela ciudad de Cádiz, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville: 1625), RAH 9/3666(92).

Relación sumaria de la insigne conversión de treynta y seys corssarios, Ingleses de nación y de profesión hereges, y de la justicia que se hizo de algunos dellos en el puerto de Santa María, printed by Hernando Rey (Cádiz, 1616), RAH 9/3556 bis (6), (7).

Relación verdadera de la extraordinaria tormenta que ha tenido la armada olandesa y inglesa, que estava sobre Dunquerque, y de cómo los nuestros le tomaron y destruyeron toda su pescaría y otros varios sucessos, printed by Pedro Craesbeeck (Lisbon, 1625), BNE VC/224/43.

(A) Relation of a New League Made by the Emperour of Germnay with Other Princes, Potentates and States Catholicke, against the Enemies of the Roman Catholick-Religion, with the Names of those Princes, printed by Mercurius Britannicus (London, 1626), EEBO.

Scott, T. *Certaine Reasons and Arguments of Policie. Why the King of England should Hereafter giue Overall Further Treatie and Enter into Warre with the Spaniard* (London, 1624), EEBO.

Sucessos de Cádiz. Desde sábado primero de novienbre que el Inglés entró en la Baya hasta sábado ocho del mismo que salió della. Dase cuenta de la confissión que hizo un Inglés que los nuestros captivaron en que declara los intentos del enemigo. Socorros que assistieron a Cádiz, assi de Sevilla como de otras partes y citios a que assistieron los capitanes, printed by Francisco de Lyra (Seville, 1625), BNE VC/224/50.

Tooke, G. *The history of Cales passion: or as some will by-name it, the miss taking of Cales; presented in vindication of the sufferers* (London, 1652).

(A) True Relation of a Brave English Stratagem, Practised Lately upon a Sea-Towne in Galizia (One of the Kingdomes in Spain) and Most Valiantly and Succesfully Performed by One English Ship Alone of 30. Tonne, with No More than 35. Men in her, printed by Mercurius Britannicus (London, 1626), EEBO.

Vega, J., *Relación verdadera de los sucessos de la Armada Inglesa que al presente está sobre Cádiz, y cómo se han apoderado de la Torre del Puntal, y batalla que tuvieron con don Pedro Girón, y don Lorenço de Cabrera*, printed by Sebastián and Jaime Matevat (Barcelona, 1625), BNE R/11292.

Verdadera relación de la Armada que se apresta en Inglaterra y la guarda que manda su Magestad se ponga en los puertos de España, particularmente en Lisboa. Y de la grande peste que ay en la ciudad de Londres, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville, 1625), BNE VC/224/54.

Verdadera relación de todo lo sucedido en Cádiz, co[n] la armada inglesa, hasta que se fue, y assí mismo otras nueuas de Madrid, Flandes, y otras partes, printed by Pedro Blusón (Huesca, 1625), Biblioteca Pública del Estado Huesca [Public Library of Huesca] B-72-10947(49).

Veríssima relación en que se da quenta en el estado en que están los católicos de Inglaterra por parte de los hereges, y con el zelo que la Reyna los favorece, printed by Juan de Cabrera (Seville, 1626), RAH 9/3660(40).

Victoria insigne que la Cesárea Magestad de el Emperador de Alemania ha tenido contra el Rey de Dinamarca a 25 de agosto de 1625, printed by Simón Faxardo (Seville, 1626), RAH 9/3660 (56), BNE VC/224/131.

2.2. Secondary Sources

Andrews, K., *Ships, Money and Politics. Seafaring and Naval Enterprise in the Reign of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1991).

Asch, R. '‹Wo der Soldat hinkömbt, da ist alles sein›: Military Violence and Atrocities in the Thirty Years War', *German History*, xviii (2000), pp. 291-309.

Beller, M. and Leerssen, J. ed., *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam, New York, 2007).

Bély, L., *L'art de la paix en Europe. Naissance de la diplomatie moderne, XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 2007).

Blue, W., 'Versions of the Battle of Cádiz (1625)' in B. Mujica, ed., *Shakespeare and the Spanish Comedia: Translation, Interpretation, Performance* (Plymouth, 2013), pp. 105-115.

Bradshaw, B. and Morrill, J. ed., *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (Basingstoke, 1996).

Bustos Rodríguez, M. ed., *El asalto anglo-holandés a Cádiz en 1596 y su contexto internacional* (Cádiz, 1997).

----------; Buzón Muñoz, A; Gómez Milán, I.; Morgado García, A.; Núñez Gallego, D. and Rodríguez Ramírez, M., 'La población de la provincia de Cádiz en los siglos XVI y XVII', *Trocadero,* ii (1990), pp. 5-71.

Calderón Quijano, J., *Las defensas del golfo de Cádiz en la Edad Moderna* (Madrid, 1976).

----------, *Versiones inglesas de los ataques anglo-holandeses a Cádiz (1596, 1625)* (Cádiz, 1985).

Calhoun, C. *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992).

Cogswell, T., 'Foreign Policy and Parliament. The Case of La Rochelle, 1625-1626'. *The English Historical Review,* ic (1984), pp. 241-267.

Cruz, A. J., 'Vindicating the Vulnerata: Cádiz and the Circulation of Religious Imagery as Weapons of War' in A. J. Cruz ed. *Material and Symbolic Circulation between Spain and England, 1554-1604* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 39-60.

Dahl, F., *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Peridical Newsbooks*, 1620-1642 (London, 1952).

----------, *Short-Title Catalogue of English Corantos and Newsbooks*, 1620-1642 (London, 1938).

Davies, S. and Fletcher, P. ed., *News in Early Modern Europe. Currents and Connections* (Leiden, 2014).

Delgado Casado, J., *Diccionario de impresores españoles* (2 vols, Madrid, 1996).

Diccionario Biográfico Español (50 vols, Madrid, 2009-2013).

Dooley, B. and Baron, S. ed., *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London, New York, 2001).

Elliott and García, A. ed., *La España del conde-duque de Olivares* (Valladolid, 1990).

Espagne, M., 'Comparison and Transfer. A Question of Method' in M. Middell, and L. Roura, ed., *Transnational Challenges to National History Writing* (London, New York, 2013), pp. 36-53.

Ettinghausen, H. and Borrego, M., *Andrés de Almansa y Mendoza. Obra periodística* (Madrid, 2001).

----------, 'Muy grandes herejes': los ingleses e Inglaterra en las relaciones españolas de los siglos XVI y XVII' in P. Begrand, ed., *Representaciones de la alteridad, ideológica, religiosa, humana y espacial en las relaciones de sucesos (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Besançon, 2009), pp. 159-171.

----------, 'The News in Spain. Relaciones de sucesos in the reign of Philip III and Philip IV', *European History Quaterly*, xiv (1984), pp. 1-20.

Fernández Álvarez, J., 'Información, control e identidad. El relato sobre el "Turco" en las relaciones de sucesos granadinas', *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada,* xxv (2013), pp. 161-180.

Ferrer Valls, T., 'El auto sacramental y la alegorización de la historia: El socorro de Cádiz de Juan Pérez de Montalbán', *Studia Aurea,* vi (2012), pp. 99-116.

Galiñanes Gallén, M., 'Atrocidades, maldades, enemigos sangrientos y zahúrdas de Plutón: estrategias retóricas para la representación de la alteridad' in P. Begrand ed., *Representaciones de la alteridad, ideológica, religiosa, humana y espacial en las relaciones de sucesos (siglos XVI-XVIII)* (Besançon, 2009), pp. 103-112.

García de Enterría, M. C., Ettinghausen, H., Infnates, V. and Redondo, A., *Las relaciones de sucesos en España (1500-1750): Actas del primer coloquio internacional (Alcalá de Henares 8, 9 y 10 de junio 1995)* (Alcalá de Henares, 1995).

Gellner, E., *Nations and Nationalism* (New York, 2008).

González Cuerva, R., 'El prodigioso príncipe transilvano: la larga guerra contra los turcos (1593-1606) a través de las relaciones de sucesos', *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna,* xxviii (2006), pp. 277-299.

Gustafsson, H., 'The Conglomerate State: A Perspective on State Formation in Early Modern Europe', *Scandinavian Journal of History,* xxiii (1998), pp. 189-213.

Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 2014).

Hammer, P., 'Myth-Making: Politics, Propaganda and the Capture of Cadiz in 1596', *The Historical Journal,* xl (1997), pp. 621-642.

Hoenselaars, T. and Leerssen, J., 'The Rhetoric of National Chacter: Introduction', *European Journal of English Studies*, xiii (2009), pp. 251-255.

Holmes, C., *Why was Charles I executed?* (London, 2006).

Houston, S., *James I* (London, 1995).

Hume, M., *La corte de Felipe IV: la decadencia de España* (Sevilla, 2009).

Kidd, C., *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1999).

Kyle, C., 'From Broadside to Pamphlet: Print and Parliament in the Late 1620s' in J. Peacey ed., *The Print Culture of Parliament, 1600-1800* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp. 17-29.

Lockyer, R., *The Life and Political Career of Georges Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592-1628* (London, 1981).

López-Peláez Casellas, J., ' 'Race' and the Construction of English National Identity: Spaniards and North-Africans in English Seventeenth-Century Drama', *Studies in Philology*, cvi (2009), pp. 32-51.

Lorenz, C., 'Representations of Identity: Ethnicity, Race, Class, Gender and Religion. An Introduction to Conceptual History' in S. Berger and C. Lorenz ed., *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (New York, 2008), pp. 24-59.

Manzano Baena, L., *Conflicting Words. The Peace Treaty of Münster (1648) and the Political Culture of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Monarchy* (Leuven, 2011).

Matar, N., 'English Accounts of Captivity in North Africa and the Middle East: 1577-1625', *Renaissance Quarterly,* liv (2001), pp. 553-572.

Medick, H. 'Historical Event and Contemporary Experience: The Capture and Destruction of Magdeburg in 1631', *History Workshop Journal,* lii (2001), pp. 23-48.

Minsheu, I. *Dictionarie in Spanish and English* (Málaga, 2000; 1st ed. London, 1599).

Noonan, K., 'The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People: Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda', *The Historical Journal*, xli (1998), pp. 151-177.

Ó Siochrú, M. and Ohlmeyer, J. ed., *Ireland: 1641. Contexts and reactions* (Manchester, 2013).

O'Sullivan, E., 'S is for Spaniard. The Representations of Foreign Nations in ABCs and Picturebooks', *European Journal of English Studies,* xiii (2009), pp. 333-349.

Ochoa Brun, M. A., *Historia de la diplomacia española. La Edad Barroca II.* (10 vols, Madrid, 2006), VIII.

Ortega y Medina, J., *El conflicto anglo-español por el dominio oceánico, siglos XVI-XVIII* (México, 1982).

Palanco Romero, J., *Relaciones del siglo XVIII* (Granada: 1926).

Parker, G., *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1984).

Peacey, J., *Politicians and Pamphleteers. Propaganda during the English Civil Wars and Interregnum* (Aldershot, 2004).

----------, 'Print and Public Politics in 17th century England', *History Compass*, v (2007), pp. 85-111.

Pettegree, A., *The Invention of News. How the World Came to Know about Itself* (New Haven, London, 2014).

Raymond, J., *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003).

Rodríguez Pérez, Y., *The Dutch revolt through Spanish Eyes. Self and Other in Historical and Literary Texts of Golden Age Spain (c. 1548-1673),* (Bern, 2008).

Salas Almela, L., *Colaboración y conflicto. La Capitanía General del Mar Océano y Costas de Andalucía, 1588-1660* (Córdoba, 2002).

----------, 'Combates después de la batalla: nobleza, propaganda política y defensa (Cádiz, 1625)' in *Actas del III Congreso de Historia de Andalucía* (14 vols, Córdoba, 2003), iv.

----------, *Medina Sidonia: el poder de la aristocracia, 1580-1670* (Madrid, 2008).

Sánchez Aranda, J. and Barrera, C., *Historia del periodismo español desde sus orígenes hasta 1975* (Pamplona, 1992).

Sanchez, M., 'Anti-Spanish Sentiment in English Literary and Political Writing, 1553-1603' (Ph. D. Thesis, Leeds University, 2004).

Sanz Camañes, P., *Diplomacia hispano-inglesa en el siglo XVII. Razón de Estado y relaciones de poder durante la Guerra de los Treinta Años, 1618-1648* (Cuenca, 2002).

Sawyer, J., *Printed Poison. Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (California, 1990).

Skeat, W. and Mayhew, A. ed., *A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words, Especially from the Dramatists* (Oxford, 1914).

Stensland, M., *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, (Amsterdam, 2012).

Swiderska, M., 'Comparativist Imagology and the Phenomenon of Strangeness', *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture,* xv (2013).

Tejada Caller, P., 'Anglo-Saxon *Others* in the Spanish Imagination', *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a la Comunicación,* li (2012), pp. 82-104.

Theibault, J., 'The Rhetoric of Death and Destruction in the Thirty Years War', *Journal of Social History,* xxvii (1993), pp. 271-290.

Waite, G., 'Empathy for the Persecuted or Polemical Posturing? The 1609 Spanish Expulsion of the Moriscos as Seen in English and Netherlandic Pamphlets', *Journal of Early Modern History,* xvii (2013), pp. 95-123.

Wilson, P., *Europe's Tragedy. A History of the Thirty Years War*, (London, New York, 2009).