
María Eugenia Gutiérrez Jiménez

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1113-0447>

megutierrez@us.es

Universidad de Sevilla

Submitted

October 7th, 2021

Approved

March 24th, 2022

© 2022

Communication & Society

ISSN 0214-0039

E ISSN 2386-7876

doi: 10.15581/003.35.3.123-139

www.communication-society.com

2022 – Vol. 35(3)

pp. 123-139

How to cite this article:

Gutiérrez Jiménez, M. E. (2022).

The socialisation of print culture.

Frontier ways of reading that

promoted *El Tío Clarín* (Seville,

1864-1867) and *La Campana*

(Seville, 1867-1868).

Communication & Society, 35(3),

123-139.

The socialisation of print culture. Frontier ways of reading that promoted *El Tío Clarín* (Seville, 1864-1867) and *La Campana* (Seville, 1867-1868)

Abstract

This paper addresses circumstantially the different ways in which the Seville satirical weeklies *El Tío Clarín* (1864-1867) and *La Campana* (1867-1868) –the latter replacing the former after its suspension– might have been read. By studying their editorial strategies on the basis of the footprints left by their editors, it is possible to determine how satirical journalism participated in the socialisation of print culture, which developed into informational graphics, despite the paradoxical confluence of three factors: the political instability in the final years of the reign of Isabella II, the tight censorship to which the press was subjected in 1867 and the slow but continuous progress in modernising the publishing market. Based on the combination of satirical cartoons, humour and popular genres, both weeklies made current affairs more accessible through critical reasoning and by appealing to the senses, with revealing indications of the simultaneous ways of addressing such a subject. Textual reading gave way to the graphic

kind, reading aloud to doing so in silence, while the spaces in which this occurred, between the public (the street) and the private sphere (the parlour at home), and the collectives involved, namely, women and children, were determined. It was these ways of relating to the two weeklies, established by their readerships, that were behind the popularity of the satirical press before the Glorious Revolution of 1868 and the transition to publication capitalism.

Keywords

Satirical press, cartoons, ways of reading, nineteenth century, cultural history, public language, cartoonist.

1. Introduction

The main aim of this paper is to analyse the manner in which the satirical weeklies with cartoons, published in the 1860s, might have been consumed, while circumstantially indicating the ways of reading resulting from their consumption, the social spaces in which this took place and the collectives who were involved. This enquiry is situated at the intersection between the history of books, printing and reading in Spain, based on the most relevant contributions of French and Anglo-Saxon historiography and the history of communication, chiefly assessing those works that conceive journalism as a type of popular press.

Research on the satirical press with cartoons has made a qualitative leap forward in Spain during the past decade: from the work *La risa periodística. Teoría, metodología e investigación en comunicación satírica* (Bordería Ortiz, Martínez Gallego & Gómez Mompert, 2010), in which the discourse of the satirical press is approached from a historical perspective, to the book *Hablar a los ojos: caricatura y vida política en España (1830–1918)* (Orobon & Lafuente, 2021), which sheds light on the European roots of political cartoons and their inclusion in the political press when the liberal state was being constructed. One of the most repeated mistakes when addressing the satirical press is thus qualified, to wit, that of claiming that its roots are to be found in *El Duende Crítico de Madrid* (1735–1736) (Llera Ruiz, 2003, p. 204), establishing an inexact link to the libelist tradition of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, the editorial strategy of this type of press was a discourse of opposition (Orobon & Lafuente, 2021, p. 294).

Its conception as an opposition press, therefore, begs two interrelated questions. The first has to do with the role that the satirical press with cartoons played as the expression of a print culture that took on a graphic and informational character during the consolidation of the liberal state. While the second evaluates the potential of its editorial strategy, characterised by a combination of satirical cartoons, humour and those genres inherent to popular literature (Gutiérrez Jiménez, 2017), so as to shape and disseminate an incipient democratic political culture characterised by the increasingly more “belligerent stance taken by parties like the progressives and democrats towards the crown” (Serrano García, 2001, p. 16) in the final years of the reign of Isabella II (1863–1868).

The satirical weeklies of Seville analysed here were of a democratic-republican nature (Peyrou, 2008) and illustrated by the cartoonist Luis Mariani Jiménez (Seville, 1825–1875), *La Campana* (Seville, 1867–1868) being the publication that replaced the city’s longest-standing weekly, *El Tío Clarín* (Seville, 1864–1867; 1870–1971), after its suspension in July 1867. Following the uprising of San Gil and the declaration of a state of siege, the progressive and democratic press was banned. To this was subsequently added the passing in March 1867 of González Bravo’s law, which was as restrictive as it was repressive in relation to the freedom of the press and those pursuing this profession (Castro-Alfín, 1998, pp. 212–214). Notwithstanding this, the Seville satirical weekly *La Campana* first saw the light of day in 1867.

The strategy of renaming the weekly, as well as that of publishing a daily newspaper (*El Tío Clarín*, mid-July 1866) in combination with the satirical weekly, should be interpreted in the highly unstable political situation, the cultural context and particularly the publishing market, characterised by its slow but continuous industrialisation since the 1830s, until its transition to “publication capitalism” in the 1880s and 1890s (Mollier, 1988). In this first stage, the offer of books and press products diversified owing to an increase in demand.

During this period, the predominance of the partisan press and the industry’s economic fragility were the defining traits of the news market. Nevertheless, it is striking that “while in London, with a population of over 2.5 million people, 10 newspapers were published, and in Paris, with approximately 1.8 million inhabitants, 16, in Madrid, with not even 500,000 inhabitants, there were 22 newspapers at the beginning of 1868” (Castro-Alfín, 1998, p. 217). According to the official statistics provided by Castro-Alfín, in Spain there were 453 newspapers in 1867, of which 400 were published in the country’s provincial capitals. In 1867, 63.8% of the country’s newspapers were published in Madrid, Catalonia, Valencia and Andalusia (1998, pp. 219 and 223). This sufficiently robust structure was one of the causes behind the documented advent of new newspapers, following the outbreak of the Glorious Revolution in September 1868 (Checa-Godoy, 2006). With respect to the satirical press, compared to the 15 publications in 1867, there were 436 between 1868 and 1874 (Checa-Godoy, 2016), of which 110 (25.2%) were of a republican-federal bent (Laguna Platero & Martínez Gallego, 2018, online).

The extraordinary boom in satirical newspapers as of September 1868 was due, in addition to legislative factors, among others, to the consolidation of their editorial/commercial format. Nineteenth-century newspapers, as Díaz Lage contends chiefly in relation to the general press (*El Imparcial*, 1867), began to take the shape of the so-called “periodical literature,” however paradoxical it may seem, in reference to text genres that “wavered between current and non-current affairs,” reflecting the tension “between the obsolete and the perennial, between the cyclic and the unique, between the recurring and the occurring” (2020, p. 12). These newspapers based their strategy on a combination of periodicity, serialisation and fragmentation (2020, p. 32).

The series of satirical newspapers formed by *El Tío Clarín* and *La Campana* fits this definition, be it as a way of circumventing the legislative limits or as an editorial strategy. They combined “serious” content, comprising feature articles and telegraphic reports, with the “entertaining” kind, made up of epigrams, stories, announcements, charades, serial stories and so forth. The hybridisation between both types was represented by lithographic prints which, with a quotidian aesthetics, contained both allegations and current affairs, the images corresponding to the text genres and vice versa. So, “the success of the popular press seemed to be based rather on the incorporation of diverse types of writing styles in newspapers” (Díaz Lage, 2020, p. 44).

In Spain, the satirical press with cartoons resorted to an intermediate format halfway between the dominant model of the partisan or political opinion press and the popular kind appearing in the United States (*New York Herald*, 1835; *New York Tribune*, 1841) and Europe (*The Penny Magazine*, London, 1832, plus the Parisian publications *La Presse*, 1836, and *Le Petit Journal*, 1863), without this implying any disregard for entrepreneurial, technical or editorial differences (Schudson, 1981; Conboy, 2002; Thérenty & Vaillant, 2004). The hypothesis defended here revolves around the virtual aspects of the editorial strategy of the satirical press which, from its conception as a press “for all,” contributed to the socialisation of print culture.

The phenomenon of the socialisation of print products did not involve a universalisation of reading or attenuate social differences (Martínez Martín, 2003, p. 294; 2005, p. 19). On the contrary, it entailed the ability to foster simultaneous forms of reading, from –intensive– reading in silence to –extensive– reading aloud in the family setting, among audiences of different types, given the different ways of accessing the narrative that favoured the diversity of genres and the hybridisation between verbal-visual elements.

In this connection, the encounter between republicanism and the satirical press in the final years of the reign of Isabella II and during the Democratic Sexennial (1868–1874) foreshadowed the advent of a language typical of “the popular press, albeit with a notable difference: in an explicit fashion, the satirical press –especially the republican sort– intended to shape public opinion, without the depoliticising argument that the future popular press would make its own” (Laguna Platero & Martínez Gallego, 2018, online). These mutations in the narrative fabric of the popular press were a way of highlighting the transformations occurring in the sociocultural realm and which featured non-canonical readerships, namely, women, children and the working classes (Lyons, 2010). These readers, without the authority to intervene in the public sphere, assumed, in the private sphere and in their way of relating to print culture, roles that would be relevant in the struggle for broadening the public sphere.

2. The state of the question

Although the history of reading practices is still in its infancy in Spain, this historiographical current has three benchmarks: *Libros, prensa y lectura en la España del siglo XIX*, by Jean-François Botrel (1993), *Historia de la edición en España (1836–1936)*, coordinated by Jesús A. Martínez Martín (2001), and *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España. 1472–1914* (2003), coordinated by Víctor Infantes, François Lopez and Jean-François Botrel. In the former, the

process of diversification in print products is analysed from the perspective of the development of literary communication, the press and literacy. In the latter, the aim of the history of editing, extending towards that of reading, is to generate explanatory syntheses by intertwining the ways of producing printed materials, marketing and distribution strategies with those of reading and appropriation (Martínez Martín, 2001, p. 12). In the last book, the perspective of the *longue durée* reveals certain continuities over time.

Given that the satirical press with cartoons was conceived as printed material whose objective was to reconstruct the ways in which it could be used by readers, this is in line with the perspective that places the subjects at the centre of the interpretative process of the world and assumes the principal premise: neither the meaning nor the ways of reading are inscribed in texts. The meaning of a text becomes a meeting point between two types of combined *expectations*: those of a subject who makes a textual form legible through a narrative texture; and those of another subject who employs that texture as a way of accessing the world (De Certeau, 1990 [1980], p. 247).

However, a textual form is accomplished in the network of a discipline. Following Chartier's methodological commitment to the sociology of culture, combined with textual criticism and the history of books, reading takes place "in the tension that shapes the inventive capabilities of individuals [...] with the restrictions, norms and conventions that limit [...] what they are able to think, enunciate and do" (1995, p. 137). So this act "is not only an abstract intellectual operation: it is a way of testing the body, the inscription in a space, the relationship with one's self or with others" (Cavallo & Chartier, 1997, pp. 9-10). Nor is it produced in an isolated fashion with respect to the material conditions of production or the social conditions of reception.

We know that material forms determine the production of meaning (McKenzie, 1986), that readers can simultaneously form part of several interpretative communities (Stanley, 1980), that a specific consumption of certain print products is occasionally established so as to differentiate one group from another (Bourdieu, 1979) and that the representations of the ways of reading of women were shaped in the debate on their role and education and on the civilising project of nation-building in nineteenth-century Argentina (Batticuore, 2017). In short, as Darnton (1996) observed, the construction of meaning is a social activity and the meaning attributed to certain print products are changeable and plural depending on the context in which they are read and interpreted.

In the specific case at hand, the diversity and hybridisation between the text types that give shape to the narrative texture of the satirical press must have facilitated different ways of accessing current affairs, regardless of whether they were complementary or contradictory, by a large number of groups. In those aforementioned ways of accessing the weeklies analysed here, it is assumedly possible to discover indications of ways of reading newspapers between the collective street kind of the Modern Age and the modern way of individual reading in silence inherent to a literate audience. Therefore, it was precisely that plurality of ways of receiving, using or reading satirical weeklies with cartoons that converted them into a type of popular press (Chartier, 2007, p. 114).

3. The circumstantial method

For interpreting the footprints left by the editor and cartoonist of the two satirical weeklies examined here on the way in which they were consumed, a cross analysis is performed on the contexts in which they were produced and received. The circumstantial paradigm (Ginzburg, 2003) has been chosen as the method for deciphering the evidence of the most frequent uses, the spaces in which they occurred and the collectives involved. This paradigm, which emerged in the field of the human sciences in the 1870s and 1880s (Giovanni Morelli and Sigmund Freud), fleshes out an epistemological model based on symptomatology, to wit, the ability of

subjects to identify invisible, although interpretable, facts in the direct observation of reality, if the superficial symptoms are taken into consideration (Ginzburg, 2003, pp. 106-107).

From this perspective, the implicit references in this respect appearing in the two weeklies can be traced by comparing their editorial strategies and the tactics of their readerships, considering three variables:

a) The aims set out in the mission statements of both weeklies in order to identify continuities in content layout in the transition from *El Tío Clarín* to *La Campana*.

b) The comments of the editor of *El Tío Clarín* approving or criticising certain practices of the weekly's potential readership during its first financial year (1864-1865).

c) The different ways of accessing current affairs that can be deduced from the diverse content and which point to indirect readerships who did not coincide with the weeklies' target audience as regards their social status, age, sex or degree of literacy.

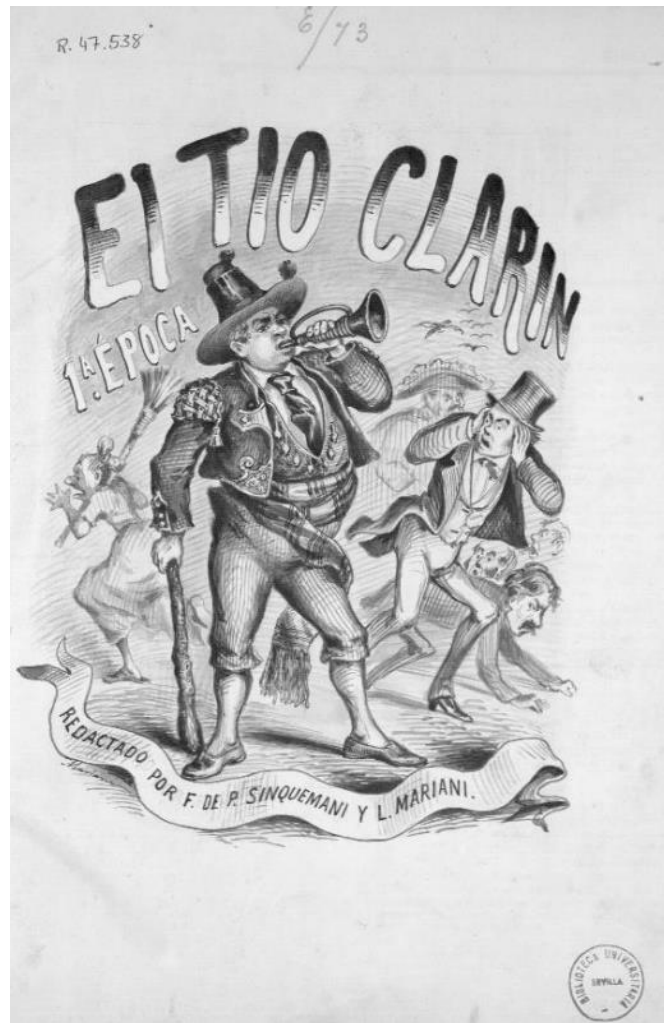
4. Analysis

4.1. *Towards the democratisation of print products: the combination between the political and the popular*

In its first year of publication, the political affiliation of *El Tío Clarín*¹ (Image 1) was rather vague because of its literary-satirical character, although its real nature was expressed in a "covert republican ideology" (Checa-Godoy, [1991] 2011, p. 131) owing to the restrictions to which the political press was subject at the time (Castro-Alfín, 1998, p. 151). During this period, newspapers were faced with the paradox of reconciling their social utility as vehicles of public opinion with defending an ideology or turning a profit (Roda-Rivas, 1870, pp. 295-296). *El Tío Clarín* was committed to not "speculating with its newspaper," rejecting the "mercantile nature" of the industrial press and defending its independent character: "because it does not depend on anyone." Accordingly, "*El Tío Clarín* does not resemble anyone" (4 January 1864). Its strategy was based on appropriating genres that it believed were useful, on the fact that it was rooted in the tradition of the living word and on recourse to humour both to condemn certain developments and to report on current affairs. It was its independence, which was all-important for fulfilling its ethical mission, that helped it to survive over time, with a commitment to educating its readers in civic virtue and republican morality. This balance meant that it had print runs higher than those of the general press (Laguna Platero & Martínez Gallego, 2018, online).

¹ With respect to the stages through which the weekly passed, there were three. The first, from 4 January 1864 to 17 July 1865, was a period during which its editor was reported and fined for Nos. 16 and 17. The second, from 21 August 1865 to 8 July 1867, was when it circulated as a political-satirical publication, a stage that was brought to a close when it was reported yet again. From 15 July to 19 August 1867, its name changed to *El Clarín*, whose numbering continued from where that of *El Tío Clarín* had left off. Finally, the third stage ran from 5 December 1870 to 31 July 1971. The collections are housed in the Municipal Newspaper Library of Seville. Signatures: B-13/A-133; B-13/A134; and B-13/A-135. Only two of the numbers published during the weekly's first financial year are preserved in the Digital Ancient Collection of the Hispalense [online]: <http://fondosdigitales.us.es/fondos>. Signature: A Mont. Rev. 04. As well as in the Municipal Newspaper Library of Madrid. General repository: A.M.23/4 (3718).

Image 1. Image of the prospectus for *El Tío Clarín* showing the narrator mask.



Source: *El Tío Clarín* (Seville, January 4, 1864)

The main obstacle was the action of judging the present and its main actors: “As a merely literary publication, I do not have to recall the heartaches resulting from [...] my behaviour. [...] I have always strongly criticised faults and abuses [...] and I shall do the same in politics” (*El Tío Clarín*, 21 August 1865). From this it can be deduced that it was its status as a satirical publication, be it literary or political, that obliged its editor and cartoonist to criticise the present, regardless of whether their criticism was aimed at cultural expressions or the handling of some or other political affair. Recourse to satire entailed, therefore, rediscovering current affairs. Thus, in the decisive year of 1866, the mission statement for the weekly’s third financial year –or second stage– explicitly referred to the public issues on which it would take a stance:

We shall defend [...] the breaking of the state’s monopoly of the sale of salt, tobacco and everything that has been monopolised hitherto; until the Government ceases to be manufacturer, merchant and banker [...]. We shall attack [...] the rage for public office as an authentic cancer consuming the entrails of the body politic; [...] As advocates for the free expression of thought, we shall always defend the absolute freedom of the press. [...] We want everybody to have the same obligations and rights, without exceptions (*El Tío Clarín*, No. 101).

Paradoxically, the weekly's democratic-republican affiliation and its defence of the commons does not seem to have clashed with the development of an editorial strategy that shifted towards the production of current affairs by informal means. In this vein, *El Tío Clarín* surprised everyone when, in mid-July 1866, it launched a newspaper that would be published every day of the week, except on Monday, the day on which the satirical weekly would hit the streets until July 1867. Thenceforth, the publication of the daily newspaper would be suspended. From 15 July to 19 August 1867, it would be called *El Clarín*², although the censorship continued and its publication was suspended yet again.

4.1.1. From *El Tío Clarín* to *La Campana*: the consolidation of an editorial project

The first number of *La Campana*³ [Image 2], published on 9 September 1867, was followed by another 21 until 27 January 1868. It took up from where *El Clarín* had left off, insofar as it inherited the layout and editorial line of *El Tío Clarín* in 1866, differentiating the daily newspaper, devoted to “material interests, news and announcements,” from the satirical weekly. Its editor was the printer Carlos Santigosa, who was responsible for converting *El Tío Clarín* into a political publication, and its cartoonist, Luis Mariani. Nonetheless, there was no direct reference to its name in the publication information, probably because of the complaint lodged against him as the editor of *El Clarín*⁴. Its narrative mask was as suggestive as that of the type of pugnaciousness and Goyaesque stances that *El Tío Clarín* represented, presenting itself as one of the people. In this case, it was Mr Bell Ringer Senior, described in a humorous fashion in the mission statement appearing in the first number: “he extracts half a pound of cotton wool from each ear, coughs, spits, blows his nose, brushes the hair out of his eyes and, looking at the youngsters who have just rung the bells, addresses them in the following fashion...”:

My sons, this *Bell* that we have just rung for the first time should be rung very prudently, if we do not want to crack it in the first instance, given the atmospheric conditions in which we encounter ourselves. [...] If we look after it, it will produce a great deal of cash when we do with it what Mendizábal did with its illustrious ancestors (*La Campana*, repique general 1).

² The numbers of *El Clarín* preserved in the Municipal Newspaper Library of Seville correspond to the satirical weekly. Signature: B-13/A135. Edited and run by Manuel Vicente Moreno, with Luis Mariani Jiménez as its cartoonist, it was printed in the Las Novedades printing and lithography workshop, located at 7 San Francisco Square.

³ The collections are housed in the Municipal Newspaper Library of Seville. Signature: B-13/A135. Edited by Carlos Santigosa (Barcelona, 1815–Sevilla, 1899), it was printed at Las Novedades printing and lithography workshop, located at 27 Tetuán Street, approximately as of 1853.

⁴ On 13 February 1868, *La Nueva Iberia* described the circumstances in which its suspension was resolved: “Our satirical colleague from Seville *El Clarín* has been acquitted by a court of first instance of the charges brought against it. The public prosecutor requested a three-month prison sentence for the owner of the printing workshop and one of 17 months, plus a fine of 15,000 reales, for the editor Mr Luis Mariani. We hope that this judicial decision will be confirmed in a court of second instance.” This passage is taken from a brief news piece appearing in the “Domestic politics” section, p. 2.

Image 2. First issue of *La Campana* (Seville, 1867-1868).



Source: Municipal Newspaper Library of Madrid. September 9, 1867.

In this passage there is a clear reference to the social unrest preceding the Glorious Revolution, observing that the weekly's “merit” should reside in moderation when criticising in the metaphorical sense, making the bell ring– so as to avoid a new “affliction” similar to that suffered by *El Tío Clarín*, temporarily withdrawn from “public business.” On a second level, while envisaging the profits to be made if it were prudent –obtaining a large amount of cash by melting down the bell made of noble metal– there is criticism of the objectives that have not been reached during the seizure of the assets belonging to the Church, promoted by Mendizábal (1836). This process did not involve restructuring land ownership as a way of constituting a liberal society, but buttressing the existing order with the enrichment of the major landowners.

The intention of the mask of the senior bell ringer, who brings to mind other figures such as that of *Fray Gerundio* (León, 1837-Madrid, 1838-42; 1843-44), was to vindicate “the voice” of a figure who, inasmuch as church bells no longer ordered communal life or that of convents or communities, had begun to lose his social utility. On the other hand, a certain parallel can be drawn between the role of a bell ringer and that of a public writer, since both called or convened an audience, the former to pray and the latter to participate in the debate on the state of public affairs, employing a –common musical– language that everybody understood. As to newspapers, the bell, as occurred with the clarion, ‘spoke’ to condemn those who profited from the commons or who allowed a minority to do so. “Consequently, its toll has to produce different sensations,” depending on what or who was being censured.

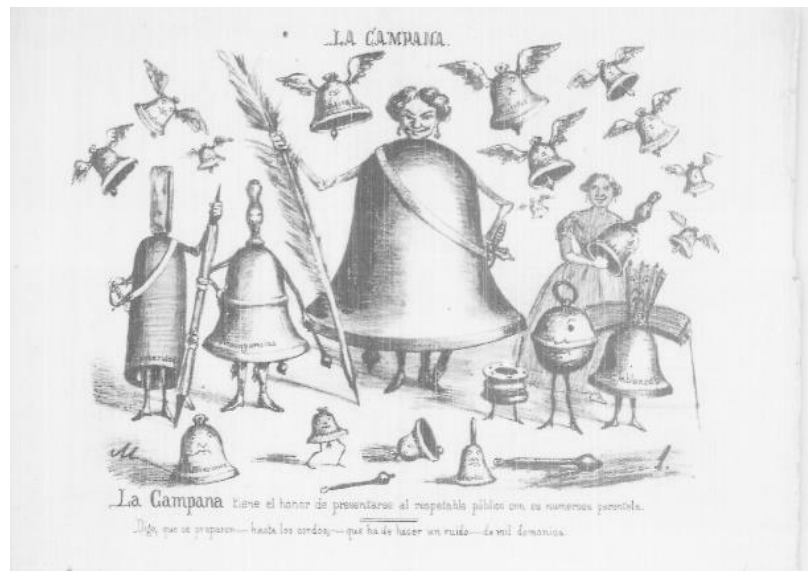
If it tolls for the hoarders of wheat and for those bakers refusing to lower the price of bread, so as to prevent their poor brethren in Christ from dying for need, it will toll as if for the dead. [...]

If it tolls for those who covet other people's goods, for them it will have the same effect as the voices of a pair of civil guards shouting, "Stop or we'll shoot, you rogue, you thief!" (*La Campana*, 9 September 1867).

The double meaning of the toll of a bell (life/death; approval/criticism) was represented on the front page of the weekly by several birds transformed into the vermin of Goya's *Caprices* (1799), flapping around the bell tower, from where what is happening can be observed from a distance and in perspective. In the first print, the senior bell ringer is embodied by the female figure of a mother carrying a sable and a quill as attributes [Image 3], thus displaying the arms that she wields to ensure that public virtue is upheld, who cautions, "I say that even the deaf should prepare themselves, for it will make a hell of a noise."

That annoying noise –like the truth– does not refer to the Bakhtinian sense of a festival in a public square, but to the symbolic stage –principally acoustic– of the bells and horns rung or blown (Thompson, 1991; Burke, 1978) to express moral censorship of behaviours that contravene the established rules. But, at the same time, the main bell was accompanied by many smaller ones, plus a rattle that metaphorically represented the different genres that readers would find in its pages. It did not only offer information about notable events –"Wars, revolutions, murders, robberies, suicides, earthquakes, promotions, layoffs [...], we will recount them to you in precise detail and with as much veracity as possible"– but also content that distracted the imagination: "In order to banish the sad impression that grim events have conjured up, on Mondays we will offer you four large pages replete with chatter, mirth and joy. Cartoons, hieroglyphs, charades, logogriphs, tales, epigrams, jokes and extravagancies."

Image 3. First lithographed print of *La Campana*.



Source: Municipal newspaper archive of Seville. September 9, 1867.

On the other hand, the recreational content was represented by winged bells, pointing to the beneficial effect of laughter, first of all, as a symptom of the 'sickness' from which the body politic was suffering and, secondly, as an antidote: "[...] it is not a laughing matter; but it is better for you to spend four or six *reales* a month on a subscription to *La Campana*, than to spend four or six *duros* a month on a cure for flu." However, the distinction between this inoffensive content and current affairs was not presented explicitly, thus leaving open the possibility that these genres that alleviate melancholy might have been aimed at a type of reader who was not a "public man," but, on the contrary, belonged to the nuclear family: women and children.

So, as can be observed, the continuities between both weeklies were appreciable, since it was the same editorial project led by the Mariani-Santigosa tandem. Both men, committed to the common good and the autonomy of individuals, thought up a particular way of making significant progress in combining accurate news and instructive entertainment. The fact that there was no clash between the weekly's role as a vehicle for public opinion, from a democratic-republican perspective, and the vindication of its independent character should also be taken into account. On 27 January 1868, *La Campana* took its leave, thanking its readers for perusing its pages during the months that it had been published, "Fortitude, courage and fear! Your devoted and faithful servant until the wall in front," and announcing the utility of its end: "I will soon be melted down and converted into coins worth five centimes of an escudo. I will thus have the pleasure of filling your pockets, so that you can use me to pay for your subscription to *El Tío Clarín* at the end of each month."

4.2. Reading visual writing

Since the spread of print *culture* throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, images have been associated with print products. In the 1830s, print culture evolved into visual graphics, becoming a mass (Szir, 2016, p. 16) and transnational phenomenon from Europe to Latin America. In Spain, iconographic densification was a defining trait of a public space (Botrel, 2011) that was in the process of being broadened from a sociological point of view. One of the factors that hindered this was the slow and unequal development of literacy. In about 1860, 70% of the population aged 10 in Spain did not know how to read or write. "However, these illiterate children did not lack [...] a relationship with written culture. But, indeed, instruction or proficiency in reading and writing. They had not gone to school or [...] a large number of them had forgotten [...] their skills [owing to the lack of practice]" (Guereña & Tiana-Ferrer, 2001, pp. 26-27). According to the census of 1860, there were 116,314 inhabitants in the city of Seville. Of these 78,028 were completely illiterate and 4,351 could barely read at all.

In light of these figures, it should come as no surprise that one of the most common ways of keeping abreast of what was going on in the world was through images, a cultural medium that, based on summarising and classification, enabled illiterate social groups to understand the news. The chapbook is considered to be one of its most popular forms. After analysing five versions of the account of the case of Sebastiana del Castillo, Botrel (2019, p. 409) explains that -reusable- emblematic figures were employed in the woodcuts with an eye to fleshing out a visual statement, as a sort of iconic title, easy to remember and which served to anchor the meaning of the action recounted (crimes, murders, etc.). To these were added graphic accounts consisting of small pictures with the word *alehuya* printed on them, based on a scripted-visual language that during the Democratic Sexennial would be shared/consumed by both children and adults. Illustrations were even included in the edition of lyric comedies and serial novels which, in addition to being regarded as a means of attracting customers, transformed texts into visible objects (Botrel, 2008).

So, together with the illustrated literature and press, at the end of the nineteenth century "the existence of an 'imageature' [namely], literature expressed with images, in an exclusive or predominant fashion, of some or other idea or story in several media" (Botrel, 2019, p. 424) was an undisputable fact. In this context, the inclusion of satirical images, such as cartoons or drawings relating to current affairs, on the pages of weeklies might have given rise to a frontier way of reading rooted in the intellection of written content, on the one hand, and visual reading of, or active listening to, the subject matter of lithographic prints, on the other, resulting in the conception of a page as a visual image and of images as a form of writing, combining both types of scripted-visual language with the oral expression and/or dramatisation of content. Consequently, by employing humour as a sort of legible narrative and the image as a language resorting to ellipsis so as to relate a story the satirical press recovered sensitive elements in order to make readers think critically, while also provoking

emotions like laughter and facilitating the association of what was being narrated with what was being seen and/or experienced.

4.2.1. Frontier ways of reading: social spaces and collectives

Through the use of lithographic prints, *El Tío Clarín* and *La Campana* engaged audiences who a priori were not considered as potential readers. After the complaints lodged against Nos. 16 and 17 of *El Tío Clarín* had been brought to his notice, the editor “ordered and commanded” the following: “1. The subscribers to *El Tío Clarín* are prohibited from lending those numbers to anyone under the most severe penalties. The extremely poor and the poor in spirit are exempt from this prohibition” (13 June 1864, No. 24).

The weekly was passed from person to person, while the social practice of looking at the latest print through the window of the office of the printing workshop was indeed widespread. This custom transcended national borders, as can be seen in the case of the weekly *Le Flâneur* (1850) [Image 4], belonging to the collection *Bibliothèque pour rire* edited by Maison Aubert, which was run by Charles Philipon and in which the lithographer from Marseille Honoré Daumier, among other illustrators, collaborated. The crowd gathering in front of the window was diverse, the public men among their number, who participated in the political debate, being accompanied by some or other servant or by their wives and children. The street was a place of enunciation in which the *flâneur* went about his business: watching attentively, superimposing the panoramic view (spyglass) on the detailed close-up view (microscope), while strolling about. It is not hard to imagine the route taken by a potential reader of *El Tío Clarín* or *La Campana*, glancing at the notice on view in the kiosk in the New Square, before making his way to 27 Tetuán Street, to see the latest print through the window of the Las Novedades printing workshop.

Image 4. *Le Flâneur*. 1850. Paris, Maison Aubert.



Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF, FOL-LI6-1).

This practice must have been considered in the editorial restructuring of the newspaper resulting in its transformation into a political-satirical weekly, given that during this stage it was not only possible to extract “some loose pages which would be publically sold by the blind and retailers,” combining subscriptions with retail as forms of distribution, but this habit was also encouraged for altruistic reasons:

With the humanitarian purposes that have always distinguished it, *El Tío Clarín* will continue to be displayed for free in the window of its office for the very poor who do not have four reales a month to spend on it [...], and with the same philanthropic objective it has decided to continue selling its loose numbers for two reales apiece (21 August 1865, No. 82).

Likewise, in the aforementioned No. 24 there is also reference to the figure of the indirect reader:

2. As there are children everywhere who are dying to get their hands on *El Tío Clarín*, to such an extent that doctors are called to prescribe them a remedy that cures them, and, as a result, some subscribers will not have the complete collection [...], it is our duty to inform them that there are collections and loose numbers available, costing one real each for subscribers and two for those who are not (13 June 1864).

They probably had the opportunity to see the print during walks with their fathers. However that may be, the indiscrete gaze of the young refers indirectly to another place and another audience: parlours and mothers who helped their children to read, or supervised their reading, of the weekly when it arrived or was delivered at home. The discourse of domesticity limited the role of mothers to that of the model of the “household angel,” whose education of their children focused on morality. The following passage recreates the effect that images had as a lure for encouraging children and, therefore, their mothers to read the weekly. A paperboy visits the home of a subscriber to *El Tío Clarín* to deliver No. 82, with which the second stage of the weekly begins. After overcoming the opposition of the maid, the paperboy manages to be received by the mistress of the house:

The paperboy of *El Tío Clarín*: ‘Look, neither is it a blunderbuss, nor anything that can pick a quarrel with your mistress. Quite the opposite, she will chide you if she finds out that you’ve refused to except it, because I know that she’s waiting for *El Tío Clarín*, like the Jews for the Messiah.’

(The two children are jumping with joy) ‘Oh, *El Tío Clarín*! Mama! Mama! *El Tío Clarín*’s arrived!’

Their mother flies out of the pantry and, bumping into the chairs, asks, ‘So, what’s all this about *El Tío Clarín*?’

‘Nothing; I’m bringing you the newspaper, because it’s just come out again...’

The boy: ‘No, no, don’t take it away... (labouring under a speech impediment) hic... hic... hic...’

‘Don’t cry, my son; he’s not going to take it away.’

‘I want the pri... the pri... the print... hic... hic... hic...’

So, it can be inferred that the mother mediates in the interpretation that the child makes of the print. Her family role is an expression of the sexual division on which the social contract was based in the framework of liberalism. The naturalisation of this division was clearly reflected in liberal educational policy:

A distinction was drawn between education (domestic, focusing on reading and writing [...]) and instruction (universal, focusing on the education of citizens on the basis of subjects like commerce, history, agriculture, geometry and physics). [...] The Moyano Law of 1857 established compulsory education for boys and girls aged nine, but that of the latter

revolved around moral and behavioural values, as well as around the tasks inherent to their sex (Peyrou, 2019, p. 373).

So, as educators in the home setting, women assumed an active role that also implied serving as vehicles for transmitting values essential for preserving the good image of the family as an indication of social distinction. In other words, that they could have an active hand in upholding their family status, thus having a positive effect from which the master of the house could benefit in his public life. In this connection, the fact that certain women could contravene the discourse of domesticity in the nineteenth century does not negate the metaphor of the two spheres as an analytical framework for understanding the place –and the state of submission– that has historically been reserved for them. It makes it necessary, however, to enquire into the social dynamics and spaces that offer a glimpse of the interdependence between the roles and the blurred line separating the public sphere, the male space, from the domestic setting, a space set aside for women (Peyrou, 2019, p. 378; Roman, 2018, pp. 104 and 106-109).

Secondly, the social distinction factor points to the differentiation between social categories, traversing the sexual division. In the dialogue transcribed above, there is a woman who serves in the house of another woman, identified as ‘the mistress’. Mariani’s cartoons, with their characteristic depiction of mores and customs that facilitates their interpretation, suggest certain differences between social classes based on the archetypes featuring in the prints of *La Campana*. For instance, the print appearing in No. 2 of the weekly, dated 23 September 1867, is a sort of genre painting whose message is conveyed by means of a time contrast [Image 5]: yesterday and today.

Image 5. Second lithographed print *La Campana*.



Source: Municipal newspaper archive of Seville. September 23, 1867.

The attitude of the characters portrayed in the print seems to be changing. In yesterday, the melon seller, wearing a *Calañas* hat, is carrying such a large knife that the woman who is purchasing his goods does not dare to complain about their poor quality and allows herself to be extorted. In today, the seller’s knife is so small that the shawl covering the hair of the buyer has fallen onto her shoulders as a result of her energetic protests: “No, I don’t want the melon!” To which the seller replies, “You don’t want the melon? ... Damn! ... This is what happens when you don’t have the right tools...”

The condemnation of food speculation was commonplace in both publications. However, in this print appearing in *La Campana* the swindler suffers from the consequences of his own deceit, showing in the representation that both are victims of the poverty into which the structural inequalities have plunged the members of their social class. Therefore, this poses the question of at whom this print was aimed: At the poor classes? In his research on political cartoons in the third year of the Porfirio Díaz government in Mexico (resulting from the Plan of Tuxtepec) –the language of cartoons had a similar periodisation to that of those produced in Spain– Gantús (2010, p. 8) does not accept that these cartoons might have been aimed at ordinary people, owing to the polysemy of their –metaphorical and aphoristic– *argot plastique*, while stressing the reading skills required to interpret them.

However that may be, ordinary people, like, for example, servants, might have been able to grasp the meaning of the prints after hearing their mistresses discuss them with their children. In other words, they might have become acquainted with the issues broached in the weekly, due to the fact they were living in the same age as the cartoonist and actively listening to the comments made in the houses in which they worked. But, in all likelihood, they were incapable of reading the weekly on their own, interpreting the prints that it contained or paying for a copy themselves. This is so because the social background of individuals did not affect their ability to understand/read the world, but did indeed limit their access to information in this respect.

Therefore, this frontier way of reading operated by combining mental and visual aspects and by referring to common spaces, such as the home, the nuclear family and the street, linked to the action of taking a stroll. These marginal spaces bear witness to the vague line separating the public from the private sphere, above all considering the different ways in which the weeklys counter publics related to it: women and children, to whom the weekly's editor/writer referred and who, in turn, were taken into account in the diversification of print products, at least with respect to their different forms of circulation.

Nevertheless, the democratisation of print products was still in its infancy, for recourse continued to be had to stereotypes to represent the needy (the maid or the humble woman buying food), even when they were referred to as part of the people, which differentiated them, in terms of their attitudes and values, from the middle classes. This criticism went beyond the weekly's prints –the visual– to impregnate its inside pages –the typographical– thus revealing the social group that was excluded from the potential readership of such weeklies. In contrast, this circumstance does not rule out the possibility that the poor classes had the ability to grasp the meaning of the lithographic prints in an indirect fashion or in alternative social spaces, because social class did not determine their ability to understand by association, analogy or experimenting with the senses.

5. Discussion and conclusions

In light of the foregoing, the editorial strategy implemented by *El Tío Clarín* (1864-1867) and consolidated by *La Campana* (1867-1868) opens the debate on whether popular culture was broadened from a sociological perspective through republican culture in the final years of the reign of Isabella II and during the Democratic Sexennium, specifically until the First Republic. From the outset, the political instability only slowed down, but did not halt, the modernisation of the Spanish publishing market, shaping the cultural dimension as a space in which new demands for recognition or for broadening the public sphere emerged, through the way in which diverse social groups, as regards both their background and their reading skills or degree of literacy, used, consumed and appropriated popular print products. This was the case of the satirical press with cartoons, a genre that contributed to socialise reading and print culture owing to the different ways of understanding current affairs fostered by combining different discursive forms.

On the continent of the opposition press, the narrative fabric leveraged popular genres and the senses (orality, gestures and dramatisation) that they activated to facilitate the material conditions that, first and foremost, encouraged people to interpret satirical cartoons as a way of blending knowing with doing. From a cultural point of view, it appealed to emotions and everyday experience. Secondly, it allowed for a form of appropriation based on textual and iconic interpretation which made it possible to overstep the cultural line separating collective and street reading from the individual kind in silence, thus allowing indirect audiences who were not subscribers to consume textual and visual forms in unexpected ways.

By applying the circumstantial method, it has been possible to identify a series of footprints or implicit messages, to which the editor referred, as to the most widespread practices among the weekly's objective and indirect readers, such as its circulation from person to person, the appeal that the lithographic prints had for the young and the habit of stopping to look at the latest print in the window of the printing and lithography workshop while out walking. Consequently, there were several marginal spaces shared by "all," although differentiated by social class and sex: the street as a place where the multitude, as a collective body, walked; public men exhibited themselves, while women, without political recognition, were seen. Likewise, mention should also go to the average home as a space located between the private and public spheres, in which women assumed the role of educators and who, by becoming involved in charity work, could transcend that intimate space and enhance the image of their husbands, the representatives of the family in the public sphere.

On the other hand, owing to the appeal that the prints had for children, women played the role of –moralising– mediators in their 'correct' interpretation. Scenes of this type were usually evoked in the domestic setting. Nonetheless, there was also another unnoticed audience, namely, the poor classes, in homes and on streets, whose members could become acquainted with the subject matter of the newspaper by listening to other people's comments. The way in which maids were portrayed reflects the need to distinguish between the wives of subscribers and those other women. The distinction was made through –stereotyped– apparel and ways of speaking and behaving. Therefore, such a distinction was implied by the social class to which women belonged. Having said that, social background did not determine the ability to leverage life experiences to interpret what was seen and heard by association. In this way, images became vehicles of cultural transmission par excellence, since they permitted unnoticed audiences to keep abreast of the news, thus making it easier to combine knowing how to think with know-how on the basis of experimenting with the interpretation of the world.

This study has been performed in the framework of the 2020 PAIDI Project "Historia Crítica del Periodismo Andaluz" (HICPAN: reference no. P18-RT-1552), funded by the Department of Economy and Knowledge of the Andalusian Regional Government, running from 1 January 2020 to 31 December 2022.

References

- Batticuore, G. (2017). *Lectoras del siglo XIX. Imaginarios y prácticas en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Ampersand.
- Bordería Ortiz, E., Martínez Gallego, F. A. (dirs.) & Gómez Mompert, J. L. (ed.) (2010). *La risa periodística. Teoría, metodología e investigación en comunicación satírica*. Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch.
- Botrel, J. F. (1993). *Libros, prensa y lectura en la España del siglo XIX*. Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez.
- Botrel, J. F. (2008). Leer láminas: la doble función de las ilustraciones en las novelas por entregas. In J. F. Botrel (Ed.), *Sociedad de Literatura Española del Siglo XIX. IV Coloquio. La*

- Literatura Española del siglo XIX y las artes* (pp. 67-74). Barcelona: PPU. Retrieved from <http://www.botrel-jean-francois.com/Laminas.html>
- Botrel, J. F. (2011). Imágenes sin fronteras: el comercio europeo de las ilustraciones. In B. Rodríguez Gutiérrez & R. Gutiérrez Sebastián (Eds.), *Literatura ilustrada decimonónica, 57 perspectivas* (pp. 129-144). Santander: Publican, Ediciones de la Universidad de Cantabria.
- Botrel, J. F. (2019). Las lecturas ilustradas de los nuevos lectores. In R. Gutiérrez Sebastián, J. M. Ferri Coll & B. Rodríguez Gutiérrez (Eds.), *Historia de la literatura ilustrada española en el siglo XIX* (pp. 409-428). Santander: Editorial de la Universidad de Cantabria and Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). *La distinction, critique sociale du jugement*. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.
- Burke, P. (1978). *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Harper Torchbooks-Harper & Row.
- Castro-Alfín, D. (1998). *Los males de la imprenta. Política y libertad de prensa en una sociedad dual*. Madrid: Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) and Editores Siglo XXI.
- Cavallo, G. & Chartier, R. (dir.) (1997). *Histoire de la lecture dans le monde occidental*. Paris: Seuil.
- Conboy, M. (2002). *The Press and Popular Culture*. London: SAGE.
- Chartier, R. (1995). *Sociedad y escritura en la Edad Moderna. La cultura como apropiación*. México: Instituto Mora.
- Chartier, R. (2007). Lectores y lecturas populares. Entre imposición y apropiación. *Coherencia. Revista de Humanidades*, 7(4) (Julio-diciembre), 102-117. Retrieved from <https://www.redalyc.org/pdf/774/77413255007.pdf>
- Checa-Godoy, A. (2006). *El ejercicio de la libertad. La prensa española en el Sexenio Revolucionario (1868-1874)*. Zaragoza: Biblioteca Nueva.
- Checa-Godoy, A. (2011). *Historia de la prensa andaluza*. Sevilla: Alfar.
- Checa-Godoy, A. (2016). Auge y crisis de la prensa satírica española en el Sexenio Revolucionario (1868-1874). *El Argonauta español* [Online], 13. <https://www.doi.org/10.4000/argonauta.2335>
- Darnton, R. C. (1996). *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- De Certeau, M. (1990 [1980]). *L'invention du quotidien*. Vol. I: Arts de faire. Paris: Gallimard.
- Díaz Lage, S. (2020). *Escritores y lectores de un día todos. Literaturas periódicas en la España del siglo XIX*. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.
- Gantús, F. (2010). La caricatura política y sus lectores. Ciudad de México, 1876-1888. *Patrimônio e Memória*, 6(1), 3-19. Retrieved from <https://pem.assis.unesp.br/index.php/pem/article/view/>
- Ginzburg, C. (2003). Huellas. Raíces de un paradigma indiciario. In C. Ginzburg, *Tentativas* (pp. 93-155). México: Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo.
- Guereña, J. L. & Tiana-Ferrer, A. (2001). Lecturas en medios populares. Del discurso a las prácticas. *Historia de la Educación. Revista interuniversitaria*, 20, 25-39. Retrieved from https://redib.org/Record/oai_articulo3246344-lecturas-en-medios-populares-del-discurso-a-las-pr%C3%A1cticas
- Gutiérrez Jiménez, M. E. (2017). Los modos de ver de *El Tío Clarín* (Sevilla, 1864). Una forma de popularizar lo político. *Historia Social*, 89, 3-30. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44508759>
- Infantes, V., Lopez, F. & Botrel, J. F. (dir.) (2003). *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España. 1472-1914*. Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez.
- Laguna Platero, A. & Martínez Gallego, F.-A. (2018). La eclosión de la prensa satírica en España (1868-1874). *El Argonauta español* [Online], 15. <https://www.doi.org/10.4000/argonauta.3077>

- Llera Ruiz, J. A. (2003). Una historia abreviada de la prensa satírica en España: desde *El Duende Crítico de Madrid* hasta *Gedeón*. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 9, 203-214. Retrieved from <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ESMP/article/view/ESMP0303110203A>
- Lyons, M. (2010). *A History of Reading and Writing in the Western World*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Martínez Martín, J. A. (dir.) (2001). *Historia de la edición en España. 1836-1936*. Madrid: Marcial Pons.
- Martínez Martín, J. A. (2003). Historia de la cultura e historia de la lectura en la historiografía. *Ayer*, 52, 283-296. Retrieved from https://www.revistaayer.com/sites/default/files/articulos/52-11-ayer52_PoliticaReinadoAlfonsoXII_Darde.pdf
- Martínez Martín, J. A. (2005). La lectura en la España contemporánea: lectores, discursos y prácticas de lectura. *Ayer*, 58, 15-34. Retrieved from https://revistaayer.com/sites/default/files/articulos/58-1-ayer58_HistoriaLectura_MartinezMartin.pdf
- McKenzie, D. F. (1986). *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mollier, J.-Y. (1988). *L'argent et les lettres. Histoire du capitalisme d'édition, 1880-1920*. Paris: Fayard.
- Orobon, M. A. & Lafuente, E. (coords.) (2021). *Hablar a los ojos. Caricatura y vida política en España (1830-1918)*. Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza.
- Peyrou, F. (2008). *Tribunos del pueblo. Demócratas y republicanos durante el reinado de Isabel II*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.
- Peyrou, F. (2019). A vueltas con las dos esferas. Una revisión historiográfica. *Historia y Política*, 42, 359-385. <https://www.doi.org/10.18042/hp.42.13>
- Roda-Rivas, A. (1870). *Ensayo sobre la opinión pública*. Madrid: Imprenta de M. Minuesa.
- Roman, C. A. (2018). Figuraciones verbales y visuales de las lectoras de prensa. *El Mosquito* (Argentina, 1863-1893). *Iberoamericana*, 18(67), 101-126. <https://www.doi.org/10.18441/ibam.18.2018.67.101-126>
- Schudson, M. (1981). *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*. New York: Basic Books.
- Serrano García, R. (2001). La historiografía en torno al Sexenio 1868-1874: entre el fulgor del centenario y el despliegue sobre lo local. *Ayer*, 44, 11-32.
- Stanley, F. (1980). *Is There a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.
- Szir, S. M. (coord.) (2016). *Ilustrar e Imprimir. Una historia de la cultura gráfica en Buenos Aires (1830-1930)*. Buenos Aires: Ampersand.
- Thérenty, M.-E. & Vaillant, A. (dirs.) (2004). *Presses et plumes. Journalisme et littérature au XIX^e siècle*. Paris: Nouveau Monde Editions.
- Thompson, E. P. (1991). *Customs in Common. Studies in Traditional Popular Culture*. London: The Merlin Press Ltd.