Constructing Madrileños: The Reciprocal Development of Madrid and its Residents (1833-1868)

DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the work of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco (1801-1875) and Antonio Flores Algovia (1818-1865), specifically their newspapers and serial novels published during the years of Isabel II’s reign in Madrid. These years (1833-1868) are significant because of the sudden growth in popularity of serial publications, visual media, and the novelas de folletín, or serial novels.

The central thesis of this project is the concept of reciprocal development, which allows for Georg Simmel’s notion that the city enters and affects the mind of the individual. However, it also acknowledges Henri Lefebvre’s view that the city is a collective creation of its citizens, and that a person has the capacity to project emotions and significance upon an external environment. Within the context of reciprocal development, this project shows how the print publications of Ayguals and Flores were shaped by the city they lived in, while at the same time, they were consistently projecting forth opinions, complaints, ideas, visual representations of the city, and their understanding of what it meant to be a madrileño, or resident of Madrid.

There are three topics examined that appear frequently in the novels and articles of Ayguals and Flores, all of which can be understood through the lens of reciprocal development. The first is space; spatial boundaries and transformations did indeed have a profound effect on the urban dweller, but periodistas also had the capacity to endow the spaces of the city with emotional, moral, or historical significance, as well as to suggest
reforms or changes to the built environment. The second topic is psychology; while the lived experience of the city did affect the mental state of the *periodistas*, they also used the spaces and technologies of the city to express personality and imprint language onto the urban textual palimpsest. The third topic is technology, a realm in which we see reciprocal development at work through a comparison of Ayguals and Flores; Flores spoke out against the dangers of technology on individual personality, while Ayguals was an innovator in printing technology who traveled abroad to procure new machines for his publishing house. All of these sub-topics exist within the larger concept of modernity, a cultural and societal shift over time that the reading public found at once jarring and exhilarating.

The popular press operated as an agent of reciprocal development due to a constant conversation that took place between the *periodistas* of the time period and their readers. Through the exchange of gossip, letters, or simple conversations on the street, a public opinion was formed that was then documented and disseminated throughout a readership. Additionally, if we take into account Edward Soja’s concept of Thirdspace, we can understand the newspaper as a realm in which the lived city and imagined city interacted by means of a dialogue that took place between the consumers and producers of the printed, serial publications in 19th-century Madrid.
To Peter and Rita Malone.

Dearly departed, sorely missed.
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Introduction: The Printing Press as Producer and Product

In Antonio Flores’s collection Ayer, hoy y mañana (1863), he describes the clock in the Puerta del Sol, which, as it marks the days and hours, “parece ser la voz de mando que obedecen con puntualidad los vagos, girando y contragirando al sol y la sombra” (III 44). He also gives human qualities to the strange new technologies of the era, such as “el ferrocarril que nos roba los parroquianos llevándolos a escape por esos mundos de Dios, y el telégrafo eléctrico que nos quita los pensamientos como un verdadero jugador de manos” (III xx). The objects that he describes hold a power over the residents of Madrid: a power to alter their very thoughts and movements.

Years earlier, in his article “El lujo de los niños” (1850), Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco complained of the luxury items of the city: the elegant adornments and fabrics that he saw children wearing as they walked on the Paseo del Prado. Because of these silly consumer goods, he explained, “Las muchachas aprenden a ser coquetas, y los chicos se aficionan a una elegancia estremada que les induce a hombrear antes de tiempo.” Again, the objects have some sort of power over madrileños, just as they did for Flores’s narrator. The described goods, technologies, and instruments were thought up by people, and used by Madrid residents of their own free will. However, these authors nonetheless spoke to a fear that the changing city was beginning to define, alter, and invade the personalities and thoughts of Madrid’s residents.

1 La linterna mágica, marzo de 1850, p. 136.
The city of Madrid was a locus of technological and industrial development in Spain during the years of Isabel II’s reign (1833-1868), when the city grew from roughly 200,000 residents to over 300,000 (Carballo, Pallol and Vicente), most of whom came seeking employment. Madrid served as the primary national production site for wooden furniture, metal, perfume, wax, shoes, straw, textiles, hats, jewelry, sugar, and porcelain. Additionally, the 70 printing presses in the city were responsible for most of the newspapers and novels published in Spain, and over the course of the 19th century, Madrid also became the site of production for lithographs, photographs, and other graphic arts. Print culture expanded significantly during this time period, shifting from a mere reflection of society to an authentic “constructor social de la realidad” (Riego 160). It is precisely this print culture that I seek to examine, specifically the texts of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco (1818-1873) and Antonio Flores Algovia (1818-1865). Their newspapers were notable for the ways in which they portrayed the city, in addition to their crucial role in the development of the planned, practiced, and imagined versions of 19th-century Madrid.


3 For more on visual culture in the 19th century, see: Bozal Fernández, Valeriano. La ilustración gráfica del XIX. Madrid: A. Corazón, 1979.
Riego, Bernardo. La construcción social de la realidad a través de la fotografía y el grabado informativo en la España del siglo XIX. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2001.
Newspaper culture in Madrid trumped that of any other Spanish city by far; the Madrid press “suponía casi el 90% de la que circulaba por correo” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 65). The explosion of newspaper culture after the death of Fernando VII allowed for many sorts of serial publications of a political, satirical, literary, religious, or informative nature; an article from the newspaper *El Fandango* in 1845 predicted that, in the following year, “Nacerán infinidad de periodiquillos que morirán a los pocos días.”\(^4\) The press was a method of diffusion for news, portraits, cartoons, essays, letters, and creative content from numerous genres such as *costumbrista* essays and Romantic poetry.\(^5\) The years 1833-1868 “constituyen el momento en que el periodismo español efectúa su mayor transformación, tanto en el aspecto ideológico como en el material” (Díaz 362), and those years will therefore serve as the boundaries for the present study.

For the purposes of this project, I will use the term “popular press” to refer to serialized print publications (between the years of 1833-1868)\(^6\), specifically those of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores, both of whom contributed to and directed popular newspapers of the time. These publications were written for the purposes of informing and entertaining the reading public of Madrid, often...

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\(^5\) The variety of images was especially notable; “La mayoría de la población de Madrid hacia 1850 se compraba una diversión pictórica y una variedad de imágenes a través de impresos de bajo coste tales como aleluyas, coplas y romances, grabados baratos de tema religioso, e imágenes cortadas de periódicos ilustrados” (Haidt, “Flores en Babilonia” 300-301). See also: Fontanella, Lee. *La imprenta y las letras en la España romántica*. Bern: Peter Lang AG, 1982.

\(^6\) These years correspond with the reign of Isabel II. Before the death of Fernando VII in 1833, there were few of these publications due to widespread censorship, and after 1868, they became scarce as creative tastes turned to the realist novels of Galdós and Pardo Bazán.
simultaneously, as opposed to the strictly news-based publications like La Gaceta de Madrid and El Diario de Madrid. These were “works of popular literature, every aspect of which was designed to increase sales among readers” – they were printed as infrequently as once a month, and as often as every three days (Pfitzer, Popular History 3). Issues of Aygua’s La Risa or Flores’s El Laberinto sold copies by the thousands, and the number of readers was often higher than the number of copies sold, due to the tendency to share newspapers, read them aloud in public places, or simply leave them in a café or salón for the next person to read. These numbers are even more impressive when one considers that, according to the 1860 census, only one out of every four Spaniards was literate (Goldman 186). For this reason, imagery and visual communication were important components; the woodcut engravings that supplemented the print material “abren el espacio del periódico atrayendo al lector, creando una espera y anunciándole, junto al título, el tono general de la publicación” (Ortega, “El arte de Ortego” 203), which was often one of social criticism, satire, or commentary. Literate Spanish readers tended to belong to the middle class, and the publications often espoused liberal values such as education, democratic redistribution of land, and the reduction of power of the monarchy and the Catholic Church. For liberals, the (relative) freedom of

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7 For more on this phenomenon, see Cruz Seoane, María and María Dolores Saiz. Cuatro siglos del periodismo en España: De los avisos a los periódicos digitales. Madrid: Alianza, 2007.  
8 Gómez Aparicio clarifies, however, that each political organ had its own mouthpiece: "frente a La Época, el casi exclusivo órgano de la Unión Liberal, los absolutistas contaban con el bloque de La Regeneración y La Esperanza; los moderados con el de El León Español, La España, El Diario Español, El Estado, El Occidente y La Crónica, y los progresistas, con el de Las Noticias, La Iberia, El Clamor Público, Las Cortes y La Discusión" ([1967] 492). He also acknowledges that there was a Catholic press: “El primer periódico de filiación carlista en esta etapa vio la luz en Madrid el 1 de marzo de 1840” (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 262), and it was called El Católico.
the press in the mid-19th century was “un medio de ilustración, de educación, que difundirá el ‘espíritu público’ y formará ‘la opinión pública,’ cuya expresión será al mismo tiempo” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 65).

One of the ways in which periodistas gave their publications wide appeal was by interpreting the city in a way that made it more legible to their readership. Madrid was becoming a city of things, such as gas lamps, trains, daguerreotypes, and consumer goods. With such a large concentration of strange people and new things, it fell to the newspaper industry to explain, categorize, and capture such shifts in a format that could be distributed among a population, many of whom were recent immigrants and had never experienced city life before. For those who were longtime residents of the city, newspapers served in new ways as the primary vehicle for disseminating knowledge about their own environment, and madrileños looked to periodicals to learn about that which they did not witness firsthand⁹, to read about the forces that affected their daily lives, and to experience the city that was changing around them.

**Reciprocal Development**

This project seeks to examine the ways in which the popular novels and newspapers of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores reflected the modern elements of the city, in addition to the ways in which the authors’ portrayal of these changes was instrumental in the creation of a collective urban imaginary. Urban journalists had an increased awareness of technology, fashion, photography, changing

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⁹ For more on the production of periodical content, the competition for news stories, and the capacity of newspaper writers to “hacer sucesos,” see Miner Otamendi, José Manuel. *Madrid los hizo, hicieron a Madrid.* Madrid: Gráficas Espejo, 1954.
spaces, and other transformative features of 19th-century Madrid. Through the rapidly expanding presence of the popular press, they were able to communicate that awareness to their readers, making sense of the “labyrinthine qualities of the city’s spaces, their hierarchical orderings and often hidden significations, for a symbolic world which is as imposing as it is imponderable” (Harvey 250). This act of embedding the metaphorical city in the planned city will be referred to in this study as the creation of an urban imaginary.

The city functions as a double entity, simultaneously a “lugar para habitar y para ser imaginado” (García Canclini 107). Urban residents have a rational, quotidian understanding of their habitat, while at the same time elaborating “supersticiones, mitos…interpretaciones parciales tomadas de distintas fuentes” (García Canclini 129). These textual presences convert the referential spaces of the city to narrative space, and finally to symbolic space as the streets, plazas, and buildings come to be imbued with emotional, national, historical, or moral significance. The streets, plazas, and buildings that Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores described in their novels were real, and the historical events that took place in the background and foreground were as well; although what happened in and around them was often dramatized or fictionalized. In this way, Ayguals and Flores were contributing to a shared knowledge of what Madrid was, and forming a repertoire of imagined meanings around the identity of the madrileño.

10 Riego, Bernardo. La construcción social de la realidad a través de la fotografía y el grabado informativo en la España del siglo XIX. Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2001.
The popular press under consideration in this project elaborated both the real and imagined versions of the city; the images, events, news, and topics of interest that the newspapers presented arose from specific places and moments in Madrid, and were disseminated throughout a readership of thousands. The same newspaper entered many hands almost simultaneously, and “the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life” (B. Anderson 35-36). Newspapers were an effective network for residents to learn what was happening in their own city, and the act of reflecting the city in the pages of newspapers became an act of distribution. It provided a framework for the readers to understand their everyday lives as they were actually being lived. At the same time, Ayguals and Flores presented stories – that is, elaborated fictions, interpretations and myths – with Madrid as the narrative backdrop. The creation of an urban imaginary, as Jean-Jacques Wunenburger explains, is a process of mythification:

The city has secreted a rich and abundant imaginary, both literary and iconographic, because the system of its built forms and willfully empty spaces constitutes a matrix for developing paintings of great esthetic, oneiric and symbolic density…Facades, streets, squares, monuments, towers, perspective views and panoramas, river banks, gardens and hills assembled into a single whole turn a city into an artificial contrivance that gives rise to emotions, visions, expectations and new dreams (1).
The elements of the city that contributed to the urban imaginary were not invented; readers often provided content for the newspapers through gossip, letters, public discussion, and interactions with the writers themselves. These truths were woven together into the “autonomous reality” of the city, which “has a life, an existence which cannot be reduced to the distribution of land or space, the street, the square, meeting places” (Lefebvre 213). Rebecca Haidt explains how it was possible for madrileños to occupy both versions of the city simultaneously; “Los espectadores madrileños de mediados de siglo se apasionaron por la idea de permanecer físicamente en la ciudad mientras ocuparan, en la imaginación, un emplazamiento exótico” (“Flores en Babilonia” 303)\(^{13}\). The real, lived city was influential on the textual city, and the textual Madrid affected how madrileños perceived and inhabited the actual Madrid.

Clearly, the popular press was not the only force shaping 19\(^{th}\)-century Madrid, but as the “formadora y portavoz a la vez de la opinión pública, la prensa aspira a ser el ‘cuarto poder’” (Cruz Seoane 65).\(^{14}\) Just as it is today, public opinion was a very powerful force in the 19\(^{th}\) century; societal perceptions of people, places, and events were disseminated throughout the public and semi-public spaces of the city such as plazas, cafés, churches, and tertulias. Information circulated, changing and developing into a force that affected what was discussed and published, and in this way, “la vida literaria es esclava de las corrientes sociopolíticas del siglo” (Ferreras 120). Those who sought to

\(^{13}\) This quotation applies to a range of entertainments discussed in her article; however, I believe that the mixture of the everyday and the exotic is specifically relevant to the popular press.

\(^{14}\) The other three forces were the Church, the government, and the monarchy.
report on the issues of the day often had to venture into the public sphere to identify the issues and determine what narratives accompanied them.

Figures like Ayguals and Flores were in a position to suggest – and at times, achieve – real change in the city, and the changes that they called for arose from the concerns of the citizens around them, such as construction, renovation, tariffs, legislation, and social issues; at times, “la prensa periódica era capaz de influir en las decisiones gubernamentales tanto como en el público” (Fontanella, *La imprenta y las letras* 29). The press was an important force in the shaping of public opinion, and the political content of newspapers like Ayguals’s *La Guindilla* is the reason for the constant preoccupation with press censorship during times of political turmoil.

*Methodology and Challenges*

This project grew out of an interest in urban studies – encouraged by Dr. Joel Stillerman at Grand Valley State University, for whom I worked as a research assistant – and a 2007 graduate course in 18th- and 19th-century Madrid literature, taught by Dr. Rebecca Haidt. After becoming Dr. Haidt’s advisee, we worked on two separate summer independent studies together in an attempt to identify some of the core strategies and characteristics of Madrid literature during the mid-19th century. She introduced me to the work of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores, both of whom she examines in her own research, and this dissertation project was born.

I read most of Ayguals’s and Flores’s novels while in the United States, as well as almost all of the secondary sources associated with their journalism, and Dr. Haidt procured additional materials for me during a 2010 research trip to Madrid. In the
summer of 2011, with the generous assistance of the Crane and Karpus funds, I was able to travel to Madrid for four weeks to work in the Biblioteca Nacional. It was there that I obtained and read almost all of the newspapers that Ayguals and Flores directed or contributed to (with the exception of El Telégrafo, which has not been recovered) as well as several studies on their work that are not available in the United States. I also viewed portraits of the authors, their original obituaries, and letters that they wrote. Apart from my research at the BNE, I viewed additional materials at the CSIC Biblioteca de las Ciencias Humanas y Sociales in Simancas. I also personally walked around the city to find and photograph the original sites of the Sociedad Literaria, other publishing houses whose addresses were given, and the block-long street off of the Calle de Sagasta named for Antonio Flores.

I wish to acknowledge certain limitations to a study of this type: namely, that the primary source information comes from a limited number of people. When the majority of one’s literary data comes from two authors with their own biases, points of view, political agendas, and personal vendettas, one cannot read their work as a completely objective representation. It is also difficult to measure the impacts and effects of some of their requests or complaints; in general, my assertions about the connections between their work and urban development are limited to providing a framework concerning tendencies of land use, urban redistribution, and changes in spatial division. Finally, there is an absence of statistics regarding the newspapers themselves – “las publicaciones periódicas dieron cabida a una cantidad incalculable de textos, en gran parte desconocidos e insospechados” (Díaz 357) – as well as the specifics of the readership in
terms of numbers, social class, reading practices, and age. As Lee Fontanella explains, “La situación del lector español de la primera mitad del siglo XIX permanece, desafortunadamente, oscura y enigmática” (La imprenta y las letras 24), and scholars have struggled with statistical and demographic information due to this lack of records. However, the texts themselves carry vital information about the reading public, such as their tastes, their concerns, their senses of humor, and their opinions, which sometimes appeared in letters published in the periodicals, thereby creating a direct dialogue between the periodistas and their readers.

Overview of Project

I believe that Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores Algovia are the best authors for this project because, despite their different approaches, they appear to be engaging in a conversation with each other, even if that conversation took place without their knowledge. Due to their discussions of the major issues of the time period such as politics, technology, social unrest, and print media, they are excellent examples of the crises, contradictions, and confusion of the Isabeline years. Additionally, their roles in the print industry gave them the ability to truly engage with the literary community and

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16 According to Iris Zavala, Ayguals is more of a romantic, while Rubio Cremades sets up Flores as a precursor to late-19th-century realist novels.

17 I will show in chapter one that the two were contemporaries who had many mutual acquaintances and were certainly aware of each other, but did not appear to be friends or collaborators.
advance it in a way that more canonical authors like Mariano José de Larra could not. If we view their work through the lens of reciprocal development, a picture emerges of two figures whose work was shaped by public taste, but also instrumental to the growth of the city, both as a lived environment and as an imagined realm.

The first chapter will offer a detailed introduction to the lives of Ayguals and Flores. Based on biographies, other secondary sources, and their own published content, I will provide an overview of their lives, bodies of work, politics, personalities, and their limited interactions with each other. I will also examine some of their similarities and differences as part of my argument that a comparative study of the two is a necessary component of any discussion of print culture of the time period.

My second chapter will provide an overview of mid-19th-century Madrid culture. The city was constantly changing in the 19th century, although, due to the high mortality rate, not always growing. Despite significant growth in the early 1830s, the population actually decreased from 1835-1845 due to a cholera outbreak (Carballo Pallol and Vicente 41-42). There were also many notable pieces of legislation that changed the nature of the urban experience, such as the railroad law of 1855 and the banking laws of 185618, as well as Castro’s Ensanche plan of 1860, which expanded the city into new zones of the periphery19, neighborhoods which the madrileños began to inhabit and the

18 “La ley de ferrocarriles de 1855 y las leyes bancarias de 1856 son la clave explicativa del decenio 1856-1866” (Bahamonde y Toro 24).
press began to represent. This chapter will focus primarily on the proliferation of newspaper publication and visual culture during the 19th century as a basis for explaining how writers such as Flores and Ayguals were able to effectively reach a large readership.

The third chapter will introduce the theoretical apparatus of the project, in which I propose a dialectic between the interiorization of the urban landscape as proposed by Simmel and the outward projection of mental life as proposed by Lefebvre. Simmel, speaking of the early 20th century, frequently discusses “the domination of the metropolis” (326) over the individual, focusing on how the mind must protect itself from the constant bombardment of the urban experience. Simmel suggests that the nineteenth century “sought to promote, in addition to man’s freedom, his individuality…and his achievements” (324), an endeavor which is a precursor to the 20th-century individual’s resistance to being consumed by the urban environment. I contend that this struggle applies to the context of 19th-century Madrid; while the capital could not be called a “metropolis” at the time, many of the same tensions are present.

Lefebvre, on the other hand, recognized the city as an oeuvre, a production which requires a succession of messages and codes. Edward Soja, in his study of Lefebvre’s work, elaborated upon his ideas and proposed the existence of Thirdspace, a hybrid space in which the real and the imagined worlds can interact, and I believe that the newspaper fulfilled that role in 19th-century Madrid. Within the pages of print publications, Ayguals and Flores used the information from the lived city to create an urban imaginary, and that imagined city influenced the ways in which madrileños experienced the lived city. For

example, while Ayguals and Flores presented an anxiety around new technologies and spaces, their fascination with them and with the textual representations of modernity actively contributed to the shaping of the urban *oeuvre*. I posit that this is where the novelty of my studies lies, since much of the previous work has focused on one side of a relationship that I understand to be reciprocal. While Flores and Ayguals were echoing a fear of change, they themselves were agents of that change; because of their reflection of the novelty of the 19th-century, the growing readership, particularly in the middle class, was more informed of the ways in which their city was changing.

The fourth chapter will discuss three specific topics of interest that Ayguals and Flores frequently discussed. The first is 19th-century technology, both within the authors’ texts and in the context of a developing city. In the time period from 1833-1868, there were many new inventions that changed daily life, such as the railroad, the daguerreotype, gas lighting, and the telegraph. The second topic is public and private space, a topic which is abundantly treated in the work of Ayguals and Flores. With various forces at work such as the disentailment of church lands, real estate speculation, the expansion of Madrid, and changing gender roles in the public sphere, the notion of who can go where – and why – is an important question. Notwithstanding, we must also consider the effects of popular press on the built environment of the city, from water fountains to sidewalks to national monuments. Flores himself claimed that nothing was private anymore,20 yet, as a member of the press, he helped to blur that distinction between public and private space. The third topic is the psychology of the characters in

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these texts, and how their personalities, emotions, and lived experiences are affected or manipulated by Madrid’s changing geography and technology, in addition to the ways in which their psychology is projected onto their spaces. Through an examination of these three issues, I intend to uncover a complex and reciprocal method through which Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores were both creators and creations of 19th-century Madrid.

The fifth and final chapter will serve as a case study of the popular press as a linchpin in my argument of reciprocal development. The press encompassed a variety of roles within society; the three that I find most important are the role of the periodista as flâneur, the role of the newspaper as Thirdspace, and the function of the popular press as a discussion between authors and readers. As more and more texts circulated, the city became a collaborative production, and any examination of the city must therefore include politics, municipal developments, urban reform, and cultural production, because all of these pieces were developing together and influencing each other. The city was not only being represented in the popular press; it was engaged and challenged by a variety of newspapers, all of which had distinct functions and goals. The serialized nature of the newspapers was especially important, because these publications were not one-time manifestos pinned to a door; they were part of a developing and constantly-changing text that participated in a decades-long rewriting of Madrid.
Chapter 1: Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores Algovia: An Introduction to Their Lives, Works, and Beliefs

For the purposes of this project, I have chosen to study Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores Algovia, who worked as *costumbristas*, serial novelists, journalists, and directors of newspapers during the reign of Isabel II. In the context of the 19th-century popular press, they are the best representatives of authors who wrote about Madrid in a way that both responded to the real city and created a represented urban imaginary that strove to bring about real change. Their creativity and innovation, as well as their positions of leadership in the print industry, allowed them to be cultural forces in a changing city and led them to actively participate in its development.

*Ayguals*

Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco was born in Vinaròs, in the province of Castelló (Valencia) on October 18th, 1801, the son of Antonio Ayguals and María Joaquina de Izco. He carried out his studies in his home town, as well as in Reus and Barcelona, and always maintained a close relationship with the town of Vinaròs, despite living in Madrid for most of his adult life. Ayguals was an educated man who was exceptionally adept at languages; he was fluent in French and was able to read and translate English, Italian, German, Greek, and Catalan (Araque 4). In 1820, at only 19 years old, he wrote his first dramatic work, a three-act *comedia* titled *Un aviso a las coquetas*. 
In 1833, Ayguals moved to Madrid, where his play *Lisonja a todos* premiered at the Teatro del Príncipe. He only stayed for a couple of years initially, due to the death of his brother Joaquín at the hands of the Carlist general Ramón Cabrera in 1835, an event which devastated Ayguals and motivated his future political involvement. According to Sylvie Baulo, from that point onward, “Wenceslao s’engage dans la lutte politique contre la réaction symbolisée alors par les forces carlistes” (*La trilogie* 18), and anticarlistism became a frame that shaped much of his work and his political activism. Ayguals returned to Vinaròs in 1836, where he married his first cousin, Francisca Gironella, and participated in the political life of the town, serving as mayor, representative, member of the *Comisión de armamento y defensa*, and deputy major of the city council. There was a brief period during which Ayguals was deported to the Balearic Islands due to a political scandal related to his reelection, but he soon returned to Spain and re-established himself in Madrid.21

While living in Vinaròs, Ayguals’s periodical writing had been limited to his contributions to *El Huracán de Madrid*, a progressive political newspaper. However, in 1843, he founded a publishing house called *La Sociedad Literaria* with Juan Martínez Villergas, who collaborated with him on numerous publications and projects over the

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21 It is not the aim of this project to fully investigate Ayguals’s political involvements beyond a brief biographical discussion and an examination of the political content of his work. For more on his politics, see:

following years. From 1843 to 1859, *La Sociedad Literaria* published history books, encyclopedias, newspapers, religious texts, biographies, translations of foreign novels, and original novels. Periodical publications were the standard format for combining and disseminating many different kinds of texts; for example, a standard issue of a literary publication like *El Fandango* would contain some combination of poems, letters, stories, fashion columns, political columns, cartoons, daguerreotypes, editorials, horoscopes, weather information, chapters of novels, songs, and epigrams, all in the space of sixteen pages. Some of these publications were written almost entirely by Ayguals, and others included contributions from some of the most celebrated authors of the day, such as Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, José Zorrilla, and Carolina Coronado. Ayguals took on multiple positions in the business; in addition to writing and editing content for several publications at a time, he also worked in the business side of the *Sociedad Literaria*, taking an active role in the development of printing technologies and new techniques in marketing and advertisement. His work as an artist and businessman exemplifies the contradictions of his life – “hombre rico y de sensibilidad social, empresario y poeta, aristócrata en los gustos y demócrata” (Benítez 198) – and shows his unique flexibility and capacity for innovation.

Ayguals’ revolutionary statements lost a good deal of steam in the 1850s; his political ideas were generally aligned with those of the Progressive Party, and divisions within the party “had reduced them almost to impotence by 1848…which facilitated the long hegemony of the Moderates” (Carr 232). While the more radical, vocal liberals were in power for short periods of time, “the transformation of Spain into a liberal state was
mainly the achievement of moderate liberals” (Cruz, “The moderate ascendancy” 33), and Ayguals’s populist calls to action became less effective. Under Ramón María de Narváez, who was prime minister of Spain on seven different occasions:

...la Prensa progresista sufrió una ruda crisis de desvío popular y de descrédito, cansada la opinión de tantas connociones revolucionarias, en las que correspondía a esa Prensa el principal impulso: el Progresismo vio hundirse sus mejores periódicos sin que la represiva dureza del general Narváez tuviese en ello intervención directa (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 274).

Censorship was rampant during Isabel II’s reign, and two laws in particular – the Real Orden (1850) and the Ley de Prensa (1857) – made it especially difficult to publish anything deemed seditious or subversive during the 1850s.22 From 1857 to 1859, Ayguals lived in France in voluntary exile due to a conflict with the government censors. Upon his return, he wrote very little (primarily his novel, La justicia divina o el hijo del deshonor, which he never finished) and died in Madrid in 1873, leaving no descendants. The Municipal Auditorium in Vinaròs bears his name.

Flores

Less is known about Antonio Flores Algovia, born in Elche, in the province of Alicante (Valencia) on December 16, 1818. Benítez Claros laments that “Las noticias que ha sido posible reunir hasta el presente no bastan para organizar una biografía detallada de Antonio Flores…carecemos de datos” (7). It is known that he came to the court at a

young age, probably in 1836, and gradually worked his way up in the publishing business. By 1844, Flores “debía de disfrutar de una medianamente holgada posición, que le permitía editar El Laberinto, y realizar viajes de recreo por el norte de España” (Benítez Claros 8). He worked in the publication business as a writer and editor for the rest of his life; from 1839 to 1865, he directed numerous newspapers, “entre otros La Época, La Nación, La América, El Universal, La Soberanía Nacional, El Correo de la Moda, El Laberinto y La Prensa” (Lustonó 41).

Flores was also a bureaucrat; upon his arrival to Madrid, he worked as the official chronicler for Isabel II, whom he later counted among his readers. According to Enrique Rubio Cremades, “su ingreso a Palacio y su ocupación burocrática, unida a la de cronista oficial de la Reina Isabel II aminoraría su labor como colaborador de la prensa decimonónica” (Costumbrismo I 25); as such, he was not as personally or financially invested in the print industry as Ayguals was. In 1857, he was named “Oficial de la Secretaría de la Intendencia general de la Real Casa” (Benítez Claros 8), and was generally more guarded in his revolutionary statements. There were times when “Flores sufrió duros ataques a consecuencia de las notas anticlericales aparecidas en sus escritos” (Rubio Cremades, Costumbrismo I 49), and he spent much of his later career working on novels and travelogues.

In 1850, Flores married Magdalena Regoyos, and their only known son is Eugenio Antonio Flores, a fixture in later periodical literature in his own right; Eugenio edited La Época and became director of El Diario de Madrid in 1893. Antonio Flores died from an enlarged heart in 1865 at the age of 47; he was buried in the Cementerio
Sacramental de San Martín, and there is a block-long street off of the Calle de Sagasta that bears his name.

Body of Work: Ayguals

Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco was perhaps the most versatile author of his day; as an entrepreneur who controlled his means of production, he could choose his own projects and content. Over the course of a career that spanned more than 50 years, Ayguals wrote plays, novels, poems, artículos de costumbres, essays, historical and biographical articles and dictionaries, short stories, educational works, letters, advertisements, and translations. The type of work for which he is best known is the novela por entregas or novela de folletín (from the French feuilleton), otherwise known as a serialized novel. Published in installments in newspapers, this type of novel became extremely popular during the 19th century, and it was the format of such English-language classics as *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, the early *Sherlock Holmes* stories, and Dickens’s *Oliver Twist*. In Spain, the novelas de folletín made Ayguals one of the more

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23 Ayguals translated and published a Spanish version of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* called *La choza de Tom* (1852).

24 For more on the folletín, see:
popular authors of his day. It may be surprising that his work is not currently considered part of the nineteenth-century literary canon and is rarely published, with the occasional exception of university presses. However, “la institución literaria nunca consideró o no considera hoy populares del mismo modo que se pudieron proponer en volumen novelas adscritas a la paraliteratura” (Baulo, “La novela” 9). Juan Ignacio Ferreras agrees with the characterization of Ayguals’s work as paraliterature, acknowledging that his work contains all of the “más característicos defectos de este tipo de obras” (125), but claims


For example, *Maria la hija de un jornalero* was published in 2010 by the University of Michigan Press, but only as a reprint of unedited digital scans of the 1847 publication.
that Ayguals is the most important figure of this genre because “desde Ayguals o desde el momento en que aparecen en el mercado, los libros de su editorial, titulada ‘La Sociedad Literaria,’ la paraliteratura que venimos estudiando se impone y se difunde en España” (Ferreras 121). Rubén Benítez defends Ayguals as well, admitting that while “no fue quizá un gran hombre y seguramente no un gran escritor… representó grandes cosas” (73). There are many important social issues that Ayguals’s novels tackle, such as poverty and social unrest, while the narrative deviations help the present-day reader understand other issues of the 19th century. In his novelas de folletín, Ayguals offers many comments and digressions related to architecture, politics, urban reform, and press censorship.

I do not agree with the automatic association of the novela de folletín with the concept of paraliterature, because such a classification ignores the primary relationship of literary production: that which exists between a writer and his readership. I agree that the novela de folletín is marginalized and considered non-canonical today, and that it was even overlooked at the time of its production by literary institutions; however, one cannot ignore the fact that it was “literature” for its mass-market audience of the period – as Baulo points out, it was not overlooked “por cuantos lo leyeron” (“La novela” 10). I therefore prefer to use the word “popular,” because while “paraliterature” is a despective term that refers to the defects in narration, content, and style, the word “popular” emphasizes the fact that such literature was created by the city and driven by the readers’ desires.
The use of the word “popular” refers not only to the large number of subscribers, but also to the ways in which the writers invoke the unifying sentiment of Spanish-ness that distinguishes their readers from the French and from others who would seek to enslave or exploit the Spanish people. The word “pueblo” is used frequently in these newspapers, and it was a politically charged word that “condensaba todas las virtudes de la lucha por la independencia y que ponía a cubierto de cualquier sospecha de infidelidad a la patria” (Fernández and Fuentes 586-587). The term had gained popularity following the War of Independence as a reaction to French occupation; however, as parties realigned in the 1830s, the liberal parties sought to associate their political goals with those of the “pueblo.” Ayguals often made claims to that effect, insisting that the printing press was the shield of the “pueblo” and a “benéfico invento de salvación” (Palacio I 39), and proclaiming: “Nosotros que…impulsados por sentimientos de humanidad, dedicamos nuestras vigilias al bien del pueblo, abogando con toda la energía de la convicción por las clases menesterosas” (Los pobres 59). However, this imagined “pueblo” was not the audience of his novels, and Juliá, Ringrose, and Segura claimed that the “pueblo” of Madrid “ni existe en sí mismo, ni está siempre presente como tal en la ciudad, ni constituye una estructura permanente, ni está afiliado masivamente a un partido político, ni forma por tanto una clase” (391). The “pueblo” is an imagined

26 For more on the definitions and uses of the “pueblo” in the 19th century, see Fuentes, Juan Francisco. “Pueblo.” Fernández Sebastián, Javier and Juan Francisco Fuentes, ed. Diccionario político y social del siglo XIX español. Madrid, Alianza, 2002.
27 Sylvie Baulo explains that “le trilogie de Ayguals est emblématique. Elle porte un regard critique sur la société contemporaine. Elle stigmatise les vices, les injustices et les carences politiques, exalte les vertus et propose un projet social plus conforme aux aspirations humaines” (La trilogie 436).
28 The poor “clases menesterosas” were not generally literate.
construct, and the heterogeneity of the actual citizens of Madrid causes the populist tendencies of writers like Ayguals de Izco to ring false at times. 29 Even though Ayguals put forth “un periodismo de movilización popular, con Guindilla” (Elorza, “El tema,” 117), his generic treatment of Spaniards reveals a desire to merely sell newspapers to a large public. Through the use of appealing tactics like humor, political attacks, satire, gossip, and sentiment, the representatives of the popular press sought to make their publications attractive to as many readers as possible.

Baulo specifically mentions Ayguals as a figure who appealed to a wide public, not only through recognizable content such as festivals and bullfights, but also by using “ilustraciones, litografías, grabados – particularmente sobre acero o cobre – dibujos satíricos y escenas de costumbres, los cuales contribuyeron determinantemente a su popularidad y éxito comercial” (“La novela por entregas” 8). Whether or not it is recognized as canonical literature by modern-day scholars, the novela de folletín was a central cultural force at the time of its production, as well as a shaping influence on Spanish culture. It also set the stage for literary movements to come; Iris Zavala states that several realist authors recall having read novelas de folletín in their youth, 30 and Russell Sebold proposes that “el primer decenio del realismo moderno no es el de 1870, sino el de 1840” (En el principio del movimiento realista, 15). In addition to being a literary pioneer, Ayguals was also an innovator in the use, expansion, and proliferation of

29 “El popularismo de Ayguals puede resultar un poco falso; a veces es evidente que lo único que pretender el autor es complacer a sus lectores y compradores” (Benítez 129)
30 Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX, 122.
the *novela por entregas*, and used ad space in his own newspapers in order to promote them.³¹

Ayguals’s most popular and representative texts are the three novels of the *María* series; the first, *María o la hija de un jornalero* (1845-1846), was an authentic best-seller that told the story of a poor girl named María who falls in love with a *marqués* and, because of her kind heart, faith, and true beauty, is able to win him. The novel is notable because of its success – it spawned two sequels, *La marquesa de Bellaflor o el niño de la Inclusa* (1846-1847) and *El palacio de los crímenes o El pueblo y sus opresores* (1855) – but also because of its status as a new genre: that of the *historia novelada* or *historia-novela*. In Ayguals’s own prologue to *María*, he explains that the events are “la historia de recientes acontecimientos políticos de Madrid, enlazada con incidentes dramáticos de pura invención” (6). This distinguishes *María* from the *novela histórica* because the novel itself is “una historia embebida en una novela y...nuestra crónica contemporánea enlazada con todos los accidentes de la vida doméstica” (Araque 28). Many scholars (Romero Tobar, Marco, Elorza) have compared the trilogy with the socialist novels of the French author Eugène Sue; María’s married name, Bellaflor, is a “desdoblamiento del nombre de la protagonista de los Mystères de Sue, Fleur de Marie” (Romero Tobar, *La novela popular* 125). Ayguals and Sue were great fans of each other and mutual

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promoters; Sue wrote the introduction to *Maria o la hija de un jornalero* and translated it into French, and Ayguals translated and distributed Sue’s novel *Le juif errant* in Spain.\(^{32}\)

The trilogy is also important because it led to Ayguals being considered the “fundador de la novela socialista en España” (Elorza 87), although scholars such as Joaquím Marco (1969) and María Luisa Burguera (1998) argue that calling the *María* trilogy socialist stems from an incomplete or superficial reading of the text. Juan Ignacio Ferreras explains that “Ayguals y la mayor parte de los novelistas ‘sociales’ no son revolucionarios, sino pactistas o arregladores; predicen la paz social a base de un mejor entendimiento entre los grupos en conflicto” (128), while Iris Zavala suggests that rather than being a socialist author, “Ayguals presiente el socialismo y transcribe la agitación y malestar de su época” (*Ideología y política* 110), clarifying that, rather than socialism, Ayguals displays:

...el interés por las víctimas de la sociedad, el deseo de llamar la atención sobre las injusticias y atraer la atención de los poderosos a las tensiones

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sociales y económicas, sugiriendo así la urgencia de resolverlas, antes que la explosión fuera irreparable (Ideología y política 13).

Rubén Benítez suggests that, rather than socialism, Ayguals’s novels should belong to the category of “romanticismo social” (47), because Ayguals understood the pueblo as “todas las clases de la sociedad consideradas en conjunto” (166), and was emphasizing the poor for dramatic effect rather than actually drawing attention to their plight. While I do think that Ayguals did want to raise awareness of social issues, I agree that the classification of his novels as “socialist” is incomplete and insufficient.

Ayguals’s novels were very detailed, but critics have accused his work of lacking psychological depth; characters tend to be one-dimensional and transparent, “des types sans complexité, sans profondeur psychologique…on fait alors référence à une croyance, une pensée, une idée reçue partagée par le narrateur et le lecteur” (Baulo, La trilogie 300). Many characters serve actantial functions as blocking characters or helping characters, and others suffer from the clichéd afflictions of romanticism such as tuberculosis, blindness, lovesickness and unnamed maladies that lead to frequent swooning and weakness. Sylvie Baulo gives a definition of the popular novel of the time as:

…una retórica propia fundamentada en la repetición de expresiones, de frases y clichés, en la utilización de títulos llamativos, en la abundante adjetivación, en la frecuencia de hipérbole y, por otra, mediante recursos narrativos precisos tales como la estructura progresiva-regresiva, la hipertrofia de la presencia del narrador, la construcción arquetípica de los
Rubén Benítez also criticizes the structure of these novels, which he finds disorganized due to the fact that the length of the novels varied based on subscription and sales, therefore, the novels “no terminan, se acaban, se debilitan” (157). Certainly, these novels were not perfect, and they lacked the complexity and character development that one would expect from realist or modernist novels which came later. However, these characteristics that critics consider in hindsight as defects were in fact attributes that, in the context of their original publication, made the novels extremely popular, a profitable venture, and a response to the literary styles of the time.

Ayguals’s primary business venture was the Sociedad Literaria, a publishing company which he directed alongside his primary collaborator, Juan Martínez Villergas. Villergas and Ayguals often worked as a team, using pseudonyms (“El Dómine Lucas” and “Cartapacio” in El Dómine Lucas), reviewing each other’s work, publishing letters or poems to each other, and even selling portraits of themselves to subscribers. However, Villergas was essentially the second-in-command of the Sociedad Literaria; with the exception of La Risa, Ayguals’s writing far outnumbered his. In the 1850s and 1860s, Villergas traveled to Mexico, Cuba, the United States, England, and France due to a fierce rivalry with Spanish president Ramón María de Narváez. He wrote several

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33 Villergas wrote a review of Ayguals’s play ¡Dios nos libre de una vieja!: Una comedia en tres actos in the September 1844 issue of El Dómine Lucas.
34 They did this often in La Risa; in the June 25, 1843 issue, Villergas wrote a poem called “El bigote” about Ayguals’s mustache: “¿piensas tú cuando haces algo / no debérselo a tus barbas?” (6).
satirical publications abroad, including *El Moro Muza* in Cuba, and *Antón Perulero* in Buenos Aires.\(^{35}\)

Ayguals and Villergas founded the *Sociedad Literaria* in 1843, and Ayguals was listed as the primary editor on their publications. Some newspapers (*La Risa, La Carcajada*) were collections of poems, satirical essays, and other humorous texts that were primarily written by other authors (some from previous centuries), while Ayguals wrote other publications almost entirely by himself (*La Guindilla, La Linterna Mágica*). Even though Ayguals claimed in the second issue of *La Guindilla* that “la imparcialidad es su norte” (18) (speaking of La Guindilla, his pseudonym), he betrays himself in the first issue by explaining that “Guindilla siempre está por la parte democrática, que generalmente tiene razón” (15). Though he tried to be rational, Ayguals was rarely objective; Sylvie Baulo characterizes his literary appeal as a “culte de la personnalité de Wenceslao” (*Trilogie*, 128), as he himself became a brand, and often used advertisements in certain publications to promote his other publications.\(^{36}\)

Ayguals was also a pioneer in using imagery such as woodcuts in his newspapers due to his understanding of the public desire for new forms of imagery. Ramón de

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Mesonero Romanos, another entrepreneur of 19th-century journalism, pioneered the incorporation of the woodcut in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, a publication which Rubio Cremades cites as a major step in the advancement of Spanish journalism, “no sólo por la calidad literaria de sus colaboradores, sino también porque por primera vez se establecen los pilares básicos de un periodismo ilustrado que tendrá feliz acogida en años inmediatos” (*Periodismo y literatura* 43). He also identifies the most important function of the image: that of creating a scene.

...la pintura o descripción de ambientes suele remitirnos a un escenario en el que predomina la escena; es decir, la recreación de un determinado lugar característico y habitualmente identificado por los habitantes de un determinado contexto social. Paseos de moda, jardines, plazuelas, costanillas, edificios públicos, romerías, verbenas, etc., suelen ser los lugares descritos por estos costumbristas. Por otro, el cuadro animado, dotado de una mínima peripecia argumental, que servirá, igualmente, para describir y analizar unos tipos con sus respectivas profesiones u oficios. (*Periodismo y literatura* 221)

The image provided new possibilities in terms of the presentation of space; textual description was an important tool to guide a reader through a city, but the addition of visual media was enormously important in the creation of the urban imaginary due to its ability to make the space instantly recognizable and thus negotiate competing versions of a street or plaza with the “authentic” version. Therefore, most of Ayguals’s novels and newspapers feature images that complement the content of the text.
I now present a list of Ayguals de Izco’s published or produced works, not all of which have been recovered or preserved:\(^{37}\)

**Novels**
- *María o la hija de un jornalero* (1845-1846)
- *La marquesa de Bellaflor o el niño de la Inclusa* (1846-1847)
- *El Tigre del Maestrazago o sea de Grumete a General* (1846-1847)
- *Pobres y ricos o la Bruja de Madrid* (1849-1850)
- *El palacio de los crímenes o El pueblo y sus opresores* (1855)
- *Los pobres de Madrid* (1856-1857)
- *La justicia divina o el hijo del deshonor* (1859)

**Collections**
- *Galería regia y vindicación de los ultrajes extranjeros.* (1843-1845)
- *Cancionero del pueblo* (1844-1845)
- *Galería regia o biografía de los reyes de España desde el primero de los Godos hasta Isabel II* (1844-1845)
- *Panteón Universal* (1853-1854)
- *¡Cosas del mundo! Galería burlesca de fragilidades humanas. Publicación excéntrica y divertida* (1853-1854)
- *Los verdugos de la humanidad* (1855)

**Translations**
- *El judío errante*: Translation of *Le juif errant* by Eugène Sue (1845)
- *Clara Harlowe*: Translation of *Clarissa* by Samuel Richardson (1846)
- *La choza de Tom*: Translation of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe (1852)

**Theater**
- *Un aviso a las coquetas* (1820)
- *Amor duende o Cuál es Mendoza* (1829)
- *El primer crimen de Nerón* (1830)
- *Lisonja a todos: Comedia en tres actos y en verso* (1833)
- *¡Dios nos libre de una vieja!* (1844)
- *Un héroe de las barricadas: monólogo patriótico dedicado al valiente pueblo de Madrid* (1854)

**Educational Texts**
- *Silabario moral de los niños* (1844)
- *La escuela del pueblo o páginas de la enseñanza universal* (1852-1853)
- *Mosaico científico y literario* (1856)

**Newspapers**
- *El Diario de Brusi* (1819)

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\(^{37}\) The compilation of Ayguals’s works is courtesy of Sylvie Baulo (*La trilogie romanesque*) and José Luis Pascual Pla, and the works of Flores were compiled by Enrique Rubio Cremades (1978).
- *El Huracán* (1841)
  Director and/or Primary Contributor
- *Guindilla* (1842-1843)
- *La Risa: Enciclopedia de estravagancias* (1843-1844) (with Villergas)
- *La Carcajada: Enciclopedia de gracias, chistes, donaires y ocurrencias de los más célebres escritores antiguos* (1843-1844)
- *El Fandango: Periódico nacional* (1844-1846) (with Villergas)
- *El Dómine Lucas* (1844-1846) (with Villergas)
- *El Telégrafo: continuación de El Dómine Lucas* (1846-1847)\(^{38}\)
- *La linterna mágica* (1849-1850)

**Body of Work: Flores**

Antonio Flores made a very different type of career in the court city, working for much of his life as a bureaucrat and chronicler. He was also a *costumbrista* in a stricter sense; he worked more with urban types and characters whom he put in scenes together, depicting their conversations and movements, as if they were real people whose lives he was simply recording. As Ferreras explains, “el autor de novelas por entregas no escribe o crea una novela, sino que nos la cuenta, como si la obra en cuestión pre-existiera a su existencia misma, a su materialización en forma de papel impreso” (252). Flores used details of real buildings, people, and historical events to draw his scenes in a realistic way, and his narrators often made statements indicating that they were merely showing the city to the uninitiated traveler, such as: “Vente conmigo, y dando unos cuantos paseos por las calles de Madrid, te enseñaré esos tipos y otros más” (*AHM* IV 190). While it may seem passive, this act of “reflecting” the city was an active process by which Flores explored the urban text to present “una visión completa de la vida social de aquella época” (Latour 52). He was an observer, a visual author who relied on external modifiers such as dialogue and clothing to describe the urban types; we see this in “Los pollos de

\(^{38}\) No issues of *El Telégrafo* have been recovered.
1850,” in which “Flores nos descubre las idas y venidas, vestuario y psicología del
dandy’ de su tiempo” (Benítez Claros 26). On many occasions, such as his essays in Los
españoles pintados por sí mismos, Flores did go beyond the visual – the cigarette-maker
is unhappy, the barber is honorable – while still remaining at a distance, affirming “lo que
después había de ser principio fundamental de la escuela realista: la imparcialidad de
observación, la independencia del modelo con respeto al autor” (Ucelay 171).

In his novel Doce españoles de brocha gorda, Flores also expands on his
superficial descriptions, and “al hacer Flores un análisis más cercano e íntimo de la vida y
psicología de sus tipos-individuos, el resultado es la cara interna de aquella respetable y
apacible sociedad: la miseria moral, la corrupción, el vicio y las malas pasiones. Se ha
pasado de la vida pública de los tipos a la vida privada de los individuos” (Ucelay 173).
Although Flores was a costumbrista above all, and scholars count Mesonero Romanos
and Larra among his primary influences, his movement towards psychological depth and
private lives made him “el primer eslabón entre el costumbrismo y la novela realista”
(Rubio Cremades, Costumbrismo I 132) and therefore a precursor to the Restoration-era
urban fiction of Galdós and his contemporaries.39

Like Ayguals, Flores had a tendency to narrate outside the boundaries of the
principal plot line40, informing his readers of information that was inconsequential to the
story, but important in terms of developments of the era. For example, in the context of

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39 For more on this transition, see: Montesinos, José F. Costumbrismo y novela: Ensayo sobre el
redescubrimiento. Madrid: Castalia, 1983. Ch. VII.
40 “Otra falta que hallamos en Flores…es la de dejarse llevar en alguna ocasión de desviaciones,
sin consecuencias por otra parte, del hilo de la narración, interpolando disquisiciones de escaso
interés” (Benítez Claros 27).
carriages, Flores employs “su nueva modalidad de desplazamiento a fin de informar a los lectores de los adelantos del siglo” (Rubio Cremades, *La configuración urbana* 309), and when describing the city, “Flores informa a sus lectores de las modificaciones realizadas en torno a estos núcleos, desde el asfaltado de la Puerta del Sol en 1848 hasta la descripción de nuevos tipos sociales que frecuentan dicho núcleo” (Rubio Cremades, *La configuración urbana* 313). While the characters, conflicts, and plot lines of his novels were mostly invented, these secondary or background descriptions were directly taken from the lived city and recreated in the textually represented city.

Flores relied on certain techniques in his literary production, including “personificaciones alegóricas…presencia de refranes, utilización de vulgarismos y situaciones humorísticas” (Rubio Cremades, *Costumbrismo* II 20) that pointed out the ridiculous nature of society, which is characteristic of the genre of *costumbrismo.* However, his themes go beyond urban daily life and interaction; his commentary on the 19th-century Madrid experience was witty and astute, but also belied a sense of existential crisis in the face of technology, French influence, and an anonymous society in which “los nombres han sido suplantados por los números” (*AHM* IV 237). Andrew Ginger identifies two interconnected issues in *Ayer, hoy y mañana:* “the potential conflict in Liberal modernity between the needs of the human person and the demands of public corporations and activity [and] the perceived prominence of representation in modernity” (209), while Rebecca Haidt focuses on his documentation of “los lazos entre la cultura de la publicidad y la cultura visual, en una ciudad sofocada por la modernidad” (“Flores” 314). Both scholars show that Flores was concerned with representation and the ways in
which the authentic madrileño was threatened by “la diabólica vibración de la atmósfera” (AHM III, 9) produced by an increasingly technologized and mediated modernity.

The newspaper that Flores directed, El Laberinto, commonly used images in its coverage of important local events, such as the attempt on Narváez’s life (1843) and the coronation oath of Isabel II (1833). El Laberinto was, above all, produced for a large public and, just as in Ayguals’s humorous publications, “Refranes, crítica y humor serán los primeros ingredientes de estas líneas” (Rubio Cremades, Costumbrismo, I, 58). Flores used the newspaper as “otra forma de espejo en la mentalidad decimonónica” (Riego 328) and distributed the material that his audience wanted: news, biographies, cuadros de costumbres (including his own series “Una semana en Madrid” and “Un viaje a las provincias: Vascongadas”), songs, poems, ads, drawings, and commentary on politics, fashion, and literature.

I have compiled a list of Antonio Flores’s published works, as well as the newspapers which published his artículos de costumbres and essays.

**Novels**
- *Doce españoles de brocha gorda* (1846)
- *Fe, esperanza y caridad* (1850)

**Artículos de costumbres**
- *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos* (1843-1844)
  - “El barbero,” “La santurrona,” “El hortera,” “La cigarrera,” and “El boticario”
- *Un año en Madrid* (1849) – published in El Museo de las Familias
- *La historia del matrimonio* (1849-1851) – published in La Semana

**Newspapers**
- Contributor
  - *El Católico* (1843)
  - *La Risa* (1843)
  - *El Heraldo* (1843-1845)
  - *El Eco del Comercio* (1846)
  - *El Clamor Público* (1848)
- La Semana (1849-1851)
- El Semanario Pintoresco Español (1841-1856)
- La Época (1852-1895) – several cuadros published posthumously
- La América (1862-1866)
  Editor
- El nuevo avisador (1841)
- La Nación (1849-1856)
  Director
- El Laberinto (1843-1845)

Other Works

Los misterios de París: Translation of Les mystères de Paris by Eugène Sue (1844)
Crónica del viaje de S.S.M.M. y A.A. a las islas Baleares, Cataluña y Aragón (1860-1861)
Un buen señor: Comedia en un acto (1868)

Personalities and Politics

Ayguals de Izco was a man of contradictions, and his political affiliations are at times difficult to pin down. José Luis Pascual Pla attempted to define him in his work Ayguals y su época: Las ideas educativas de un liberal del siglo XIX (2005):

Rrevolucionario, sí; romántico, liberal, progresista, muy progresista y al mismo tiempo autoritario. Tal vez, político frustrado. Capitalista pero constantemente sensibilizado y preocupado por la pobreza y miseria del pueblo y de las clases sociales más bajas a las que a través de la educación primero, y después de la política intenta elevar y mejorar (86).

Rubén Benítez also put forth a summary of Ayguals’s beliefs in his work, Ideología del folletín español: Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco (1979):

Ayguals piensa, en resumen, en una república democrática, elegida por voto universal y directo, conservadora en el plano económico pero con cierto paternalismo social, defensora de los derechos individuales, de las libertades, de la propiedad privada y del trabajo libre (82).
Ayguals’s values were relatively consistent; he was a firm believer in education, science, and technology, and his literary works are traditional examples of didacticism and the ideological interpretation of history. In his letter “A sus compatriotas,” Ayguals praises impartiality, enlightenment, legality, order, and gratitude, his central values. Sylvie Baulo emphasizes the importance that he placed on work and his tendency to create opposition (vice/virtue, poverty/wealth, etc.) in his fiction. Ayguals spoke out against the vices of the rich and displayed a constant preoccupation with the suffering and exploitation of the poor, but it is not “en las clases obreras españolas donde hay que buscar su ideología, sino en los grupos industriales” (Benítez 91). Ayguals was financially well-off, a proponent of marketing and industry, and his novels “crean en los lectores un sueño de prosperidad posible. La descripción de palacios, de fiestas suntuosas, de bellas mujeres, de trajes y de joyas, actúa en el público como un atractivo ideal” (Benítez 118). He was not against the idea of working hard and earning money; he merely proposed reforms such as fair wages and labor associations.

Sylvie Baulo characterized Ayguals’s novelistic ideology as utopic socialism, but his utopia was “la del crecimiento capitalista español, amparado por una constitución democrática” (Elorza 99), and he thought of industry as a “medio para solucionar la desigualdad social” (Zavala, Ideología y política 108), distinguishing him from many...
socialist thinkers of the era. The “utopic socialist” classification in general is problematic, because Ayguals was not dealing with utopian ideals, but rather with real issues of the time, and, in some cases, offering real solutions. While several of the Sociedad Literaria’s newspapers like La Risa, La Carcajada, and La linterna mágica “tuvieron un carácter estrictamente humorístico” (Elorza 94), Ayguals’s political and literary publications dealt with serious issues like “la mortalidad infantil en las clases bajas” (Benítez 100), “la situación social que enfrenta a los pobres contra los ricos” (Burguera 53), and other essential problems of the time period, such as:

…la situación de inferioridad de la mujer, el régimen de aislamiento para los prisioneros y enfermos mentales, la detención preventiva, la dureza de la ley y de la sociedad hacia la mujer seducida y su indulgencia para el seductor, el alto precio que la justicia hace pagar a los miserables (Zavala, “Socialismo y literatura” 178).

His novels addressed a wide variety of social problems such as the abandonment of children, the poor condition of prisons, and the abuses of power by the Catholic Church. Ayguals’s work in support of the disenfranchised was largely rhetorical, but at the very least, he raised awareness of serious issues and participated in a discourse that many authors of the time period ignored.

If we consider the novel as a “producción social” (Ferreras 21) that is influenced by the political and social climate of the time, it makes sense that what might seem to be socialist tendencies appear at times in Ayguals’s work. Socialism in the mid-19th century was a political movement that corresponded with the increasing discontent with powerful
institutions such as the monarchy and the Catholic Church. However, socialism was only one of “cuatro aspectos fundamentales en la visión ideológica del momento: el moderantismo, la pervivencia del romanticismo, el socialismo utópico y la gestación del naturalismo” (Burguera 9). Ayguals saw social issues such as poverty and hunger as a vital component of history, and he used a good deal of moralizing language to make statements about “situaciones sociales contrarias a la libertad a la dignidad humana” (Benítez 76). His descriptions of injustice were for the purpose of promoting harmony and understanding among the classes, but, despite his tendency to invoke the pueblo español, he never openly incited the kind of revolution that is associated with socialism:

La visión de la sociedad madrileña de mediados del siglo XIX según Ayguals de Izco es esquematizable desde un concepto económico, moral y globalmente socio-político con el fin de solucionar una situación social injusta…con el propósito último de alcanzar una armonía social y evitar convulsiones de tipo revolucionario. (Baulo, “Ayguals de Izco” 46)

I do not therefore see Ayguals’s novels as “socialist;” they show a preoccupation with social injustice and inequality, but these social problems are generalized and used for

44 “Las ideas socialistas se propagan con mayor fuerza desde la revolución de 1848” (Zavala “Socialismo y literatura” 180).
For more on Spanish socialism as a political trend throughout the 19th century, see:

45 For example, María, la hija de un jornalero has chapter titles such as “¡Abajo el ministerio!” “Los encantos de la virtud,” and “Las consecuencias del vicio.”
dramatic effect, as we see here in José Vallejo’s frontispiece that was used for both María o la hija de un jornalero and the luxury edition of La marquesa de Bellaflor. Images like these are common in the novelas de folletín, and they can have “enormes consecuencias en la propia articulación estructural de un colectivo” (Riego 16).
Figure 1: The cover of La Marquesa de Bellaflor
The social differences on this cover are extreme, and show the humble origins of María’s family (including the recognizable public space of the Puerta del Sol) contrasted with her new life as a marquesa in an elegant salón. Poverty is placed in the foreground for dramatic effect—just as it is in the novel—and is set in a hierarchical “lower” space of the page. The poor characters are physically bigger, and one can see the suffering on their faces, as opposed to the faceless elegant socialites on the top of the page. The novel, like the cover, strives to illuminate the suffering of the poor, but few solutions are offered in the novel aside from marrying a marqués, and even that path is fraught with conflict.

In some cases of social injustice, Ayguals called for specific reforms, even in the context of other parts of the country; he publicized workers’ rights and salary disputes in *El palacio de los crímenes*, he called for union between Spain and Portugal, and he endorsed an emancipation proclamation put forth in Málaga. As mayor of Vinarös, Ayguals even established a “centro de enseñanza en donde se impartirían enseñanzas de idiomas, francés e inglés, náutica y dibujo” (Pascual Pla 103) in 1841. He was firmly liberal and progressive in his beliefs, his actions, and his writing.

Within the context of Madrid, Ayguals’s political stances and criticisms were an essential facet in his representation of the city. While his political beliefs were difficult to identify at times, his opposition to the conservative and Catholic Carlist party was fairly consistent. Since the death of his brother, Ayguals’s anticarlism was a “prisme

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46 *La Guindilla*, Tomo III, Núm. 54, 19 de enero de 1843.
47 *La Guindilla*, Tomo I, Núm. 24, 5 de octubre de 1842.
48 “Todos los historiadores coinciden en afirmar que el periodismo diario está penetrado en todas sus dimensiones por la vida y problemas políticos cotidianos” (Romero Tobar *La novela popular* 97).
idéologique conduit à la modification de certains des types culturels utilisés” (Baulo, La trilogie romanesque 299); he featured members of the Carlist society El ángel esterminador as villains in María.⁴⁹ Ayguals was not anti-religious; he even wrote pedagogical texts with a religious message such as the Silabario moral de los niños (1844). However, he was certainly anti-clerical; Church-affiliated characters like friars and priests often function as villains and representatives of vice and corruption in his novels, such as Fray Patricio in María and Fray Ambrosio in La marquesa de Bellaflor. His satire also took aim at the Church; in this time period, “la sátira es casi siempre anticlerical, es decir, crítica de la Iglesia y no de la religión” (Bozal 71). This trend of criticizing the Church was very fashionable at the time⁵⁰, and reflected the contemporary stripping of the Church’s power and land at the hands of the liberal government. Throughout the 1850s, at the height of religious involvement in censorship, Ayguals’s novels were prohibited due to the “grupos censurantes que actuaban como portavoces de una mentalidad rigorista a ultranza. Estos grupos podían ser instituciones culturales – las academias normalmente – eclesiásticas, grupos o individuos particulares” (Romero Tobar, La novela popular 81). One of the ways in which Ayguals participated in the development of the city was by acting as an agent in a culture war against these groups that sought to censor his work; he pushed the envelope over the course of several decades and constantly spoke out in favor of the freedom of the press.

⁴⁹ The Carlists “revived the sinister secret society called ‘The Exterminating Angel,’ a tool of clerical reaction first formed under Ferdinand VII” (Kamen 125).
One of the most contradictory aspects of Ayguals’s ideology was his attitude toward foreign ideas and influences; traditionally, liberal progressives of the time were interested in fashion, literature, and products from other countries, especially France. Ayguals himself was a translator and distributor of Eugène Sue’s novels in Spain, and he made trips abroad to survey new technologies. However, his publication *El Fandango* was full of caricatures and *cuadros* that reveal a xenophobic sentiment pervading the publication; “los artículos, comentarios y dibujos de la mayor parte de la publicación van destinados a exaltar el carácter nacional, y como mejor defensa de estos valores desencadenan un ataque furibundo a todo lo foráneo” (Sánchez 400). A common trend in *costumbrismo* was the promotion of *lo español*; the audience wanted to read about the unique traits of Spaniards, largely due to a national identity crisis following the War of Independence from France. Therefore, most writers of the time held to “este deseo imperioso de guardar toda la tradición española…llega a mostrar una profunda xenofobia por todos los modos y usos de fuera” (Rubio Cremades, *Costumbrismo* I 87). Even Serafín Estebáñez Calderón, an Andalucían writer, referred to Madrid in his *cuadro* “Las escelencias de Madrid” as a “isla de los placeres” (74). He is somewhat sarcastic when referring to the “cascadas y sitios deleitosos del purísimo Manzanares” (76), but he does not deny the sense of Spanish unity; he refers to Spain as “este país” (82), and never

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51 “otros magnates comerciales de la combinada imprenta literario-periodística, consentían deliberadamente en la sustitución de sus propias técnicas por las de la tecnología. Se destaca entre ellos, Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco” (Fontanella *La imprenta y las letras* 17)
suggests that Madrid is separate from the rest of Spain. This sense of unity is present in Ayguals’s populist tendencies and his satirical presentation of anything deemed foreign or external.

Ayguals was acutely aware of his audience’s tastes, and it was not uncommon for authors to tailor the expression of their beliefs to the audience to whom they were writing. Therefore, it is difficult at times to accurately distinguish Ayguals’s actual beliefs from the beliefs that he knew would sell. Additionally, as Benítez explains, that ambiguity seems essential in the novelas de folletín; “de ella derivan los conflictos, las dos posibles situaciones y la correspondiente proliferación de las entregas” (Benítez 175). The politics of the 19th century were complicated, and the novels of the time reflected that. There are, however, many tendencies that are consistent throughout Ayguals’s literary career, such as his populism, his opposition to the Carlists and their politics, and his support of liberal causes like education and prison reform.

Flores was, at his core, a costumbrista; his career was that of an observer, a satirist, and a disciple of Mesonero Romanos, whose style, topics, and titles Flores frequently imitated. However, in addition to the detailed observation in the vein of Mesonero, Flores engaged in social satire and criticism; Enrique Rubio Cremades stated that “Flores está más cerca de la ideología de Larra que la del propio Mesonero. En el trasfondo de la novela se aprecia una actitud crítica que deja entrever todos los desmanes

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52 Mariano José de Larra made similar criticisms in essays such as “Vuelva Ud. mañana” and “¿Entre qué gente estamos?” while still maintaining a sense of national unity, as we see in the title of his essay “En este país.”
53 Flores’s Ayer, hoy, y mañana, for example, is an imitation of Mesonero’s Antes, ahora, y después. For more on this tendency toward imitation, see: Martí-López, Elisa. Borrowed Words: Translation, Imitation, and the Making of the Nineteenth-Century Novel in Spain. Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 2002.
y defectos de una sociedad corrompida” (*Costumbreismo* I 180). Flores’s social concerns were in line with those of Ayguals; his texts dealt with the suffering of the poorer classes, the corruption of the Church, and the ridiculousness of the government. However, his ideas were never as revolutionary as Ayguals’s were. As a government employee whose texts were read by the queen, Flores could certainly poke fun at the establishment, but he could never really call for its destruction.

Just as with Ayguals, we see a good deal of contradiction in Flores’s work. His texts betray a disdain for anything foreign, including “las innovaciones superfluas ya a todo lo que pueda ir en oposición de las formas tradicionales españoles” (Rubio Cremades, *Costumbreismo* II 36), and he insists in the prologue to the collected issues of *El Laberinto* that “no hay una línea traducida.” Yet, like Ayguals, Flores was also a translator and distributor of French novels, making this nationalistic sentiment somewhat disingenuous. Rubio Cremades identifies another inconsistency, claiming that “la actitud de Flores parece ser un tanto contradictoria, pues, si por un lado elogia los adelantos de la presente época, por otro, censura el aniquilamiento de personalidad que estos medios conllevan” (*Costumbreismo* II 80). In many ways, Flores was a traditionalist; he had conventional Catholic views on marriage\(^\text{54}\) and he spoke about the value of authentic Spanish character\(^\text{55}\) and the fundamental goodness of mankind\(^\text{56}\). However, he was not at

\(^{54}\) “La familia es el único bálsamo que puede endulzar los últimos terribles momentos de la vida, y la familia no se vende” (“Apéndice a la historia del matrimonio,” *El Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 20 de junio de 1852, p. 195).

\(^{55}\) “¿De qué nos sirve vestir con trajes de Paris, y hablar en francés, si mientras conservemos esta tez morena han de conocer que somos españolas?” (*AHM* V 50)

\(^{56}\) “Nosotros somos los buenos, nosotros, ni más ni menos” (*AHM* III 2).
all satisfied with the state of politics or society in the 19th century. Rafael Benítez Claros explains Flores’s affiliation in the following way:

…constitucional, y partidario de constituciones liberales, aunque su ironía se emplee a veces en el propio sagrado texto de ellas (43).

[Flores] compartió las [ideas] que se podían considerar como avanzadas en su siglo, colaborando en periódicos de significación progresista y liberal, pero sin que ello le implicase mengua en sus creencias católicas ni en su fe española (13).

Flores’s article “Madrid en Semana Santa”57 is an excellent example of how he respects and participates in religious ceremonies, but still criticizes the overly showy outfits of the “señoras más elegantes del barrio ostentando todo el lujo posible” (145) and the unnecessarily extravagant meal that “se excusa con la meditación de la cena que dio el Señor a sus apóstoles” (146). While never questioning the religious underpinnings of Catholic tradition, he is more than willing to criticize the way that society corrupts or abuses them.

In addition to criticism of certain Church practices, Flores’s progressive ideas included “la asimilación del espíritu revolucionario; de derechos del hombre; de emancipación; que constituyen el ideario de gran parte del romanticismo español” (Benítez Claros 45) and a belief that “la naturaleza humana es fundamentalmente buena, mas la sociedad la pervierte” (Benitez Claros 80-81). The characters in his novels are poor, abandoned, marginalized, and punished by society at every turn, and the narrator

57 El Laberinto, 1 de abril de 1844.
“atacará reiteradas veces a la diferencia de clases sociales, al sistema hereditario, a la justicia, a los órdenes religiosos, a la pena de muerte...a todo estamento” (Rubio Cremades, *Costumbrismo* I 32). It bears repeating that authors often alter or distort their political views in order to attract different readers, and the 19th century in Spain is hardly a time in which beliefs and ideologies are easily categorized. However, politics certainly pervaded Flores’s novels, and he was an active literary architect of the new, culturally expansive Madrid that came of age during the reign of Isabel II.

**Existing Research**

Both Flores and Ayguals de Izco have been studied thoroughly by the few scholars who have focused on various aspects of their work, lives, and literary importance. Sylvie Baulo (1998, 2004, 2005) and Ruben Benitez (1979) have both written extensive studies of Ayguals de Izco which serve as crucial tools when discussing his literary production.58 Juan Ignacio Ferreras’s book *La novela por entregas 1840-1900* (1972), discussed earlier in this chapter, is a very useful and complete study of the *novelas de folletín*.59 Although his book is very practical in the current analysis, my own

58 Other studies on Ayguals have focused on his political ideology, such as Antonio Elorza’s “Periodismo democrático y novela por entregas en Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco” (1972), José Luis’s Pascual Pla’s *Ayguals y su época: Las ideas educativas de un liberal del siglo XIX* (2005), María Elena Sánchez’s “El Fandango de Ayguals de Izco. Una aproximación a la xenofobia española” (1976), and Iris M. Zavala’s works *Ideología y política en la novela española del siglo XIX* (1971) and “Socialismo y literatura: Ayguals de Izo y la novela española” (1969). Further studies on Ayguals have been more specific analyses of his life and literary work, such as María Luisa Burguera Nadal’s *Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco: Análisis de pobres y ricos* (1998), Victor Carrillo’s “Marketing et Edition au XIXe siècle: La Sociedad Literaria de Madrid” (1977) and “Dos estudios sobre Wenceslao Ayguals” (1977), Leonardo Romero Tobar’s “Forma y contenido de la novela popular: Ayguals de Izo” (1972), and Blas María Araque’s *Biografía del señor Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco* (1851).

59 The *novela de folletín*, also known as the *novela de entregas* or serial novel, can refer both to the genre and the method of distribution of the novels of Ayguals and Flores. They were released
approach differs from his belief that the “paisaje es por esencia inmóvil y sirve, las más de las veces, para enmarcar una acción, a veces para sugerir una personalidad, un estado de ánimo, a veces para traducir esta personalidad, este estado de ánimo, etc… la desaparición del espacio” (Ferreras 250). In the present study, I hold instead that specific spaces are often highlighted and serve a crucial function in the emotional, moral, and historical portrayal of the city in each novel under examination in this project.

Russell P. Sebold⁶⁰, meanwhile, claims that Ayguals de Izco is the first true realist author because, like Galdós, he saw the city as a living entity, and insists that “the changes in movement in the plot, initiated by one or two characters…have symbolic value and can inform the reader of psychological and environmental changes at once” (131). This statement more accurately reflects my understanding of the city in the novela de folletín, because it proposes not only that the city has an effect on the characters, but that the characters’ state of mind can affect what parts of the city they choose to navigate. Ayguals’s relationship with the madrileños – both real and fictionalized – is a common angle for critics; Antonio Elorza, in his article “El tema de Francia en el primer republicanismo español” (1997), states that while we typically see “el pueblo” as a literary subject, “en las producciones de Ayguals, como en el resto de la prensa democrática madrileña, ese protagonismo hace de las clases populares el destinatario principal del discurso político, nunca su emisor” (118). This is another claim that I engage, because I do not agree that the Spanish pueblo passively received this discourse.

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⁶⁰ En el principio del movimiento realista: Credo y novelística de Ayguals de Izco (2007).
Rather, through the process of reciprocal development, they were active in discursive formation through their interaction with Ayguals, whose novels “constituyen un canal de comunicación permanentemente abierto entre el autor y sus lectores” (Benítez 157), and whose newspapers often featured letters from his readers and colleagues.61

Antonio Flores has been examined by Enrique Rubio Cremades, who wrote a three-volume study of Flores’s work and life (Costumbrismo y folletín: Vida y obra de Antonio Flores, 1978) and two additional articles (1980, 1982), as well as Andrew Ginger, whose article “Modernity, Representation, and Personality in Antonio Flores's Ayer, Hoy, y Mañana (1863-64)” claims that “Flores depicts the modernization of Spain as a threat to authentic personality” (209). This is a concept that echoes Simmel’s understanding of the city; it speaks to the notion that an urban environment negates the possibility of any real personal development. Rebecca Haidt also discusses Flores’s resistance to modern technologies in her articles “Flores en Babilonia: Los “gritos” de Madrid y el imaginario urbano hacia 1850” (2009) and “Commodifying Place and Time: Photography, Memory, and Media Cultures around 1850” (2011), in which she illustrates Flores’s resistance to the increasingly mechanized and hybrid nature of 19th century urban experience.62 Other works on Flores include general studies on his life and output63, as well as collections that mention both him and Ayguals in discussions of

61 Both La Guindilla and La linterna mágica regularly included a section for “Cartas remitidas,” and La Risa often published letters from Ayguals’s collaborators.
62 Rebecca Haidt’s work, including her essay “Visibly Modern Madrid: Mesonero, Visual Culture, and the Apparatus of Urban Reform” (2005), will also be helpful in examining the burgeoning presence of visual media during modernization.
63 See: José Latour Brotons’s “Un ilicitano olvidado: Antonio Flores Algovia,” Rafael Benítez Claros’s Antonio Flores. Una visión costumbrista del siglo XIX (1956), Eduardo de Lustonó’s “El
specific topics, such as translation\textsuperscript{64}, urban studies\textsuperscript{65}, gender relationships\textsuperscript{66}, and the development of the Spanish novel.\textsuperscript{67}

My Contributions

The medium of periodical publication was new and transformative; the modern Spanish novel – the precursor to later canonical texts by 19\textsuperscript{th}-century authors such as Galdós and Pardo Bazán – appeared within the pages of the mid-19\textsuperscript{th}-century newspaper. Even the presence of the press created new spaces within the city; “En el siglo XIX, el salón público de lectura vino a complementar la biblioteca centralizada y especializada” (Fontanella, \textit{La imprenta y las letras} 48). The newspaper industry not only disseminated knowledge of technology, it was itself a technological enterprise that was furthered by newspaper directors like Ayguals, who bought modern printing machines in London that permitted “la impresión de obras más extensas y de mayor formato” (Benítez 58). As I’ve discussed, Flores was not the technology enthusiast that Ayguals was; in an 1845 issue of \textit{El Laberinto}\textsuperscript{68}, he wrote in a poem: - “Me irritan los dibujantes / los grabadores, me angustian / los literatos, me abrasan / y en la imprenta me espeluznan” (187). However, on the next page, in his travel essay on the Basque country, there were two images included of Burgos and Bourdeaux, at a time when the newspaper was under his direction. Therefore, he recognized “el entusiasmo de España por lo que llamaríamos una

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{9} autor de \textit{Ayer, Hoy y mañana y de Fe, Esperanza y Caridad} (1901), and Margarita Ucelay’s \textit{Los españoles pintados por sí mismos} (1843-1844): estudio de un género.
\bibitem{12} Rabaté, Colette. \textit{¿Eva o María? Ser mujer en la época isabelina}. (2007).
\bibitem{13} Brown, Reginald. \textit{La novela española: 1700-1850}. (1953).
\bibitem{14} 16 de abril, 1845, p. 11.
\end{thebibliography}
‘tecnologización’ de la imprenta,” even though “numerosos escritores y críticos españoles combatieran la influencia de cualquiera ciencia en el oficio literario” (Fontanella, *La imprenta y las letras* 12). Although Flores the poet disliked the abundance of images in newspapers, Flores the director understood that the public wanted them. There are many of these tensions and contradictions that arise in the examination of Ayguals’s and Flores’s writing. However, if we consider the possibility that their readers’ needs shaped their perceptions and opinions over time, and if we look at these conceptual issues in the context of the era, the tensions are not so difficult to resolve.

Within a framework of reciprocal development, I will examine their presentations of specific topics that were of public interest in the time period and demonstrate how Ayguals and Flores were instrumental in disseminating the knowledge of modernity in the form of real, visible objects. Serialized print culture was a powerful tool that, while not entirely new, was used in new ways to capture an urban audience and maintain a consistent readership. I intend to show that Ayguals and Flores were the two most representative figures of a literary, entrepreneurial, and informative movement that not only represented Madrid, but was also instrumental in the city’s development. In terms of the expansion of the city during this time period, Ramón de Mesonero Romanos is the name most often mentioned, and his improvements and contributions to the city were extremely important. However, while his texts did call for some symbolic transformation

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of the city, most of Mesonero Romanos’s guides to the city are statistical and calculating, treating the city as a laboratory whose variables must be explained and categorized. While this information is helpful for historians, the madrileños of the day did not experience their city in terms of wind speeds or the amount of lace that the city exported. They experienced their city by walking in it, seeing it, and forming associations with the specific places they inhabited, a process that was aided by their consumption of urban texts. As García Canclini explains:

…para la enorme mayoría la urbe es un objeto enigmático, y para vivir en ella la gente elabora supersticiones, mitos, articula interpretaciones parciales tomadas de distintas fuentes, con todo lo cual se arman versiones de lo real que tienen poco que ver con lo que podrían decir las versiones llamadas explicaciones científicas (129).

A scientific, quantitative approach to the era is a valid one, but it does not sufficiently take into account how “a city of strangers turned to urban texts to obtain, share, and project new forms of social knowledge” (Henkin 38). In particular, newspapers “became a regular feature of the verbal cityscape, rendering new forms of social knowledge visible in the public spaces of the city” (Henkin 104). The versions of reality that newspapers created were “real” to their readers, because they informed their experience of the lived city.

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70 Edward Baker (1991) describes how Mesonero’s reforms included monuments, streets named after kings and authors, and the reform of cemeteries to transform them into pantheons of the dead (Ch. 3).
Ayguals and Flores

Ayguals and Flores were pivotal figures of mid-19th-century Madrid because of their roles in the creation of the new Spanish urban novel; according to Rubén Benítez, before 1845, “nadie había considerado material novelable, por lo menos en mayor escala, la realidad contemporánea española” (195). The public wanted a new, authentically Spanish form of the novel, but one that would still “conform to the foreign works they had been familiarized with” (Martí-López 38), and Flores and Ayguals were two of the translators that had helped in that familiarization process. They were involved in the literary production of the city in numerous ways; they created and analyzed print culture, they included fragments of newspapers in their novels, they critiqued other publications (including each other’s), and they were involved in the business end of the newspaper business as well. For Ayguals and Flores, the novel was a production and a product, and they therefore had to approach the city as a source of income as well as a source of inspiration.

No comparative studies have been done on Ayguals and Flores, despite their many similarities. The most obvious points of correspondence between them are their roles as directors of newspapers and translators of Eugène Sue at a time when “the urgency to satisfy the demand for French novels redirected the creative energy of the literatos toward translation” (Martí-López 77), despite the fact that they both condemned the afrancesamiento of Spain. Both Ayguals and Flores engaged in frequent criticism of the Catholic Church, the government, the aristocracy, and institutional punishments of the era such as the prison system and the death penalty. Both of their novels feature poor and
marginalized characters (especially young women), the use of specific streets and places in Madrid, and the didactic presentation of socialist remedies, as Russell P. Sebold acknowledges in his article “La novela realista 1840-1869.” Their styles of narration showed similarities as well; both had a tendency to deviate from the primary or secondary narrative threads in order to describe urban scenes or discuss related topics, and both present a very black-and-white approach to matters of morality. Furthermore, Ayguals’s and Flores’s use of images is historically significant; next to Mesonero Romanos, they are the first authors mentioned in Valeriano Bozal’s study of illustrated newspapers; he singles them out as figures who “poseen gran interés para nuestro trabajo” (34).

Iris Zavala asserts that both authors “escribieron una literatura comprometida, anticlerical, democrática y progresista que se difundió mucho entre los diversos grupos” (Ideología y política 84), while Sylvie Baulo groups Flores and Ayguals together as authors who “s’emparent du genre romanesque pour décrire ce monde contradictoire” (La trilogie 170). Referring to Ayguals in his study of Flores, Enrique Rubio Cremades identifies both authors as “escritores que parecen más concienzudos o su arte no les permite llenar papel sin decir absolutamente nada” (Costumbrismo II 51). Finally, in La imprenta y las letras en la España romántica, Fontanella sets them up as two ends of a spectrum with regards to romantic writers who incorporated technology in their novels. At one end is Ayguals, for whom the technological medium “es de tipo asociativo y colectivo y no exclusivamente individual” (17), while Flores “aplicaba la tecnología a la literatura pero, de todos modos, sus escritos normalmente representan la tendencia individual” (17-18). Fontanella claims that all romantic writers fall somewhere between
Ayguals and Flores with regards to their presentation of technology and its effect on the individual and/or society. While I agree with that assessment in the contexts of their texts, Ayguals certainly disseminated his aforementioned cult of personality with his business, and his individual voice is a clear force in the literary production of the time period.

It is not likely that Ayguals and Flores were friends; they were essentially competitors, and they were certainly aware of each other. In 1843, Flores published two articles in Ayguals’s newspaper La Risa, one called “Cada uno en su casa y Dios en la de todos” (27 de agosto) and “Yo mi mismo” (5 de noviembre). In El Dómine Lucas, Ayguals defended his own publications (La Risa, La Carcajada, and El Dómine Lucas) against a claim from Flores that “El Laberinto es el primer periódico de España.” On a few occasions in March of 1846, Ayguals directly addressed Flores, who had insulted the Italian poet Cataldi, a friend of Ayguals. The mention of Flores in El Fandango (15 de marzo, 1846) was brief and sarcastic, saying that perhaps Cataldi would improvise some verses in his honor. This issue came to a head in the March issue of El Dómine Lucas, in the form of a dramatized dialogue between “El Dómine Lucas” and “Cartapacio” (Ayguals and Martínez Villergas, respectively). In the following poem, Ayguals reveals his negative feelings towards Flores, calling him dishonest, untalented, pedantic, shameless, and barbaric, and accusing him of being a bad translator, a liar, and a barbarian. In this poem, which Ayguals signs with his own name as opposed to the pseudonym “El Dómine Lucas,” his disdain for Flores is evident:

Aunque se caiga el abismo

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71 El Dómine Lucas, mayo de 1844, p. 5
que el mundo se venga a bajo
que el Ebro se pase al Tajo
don Antonio siempre el mismo:
su escuela es el pedantismo,
no ha escrito bien ni una vez,
es zopenco hasta la nuez
todo lo encuentra fatal,
y si muere de algún mal,
será de envidia soez.

Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco (1 de marzo de 1846, p. 7)
As we see, the two were contemporaries, but, as Enrique Rubio Cremades put it, “La única relación existente entre Flores y el equipo formado por W. Ayguals de Izco, sería la de difundir el ‘suísmo’ en España, pero de ahí a integrarse al grupo de escritores o publicaciones satíricas, pensamos que existe un abismo.” (Costumbrismo III 28). I intend to show that, whatever the degree of distance between them, within that distance lie the essential pieces in the puzzle that is the literary representation of 19th-century madrileños.
Chapter 2: Mid-19\textsuperscript{th}-Century Madrid Print Media

Madrid in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century was a constantly-changing city and a hotbed of political turmoil. Despite being Spain’s capital, Madrid was “la representación paradigmática de un Estado débil, ineficiente, construido por grupos oligárquicos de amigos políticos sobre una sociedad rural, atrasada, retraída, ensimismada, ausente del mercado y de la política mundiales” (Juliá, Ringrose and Segura 322). The city was not an industrial capital in the way that London (for example) was; however, between 1750 and 1850, “se elevó la demanda de manufacturas. A ello ayudó el crecimiento demográfico nacional y, sobre todo, la expansión protagonizada por la población urbana al recibir el empuje de la inmigración rural” (Nieto, Artesanos y mercaderes 324). The growing population combined with the presence of the court did serve to gradually transform Madrid into a consumer city that produced and redistributed raw materials (leather, textiles) and domestic goods (lace, soap, footwear, cigarettes).\textsuperscript{72} In addition to

\textsuperscript{72} For more on industry during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, see: Candela Soto, Paloma. \textit{Cigarreras madrileñas: Trabajo y vida (1888-1927)}. Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1997.
the city’s famous bureaucratic presence, the capital was a “mundo del artesano, de los sastres y zapateros, pero también de panaderos y buñueleros, tapiceros, silleros, plateros y resto de oficios tradicionales” (Carballo, Pallol and Vicente 386).

There was also industrial growth during the 19th century in the form of “nebulosas industriales,” a term that José Nieto Sánchez uses to describe the “mercaderes-fabricantes [que] desplegaron en las zonas rurales cercanas a la Corte” (“Nebulosas industriales” 87). However, Jesús Cruz explains that the totality of Madrid’s industrial development was only notable compared to the stagnation that preceded it:

> Although economic change took place…it was not extensive enough to alter the traditional structure of Madrid’s economy; it revolved around the business of the state machinery and was controlled by a patron-client system that neutralized mechanisms of free competition and regulated access to new social groups (Gentlemen 59).

Madrid’s industrial growth was slow and small-scale; the city imported far more than it exported, and the majority of the industrial production came from “la pequeña producción de bienes de consumo directo destinada a un mercado puramente local” (Juliá, Ringrose and Segura 341). As opposed to large warehouses, it was “the specialized, commercialized cultures which contributed most to Spain’s foreign trade: thus wine and olive oil provided a third of the total exports” (Carr 276). I argue that it was one of those specialized industries – the print industry – that significantly contributed

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to Madrid’s development during the years of Isabel II, because while not all industries
were booming at that time, “Madrid se reafirma, al menos, como centro de producción
literaria” (Juliá, Ringrose and Segura 333). Due to the “perfeccionamientos técnicos del
arte de imprimir en las imprentas madrileñas del siglo XIX” (del Campo 92), the paper
industry underwent, “a partir de 1840-1845, una revolución técnica que sólo tiene como
consecuencia una mecanización limitada de la fabricación del papel y depende, en su
technología y en sus materias primas, del extranjero” (Botrel, Libros 206). Between the
years of 1845 and 1865, “aparecen las primeras máquinas de reacción que permiten
tiradas de 2.500 a 3.000 hojas/hora, las formas cilíndricas y la guillotina” (Botrel,
Libros 210), which permitted an unprecedented expansion of the speed and output of
printing presses, a growth which corresponded with the growth of the bourgeoisie.

**The Madrid Bourgeoisie**

When discussing Spain in the 19th century, the terms “bourgeoisie” and “middle
class” are often used interchangeably; Jesús Cruz outlines the protagonists of his book
as “a group of families who belonged to what Spanish writers of the first half of the
nineteenth century called the ‘middle classes’ and contemporary scholars call the
‘bourgeoisie’” (3). However, he also acknowledges the danger of generalizing the term
when he insists that “to consider as bourgeois anyone who exploited his land in a more or
less capitalist fashion or those who sympathized with liberalism is an oversimplification

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73 The guillotina was a paper-cutting tool that took its name from the French execution device.
74 Cruz, Jesús. Gentlemen, Bourgeois, and Revolutionaries: Political Change and Cultural
Persistence among the Spanish Dominant Groups, 1750-1850. New York: Cambridge University
Press, 1996.
that does not help us to understand history” (Cruz, Gentlemen 270).\textsuperscript{75} Naturally, there were multiple subsets of the group that scholars now refer to as the bourgeoisie, and they had a complex and inconsistent relationship with the Spanish monarchy.

The so-called “bourgeoisie” did not appear out of thin air; “the men who led the liberal revolution in Spain did not constitute a new elite…the politicians of this period came from a social spectrum that was already well established at the time of the revolution” (Cruz, Gentlemen 164). Their tenuous classification as a modern, ascendant, and progressive class\textsuperscript{76} came from the fact that they were educated and in favor of dismantling the existing institutions of power such as the monarchy and the Church. No European country, with the exception of England, “had a bourgeoisie strong enough to independently impose its own political agenda before 1850” (Cruz, “The moderate ascendency” 34-35). In the case of Spain, the bourgeoisie was in a position to gradually exercise an influence on the city, and they were both helped and hindered by Isabel II and the Queen Regent, María Cristina, both of whom wanted liberal reforms, yet “feared the liberal revolution because it represented a threat that would limit the power of the throne [and] conceived liberalism as a chronic disease with which it had to coexist and try to control in order to prevent its becoming a terminal illness” (Cruz, “The moderate ascendency” 36). As the young, female alternative to the late king’s brother Carlos\textsuperscript{77}, the figure of the young Isabel II “comenzó a ser identificada simbólicamente con todas las

\textsuperscript{75} Colette Rabaté also discusses the imprecision of the term in ¿Eva o María? Ser mujer en la época isabelina. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2007.
\textsuperscript{76} “…las novelas en general reconocen a la burguesía como la clase moderna y ascendente, que ha asumido la responsabilidad de dirigir el país y llevarlo por el camino del progreso” (Martínez Arancón 131).
\textsuperscript{77} The faction of Spaniards who insisted on Carlos’s right to the throne were known as carlistas, and this conflict was the central issue of the First Carlist War (1833-1839).
esperanzas de cambio y de libertad frustradas…simbolo de regeneración de la patria”
(Burdiel 35-36), during the 1830s and ‘40s, even though she had no real governing power.

The real power in the capital belonged to the ruling oligarchy; 500 families of speculators, industrialists, bankers, landowners, lawyers, and generals made decisions that affected Madrid’s future and growth, while possessing the majority of the urban wealth and land.78 The powerful Bringas family described in Galdós’s novels such as *Tormento* and *La de Bringas* was based on a real family, and Jesús Cruz’s novel *Gentlemen, Bourgeoisie and Revolutionaries* examines the Cabarrús family and others who “controlled Madrid’s political, social, and economic life” (194). These families belonged to a high subset of the bourgeoisie who had made their money in various ways:

Esta alta burguesía se había ido potenciando a través de varias formas de acumulación, entre las que podemos citar: el aprovisionamiento al ejército durante la guerra contra Napoleón; especulaciones con los alimentos durante las crisis de subsistencias, sobre todo la de 1812…la ya aludida Compañía de los Cinco Gremios Mayores, que incluso hacía préstamos al Estado y con intereses en el comercio ultramarino, teniendo arrendadas

78 For more on social structure, see:
This *alta burguesía* was not as powerful as the Church or the nobles of the *antiguo régimen*, but they were not “middle class.” The agrarian bourgeoisie, for example, was made up of wealthy landowners who bought up lands formerly belonging to the Church, first in the 1830s and again in the 1850s. The banking bourgeoisie made their money from the circulation of capital, the *burguesía especuladora* accumulated wealth from the speculation of property in Madrid, and the *burguesía de los negocios* “se enriqueció en las contratas de ferrocarriles, de servicios públicos o de suministros militares” (Carvajal, Díez and Romano n. pag). The commercial bourgeoisie, or “la naciente burguesía industrial” (Carvajal, Díez and Romano n. pag), earned its wealth from the industrial growth of the city, and Ayguals de Izco was a member of this group due to his role in the *Sociedad Literaria*; “Ayguals es partidario del progreso económico de la burguesía, por eso dispara sus más venenosos dardos contra la aristocracia y la Iglesia, el antiguo régimen tan odiado por los burgueses revolucionarios” (Ferreras 131). Flores is not often characterized as *burgués* by scholars, but he did share the general characteristics of relative financial success, opposition to the Church, and liberal politics. All of these groups within the larger category of the bourgeoisie tended to be, if not necessarily revolutionary, decidedly liberal in their politics, and their growing economic power led to programs such as the *Reformas de 1834*, which were intended to:

…implantar una nueva política económica y social, mezcla de las ideas ilustradas y del liberalismo económico burgués…la libertad del comercio
de granos, el proteccionismo estatal a las inversiones capitalistas, la protección a la industria, la libertad fabril y ciertas medidas liberalizadoras del comercio (Bahamonde and Toro 17).

The desamortización, or disentailment of Church lands in 1836 and 1837 “será el otro pilar en que se base el nuevo orden burgués” (Bahamonde and Toro 17). Additionally, the Constitution of 1845 took away much of the power of the monarchy, and “siempre le pareció demasiado avanzada, demasiado liberal, a la cultura política de la Corte y de la familia real” (Burdiel 187).

As the political influence of the bourgeoisie grew, Madrid witnessed the creation or recuperation of cultural institutions, such as theaters, publishing houses, tertulias, the National Library, and the Universidad Complutense (reestablished in 1835). The liberal politicians of the first half of the 19th century also achieved many notable reforms, including:

…the expansion of banking and stock market activities, the passing of new education acts, the creation of a reformed central administrative apparatus, the demolition and reconstruction of the Puerta del Sol in Madrid, and the completion of the Canal de Isabel II (Ginger 210).

The old ways of doing business, such as the gremios (guilds), were dissolving, and a commercial bourgeoisie grew from the shadows of the former absolutista economic models. Other social changes took place as well, such as the Ley de inquilinato in 1842, which facilitated a real estate investment boom, and the Ley Moyano in 1857, which “[proclamó] claramente la obligatoriedad de la enseñanza primaria femenina” (Rabaté
However, many of the social ills of the day were still in place, such as illiteracy, child labor, poor living conditions, and limited suffrage; it was precisely this category of social injustice that reformers like Ayguals de Izco sought to combat.

In addition to the political and financial characteristics of the bourgeoisie, there are other group tendencies that emerge from the study of their lifestyles, including an expectation of material display. As Noël Valis explains, “Adornment marks the process of individuation and refinement characteristic of middle-class life” (89), and thus, we see a boom in the commodification of objects, the use of display windows, and the system of credit. Daniel Frost explains that bourgeois relationships were caught up in a network of gazes (103), and thus we see an increased preoccupation with promenades, pleasure gardens, and other public spaces where the bourgeoisie public could see each other and be seen.

What is missing in many studies of the Spanish 19th-century bourgeoisie is an acknowledgement that there was a mediana burguesía and a pequeña burguesía, groups that had less economic and political power, and could more accurately be described as “middle class.”79 In the case of the readership of the novelas de folletín, it is hard to distinguish in which subset of the bourgeoisie we find these readers; Antonio Elorza claims that “la moralidad de María se ajusta impecablemente a la moralidad burguesa” (“Periodismo democrático” 98), thus generalizing the group as a single entity. However, Ricardo Navas Ruíz makes a fascinating contribution when he describes Los españoles

79 An exception is Bahamonde Magro, A. y J. Toro Mérida. Burguesía, especulación y cuestión social en el Madrid del siglo XIX. Madrid: Siglo XXI de España Editores, 1978. This work offers a very complete view of the bourgeoisie, particularly in Chap. 2: “La consolidación de la burguesía madrileña.”
pintados por sí mismos, a collection to which Flores contributed five articles: “Algunos críticos ven este libro como un reflejo de la conciencia burguesa española. Por el contrario parece un reflejo de su ausencia” (346). It seems that the bourgeoisie is too multifaceted and heterogeneous to capture with one simple term. Therefore, for the purposes of the readership of the popular newspapers and novels of the era, I will be using the term “middle class,” which is fraught with its own complications, but which more accurately captures the spirit of the Spanish “pueblo” and “gente” that the popular writers of the time were hoping to invoke.

The working class, meanwhile, “sigue concentrándose en las tradicionales zonas de Inclusa y Latina, en calles angostas y en viviendas estrechas, oscuras y malsanas” (Bahamonde and Toro 100), while the middle classes expanded into numerous sectors of Madrid following the Ensanche of the 1860s. It is important to note, however, that people of every class were coming into contact with each other every day in the city; “Lejos de existir una simple raya que marcare la frontera entre ricos y pobres, entre burgueses y proletarios, existían mil fronteras y matices en una ciudad en la que había mil maneras de ganarse la vida” (Carballo, Pallol and Vicente 448). Much of the drama of Ayguals’s and Flores’s novels comes from this class contact and conflict, which was often exaggerated and scandalized to make it more exciting for the readers.

80 We see this in Mesonero Romanos’s “Paseo por las calles,” in which the narrator goes through the working-class districts and observes carts full of workers leaving the city at the end of the day and returning to the outlying districts where they live. The text is unique in that it “manages to reproduce one of the central tropes of the rational modern planning that saw the city as a grid to be geometrically mapped out and mathematically segmented” (Fraser 62).
Spatial Transformations

Infrastructural changes and new usage of land were both needed in order to accommodate the growing population of Madrid. In the 19th century, “Consumo de bienes de primera necesidad y construcción de edificios serán los dos polos que delimitan las posibilidades reales del crecimiento industrial” (Bahamonde and Toro 34). The first great transformation of space came about due to the process of desamortización, the destruction and/or public sale of Church property such as convents, churches, and monasteries. The two chief phases of desamortización came about in 1836 under Juan Álvarez Mendizábal and in 1855 under Pascual Madoz, the minister of finance who later became governor of Madrid.81 Under Mendizábal, 62% of the Church’s land was sold with the intention of transferring the property to living people, rather than just having the land pass from generation to generation.82 The land was not redistributed to the poor; “las familias más poderosas continuaron conservando intacto sus patrimonios” (Pascual Pla 31). Much of the land distribution served to augment the holdings of the nobles and wealthy landowners, who bought the land cheaply, built houses, and charged high rent to

81 In her biography of Isabel II, Burdiel establishes a difference between the Mendizábal and Madoz desamortizaciones, claiming that under Madoz, focus was shifted away from the Church due to political wrangling by Queen Regent María Cristina and her representatives.

82 For more on the practice of desamortización, see:

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live in them. However, some of it was turned into public space, such as parks or pleasure gardens, or public buildings like hospitals and museums; the transformation of land in the 1840s was motivated by the creation of new spaces where madrileños could assemble.

The changes in Madrid during the 1830s and ‘40s were visible and well-documented; Eulalia Ruíz Palomeque offers an excellent study of the demolition of former convents, the expansions of streets, and specific plazas such as the Plaza del Progreso, which was transformed into the Plaza Tirso de Molina in 1840, and was “una de las mejoras llevadas a cabo que mereció mayor aceptación por el público, como necesario desahogo en un punto de la capital tan densamente poblado” (118). In 1844, we see the beginnings of bourgeois investment in land and construction:

…tras llegar al poder los moderados, la burguesía buscó legitimar las ganancias realizadas durante el proceso revolucionario invirtiendo en los grandes proyectos ferroviarios, en la construcción de importantes obras públicas o entendiendo…que la inversión en suelo urbano era un buen negocio (Sambricio La construcción 16).

The monarchy was involved as well; Isabel Burdiel’s biography of Isabel II (2010) makes special mention of

…la participación de María Cristina y su marido, no sólo en la especulación bursátil desatada a partir de 1846, sino también en todas las

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83 For a discussion of this phenomenon in the Restoration era, see Rodríguez Chumillas, Isabel. *Vivir de las rentas: El negocio del inquilinato en el Madrid de la restauración*. Madrid: Los libros de la Catarata, 2002.
grandes obras públicas de la época: las obras del Manzanares, la canalización del Ebro, el puerto de Valencia y, fundamentalmente, las primeras concesiones de ferrocarriles, como el de Aranjuez o el de Langreo, comprado por el Estado en 1850 a una empresa deficitaria propiedad de Grimaldi (221-222).

Burdiel\textsuperscript{84} describes the tenuous relationship between the Queen Regent and the upper bourgeoisie; her second husband, the Duke of Riánsares, was a member of the bourgeoisie, and Burdiel claims that María Cristina made a deal with a Church to secretly legitimate her marriage, thus bringing to a halt the desamortizaciones initiated by Mendizábal. Burdiel makes it clear that the “monarchy” was not a single entity; Isabel and her mother were often at odds, and each was willing to go along with certain liberal reforms, but only to the extent that her own interests were served or protected.

Discussions and debate around the concept of “propiedad” were common in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, because aside from “property,” the standard concept of ownership of land, “propiedad” also referred to the ability and God-given right to own private property. This concept was associated with the Church in liberal rhetoric: “Siempre ha defendido la Iglesia el derecho de propiedad – que consideraba inviolable – y la libertad de los fieles para aportar bienes temporales en favor de la Iglesia” (Martí Gilabert 36). In María, Aygualls explains that the friars didn’t have much sympathy from the town because “eran los más encarnizados enemigos de su libertad, de su soberanía” (54) and they wanted to “hacerse señores de la tierra” (54). However, during the early years of desamortización

and real estate speculation, “La burguesía se libera de las trabas legales que limitan las posibilidades de acumulación” (Bahamonde and Toro 28), and the liberal society’s increasing prosperity came into direct conflict with their prior ideological opposition to wealth and monopolization. The development of liberal society “was fostered by enlightened despotism…in order to gain the alliance of the enlightened classes by the substitution of material progress and efficient administration for liberty” (Carr 196). The discourse around space was quite combative while the Church struggled to maintain their holdings and liberal landowners attempted to reappropriate the space for public or semi-public use. Antonio Flores discusses desarmortización and land redistribution multiple times in Ayer, hoy y mañana, insisting that “No se trata de robar la propiedad a nadie. Ni somos socialistas ni queremos serlo” (“El casero de ogaño” III 213). Due to the constant transformation and reappropriation of space, questions of the legitimacy of ownership and the defense of property were frequent.

The second great transformation of space was the Ensanche: an expansion of Madrid according to the plan of architect and engineer Carlos María de Castro, beginning in 186085. Madrid was slowly transforming into a European capital, and its expansion was necessary “no sólo porque así lo exigía su creciente población sino por la nueva función que habría de desempeñar como centro de comunicaciones entre los distintos puntos de la Península” (Juliá, Ringrose and Segura 372). There were new zones of the periphery, corresponding to the modern-day neighborhoods of Arganzuela, Chamberí, Chamberi,

85 Flores complained about the expansion of the city in Ayer, hoy y mañana: “mi cementerio está al otro lado del río…sus campo-santos no están seguros. El ensanche de Madrid los va empujando y los hará desaparecer muy pronto” (III 166).
Salamanca, Argüelles, Moncloa, Chamartin, and the Retiro. Members of the burguesía inmobiliaria used this new land to build up their fortunes, and that real estate soon accounted for 25-30% of their fortunes (Rodríguez *Vivir de las rentas* 26). There was a construction boom in the early 1860s in the wake of this expansion, but the “actividad constructora en Madrid…se vio afectada por la grave crisis económica nacional de 1866, que supuso el mejor caldo de cultivo para la expulsión de Isabel II en 1868” (Carballo, Pallol and Vicente 88). Construction hit a standstill after that point, although the city walls were knocked down in 1868, the same year that Isabel II’s reign ended.

The overthrow of the queen was a pivotal moment in Spanish history, and serves as the endpoint of the time period that this study entails. Gómez Aparicio called it "la última Revolución romántica de la historia de España" ([1971] 9); it marked the union of the seemingly disparate (and ultimately incompatible) politics of the moderates, the progressives, and the republicans. Journalists, students, and political groups had staged numerous protests throughout the 1860s, until finally, faced with increasing oppression, economic crisis, and a corrupt monarchy, the revolution forced Isabel II into exile, and the subsequent secularization of the country “inserta a la nación en la modernidad liberal visible” (Sánchez Llama 11). The Revolución Gloriosa of 1868 was the culmination of

86 This study is from 1870, so the numbers do not correspond exactly, but the burguesía inmobiliaria in the 1860s already had a significant grip on land ownership in Madrid.

87 The work of Carlos Sambricio is particularly helpful in terms of construction and expansion in the mid-19th century, including:


years of political unrest, and, in terms of popular uprising and political influence, it is also one of the primary examples of the power of newspaper culture.\textsuperscript{88} Print publications were a truly democratic medium, and in addition to their capacity for entertainment and satire, they had the power to strike fear, inspire dissent, and change the course of history.

\textit{Influencing Progress}

The civil wars and political instability of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century were notorious; specifically, the years in which Ayguals and Flores were writing were, in the words of Elisa Martí-López:

\ldots the years that witnessed both the dismantling of the absolutist state and the transition to new, liberal socioeconomic policies… the years that saw both the Carlist wars and the intense in-fighting among different liberal groups… years of profound economic transformations and intense social unrest, years that witnessed the first proletarianization of the working forces, the first important migrations from rural areas to the cities, the introduction of the first steam machines, and the reconfiguration of the commercial relations with America after the Independence Wars (24).

Following the death of Fernando VII in 1833, the absolutist state in Spain was ruptured, and ten years of popular uprisings followed. The politics of Spanish liberalism, exemplified by the Constitution of 1837, emphasized a limitation on royal power and

\textsuperscript{88} “Enemigo Castelar de la Monarquía, a la vez que catedrático de la Universidad madrileña y director de La Democracia, venía utilizando estos dos frentes - el universitario y el periodístico - para la exposición de sus ideas” (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 559).

“La existencia de la censura y la decidida voluntad de los periodistas de no dejarse vencer por ella determinan el carácter del periodismo de estos años” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 92).
increased rights for citizens. Liberal culture shaped the public sphere directly through the aforementioned spatial changes, but also indirectly, through “debates in cafés or at the parliament, collective reading of political books, pamphlets, and press at the gabinetes de lectura (reading clubs), political discussions in the nightly salones and tertulias (social gatherings)” (Cruz Gentlemen 173). These intellectual centers of contact helped sow the seeds of a revolution “a imitación de la de Francia de 1789” (Pascual Pla 23).

The very political tensions that were tearing apart the country served as excellent fodder for narrative. Ayguals in particular was very politically motivated; his campaign for reform was unceasing, and “se presenta siempre como liberal en sus soluciones” (Marco 90). In the María trilogy, he addresses a number of social issues, such as slavery, infant mortality, the death penalty, and the prison system, which incarcerated “ciudadanos pacíficos y honrados, padres de familia algunos de ellos, que dejaron a sus esposas e hijos abandonados a la caridad pública” (340), using María’s father Anselmo as an example. Ayguals’s complaints were always ostensibly on behalf of the pueblo in the face of the corrupt aristocracy; as he explained in La Guindilla, “El pueblo continúa en consecuencia siempre esclavo, y sólo la aristocracia inmoral disfruta de los goces todos que una libertad sin freno le proporciona”.Flores, on the other hand, was more realistic, and the reforms that he called for were smaller-scale, such as a sidewalk on the calle de Preciados or the removal of debris from demolished houses that was obstructing traffic in the Plaza de Santa Cruz.

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89 La Guindilla, Tomo I, Núm. 9, 14 de agosto de 1842, p. 130.
90 El Laberinto, 1 de abril de 1845, p. 174.
91 El Laberinto, 1 de noviembre de 1843, p. 5.
Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, the *costumbrista* and urban reformer, was particularly instrumental in the rationalization of the capital, a project that included numbering houses, naming streets, lighting, cleanliness, paving, and the expansion of streets and plazas. He was also involved in the symbolic transformation of the city that sought to turn it into a national monument through the addition of statues, the act of naming streets after kings and authors, and the renovation of cemeteries to make the dead seem more glorious and holy. Madrid in the 19th century underwent numerous infrastructural changes such as the installation of lighting, the lengthening and widening of streets, the demolition of convents, horizontal expansion, and the creation of the Canal de Isabel II. One of the most significant changes to the city came in the form of the railroad; Atocha, the first train station, opened in 1851 and allowed a few approved *madrileños* to travel to Aranjuez. Modern methods of transportation “acortaron las...”

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92 For more on Mesonero’s urban reforms, see:
94 In a letter published in *La Ilustración* (Núm. 7, 1851, pp. 54-55), Carolina Coronado describes a train voyage to Aranjuez, saying: “Corríamos con tanta rapidez, que parecía la tierra una esfera que giraba sobre sus ejes para presentarnos toda su faz bajo ese mismo punto de vista, como si dominando nosotros al mundo, los hombres y los animales, y las plantas que aparecían a un lado...”
distancias y ampliaron el mundo para mucha gente” (Carballo, Pallol and Vicente 23), although Madrid itself remained a walking city with little public transportation. This is an example of a tendency that Stephanie Sieburth refers to as the “uneven modernity” (1994) of Spain, a concept that I will elaborate upon in subsequent chapters.

Workers and Women

A driving force behind the changes in 19th-century Madrid was the growth of the city and the resulting demographic transformation. The most consistent source of population growth was immigration, primarily from rural parts of the country like Asturias and Galicia. In Madrid, one could be a vendor, a functionary, a landlord, an artist, a student, a lawyer, a soldier, or a member of numerous other professions that attracted immigrants to the capital. However, the abundance of people frequently outweighed the availability of gainful employment, and the majority of immigrants were poor workers, artisans, servants, or beggars.95 Women also worked in Madrid, either to support their husbands’ incomes or to send money to their families in the countryside. There were a few job categories available to women, such as wet nurses, cigarette-makers, domestic servants, and midwives, and “el trabajo femenino aumenta conforme se baja en la escala social; son las viudas y las solteras las que ejercen prioritariamente una

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95 For more on immigration and employment in the city, see:
actividad retribuida, con salarios muy inferiores a los de los hombres” (Rabaté 209). Middle-class women were not expected to work; their presence in the public sphere was suppressed because of their supposed fragility and corruptibility. Privileged women’s time outside the house was limited to shopping, the theater, and “los paseos, recomendados hipócritamente como medio para la actividad física y que son en realidad la oportunidad para conseguir marido” (Rabaté 14).

According to Juan Ignacio Ferreras, the novelas de folletín seem “destinadas a un público femenino” (27) because of their sentimentality and frequent discussions of marriage and motherhood; however, novelas de folletín like the María trilogy also include frequent political deviations and tirades. Ana Martínez Arancón explains that most novelas de folletín were not intended to involve women in politics, and that “lo primero y fundamental es mantenerla alejada de la política, pues nada hay más contrario al ideal de la mujer” (195). However, she does acknowledge that “algunas mujeres intervinieron de manera muy activa en agitaciones y luchas” (197), and some women like Carolina Coronado actively contributed to newspaper content. I maintain that while the political messages within the texts did not actively incite women to revolution, the

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97 María Isabel Pérez González’s biography of Carolina Coronado includes several mentions of her publications in newspapers, such as El Entreacto, which published her poems “A la palma” and “A la mariposa” (23). She also specifically mentions Ayguals’s newspaper La Risa, “de la cual era la única redactora femenina” (42). La Risa published news of her supposed death when she fell into a cataleptic coma, and greatly offended her by publishing a lithograph of her with a disfigured face (55).
presence of political content was a manifestation of the liberal tendency toward the
education of women, who were less excluded because of “the creation of a culture in
which politics, entertainment, and commerce shared a common stage and common modes
of appeal” (Henkin 174). Carmen Fernández Sánchez shows how this hybridity also
applies to Spanish newspapers when she describes El Laberinto as “un ‘periódico
universal’ que pretende entretenere e informar al lector con biografías, historia, viajes,
modas, sucesos, crítica y creaciones literarias” (292). This tendency toward textual
variety led to more female political participation throughout the 19th century.

The Proliferation of Newspaper Culture

For the purposes of tracking cultural change and urban transformation, the
newspaper is an indispensable tool, and thanks to cultural institutions, many of the
newspapers of the era have been preserved. In addition to producing newspaper content,
both Ayguals and Flores mentioned specific newspapers and included fragments in their
published works (the María trilogy and Ayer, hoy y mañana, respectively), and the
selections that they chose reflected the political, social, and cultural preoccupations of the
time. By looking at the newspapers in their original format, along with the
advertisements, images, and miscellaneous content that they contained, we can see a
complex system of communication within the space of only a few pages.

The newspaper industry in the capital began in 1758 with the Diario de Madrid,
but due to restrictions placed on publication, the medium didn’t really take off until the
1830s with the death of Fernando VII (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 39). After 1833, the
dissolution of absolutism led to a new era of political and literary discussion, public
debate, literary societies, *tertulias*, and the founding of the *Ateneo*, a cultural, literary, and scientific institution in the heart of Madrid (Carr 207). The death of Fernando VII also led to greater freedom of the press, which aided in the democratization of information. The newspaper was the ideal form of expression for a middle-class readership; it was accessible, quick, and generally written by educated people who had an increased awareness of politics, society, and culture; however, “only a small public was prepared to greet it; a larger public would have to be created by the press itself” (Sieburth 30). In the 18th and early 19th centuries, the few newspapers that existed were small (typically four pages), contained local news (agriculture, theater schedules, crime, etc.), were published once a month, and contained no images and little creative content. However, the proliferation of newspapers after 1833 meant more variety of content, readership, formatting, and length, as well as a bigger audience. In 1837, there were 27 newspapers and serials published, and that number rose to 85 by 1843 (Riego 103). This was a market at work, and a significant aspect of the reciprocal development of the popular press was how it responded to a market that allowed for the creation of a wide variety of publications. Newspapers could be as general or specific as the editor wished or as the market dictated, and could be published anywhere from daily to monthly.

The development of the novel corresponded with the development of the generalized urban bourgeoisie because of serial publications (Mercer 2), but the novels were often populated with poorer, destitute characters because of Madrid’s “resilient counter-cultural identity based in a popular mythology of its traditional working class”
(Parsons, *Cultural History* 10). The working class made up the majority of the population, and:

...la mayor parte del país no leía nada; los grupos lectores se concentraban en los núcleos urbanos y pertenecían a la burguesía – desde sus sectores más brillantes hasta los más deprimidos – o a grupos minoritarios del artesano y los proletariados (Romero Tobar *La novela popular* 118).

There is an obvious contradiction here: Ayguals and Flores worked in the print industry (and, in Flores’s case, the bureaucracy) and wrote about the suffering of the poor in their novels, but they frequently glossed over these distinctions in their newspapers by focusing on the perceived common enemies of the imagined Spanish “pueblo,” such as foreigners or “oppressors,” or focusing on that which all Spaniards had in common, like the tradition of bullfighting.

As the demand for the popular press grew, businesses sprouted up to meet that demand, and there were several publishing houses that, within one building, handled the writing, editing, printing, advertising, and distribution of their newspapers. The *Sociedad Literaria* (1843-1859), run by Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Juan Martínez Villergas, was one such publishing house. By consolidating the tasks of publishing periodicals,

99 “La prensa independiente tronará desde ahora con más energía que nunca contra los opresores del pueblo...Guindilla será el primero que escitará el pueblo a una sublevación salvadora” (*La Guindilla*, Tomo II, Núm. 29, 23 de octubre de 1842, p. 35).

100 Antonio Flores published a fortnightly bullfight description in *El Laberinto*, and in *La Semana* (5 de noviembre de 1849), he wrote an article called “Un día de toros en Madrid.”

101 For more on the *Sociedad Literaria*, see:

Baulo, Sylvie. “Prensa y publicidad: el caso de la Sociedad Literaria de Madrid (1845-1846).” PILAR. Español@31-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2005. 61-71.

writers and businessmen like Ayguals were able to live fairly comfortably off of their profits. Sylvie Baulo explains that their success was due to “una auténtica política publicitaria, una política coherente y organizada que convertía al libro en un verdadero producto comercial” (“Prensa y publicidad” 61). This commercial product fed middle- and upper-class wealth creation by providing a space for advertisement, and then using that space to publicize plays, art exhibitions, and other local events in order to attract participants; in *El Fandango*, Ayguals told his audience that “El incansable actor don Juan Lombía ha formado una sociedad dramática de excelentes elementos para dar funciones en el bello local del Instituto español, en la calle de las Urosas. Recomendamos eficazmente este teatro al público.”

Cultural institutions promoted each other, and thus reaped the financial benefits of reciprocal endorsement.

The publications of Ayguals’s *Sociedad Literaria* were relevant and tailored to their audience, and their marketing methods were advancing through the AIDA system: Attention, Interest, Desire, and Action (Carrillo, “Marketing” 24). Ayguals put advertisements for his novels in the pages of his newspapers up to six months before the first *entregas* were even released, thus creating a sort of buzz for his own product, and generating interest as the release date grew nearer. He also published advertisements for biographies published by the *Sociedad Literaria*, as well as the *ediciones de lujo* once the books were finished, thus creating desire and hopefully inspiring a purchase. He was

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103 See also: Baulo, Sylvie. “Prensa y publicidad: el caso de la Sociedad Literaria de Madrid (1845-1846).” *PILAR. Españ@31-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail*, 2005. 61-71.
certainly not the first to advertise in a newspaper, but Ayguals was an innovator in cross-media promotion and the use of images to sell his product.

Figure 2: The cover of the first issue of *La linterna mágica*\(^{104}\)

\(^{104}\) 1 de enero de 1849
Ayguals was also an innovator in the field of printing technology, and invested his own money in trips to investigate changing European technologies; for example, his trip to London’s 1851 International Exhibition exposed him to new techniques in typeface and daguerreotypes. He also took a trip to France “a fin de procurarse láminas y dibujos para sus publicaciones, es decir para comprar planchas en madera o en acero y volver a

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105 1 de octubre de 1845, p. 6.
106 For Ayguals, this trip “constituyó la más objetiva afirmación del triunfo de una ideología basada en la fe del progreso…La Exposición muestra la otra cara del desarrollo del maquinismo y de la industria como réplica a las manifestaciones de protesta obrera” (Benítez 56).
utilizarlas” (Ferreras 58). Ayguals’s aggressive search for innovation paid off for the *Sociedad Literaria*. The printing industry was one of the most successful enterprises in 19th-century Madrid, and technology was a pivotal factor, not only in the production of periodicals, but also in their distribution to the countryside and other Spanish cities.

The innovation of the press was not limited to printing techniques and advances in imagery; the proliferation of newspapers transcended public and private space in a new way that was a direct result of reciprocal development. David Henkin, in his study of antebellum New York City, asserts the following:

…remarkable numbers of ordinary people consumed and composed written messages in the public space of the metropolis. City reading thus marked, shaped, and reinforced the transition from the bourgeois urban public of the early national period, centered around New York’s Tontine Coffee House, to a broader-based, more boisterous, and more populous public centered in the streets (13).

The texts circulated throughout the city in a variety of ways; there were many spaces of literary interaction such as the aforementioned *gabinetes, salones* and *tertulias*, in addition to taverns, cafés, and *liceos* where writing was discussed at length. A famous painting by Antonio Esquivel, “Los poetas contemporáneos. Una lectura de Zorrilla en el estudio del pintor” (1846), depicts a fictitious literary reading featuring the most important Romantic writers of the day such as Antonio Flores, Ramón de Mesonero

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107 According to Juan Ignacio Ferreras, “Un novelista por entregas antes de la Revolución de 1868 podía ganar hasta 1.000 reales diarios” (83).

108 Notable examples are the *Parnasillo* in the Café del Príncipe (Plaza de Canalejas) and the Café de las Cuatro Calles, mentioned specifically by Ayguals in the *Marquesa de Bellaflor* (45).
Romanos, Antonio Ferrer del Rio, Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, Ángel de Saavedra (Duque de Rivas), José Zorrilla, and José de Espronceda.\textsuperscript{109}

Figure 4: “Los poetas contemporáneos. Una lectura de Zorrilla en el estudio del pintor”

Ayguals is curiously absent\textsuperscript{110}, as is his collaborator, Villergas, speaking perhaps to some difference that separated them from the rest of the group, such as a perception that their work was “paraliterature” or beneath the others’ work. There is also the possibility that Ayguals was simply disliked; he was not generally described as an alienating figure, but

\textsuperscript{109} Photo courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, originally from the Prado Museum Online Gallery (museodelprado.es).
\textsuperscript{110} Mariano José de Larra is also notably absent, but he had been dead for almost a decade.
he did enjoy publishing barbs against his fellow authors, and his social beliefs may have been more extreme than those of his contemporaries; Ricardo Navas Ruiz describes Ayguals and Villergas as men who “defienden una línea social avanzada tanto en la vida como en la literatura” (116).

Although fictionalized, this image captured an important facet of Isabeline intellectual history: conversation and collaboration. In the 19th century, there were democratic, public spaces such as the Puerta del Sol, while the semi-public was “needed space for pacific civic interaction” (Cruz, “Building Liberal Identities” 403). There were semi-public spaces such as cafés and tertulias where writers like Ayguals and Flores could obtain private information from their fellow citizens – everything from political decisions to neighborhood gossip – which in turn informed their publications and created a two-way exchange of content. This exchange of information was not truly public; cafés and tertulias were not generally open to the working classes, but if we consider the public sphere as “the arena for objective developments and communal projects [and] the collective discourse of social groups as they carry out control of politics and market developments” (Cruz, Gentlemen 173), we see a pattern of public discourse and contact that informed the writings of urban journalists.

**Political Affiliation**

According to Leonardo Romero Tobar, “Todos los historiadores coinciden en afirmar que el periodismo diario está penetrado en todas sus dimensiones por la vida y problemas políticos cotidianos” (97), and the political periodicals were by far the most

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111 La Risa, for example, contained a series of poems published as an argument/discussion between Zorrilla and Ayguals.
numerous. By 1857, there were 150 daily publications, all of which had some degree of political agenda or leaning, and many of which would publish news about attacks, elections, uprisings, incidents, arrests, and laws or ordinances. The readership dictated the content, and due to the changing demographics of the city, there were more liberal newspapers than conservative ones; the first Carlist newspaper, *La Esperanza*, did not appear in Madrid until 1844 (Gómez Aparicio 325). However, political newspapers were in a constant state of flux, because the press was “el reflejo…de las propias transformaciones políticas de los partidos oligárquicos a los partidos de masas que necesitan nuevas formas de conexión informativa con la sociedad” (Riego 32). Ayguals published an exclusively political, anti-Espertero newspaper called *La Guindilla* (1842-1843), while Flores engaged in commentary on the political newspapers themselves; he called *La Bolsa de Madrid* a “falso termómetro de los sucesos de la guerra” (*Ayer, hoy y mañana* III, 139). In the March 1845 issue of his newspaper *El Laberinto*, Flores expressed a desire to avoid involving himself in politics personally: “No puede ser nunca objeto de este periódico el análisis de leyes políticas de judiciales que sometidas por el gobierno a la deliberación de las Cortes, a éstas únicamente corresponde el ocuparse de ellas” (142). More than an actual aversion to political discussion, this comment more likely reveals Flores’s desire to avoid offending people, due to his involvement in court circles. However, despite his objection, Flores’s newspapers did include sections on politics, and he himself engaged in satirical political commentary in several of the essays in *Ayer, hoy y mañana*.112

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112 e.g. “Los colegios electorales,” “El diputado monosílabo,” and “El 12, el 20, 37 y el 45”.
All newspapers published in Madrid were subject to censorship, and the censors did not permit “la publicación de escritos contra la Religión, la Monarquía o las Leyes fundamentales; ni de los dirigidos a excitar la rebelión” (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 195). While the Constitution of 1837 insisted that all Spaniards could freely print and publish without censorship (Romero Tobar 77), a new decree was put forth in 1844 that stated the following:

- Any newspaper director had to present himself to the province’s jefe político.
- The director had to live in the pueblo for a year before beginning to publish.
- The director had to pay a tribute, affix his name to each issue, and could not direct two publications at the same time (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 315).

The mid-19th century was a time of constant flux of enforcement and relaxation with regards to censorship laws. According to a decree in 1834, “no necesitaban licencia ni censura previa los periódicos que tratasen de materias literarias y científicas y sí las [sic] que tratasen de política y religión” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 92); authors therefore had to be creative and use metaphors or puns in their writing so that it wasn’t considered religious or political. An 1852 law established additional regulations for novels published in newspapers (Romero Tobar, La novela popular 63), and an 1857 law gave the government the authority to suspend any publications that were deemed seditious or subversive (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 450). Novels were finally recognized as a valid form of political propaganda; they emphasized the moral duality of the world and the goodness

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113 Larra complains about this in his essay “La alabanza” (1835), in which he explains: “Bien determinado como estoy a no escribir jamás para el censor, he tratado siempre de no escribir sino la verdad, porque al fin, he dicho para mí, ¿qué censor había de prohibir la verdad, y qué Gobierno ilustrado, como el nuestro, no la había de querer oír?” (61).
that comes from defeating that which is wrong by linking political characters with their actions. Many novels of the time included “hechos históricos contemporáneos: Guerra de la Independencia, reinado de Fernando VII, guerras carlistas, conflictos y personajes – políticos o militares – de la Regencia y del reinado de Isabel II” (Romero Tobar, La novela popular 44-45), and the behavior of characters associated with the Church or the monarchy affected the public perception of those institutions. Therefore, Ayguals and Flores reinforced their personal anticlericalism by making religious figures in their novels corrupt or immoral. As political tensions rose throughout the 1840s, experienced authors like Ayguals began to carefully edit their own work so that their novels were released “autocensuradas…para demorar la prohibición inevitable” (Benítez 38-39). The Sociedad Literaria also sought to publish works of public interest that the censors would not consider political, such as the satirical works La Risa and La Carcajada.

Politics and ideology were built into the field of popular journalism in a way that makes it difficult to separate even humor and satire from the political context of the time period. Liberal ideology, after all, was built on several tenets such as “la educación, la difusión general del conocimiento y el impulso a una actitud científica de la mente… para alcanzar la libertad individual y procurar el bien de la sociedad” (Pascual Pla 47). The mere fact of making information accessible to the public was considered dangerous, and the early 19th-century absolutist reaction to the proliferation of newspapers was referred to as the “caza del liberal” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 84). Political messages were the profitable enterprise of the day in a city riddled with politicians, so much so that by the

114 We see this in María when the villain, Fray Patricio, is punished for his political machinations and inappropriate behavior.
mid-1830s, some moderate publications like *La España* became more extreme, and moderate publications were smaller-scale like *El León Español* and *El Occidente*. The aforementioned censorship laws did serve to curb political content from time to time, but “even apparently insignificant topics selected for verbal and pictorial realization…can be provocatively representative of the paper’s fundamental presuppositions about the world it strives to disclose and the readers it attempts to captivate” (Sinnema 85). Everything from the narrator’s interpretation of historical events to the presentation of foreign characters serves to achieve an ideological function, and serial publications therefore had many subversive possibilities.

Some newspapers were not overtly political, yet their authors sought to achieve a certain ideological goal. For example, the “female” newspapers (few of which were actually written by women) were dedicated to topics deemed appropriate for women, including domestic work, fashion, and etiquette. Additionally, the novels that were published in serial form in periodicals, which were a popular form of entertainment for women, often presented female characters in very obvious terms, either as the ideal Spanish woman or as a despicable human being. As Elisa Martí-López explains:

> The novel had been traditionally regarded as an educational tool precisely because of its ability to convey difficult truths to the uneducated minds of women and children. The traditional depreciation of the genre as female

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and domestic and the conservative articulation of the public as ignorant and easily influenced offered a justification for the paternalism of censorship and political exclusion (74).

Serialized novels provided behavioral codes for all Spaniards and identified vices such as envy, vanity, ambition, moral disorder, and luxury, and virtues such as tolerance, moderation, respect, work, order, and peace (Martínez Arancón). Authors like Ayguals and Flores were not only helping to create a literate readership, but also providing “a textual space in which the burgeoning middle class’s codes and boundaries were drawn” (Mercer 2) by disseminating their values, hopes for the future, and their concept of what Spaniards should be and how they should act. Above all, moderation is the key virtue extolled through the Spanish novela de folletín, although progress, civic participation, and justice were heavily favored as well. For example, in the first volume of La marquesa de Bellaflor, the narrator states his belief with regards to the death penalty: “La pena de muerte debe abolirse cuanto antes, si no es quiere confundir la justicia con el asesinato” (441). This belief was, naturally, one that Ayguals held as well; his political beliefs typically emerged not only through his political essays, but also through the narrators of his novels.

Categories of Production

The classification of the roles played by Ayguals and Flores is problematic, not only in terms of the author-narrator distinction, but also with regard to the professions involved in creative production during the period. In the 19th century, in the business sector of the print industry, “se va marcando más nítidamente la distinción entre
impresor, editor y librero que, en realidad, no ha llegado a perfilarse definitivamente hasta tiempos muy recientes” (Romero Tobar, La novela popular 92), although an institution like the Sociedad Literaria produced and distributed all of its own content. We can distinguish between the terms periodista, costumbrista, and novelista (also known as folletinista, autor por entregas):

- A costumbrista, wrote short essays, sketches or descriptive commentary about the people, quirks, and interactions in the cities where they lived, often including dialogue and images. This characteristically Spanish genre “mira con nostalgia al pasado, en consonancia con una de las características del costumbrismo tradicional” (Álvarez and Romero 24), and the costumbrista himself “examina una realidad que escapa al historiador (Montesinos 47).

- A periodista, or journalist, was an investigator of news, politics, events both local and national, and anything else deemed news-worthy by a reading public. The ideal journalist is a witness or observer of the important events of the era, and in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, “el periodista es por autonomasia ‘escritor público’...la ‘publicidad’ del periodista era mucho más directa, múltiple, resonante y popular” (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 309).

- Novelists (novelistas) also “se ven a sí mismos como testigos de su tiempo, más fiables que los periódicos, demasiado cegados por el partidismo” (Martínez Arancón 11). Their productions were generally understood as works of fiction, although those fictions were often based on or situated within the context of real events. According to some scholars, “1868 representa también
el nacimiento de la novela moderna en España” (Arroyo 83), so the argument could be made that those writing before that time period are not novelists at all. However, the novelistas de folletín were an unmistakable cultural force of the time.

Ayguals and Flores worked in all three capacities, in addition to directing newspapers, so at times, contradictions spring up: “La contradicción radica en que el autor por entregas pertenece en principio al mundo de la creación literaria y obra o escribe como un periodista, con el inconveniente de que no tiene ninguna información que comunicar” (Burguera Nadal 59). Authors like Ayguals and Flores, however, neutralize the contradictions of the genre by publishing their novels in newspapers, as well as conveying a great deal of information about the city, history, politics, and daily life, and in this way, “el novelista se acerca más al periodismo, un periodismo de denuncia, y escapa al género” (Marco 88). For the purposes of this study, it seems sufficient to say that Ayguals, Flores, and their contemporaries were writers of the city, chroniclers of history, and creators of an urban imaginary.

Ayguals de Izco was one of the pioneers of the Spanish novela de folletín; before his early work, the serialized novel was not an established form of distribution, and “la mayoría la constituían, al parecer, malas o medianas traducciones” (Brown 8). It is only in the 1830s when “nos encontramos con varios autores que coetáneamente designan su obra como ‘novela’ y la acompañan con alguna calificación: ‘original,’ ‘histórica,’ ‘moral’ o ‘divertida’” (Brown 13). Due to the work of Ayguals and other publishers of the time, “se crearon múltiples grupos y núcleos, deseosos de éxito comercial: el folletín,
el libro económico, la novela por entregas, las listas de subscriptores, las memorias e
historias del tema contemporáneo comenzaron a proliferar en las casas editoriales”
(Zavala 101). The serialized novel became one of the most successful forms of publishing
in Spain, and the period between 1833 and 1868 was its most successful period.116
Edward Baker says that the novel of this time period suffers from some structural
incoherence due to its serial format, and he identifies five discursive elements that are
predominant in the genre: contemporary history, urban guides and geography, the cuadro
de costumbres, a background style that parallels that of a sermon or essay, and a
melodramatic narrative thread (90). There were sub-types, naturally, including the
adventure novel, the crime novel, and the melodramatic triangular novel, featuring a
victim, a traitor, and a savior (Ferreras 253). The latter category best describes Ayguals’s
María trilogy and Flores’s Fe, Esperanza y Caridad, both of which feature surprise
twists, unknown relationships, and an idealized young woman around whom the primary
conflict revolves.

Despite the political tensions with France at the time, some of the most successful
works were translations of French novels.117 Both Flores and Ayguals translated Eugène
Sue’s novels, and Ayguals’s María o la hija de un jornalero parallels Sue’s Les mystères
de Paris in its content and political leanings. The style borrowed heavily from French

116 Baker, Edward. Materiales para escribir Madrid: Literatura y espacio urbano de Moratín a
Aymes, Jean-René and Javier Fernández Sebastián. L’image de la France en Espagne.
Brown, Reginald F. La novela española: 1700-1850. Dirección General de Archivos y
Bibliotecas, Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1953.
Martí-López, Elisa. Borrowed Words: Translation, Imitation, and the Making of the Nineteenth-
novels, and many of the themes can be seen in contemporaries such as Hugo and Balzac: the suffering of the poor, the evils of the aristocracy, the civic participation and will of the common people, and the tragedy of bloodshed. In terms of novels that called for civic consciousness, “Ayguals es primero de todos, haciendo hincapié en la necesidad de implicar a las clases más bajas en los derechos y deberes de la ciudadanía” (Martínez Arancón 175). However, authors like Ayguals had to be careful whom they were criticizing, because the popular press was not free from government scrutiny. For example, La Censura, the mouthpiece of the Biblioteca Religiosa, forbid its followers from reading Ayguals’s María novels (Elorza “Periodismo” 89).

*The Power of the Visual*

In terms of media consumption, the addition of images to print periodicals may be compared to the transition from radio to television. In 1836, a groundbreaking newspaper known as the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* was founded by Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, essentially establishing the illustrated press in Spain. The publication contained a wide variety of texts including stories, poems (including several by Antonio Flores), humorous essays, advertisements, news, biographies, letters, and *artículos de costumbres* that dealt with:

…un variado y rico mosaico de temas: arqueología, astronomía, biografía, museos, catedrales, ciudades, historia natural, artes industriales, bellas artes, geografía, moral pública y establecimientos útiles, impresiones de viaje, etc. (Rubio Cremades, *Periodismo y literatura* 97).
The addition of a visual component opened up new communicative possibilities and had a tremendous impact on the public; the “esquema mental del hombre urbano decimonónico está muy influído por la presencia de las nuevas formas de imagen que están apareciendo” (Riego 268). The question of the visual is also an important component when considering reciprocal development; the imagined city that writers like Ayguals and Flores created was not merely described; it had to be seen. The woodcuts serve as excellent documentation of the city, because throughout the years, we can see how the “configuraciones urbanas experimentan rotundos cambios: demolición de plazas, conventos, iglesias, palacios” (Rubio Cremades, Periodismo y literatura 97). They also let readers see the elegant interiors of some of Madrid’s buildings, including the Museo Real de Pinturas de Madrid118 and the interior of the Catedral de San Isidro el Real.119

The illustrations that the editors chose contributed to the textual palimpsest, and by pairing their essays and novels with visual representations of real places, they were imbuing their city with new meanings and associations.

In Antonio Flores’s final entry of “Una semana en Madrid,”120 he describes a paseo on a Sunday to the valle de la Virgen del Puerto and the people that he sees at the ermita, and includes four images: a group of people dancing, a bagpipe player, a criada, and a crowd around the ermita itself. The following images from Figures 5 and 6 all appear on a single page of El Laberinto, adding a visual component to his descriptions of vendors, tailors, servants, musicians, and other madrileños in the square.

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118 S. P. E. 20 de junio de 1852, p. 1.
119 S. P. E. 4 de julio de 1847, p. 2.
120 El Laberinto, 1 de mayo de 1844 (Núm. 13), pp. 171-174.
Figure 5: Images from "Una semana en Madrid"

Figure 6: La ermita de la Virgen del Pueblo: Images from "Una semana en Madrid" and Wikimedia Commons
These urban types and the carnivalesque way in which they all interact bestow a democratic and communal significance upon the ermita. By including a fairly accurate sketch of the people and the architecture, the artist made the sketch recognizable to anyone who had attended the festival in question. This costumbrista representation arose from a real event, but the images are stylized, shaded, and staged to crystallize the experience in a recognizable way that could be disseminated throughout a reading public.

The time period from 1833-1868 is a crucial era to study because of examples like this one, which serve as evidence of the new and expanded power of the visual in mass media. In urban societies, “media consumption is the second largest category of waking time behind work” (Connerton 83), and because of the proliferation of media, it is often the case that “different modes of communication are borrowing codes from each other” (Connerton 83). Madrid was no exception; novels and newspapers published fragments from other newspapers, and new visual technologies such as woodcuts and calotypes often supplemented literary descriptions of characters or places. Images had many functions – symbolic, informative, aesthetic, or political – and the represented person or object became a spectacle and, in some cases, a substitution for the real experience of seeing it. In Flores’s newspaper El Laberinto, he wrote a ten-part series called “Un viaje a las provincias: Vascongadas” (1844-1845) in which he described a trip to the Basque country on his way to France. The descriptions and illustrations of the series took his readers on a virtual voyage that they might never have been able to experience otherwise. The illustrations were commissioned by the newspaper, and carried out by some of the
most famous illustrators of the day, such as Calixto Ortega, who provided these portraits of a chair and a sepulcher within the Cathedral of Burgos.

The image was the new commodity that the audience desired, and the demand created a new job for artists; between 1830 and 1870, “llegan a doscientos los dibujantes y pintores que...ilustraron libros y revistas” (Ferreras 240). Publishing houses tended to have an established group of artists and engravers who collaborated on publications, and “El grupo más importante gira en torno a ‘La Sociedad Literaria,’ aunque ilustraran antes otras publicaciones” (Bozal 38). Among these artists, “encontramos a Sergio Ayguals de Izco – hermano del novelista –, A. Gómez, Masseti, Miranda, Vicente Urrabieta y J.

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121 From “Un viaje a las provincias: Vascongadas.” El Laberinto. 15 de noviembre de 1844 (Núm. 2), p. 27.
Vallejo, ligados a la ‘Sociedad’” (Bozal 39). Ayguals and Flores even shared illustrators at times; Fernando Miranda illustrated La Risa and may have been the anonymous illustrator of La Guindilla, but he also collaborated on Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (Bozal 40) and Doce españoles de brocha gorda (Bozal 34), while Vicente Urrabieta illustrated both Flores’s Ayer, hoy y mañana and Ayguals’s El palacio de los crímenes (Bozal 34, 96).

The images that editors selected were an important element of the reciprocal development process of the time period, because “media are as much manifestations of, as they are determinants of, fashions and styles” (Fontanella, “Fashions and Styles” 188). Therefore, the visual presentation of madrileños was one of the most important aspects of this ever-changing mirror that the popular press provided, especially for the large percentage of the population that could not read.

There were many texts that helped their readers to categorize people; Antonio Flores contributed to the collection Los españoles pintados por sí mismos (1843-1844), which contained images and descriptions of dozens of urban types such as the criada, the barbero, and the trapería. Montesinos finds these types superficial and claims that they “suelen tener poca vida” (64), arguing that the heart of the person was not properly examined until the realist novel. However, some characterizations betray a moral judgement, which is why in Ayguals’s work, “Ministros y militares son los personajes

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122 Bozal goes on to identify the illustrators of specific publications; for example, José Vallejo illustrated the novel María (31), while Urrabieta worked on El palacio de los crímenes (95-96). For more on illustrators, see: Ortega, Marie-Linda, ed. Ojos que ven, ojos que leen: Textos e imágenes en la España isabelina. Madrid: Visor, 2004. La prensa ilustrada en España: Las ilustraciones 1850-1920. Coloquio internacional: Rennes. IRIS: Université Paul Valéry – Montpellier, 1996.
más caricaturizados, incluido el propio Espartero, blanco ideal de la prensa satírica tanto moderada como republicana” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 117). This sort of compartmentalization was common during this time period, when the authors of the movimiento enciclopedista sought to categorize and identify everything that could be labeled. Several of Ayguals de Izco’s works are representative of this movement, including Galería regia o biografía de los reyes de España desde el primero de los Godos hasta Isabel II (1844-1845) and Panteón Universal (1853-1854).

The communal exchange of information was a growing trend in the 19th century, and the folletín was a social production and product of social consumption. It is difficult to determine where exactly a phrase, an idea, a fashion statement, or any other fleeting piece of the urban fabric originates, but the newspaper draws them together in a coherent, tangible format that authenticates them and justifies their existence. An advertisement in El Clamor Público promoted Fe, Esperanza y Caridad by saying that the novel “ofrece todo el interés de la novela moderna y toda la importancia de una obra de grandes tendencias sociales.”

Flores also published the weekly “Revista de la Quincena,” where he informed his readers what to do or see in the city: “Dos piezas originales, una traducción, una pareja de bailarines y un tenor silbado anteriormente, son las novedades teatrales que ha producido esta quincena.” Ayguals focused on ephemera as well, such as the “Modas de París” column in El Dómine Lucas, the “Jaleo” section of El Fandango.

123 El Clamor Público, Núm. 1801, 11 de mayo de 1850, p. 2.
124 “Revista de la Quincena.” El Laberinto, 1 de junio de 1844, p. 209.
that transcribed local songs such as “El viejo chocho,”¹²⁵ and La Risa featured an article by Ayguals called “Modas de Paseo,” describing a walk down the Paseo del Prado:

El uso de un gran cuello de camisa está tan en voga, que los más elegantes se ponen el cuello en el cuerpo y los faldones muy almidonadas salen de la corbata de suela que es también bastante alta…

…Las señoritas solteras más elegantes van por el Prado saltando sucesivamente una por encima de otra gritando: ‘A la una le daba la mula. / A las dos le daba la coz. / A las tres los hijos de S. Andrés; 1, 2, y 3. / A las cuatro brinco y salto.”¹²⁶

Thus, periodicals were an effective and affordable method for Spaniards to learn about their collective history by means of images of festivals, architecture, and other representations of lo español.

The development of visual media in the 19th century parallels that of costumbrismo, a genre in which there is “una cierta separación entre el ojo y la voz, entre un ojo empírico que ve – don Ramón de Mesonero Romanos – y una voz literaria – la del Curioso Parlante – que se interpone” (Baker 68). In the case of newspaper artists, even though their drawings were art, there was an assumption that artists had firsthand experience with the person, place or event that they depicted, and the voice of the costumbrista implies the same immediacy. I view costumbrismo as a hybrid genre that brings together the realist preoccupation with representation and the exaggerated sentimentality and nostalgia of romanticism. The use of visual images in mid-19th-

century publications made such a hybridity possible; readers could see a depiction of their city in a documented form, making it possible for readers to be nostalgic about the time in which they were living. Once fashion, architecture, and other visual components of the city were disseminated throughout the population, the desire for novelty arose, and the process of innovation and production was accelerated.

Mid-19th-century print culture was an essential tool for combining facts, suggestions, opinions, satire, and novelistic representations, and it captured both the permanent changes to the city as well as its ephemeral details. Due to their multiple roles in print culture, their innovations in publications and media, and their presentation of the ephemeral changes and permanent social issues in the city, authors like Ayguals and Flores are not easily categorized. Therefore, due to the dramatic increase in newspapers and serial publications, a multipronged, multimedia approach to the mid-19th century seems to be the most effective course of study.
Chapter 3: Reciprocal Development and the *Periodista*

The concept of reciprocal development in the context of the popular press responds in particular to the dialectic between the theories of Simmel and Lefebvre.\(^{127}\) The texts in question often portray an interiorization of the city within the individual, a process by which the existence of the city dominates the human mind and becomes part of a person’s inner nature, facilitating the “atrophy of individual culture through the hypertrophy of objective culture” (Simmel 338). At the same time, we see an exteriorization of the self within the urban space, a process by which the authors projected outward their own political beliefs, social commentary, and interpretation of what it meant to be a *madrileño*, and these interiorization and exteriorization processes are vital and complementary when examining mid-19\(^{th}\)-century print media. The popular press is a particularly effective medium for examining this development, because one can question what aspects of the city authors choose to represent, whether or not those representations “reflect” the city, and how they contribute to the readers’ concept of their own urban environment. This is the power of a periodical publication: it is both a medium of content as well as a method of exercising influence.

\(^{127}\) “Simmel asks how the outside of the metropolis becomes the inside of mental life. Lefebvre is more interested in the way that mental life is projected outwards” (Donald 13).
Simmel and the Interiorization of the City

Georg Simmel’s famous 1903 essay “The Metropolis and Mental Life” was extremely influential in the field of urban sociology, particularly in the formation of the Chicago School and the work of urban sociologists like Robert Park and Louis Wirth. The essay was originally written as an invited lecture in Dresden, and uses Berlin as an example of a tumultuous metropolis full of novelty and expansion in the early years of the Second German Empire (Jazbinsek). In this seminal essay, Simmel discusses “the resistance of the individual to being leveled, swallowed up in the social-technological mechanism” (324) and “the domination of the metropolis” (326), focusing on how the mind is bombarded by the sheer fact of the body’s existence in the city and must protect itself. Although he was writing about 20th-century Berlin, the 19th-century Spanish texts examined in this project display many of Simmel’s preoccupations with the issues of the urban dweller, such as money, time, work, and the maintenance of individual identity.

Many critics128 of literature produced in Madrid during Isabel II’s reign cite Georg Simmel’s work directly, while others129 use his ideas as a framework with which to engage in textual analysis. Studies of London during this time period often represent

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the city as a “Victorian Babylon,” which extends from Simmel’s notion that the city was a disorienting maze that “symbolised material wonder and tumultuous destruction” (Nead 3). Carlos Ramos, in his book *Ciudades en mente* (2002), uses Simmel as a framework to speak of the interiorization of urban dwellers, using the examples of monologues and internal torture. He speaks of a correlation between urban space and mental activity and claims that the advent of industry and technology makes it so that “la ciudad se vea más como creadora que como creación del hombre” (92); the city is both a force affecting the mental state of its inhabitants and a catalyzer of their actions. James Donald (1999), while agreeing with Simmel about the “uncomfortable freedom of the metropolis” (Donald 11), argues that Simmel’s essay is lacking in actual description and observation of people in places, and is therefore too abstract; I agree that specific examples are required to engage Simmel’s ideas in an actual historical context. Through an examination of the texts of Isabeline Madrid, we can see that the symbolized city was, in fact, a collective creation, which helps to avoid the pitfalls of seeing the city as an unwieldy beast of burden.

The city was certainly changing in ways that altered the urban experience; technologies emerged such as the railroad (1855), gas lighting (1840s), and the expansion of the Puerta del Sol (1859-1862), all of which changed the ways and directions in which people moved. Daniel Frost, in his book *Cultivating Madrid: Public Space and Middle-


Class Culture in the Spanish Capital, 1833-1890, examines representations of public parks and landscapes, and finds that “Larra’s description of Madrid’s new parks reveals a climate that is carefully controlled, or ‘calculated’ (to borrow Foucault’s term), to make visits more pleasant” (91). In the context of female movement, Colette Rabaté examines the use of space, concluding that “la opinión de los moralistas y de los escritores es bastante uniforme: puede aceptarse que las mujeres salgan de su hogar para divertirse con tal de que no lo abandonen durante demasiado tiempo y no se olviden de sus deberes” (208). Deborah Parsons, speaking of the late 1800s, explains how the “electrification of public lighting and trams, along with the development of the metro, the telegraph, the elevator and the cinema, reconfigured the physical form, social culture and subjective experience of the city” (77). Therefore, even though Simmel wrote in the early years of the 20th century, the kinds of technological changes that Simmel rails against were underway in Madrid and engaged by writers such as Flores. The existing research on his work suggests the applicability of Simmel’s approach. Andrew Ginger’s study on Ayer, hoy y mañana focuses on Flores’s concern that personality was being “killed off by information, accountability, economic activity, and the formation of social groups and

132 Other sources on female movement in the city include:
associations” (211), and his fear of “disappearing into representation” (216). Similarly, Rebecca Haidt explains that:

Para Flores…la introducción de los gritos mecánicos y comerciales en el espacio urbano implica que ya no se puede seguir tomando al ser humano como la medida del lugar al que se está describiendo, ya que las nuevas tecnologías obstaculizan la reivindicación más segura de la humanidad (“Flores en Babilonia” 310).

These approaches to the time period extend Simmel’s notion of the domination of the metropolis by means of the “swift and continuous shift of external and internal stimuli” (325), which I by no means wish to negate or diminish. I merely find this approach to be one side of a coin, the other side of which merits further examination.

I find Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson’s *Paris as revolution: writing the nineteenth-century city* (1997) particularly useful when discussing the process of reciprocal development and urban literature:

No city exists apart from the multitude of discourses that it prompts. Topography is textuality. One reads the structured space of the city as one reads the structured language of a book. But more than analogy is at work in this dual textuality. In the modern city the two models of urban texts – the ‘text’ of the physical city and the writings about the city – coincide, overlap, comment upon, and at times contradict each other. This intertextuality becomes increasingly intricate as the city expands, builds, and demolishes, and as writing about the city draws upon ever more
diverse, ever more sophisticated, and ever more established traditions of
texts. As these urban texts become more various, meaning proliferates and
turns the city into a palimpsest, that is, a textual expression of the
labyrinth. Indeed, readings of the palimpsest weave the magic thread that
enables the individual to find a way through the labyrinth (38).

The urban texts of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores are not separate from
the physical city; they are a textual expression of a labyrinth of words, spaces, people,
and ideas, and if we examine these texts as a whole, we see a living palimpsest that is
continually expanding and being rewritten. Topography is textuality, and a narrator has to
navigate the spaces of the city in order to describe them; Flores himself referred to the
different streets off the Puerta del Sol as “las diversas islas de ese archipiélago” and
examines “las distintas razas que las pueblan” (AHM III 48) such as miners, foreigners,
vendors, collectors, and stockbrokers. Therefore, literature has a specific function beyond
the mere imitation or reproduction of a space; its active role as a producer and
proliferator of meaning has a real effect on the spaces that it represents. It is not incorrect
to see the city’s power over the individual; it is merely an incomplete view, particularly
when we consider the possibility of artistic, literary, and cultural production.

Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space

Henri Lefebvre, like Georg Simmel, is considered a foundational figure in urban
sociology due to his writings about the city and space. Lefebvre was preoccupied with the
question of “the urban,” increasingly aware that it revealed contradictions in society, and
he was also “strongly influenced by surrealism, noted for its fleeting encounters in the
city in which the explorer sets out without knowing what lies in store” (Kofman and Lebas 11). His research revealed new possibilities for the understanding of urban life, and a “Lefebvrian perspective demands that we understand that the city is a complex organism, and moreover that it is produced dialectically” (Fraser 83). While Simmel focused on the monetized, mechanized aspects of urban space, Lefebvre recognized the city as an oeuvre, a construction, “a feature which contrasts with the irreversible tendency towards money and commerce, towards exchange and products” (66), and identified not only an industrial wealth, but “the wealth produced in ‘culture,’ art, knowledge, ideology” (74). Lefebvre, like García Canclini, provides a definition that separates the city into a concrete place and imagined space:

We should perhaps here introduce a distinction between the city, a present and immediate reality, a practico-material and architectural fact, and the urban, a social reality made up of relations which are to be conceived or, constructed, or reconstructed by thought (103).

Drawing on Lefebvre’s work, Edward Soja introduced the concept of Thirdspace¹³⁵ to allow for the possibility that a hybrid space is possible: one that is both concrete and imagined, one that is both material and metaphorical. I see popular newspapers as a Thirdspace that engages both the immediate and social reality of the city, using language to construct the urban imaginary.

¹³⁵ This concept will be discussed in more detail in the fifth chapter.

Lefebvre defines the writing of the city as “what is inscribed and prescribed on its walls, in the layout of places and their linkages, in brief, the use of time in the city by its inhabitants” (115). It is a language of connotations and signs, a secondary system that inscribes itself upon the urban space by means of “stories and urban legends that haunt urban space like superfluous or additional inhabitants” (de Certeau 106). Imagined cities – Dickens’s London, Balzac’s Paris, Galdós’s Madrid – exist separately from the physical city, are but discursively linked with the lived city of the reader and that of the writer. Urban writers don’t merely respond to the external stimuli of the city; they are its poets, its cartographers, its biographers. The collection of their urban texts form a secondary, imagined city, a “universal and anonymous subject which is the city itself: it gradually becomes possible to attribute to it…all the functions and predicates that were previously scattered and assigned to many different real subjects” (de Certeau, 94). However, the created urban imaginary is not completely separate from the real, physical city; it often served as pretext for and promotion of the built and owned urban environment.

Newspapers and serial publications enjoyed a massive proliferation in the mid-19th century and formed a unique medium in which writers could react to an event, interpret it, and turn it back around to the public in a very short period of time, thus projecting outward their own interpretations of the city and making them public. The periodistas and folletinistas were actively participating in the creation of an urban imaginary by creating representations of real events, real places, and often real people in a way that affected how their readers viewed the city around them. The folletines themselves were also “instrumental in the creation of a class of readers – a group of
literate persons who could thus imagine themselves as protagonists of the social mobility shown in the novels, and who could therefore use them as guides to behavior” (Mercer 3). This growing readership, particularly in the middle class, was more informed of the ways in which their city was changing and ways in which they could participate in that transformation.

It is important to consider that people contributed to the creation of popular culture, and the city is “a production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects. The city has a history” (Lefebvre 101). The imagined city is a production of the individual people and groups living within it, and figures like Ayguals and Flores had the ability to imprint their texts on the existing palimpsest of the city, which, as Lefebvre explains, is not a closed book. The text that they created was not static; it was constantly edited and updated because of the mere fact of its position as a collective creation (an “oeuvre”) during a turbulent time in a growing city. The text was relentlessly projecting outward – facts, opinions, styles, phrases, jokes, news, the significance of spaces, the wonders and horrors of technology, and images of everyday life. In turn, that projection was a reflection of the urban text of everyday life, such as gossip, tertulias, popular refrains, festivals, and political events. The word “novedad” was used frequently in newspapers to draw the attention of the readership, typically indicating a new publication or a new cultural event such as a play, concert, or art exhibition. Another common tendency was the use of the phrases “Un día,” “Una semana,” or “Un año,” indicating that the events described were typical, ordinary
occurrences for madrileños\textsuperscript{136} - not a “novedad,” but rather an experience that most residents would recognize. By reflecting these events back at the very city that created them, the popular press crystallized moments in time, allowing madrileños to see themselves in an ever-changing mirror that, at times, would show them something they hadn’t seen yet.

\textit{The Power of the Press}

Ayguals and Flores put forth publications that served as their spaces of enunciation: texts in which they were able to project their concerns and opinions, therefore participating in the creation of a new Madrid. Sylvie Baulo describes Ayguals and authors like him as “pioneros en la producción de una novela nacional y continuadores de la brillante tradición del Siglo de Oro” (“La novela por entregas” 10), and describes his “soluciones concretas para combatir la holganza y reglamentar de algún modo la mendicidad” (“Ayguals de Izco” 52). The 19th-century novelas de folletín could hardly be categorized as art for art’s sake; they were replete with social commentary, political opinions, and direct criticisms of certain laws or members of government. Even the translations that Ayguals chose entailed a certain socio-political approach, such as the 1852 “traducción de Ayguals de \textit{Uncle Tom’s Cabin}, la novela antiesclavista de Enriqueta Beecher Stowe…Ayguals recoge los ecos de esas polémicas en las notas de su traducción, convirtiendo así la novela en un panfleto humanitaria” (Benítez 60). Of the two writers, Ayguals was certainly more outspoken than Flores, and he did not hesitate to

use the press as a soapbox. In his early political newspaper, La Guindilla\textsuperscript{137}, he affirmed that “El hombre es libre no sólo para pensar sino para exponer a los demás sus ideas” (121), and in an essay in La linterna mágica\textsuperscript{138}, he asserted the role of the press in creating discontent: “Toda la prensa periódica, política y literaria, sin distinción de matices, incluso el vetusto y respetableísimo Diario oficial de avisos de Madrid, tomó parte activa en la general ebullición” (57).\textsuperscript{139} Due to its capacity to react to events and ideas so quickly, the Isabeline periodical press served to unify many madrileños with a sense of citizenship, a shared space, and a definition of what it meant to live in Madrid.

When examining the press as an agent of reciprocal development, I find the question of reflection – the process by which the city is represented in the text – extremely valuable. Scholars of the popular press often point to the immediacy of the medium, citing its ability to react to current events such as the Carlist wars and the marriage of Isabel II, thus making them intelligible to readers.\textsuperscript{140} Margarita Ucelay explains how “La literatura de ‘escenas’ y la de ‘tipos’ habituaron al público a considerar la vida diaria como materia artística, entrenando los ojos y el gusto en la observación de lo inmediato” (Ucelay 163-164). In the context of Paris, Ferguson insists that the “insistent rewriting of the city was at once the result of the experience of modernity and an agent of that modernity” (13), and David Henkin describes how, in antebellum New York, “newspapers thrived on the widespread perception of the city as a mystery in need

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{137} La Guindilla, Tomo III, Núm. 60, 9 de febrero de 1843. \\
\textsuperscript{138} “Pollos, gallos y capones,” La linterna mágica, 1 de agosto de 1849, p. 57. \\
\textsuperscript{139} This statement was made in reaction to an article published in the previous edition that referred to madrileños as chickens. \\
\textsuperscript{140} Margarita Ucelay, Elisa Martí-López, Laurel Brake
\end{footnotesize}
of deciphering, a land of tricksters and liars” (134). The process of deciphering, rewriting, and categorizing the urban environment is not a passive act; it required a constant presence in the city, an analytical viewpoint, and the capacity to select which aspects of the city would be most interesting or necessary for an urban reader. When all of these urban texts are examined together, a more coherent picture emerges of “el estado social; el fin del absolutismo, del privilegio y la tortura; la libertad de expresión y pensamiento; la democracia, la tolerancia” (Navas Ruiz 119). This representation of society thus takes on a life of its own; the imagined city lives independently of the real city, affecting how it is perceived and experienced.

The press in the mid-19th century became more than a tool of information; it was a technology in itself that facilitated public education and awareness of the issues of the day. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, before the technological advances mentioned in chapter two,141 “news of the fall of the Bastille…took thirteen days to reach Madrid” (Connerton 80), and “newspapers were still too expensive to allow for mass readership [and] could be obtained only by subscription” (Connerton 79). The expansion of readership142 provided not only a source of income for the entrepreneurs of the print industry, but also new participants in the communal process of reciprocal development.

Newspaper directors like Ayguals and Flores provided their readers with information,


142 Again, it bears noting that by 1860, only 40% of Madrid’s population was literate (Botrel 316).
humor, inspiration, visual representations of the city, history, reflections on local traditions, and a presentation of an imagined Madrid; the readers provided the newspapers with gossip, information about local events, complaints, a public sphere that afforded countless material, political uprisings to represent, and the daily experience of a lived city from which the imagined city could emerge.

The press aspired to be the “cuarto poder” (Cruz Seoane and Saiz 65) of the city, alongside the government, the Church, and the monarchy, and there were indeed times when newspapers served a crucial function in the political sphere. In 1854, with the courts closed, “la prensa asumió la dirección de la oposición política” (Burdiel 283), and through the use of clandestine papers such as El Murciélago, “el periódico se hacía además eco, o propiciaba, la creciente focalización del descontento (implícitamente) en la misma reina, por consentir las actividades de su madre y de su padrastro, y por sostener al ministerio” (Burdiel 288). Burdiel describes how one of the most significant demonstrations in favor of the freedom of the press took place when over 200 journalists and politicians met in the office of the Marquis of Duero and drafted a detailed memorandum to the Queen of their complaints and offenses. The journalists were often at the front lines of opposition to authority, and the directors of El Español, El Tribuno, and La Época were even sanctioned and deported to the Canary Islands (Burdiel 289). Burdiel mentions Ayguals specifically as a figure of “éxito editorial” (411) who spoke out against the power of the monarchy:

Ayguals de Izco se esforzó en deshacer la relación insoluble entre el pueblo y la monarquía, y en defender una noción de nación y de pueblo
español que superase los estereotipos de ignorancia, barbarie y atraso que, a su juicio, procedían de la literatura extranjera. La nación y el pueblo de Ayguals, encarnados en la virtud de María, la hija del jornalero, buscaban su propia independencia y moralidad, su modernidad, a través precisamente de actos como el juicio a María Cristina de Borbón que, en su vida privada y pública, encarnaba todos los vicios del absolutismo (Burdiel 412).

As one of the primary figures who “contribuyó no poco a hacer trizas, públicamente, la ya muy dañanda reputación de la madre de Isabel II” (Burdiel 412), Ayguals spoke out against the abuses of power in the Spanish capital, and his public listened.

The Soul of Madrid

An important component of reciprocal development is the collective creation of a city’s identity, a process that emerges over the course of many years as a dialogue between the creators and consumers of culture. Ayguals and Flores selected which people, places, and events in Madrid they wanted to reflect, thus disseminating knowledge of those parts of the city throughout their readership. Antonio Flores’s publication El Laberinto had a Fortnightly Review (“Revista de la Quincena”) which summarized the theater productions, festivals, bullfights, and other local events of the last two weeks. Originally, this column was written by Enrique Gil, a costumbrista in his own right, but when Flores took it over in 1844, it became his own personal space for rants, political commentary, complaints, and promotion. He not only chose which cultural events to review, but also when to review them: “Nuestro periódico…tiene la ventaja de
ser el último en hablar de los espectáculos, y sus redactores están convencidos de que las óperas no deben juzgarse la primera noche, y aun si es posible ni la segunda.”

Promotion of local events was a common feature of popular newspapers of the time; it advertised cultural production that was authentically Spanish, aided in the wealth creation of those who owned the establishments, and directed madrileños in the development of their social calendars. Ayguals had a similar column in El Dómine Lucas called “Toros y teatros,” where he chronicled not only the fights and plays, but also provided inside information and gossip such as bullfighter injuries and the debuts of new actors. The popularity and public importance of these events were part of the phenomenon of reciprocal development; they were popular events because figures like Ayguals and Flores publicized them, yet these events were chosen because of their popularity.

Ayguals and Flores both included a lot of self-promotion in their publications as well, including advertisements of their own published work, references to other newspapers, and reviews of their own plays or novels. Ayguals also promoted techniques like lithography when mentioning the Sociedad Literaria, advertised the sale of portraits of himself and Juan Martínez Villergas, and even included reminders for

143 El Laberinto, 16 de marzo de 1845, p. 159.
144 An ad stated: “Resulta la Sociedad Literaria a dar mayor extensión a sus trabajos, y no siendo suficiente el local que ocupa su vasto establecimiento para dar cabida a las nuevas prensas, y máquinas de impresión, encuadernación y litografía que va a poner en movimiento desea encontrar una casa bastante capaz con cuatro bajos, patio, pozo y demás circunstancias en cualquier punto de Madrid, prefiriendo los más céntricos” (El Clamor Público, Núm. 152, 24 de octubre de 1844, p. 4).
145 “Los retratos de nuestros colaboradores los señores Ayguals de Izco y Villergas, dibujados hoy y litografiados por los mejores artistas de esta corte, hacen honor a sus autores, tanto por la semejanza que es perfecta, como por su buen dibujo y limpieza del estampado” (El Dómine Lucas, septiembre de 1844, p. 8).
readers to renew their subscriptions or pay their delinquent accounts. The print industry provided both Ayguals and Flores with a comfortable living, and much of their success was due to their ability to select, reflect, and disseminate pieces of Madrid that they saw as representative of the city’s identity.

Each city has a certain character, feel, and distinctiveness that its residents perceive on a daily basis; however, that essence can be difficult to capture in a textual format. It can also vary greatly depending on the neighborhood, the socio-economic status of the resident, and even something as temporary as the weather. The literary presentation of the city in the novelas de folletín is inextricably tied to the presentation of the people themselves. In Ayguals’s La marquesa de Bellaflor, the narrator refers to Madrid and madrileños as “este pueblo, siempre sensato y liberal; este pueblo heroico que marcha al frente del progreso de las luces; este pueblo, calumniado y tratado siempre con indecoroso y criminal desdén por los poderosos” (I 20), but on the next page, the physical city is described as “ese recinto de afeminado lujo y de voluptuosas, pueriles y efímeras diversiones” (I 21). Ayguals generally describes madrileños as “amables y bondadosos” (María 217) with a “grata locuacidad y adorable franqueza” (María 218), while attributing the negative aspects of the city to vice, greed, corruption, and immorality:

En el capítulo tercero de la segunda parte dimos una sucinta idea del carácter franco y amable de los madrileños, de sus méritos y virtudes.

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146 “Con esta entrega concluye el primer trimestre de La Carcajada. Los Sres. suscritores que gusten, se servirán renovar la suscripción para no experimentar retardo en el recibo de las entregas sucesivas” (La Carcajada, Tomo I. Núm. 6, 16 de enero de 1844, p. 48).
Ahora vamos a ensayar nuestras débiles fuerzas en la descripción de la buena sociedad de Madrid, para que se vea el contraste que forma la cultura y moralidad de su inmensa mayoría, con esos extremos de asqueroso libertinage, que hemos retratado en la taberna del tío Gazpacho y en el palacio de la marquesa de Turbias-aguas. El objeto moral de esta tercera parte de nuestra historia, es describir los encantos de la virtud junto a las trágicas consecuencias del vicio, para que este singular contraste sirva de saludable lección” (María 343).

Since the gente común form the basis for Ayguals’s and Flores’s novelas de folletín, the presentation of madrileños in the María novels is generally positive, and the “pobres que vagan por las calles” (María 219) are seen as virtuous victims of a cruel environment, such as “esas infelices, a quienes el hambre obliga a prostituirse” (María 24). Flores was also very aware of the question of poverty, and he enthusiastically discussed “este tipo de gentes, elogiándolas o incluso en ocasiones censurándolas, pero siempre mostrando su simpatía e interés por dichas clase” (Rubio Cremades, “El costumbrismo de Antonio Flores”). Poverty was one of the most pressing issues in the 19th century, and the literary representation of poverty “ya no es el pícaro del Siglo de Oro, sino el reflejo de las masas populares” (Baulo, “Ayguals de Izco” 45). In the first book of the trilogy, María is the poor girl who marries into a better life, and in the second book, La marquesa de Bellaflor, she counsels her poor friend Paquita, informing her that her station in life is not her fault:
No, Paquita, usted no es culpable, atendidas las circunstancias que rodeaban su peligrosa posición. Niña sin experiencia, y abandonada a sus propios impulsos sin saber distinguir lo malo de lo bueno, sin conocimiento del mundo ni de la hipocresía de algunos hombres, nada tiene de extraño que se dejase usted conducir por el acento fascinador de un amante engañoso (I 84-85).

In the novelas de folletín, the poor are always victims of something – disease, violence, unjust laws, and imprisonment – but the narrators constantly affirm their honor in the face of adversity, as Flores does in Fe, esperanza y caridad, when he speaks of a “pobre y ruinosa estructura situada al extremo de la calle de Leganitos. Las gentes que la habitan son pobres pero honradas” (I, 9), thus forcing the reader to see the goodness of the people within the private space of their homes.

Poverty was one of the primary issues treated by the folletinistas, because while work was a valued virtue, man was a social being, and he had to “contribuir a la riqueza de todos mientras procura su propia subsistencia, y esa es una de las ideas que más claramente expresan los autores de novelas populares” (Martínez Arancón 78). However, poverty was not the only aspect of the city that Ayguals and Flores chose to illuminate and represent. As Ana Martínez Arancón\(^1\) shows, there were several topics that were prevalent in popular novels at the time. Another frequent sub-topic was morality, because “Los escritores populares también asocian educación con moralidad, y hasta les parece imposible la una sin la otra” (Martínez Arancón 50). At times, the novels of Ayguals and

\(^1\) La ciudadanía imaginada: Modelos de conducta cívica en la novela popular de la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. Madrid: Ediciones de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2006.
Flores read less like fiction and more like moral sermons or political speeches, extolling the values of liberal ideas and social awareness – values which were absorbed from their everyday interactions with fellow citizens in _tertulias_ and cafés.

The cultural presentation of Madrid was often positive as well; the third sub-topic that Martínez Arancón points to is pride in the city, because writers like Ayguals believed that “la política es una responsabilidad de todos, que percibe que la ciudadanía no empieza y acaba con depositar el voto en un urna cada cierto tiempo, sino que es algo que debe ejercerse día a día” (174). The pride in the city was also cultural, which is unsurprising given the fact that _periodistas_ were direct contributors to local culture. Ayguals praises the “varios establecimientos artísticos y literarios, debidos únicamente a la noble ambición de gloria que alimenta esa brillante juventud llena de halagüeñas ilusiones” (María 343), while Flores claims that Madrid “se declaró tutora y curadora de todas las gentes, recaudadora universal de todas las propiedades, y maestra general e infalible y casi inapelable de todos los conocimientos humanos” (AHM IV 220). Ayguals also compared Madrid with London and Paris, as many writers of the time did, and he stated in _María_ that:

…podemos decir con orgullo…que si bien es verdad que en Madrid se cometen escesos de todo jaez, no son tan frecuentes ni repugnantes como los espantosos cuadros de esos tipos odiosos y sanguinarios que hormiguean en las capitales de Francia e Inglaterra (212).

The pride in the city was one of the most common themes expressed in the _novelas de folletín_; it was often a complicated sentiment, and it could be manipulated or channeled
for authors’ own purposes. The cover of the first issue of Aygual’s *El Fandango*\(^{148}\), for example, advertises it as a “Periódico nacional… puramente español, satírico, burlesco en grado superlativo contra todo vicho estraniero.” The issue then continues with a local song called “El viejo chocho,”\(^{149}\) a poem\(^{150}\) that makes fun of the French, and a cartoon\(^{151}\) depicting British men engaging in “lances de honor” with the heads of chickens:

![Cartoon from El Fandango](image)

Figure 8: Cartoon from *El Fandango*

The emphasis on the local and authentically Spanish was a fixture in the Madrid press of the 19\(^{th}\) century; in her discussion of imagined communities, Dorothy Noyes classifies “the habit of thinking of local community as primary and natural” (472). Specific mentions of local places, events, and traditions reinforced the notion of the

\(^{148}\) 15 de diciembre de 1844.

\(^{149}\) Alfonso García Tejero, pp. 6-7.

\(^{150}\) p. 9: “¿Por qué gruñe el cerdo, Andrés? / No es el cerdo: es un francés.”

\(^{151}\) p. 12
pueblo in popular literature, and the exploration of spaces was especially important.

Flores wrote a series called “Una semana en Madrid,” published in El Laberinto in 1843, in which he traced his walking route on a Wednesday, including the Puerta de San Vicente, the Retiro, the Puerta de Toledo, the Puerta de Atocha, and the Prado. Several years later, he published a series called “Un año en Madrid” in El Museo de las familias, in which he mentioned the place in Malasaña where two captains of the uprising against the French, Daioz and Velarde, were killed, yet “nadie se acuerda de visitarlo, y sigue ocupado por una fábrica de fundición…Ni una miserable lápida, revela que aquella tierra está regada con la sangre de los primeros mártires de la libertad.”

There had been a statue commissioned of the two captains in 1822, but it was kept in parks and museums until it was finally moved to the Plaza del Dos de Mayo in 1869, four years after Flores’s death. This tendency toward monuments, historical awareness, and sacred spaces was essential in terms of reform and civic improvement during the 19th century; in María, Ayguals describes the Monumento a los Caidos por España in the Paseo del Prado:

En el centro de un hermoso jardín circular, de elegante verja cercado, levántase una gigantesca pirámide cuya cúspide se pierde entre las nubes…parece unir la celestial morada de las almas con la de los restos de aquellos héroes (188).

Festivals and holidays were another feature of newspaper essays, not only in terms of the celebration, but also their historical context. Flores’s essay “Todo Madrid en San

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152 El Museo de las familias, 25 de mayo de 1849, p. 118.
153 MadridHistórico.com, “Monumento a Daioz y Velarde.”
154 At the time the novel was written, the monument was called Obelisco or Monumento a los Héroes del Dos de Mayo.
Isidro”\textsuperscript{155} cites the death of San Isidro in 1130 and the reason behind the pilgrimage. Ayguals was less somber in his presentation of spaces; for him, Madrid was “una mansión divina, / una fuente de placeres, / un diluvio de delicias”\textsuperscript{156}. In particular, he relished in the cafés, the taverns, and the theater:

\begin{quote}
El teatro del Príncipe, aunque reducido, acaba de ser reformado en sus localidades y adornos con inteligencia y primor. El nuevo telón es de una sencillez de exquisito gusto, las lunetas cubiertas de terciopelo azul zafiro, son cómodas y holgadas.\textsuperscript{157}
\end{quote}

The fourth chapter will contain a more detailed discussion of space and the ways in which Ayguals and Flores, by representing the lived city, imprinted their own meanings and emotions into the imagined city. At times, their imagined, textual city had effects on the lived, constructed city, demonstrating the power of the press in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.

\textit{Political Voices}

Information had a very specific, person-to-person, method of travel in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century: in cafés, on church steps, in homes, and on the street, tidbits and gossip circulated. As Ayguals explained it, “todas las clases de la sociedad viven bajo el despótico yugo del qué dirán” (Los pobres 44). However, the information itself was not always specific, and it is difficult to pinpoint exactly where it originated. Flores, speaking of the early 1800s, wrote an essay called “Fabricación de rumores” in which he criticizes:

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{155} \textit{El Laberinto}, 15 de mayo de 1844, p. 191.
\textsuperscript{156} \textit{La linterna mágica}, 1 de julio de 1850, p. 145.
\textsuperscript{157} \textit{El Dómine Lucas}, Mayo de 1845, p. 8.
\end{flushleft}
…mentiras…que sembradas en la boca de un peluquero, o en las gradas de San Felipe el Real, y trasplantadas, cuando mucho, al árido y reducido terreno de la Gaceta, del Diario y del Mercurio…habían de producir ogaño una pingüe cosecha de mentideros, de mentidores y de mentiras (AHM IV 135-136).

In the 1840s, when Ayguals wrote La marquesa de Bellaflor, the situation was essentially the same. In the book, two gentlemen named Don Bonifacio and the Condesito de Charco have a duel, and Bonifacio explains the process of the dissemination of information; by midday, the madrileños would speak of Charco’s wig flying off in the Puerta del Sol, by nightfall, it would be the topic of discussion in the cafés and taverns, and by the following day, it would appear in the newspapers (I, 115). The pieces of gossip that emerged from the streets of Madrid became newspaper content, once again disseminating awareness of the city to its own residents. Noël Valis describes this process:  

The society section of newspapers also reported the various departures and arrivals of high society, particularly in the summer and early fall…and other bits of information and gossip. In other words, it tracked high society’s movement, and in the process created a special verbal and cultural space in which to record those movements…The print medium thus converted the movements and personages of high society into objects of reading consumption (113).

However, both Ayguals and Flores recognized that the press had power far beyond that of mere gossip; in *La marquesa de Bellaflor*, the narrator discusses the luxury and privilege of the capitalist class, and assures the reader that “la prensa periódica…ha clamado con energía contra el abuso en cuestión” (II 382). All of Ayguals’s novels contain numerous allusions to political injustice or abuse, and the Queen Regent María Cristina was a favorite target. In *Palacio de los crímenes*, Ayguals cites a letter he has received which proclaims:

> De los cuatro vientos de la Península se levanta una acusación tremenda contra doña María Cristina de Borbón; es juzgada por la conciencia pública como el alma de todas las iniquidades cometidas por varios ministerios…La historia acusa a María Cristina de tan inaudita bajeza (*Palacio* I 8, 10).

Ayguals saw himself as a voice that crystallized the complaints and injustices of the pueblo into a legible format, and then distributed it right back to them; even those who could not read were subject to his political views, because the “ilustraciones que aparecen en *Guindilla* se ocupan…de la corrupción gubernamental” (Bozal 52).

Flores also had lofty aspirations for the press; in his essay “El cuarto poder del Estado,” he lays out the relationship between the press and the government, identifying journalism as “la cuarta pata de la mesa redonda, conocido con el nombre de

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159 Examples: “El clamor de España entera demandaba moralidad y buen gobierno, y a consecuencia de este deseo nacional se proyectó la revolución, no porque en Francia ni otros países se hubiese verificado” (*Palacio* I 289).

*La falsía, el disimulo, la adulación y hasta el crimen son elementos de alta política, y se llama gran diplomático al que con más descaro sabe fingir y con más traiciones llega a medrar” (*Marquesa* I 300).

160 It is possible that Ayguals wrote this letter himself.
Gobernación del Estado” (AHM V 119). His estimations of the press’s power may have been self-aggrandizing, given their source, but the press was certainly the primary source of political information for the general public. Some of it was general, such as the condemnation of the death penalty, a regular hot-button topic for both Ayguals and Flores:

La pena de muerte, prerogativa inhumana que las sociedades heredaron de las generaciones primitivas, que no supieron curar sino extinguir, no tiene por objeto tampoco dar de baja un criminal cada vez que alza su terrible cuchilla, ni vengar a la sociedad ultrajada, como diariamente se dice en los tribunales, sino ahorrar cien crimenes, y lograr el arrepentimiento de otros tantos criminales (Flores, Fe, Esperanza y Caridad II 355).

Other political information in the press was very specific, such as reactions to royal decrees and assassinations, as well as calls to protest or revolution. Ayguals dedicated the entirety of his newspaper La Guindilla to politics, speaking out against oppression, corruption, and, specifically, Baldomero Espartero, who was prime minister from 1840 to 1841. In La Guindilla, Ayguals often spoke directly to the masses, insisting that the true power of the country resided in them. He called them to certain actions, such as the formation of “una asociación solidaria que tiene por objeto defender la libertad de la imprenta…la asociación defensora de la imprenta.”

Ayguals encouraged

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161 La Guindilla, Tomo II, Núm. 32, 6 de noviembre de 1842, p. 85.
correspondence, and gave his readers the address where the newspaper was published, often publishing letters in a section of the paper called “Cartilla del pueblo.” In this way, Ayguals fed on the rebellious nature of his readers while simultaneously providing them with more examples of injustice and greed. He was one of the more polemical figures in the publishing industry at the time, a characteristic that inundates his anti-Espartero newspaper La Guindilla, in which he supported papers like El Centinela de Aragón, while claiming that El Huracán was the “órgano de los ayacuchos,” referring to supporters of Espartero. He even satirized his own polemical nature in a poem:

Contra Guindilla

escriben muchos
como avechuchos

de la facción.

Sus necedades

me traen cuenta,

porque así aumenta

la suscripción”

Ayguals knew his readers, and they expected political commentary from him, both in his newspapers (political or otherwise) and his novels. His narrative would often deviate from the main plot line, dedicating entire chapters to a recent assassination or political

162 “La reproducción de este periódico se ha establecido en la calle del Baño núm. 8 cuarto 2…Debe darse esta misma dirección a toda reclamación y correspondencia” La Guindilla, Tomo I, Núm. 8, 11 de agosto de 1842, p. 27.
163 La Guindilla, Tomo III, Núm. 75, 2 de abril de 1843, p. 364.
164 La Guindilla, Tomo II, Núm. 34, 10 de noviembre de 1843, p. 118.
injustice. The *María* novels in particular, which were his most successful literary endeavor, served as his soapbox upon which he could disseminate his liberal, populist view of the world, and in particular, criticize the political goings-on of Madrid. However, the communication was not a one-way street; an essential component of reciprocal development was the ongoing dialogue between a newspaper writer/director and his readers.

**Correspondence and Readership**

Many scholars have examined the *folletinistas* and their intentions with regard to the reader; it is acknowledged that writers like Ayguals sought to inform, entertain, and morally reform their audience, while at the same time appealing to their tastes and preferences. (Ayguals acknowledged this tendency himself in *El Fandango* when he said: “Deseando, pues, satisfacer la pública ansiedad, daremos a luz otros doce números de *El Fandango*, con la misma profusión de caricaturas todas nuevas, picantes epigramas, artículos amostazados contra todo lo que no sea español.”) There is also a good deal of criticism regarding the unique relationship that the *folletinista* had with the reading public; writers like Ayguals would often address the reader directly, informally, and colloquially. The primary method for quantitatively measuring this relationship is subscription numbers, because “la extensión de la obra depende de su venta o del número de suscriptores, y no de la obra misma” (Burguera Nadal 59). For example, Ayguals

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165 Bernardo Riego, Enrique Rubio Cremades
166 Rubén Benítez, Leonardo Romero Tobar, Enrique Rubio Cremades
167 Colette Rabaté, Leonardo Romero Tobar
168 Juan Ignacio Ferreras, Leonardo Romero Tobar, Elisa Martí-López
169 *El Fandango*, 15 de octubre de 1845 (Núm. 11), pp. 162.
170 Edward Baker, Rubén Benítez, Enrique Rubio Cremades
claimed in *El Dómine Lucas* that “más de mil números de este periódico nos reclaman nuestros subscriptores.”¹⁷¹ Most of what we know of the reading public comes from the information supplied by the newspapers themselves and the published letters to the editor.

The problem with letters to the editor is that only a selected few were published, and several of the letters are satirical or promotional, and therefore were likely written by Ayguals himself.¹⁷² His newspaper *El Fandango* featured a letter to the editor from one “John Bull,” an Englishman living in Spain.¹⁷³ However, the letter merely served as an opportunity to make fun of a stereotypical Englishman’s laughably bad Spanish, and naturally, an actual letter to the editor would have been unlikely in a newspaper’s first issue. Ayguals did the same thing the previous year in *La Guindilla*,¹⁷⁴ writing a fictitious letter from a “Lord Wellington,” composed in terrible Spanish with random English phrases interjected such as “Very well” and “Kiss my ass.” This use of humorous invented letters shows how ingrained newspaper structures and practices were among the reading public, a learned knowledge that facilitated this sort of satire.

Early in his career, Ayguals published actual letters that he received, such as the aforementioned “Cartilla del pueblo” segment in *La Guindilla*, which he suspended after

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¹⁷¹ *El Dómine Lucas*, Núm. 3, 1 de junio de 1844, p. 5.
¹⁷² This phenomenon is not unique to the Spanish press; Patricia J. Anderson says of the English newspapers of the same time period that “Of the readers and viewers who participated in and helped to shape this expanded pictorial experience only fragments of evidence remain” (137) and “None of their letters survive in the original… individuals [are] identified only by their place of residence, first names, sets of initials, or pseudonyms…The question of the authenticity of the correspondence is also of some concern” (139).
¹⁷⁴ *La Guindilla*, Tomo III, Núm. 61, 12 de febrero 1843.
three months due to excessive submissions and a desire to reformat the paper. These letters from actual readers tended to fall into two categories: readers who agreed with him or readers who wanted to correct him on something minor, such as Sr. de Cabrerizo, a subscriber to La Guindilla who corrected a numerical error that Ayguals had made. However, in his later work, the published letters were either satirical or fabricated for the sake of self-promotion; for example, the December 1849 issue of La linterna mágica was peppered with letters pleading Ayguals to keep publishing the paper, so as not to extinguish “una luz tan pura y benéfica que es el mejor antídoto para todos los males físicos, morales y sociales” (90), and the following issue contained a “review” of a dramatic representation of María o la hija de un jornalero, explaining that the negative aspects were the fault of the playwright who adapted it, and not Ayguals. The Sociedad Literaria certainly received actual letters, and one would imagine that those letters affected the content and style of the publication. However, as Ayguals’s publications became more sophisticated, the included, fabricated letters fulfilled rhetorical and conventional functions responsive to reader expectations around humorous and invented letters in periodicals.

I therefore disagree with the notion that Ayguals was not influenced by the public, as María Luisa Burguera Nadal seems to claim when she says that Ayguals was looking

175 “La abundancia de materiales y el deseo de dar cabida en este número a ocurrencias del momento, obligan a Guindilla a suspender por hoy la Cartilla del pueblo” (La Guindilla, Tomo I, Núm. 23, 2 de octubre, 1842, p. 372).
176 La Guindilla, Tomo I, Núm. 13, 28 de agosto, 1842.
177 “Remitido.” La linterna mágica. 1 de enero de 1850, pp. 101-102.
178 In La Guindilla, he laments “que la falta de espacio no nos permita dar cabida en nuestro periódico a las infinitas comunicaciones que hemos recibido” (Tomo IV, Núm. 2, 23 de abril de 1843, p. 4).
for “un contacto y no una comunicación con el lector…No hay pues innovación cultural porque no se buscan nuevos caminos sino que se ofrecen los que ya existen” (60).

Ferreras, on the other hand, acknowledges the paradoxical possibility that “la novela por entregas sólo tiene un autor que se llama lector” (22). The specific, local events were circulated throughout a public of interconnected residents, and when those events were published, “la historia local desemboca llanamente en la historia general” (Pascual Pla 13). Ayguals frequently included actual historical events in his novelas de folletín – or historia-novelas – that either deviated from the principal plot or served to complement the action of the story, as we see in La marquesa de Bellaflor when the narrator condemns a recent execution:

> En el próximo capítulo concluiremos la desgraciada historia de los acontecimientos de Madrid del 20 de agosto de 1845; acontecimientos escandalosos que terminaron por la muerte de un artesano benemérito, muerta espantosa, ejercida a nombre de las leyes por la execrable tiranía militar…el 21 de agosto de 1845 el infortunado Manuel Gil, laborioso y pacífico artesano de veintidós años de edad, liberal benemérito, de estado casado, y padre de una niña de dos meses, fue fusilado a las diez de la mañana” (II 209, 214-215).

Some of the political and historical statements made in the novelas de folletín and newspapers were meant to commemorate atrocities or injustices carried out by tyrants, and others were written to establish a moral stance, such as the aforementioned opposition to the death penalty. In addition to making their audience laugh, cry, and
think, figures like Ayguals and Flores were inspiring their readers to specific action. They wanted readers to subscribe to a new newspaper, to buy a new edición de lujo of one of their books, to go see a play or attend the bullfights. However, they were not creating these cultural activities out of thin air; they were simply drawing attention to what madrileños were already doing. Ayguals and Flores had observed that “el Café Negro, donde solían reunirse los liberales más exaltados, estaba llenísimo de concurrentes a las siete de la noche” (Marquesa I 119) or that “el paseo del mes de setiembre no se prolonga hasta las once de la noche como en los meses anteriores; a las ocho ya está el Prado desierto.” These remarks were taken from the observation of real-life madrileños, who were thus participating in the creation of content. The process of communication did not have to take the form of a letter or a subscription; the mere act of occupying an urban space was a method of constructing the concept of a city, and in this way, all madrileños participated in this reciprocal development process.

Communication and Construction

Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores were in a unique position in Madrid, a position that allowed them to take content from the city and send it right back out into the city on a very consistent basis. Through the use of language, they were constructing an urban imaginary, an understanding of the city, and a sense of citizenship based on central tenets like morality, local pride, and an awareness of social and political

180 Many newspapers, like El Dómine Lucas and La linterna mágica, were published monthly, but El Laberinto was published every two weeks, and La Guíndilla was published every three or four days.
injustice. These issues were taken directly out of experience in the lived city, as well as correspondence with their readers. Ayguals and Flores were well aware of “the pedagogic role of the mass press” (Donald 63), and took advantage of the newspapers to select what information about Madrid was to be disseminated to their readership. In this way, these folletinistas played a very active role in the construction of the city. Flores’s narrator in Fe, Esperanza y Caridad claimed that the “costumbres de los pueblos son como el curso de un río, que sigue la dirección que le marca la pendiente por donde corre; querer cambiarlo de repente es desbordarlo para que inunde la pradera” (III 342). I don’t wish to claim that Ayguals and Flores were completely changing the course of history; in certain ways, they were going with the flow, and their writing was, at times, “una materialización de la conciencia colectiva” (Ferreras 18). However, Flores himself insists in Ayer, hoy y mañana that the periodista had a role far beyond that of producing a textual echo, because “si el periodismo fuera la fotografía pura y neta de la opinión pública, no habría público que aguantara los periódicos” (V, 256). The imagined, textual city cannot be merely a duplication of the lived, physical city; it becomes a separate entity that can shape public opinion and influence the city that it represents. The creation of that imagined city is the product of two simultaneous and equally important processes: interiorization and exteriorization, which are both necessary for reciprocal development. We see the interiorization within the individual elements within the newspapers and novels that arise from the city: a festival, a monument, an act of injustice, a letter, or a piece of gossip. However, the act of interpreting, using, projecting, and disseminating these individual pieces of the urban experience to create an imagined, textual city was a
unique and essential undertaking, and was not merely a reflection or still photograph of Madrid. Because of the uniqueness and novelty of these textual possibilities, Ayguals and Flores had the ability to communicate with their readership in a completely new way, and that communication brought about real, visible changes in Madrid, perhaps altering the course of the river more than they realized.
Chapter 4: The Mind, the Map, and the Machine

Spaces and Places

One of the primary methods for studying 19th-century literature is spatial analysis, and for good reason.¹⁸¹ Along with money and time, space was an important source of social power; “Control over spatial organization and authority over the use of space become crucial means for the reproduction of social power relations” (Harvey 187). With various forces at work such as the disentailment of church lands, the expansion of Madrid, and changing gender roles in public space, the question of who can go where – and why – is an important one. There was horizontal division of space; the absence of public transportation made it so that “Madrid…continuaba siendo lo que los ingleses llamaban un ‘walking city,’ una ciudad andada” (Carballo, Pallol and Vicente 336), and where a person walked was a marker of his or her status. There was vertical division of

space as well, particularly in the case of residential buildings, which were built to be
taller. The 19th-century novel became a “matrix for the cultivation of the boundaries of
middle class behavior in the public sphere” (Mercer 19), which one can plainly see in the
works of Galdós and other realist authors. There were masculine spaces that were
associated with money such as the stock market and the casino, and feminine spaces that
were associated with raising children and socializing such as the home and the
promenades. Characters in late 19th-century novels tend to encounter difficulties when
they attempt to cross a boundary, enter into a space that is not appropriate for their gender
or social class, or change the rules of spatial interaction. This is not only a characteristic
of realism, however; in the earlier novelas de folletín, there was a:

…creación de un sentimiento cívico y de una idea de patria a la que todos
pertenecen y a la que todos deben servir, no sólo en situaciones heroicas,
sino en el comportamiento cotidiano, mediante conductas que favorezcan
la tranquilidad, la prosperidad y el progreso, todos deben contribuir en la
medida de sus fuerzas (Martínez Arancón 11).

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182 See: Cruz, Jesús. “Building Liberal Identities in 19th Century Madrid: The Role of Middle
183 For more on masculine and feminine space, see:
Mercer, Leigh K. “Defining spaces: The public sphere and the rise of the bourgeoisie in the
Parsons, Deborah. A Cultural History of Madrid: Modernism and the Urban Spectacle. New
Parsons, Deborah. Streetwalking the Metropolis: Women, the City, and Modernity. New York:
Wilson, Elizabeth. The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women.
These suggested modes of conduct were set up for the purposes of educating the public, and many of them spoke directly to boundaries that should not be crossed: specifically, those of class, gender, and national separation.

While there were still boundaries in place, there was also a democratization of space that occurred when some of the disentailed church lands were converted into public parks or gardens. These new spaces – as well as the previously existing public spaces like the Plaza Mayor and the Paseo del Prado – provided new possibilities for civil interaction, consumer culture, displays of wealth, and public spectacle, leading to a “growing significance of face-to-face contact in social relations” (Frost 82). Ayguals celebrates this in María when he describes how “En la pradera de san Isidro no había distinciones ni privilegios, todo el bello ideal de la república hacíase ostensible…no había distinción de sexos ni edades” (236). Flores describes the same phenomenon in Fe, Esperanza y Caridad when he says that “El gran mercado de la Plaza Mayor había atraído una excesiva concurrencia de gente, y desde el mayordomo del aristócrata hasta la mujer del último artesano, todos los vecinos de Madrid estaban representados en aquella feria” (I, 7). Both authors use actual referential spaces in their narration, taking an extraliterary reality and converting it into symbolic space, which is then:

...convocado...por el conjunto de expectativas y experiencias del lector, que remite a lo esencial humano y a los mitos cosmogónicos, escatológicos...pero sobre todo morales, que permiten interpretar esas experiencias o vincularse a ellas (Arroyo 57).
Within that represented space, narrators give descriptions of individual types that were common at the time, such as the wet nurse, the beggar, the cleric, or the prostitute. This style of urban cataloguing was extremely common in the first half of the 19th century; the “literatura de ‘escenas’ y la de ‘tipos’ habituaron al público a considerar la vida diaria como materia artística, entrenando los ojos y el gusto en la observación de lo inmediato” (Ucelay 163-164). This costumbrista tendency to identify, classify, and characterize urban tipos is an active method by which the novelist creates his own textual urban space by drawing on that which he sees in the public sphere every day.

Juan Ignacio Ferreras\(^{184}\) claims that space disappears from the novelas de folletín, and that space is immobile, only serving to frame an action, or to translate or suggest a character’s personality or state of mind. He explains that in the presence of this “desaparición del espacio, el novelista multiplica las referencias al tiempo; pero naturalmente también estas referencias son eso, simples referencias para orientar al autor, de ningún modo determinan la acción de la obra” (250). While there certainly are abundant references to time in the folletines, I don’t agree that the use of space is quite so simplistic, because “the prioritized interaction and reciprocal influence between spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces powerfully undermines the tendency of thought to divide and partition experience into tidy categories” (Fraser 10). Rather, I agree with Leigh Mercer that novelistic space in these cases becomes a performative realm, and that “narration space functions as anything but mere scenery or backdrop; it is the site of the production of the cultural imaginary of a new, complex

social system” (8). I maintain that the discourse around space in the novels of Ayguals and Flores is a complex and reciprocal dialogue between a represented city and its residents. The represented Madrid is not a static map or a black and white photo; it is an evolving palimpsest upon which the narrators project emotions, morality, and significance onto the spaces they’re describing, so that the reader not only understands what a space looks like or who lives there, but what it means to inhabit that space within the imagined city.

Ayguals de Izco presents many individual spaces in his novels, giving each one an emotional, moral, or historical significance. In *María o la hija de un jornalero*, taverns are associated with immorality, salones are meeting-places for the Carlist society *El ángel esterminador*, and cafés are where one learns a superficial eloquence by interacting with people who presume to be intellectuals. Buildings themselves can indicate what sorts of people live inside, as we see in Flores’s *Fe, esperanza y caridad* when the narrator describes a house on the Calle de Leganitos:

> El miserable aspecto del ruinoso edificio en el que ocurrieron las primeras escenas de esta historia, no indicaba que su interior fuese albergue de criminales, como sucede en casi todas las casas de igual estructura en los barrios de Lavapiés y las Vistillas” (I, 100).

The narrator gives an account both of the exterior of the building – that which is visible to the public – and the true nature of the building’s interior, which the public would not expect. Spaces in Ayguals’s novels are constantly being contrasted with each other in
terms of their elegance or moral character, and the narrator takes pains to take the reader from one place to another:

Huyamos, pues, de esta atmósfera pestilente de lujo, abundancia y vanidad, de tiranía y corrupción, para visitar la pobre morada del jornalero Anselmo, donde reinan la indigencia, el hambre y la virtud (María 131). Mientras esto acontecía en medio de la alegre ebullición del palacio de la marquesa de Verde-Rama, la Bruja, en su modesto albergue, era víctima de un acerbo insomnio (Pobres y ricos 487).

Ayguals also routinely contrasts the movement and excitement of the city with the inner torment of the characters, such as when María is walking through the markets on the calle del Carmen and “la alegría y movimiento de aquel sitio, formaban singular contraste con la amargura que devoraba a la hija del jornalero” (María 37). In La marquesa de Bellaflor, an older woman named Clotilde is described as sad and withdrawn, and therefore “no frecuentaba tertulias ni teatros. Solía de vez en cuando dar algunos paseos en su berlina por las afueras de Madrid, por el Retiro o el Jardín Botánico” (I 98). A character’s space is not merely a frame for his or her mental state; rather, the character has autonomy and actively chooses a route of urban navigation and a level of participation in the public sphere.

Flores was also constantly contrasting spaces and giving them significance; he was “uno de los literatos de la época isabelina que mejor supo captar el ambiente de Madrid en los años inmediatamente posteriores a la desamortización de Mendizábal fue Antonio Flores” (Baker 86), achieving “una fusión de elementos en que el espacio
urbano desamortizado quedaba transformado en propiedad capitalista y en que el lenguaje de la circulación de mercancías quedaba inscrito en él” (Baker 87). Flores brings his readers into private spaces, a somewhat ironic tendency given his preoccupation with the loss of privacy, which will be discussed shortly. In the June article of “Un año en Madrid,” he describes the house across the street from his: “La casa que hay enfrente de la mía es una casa como otra cualquiera, pero la joven que vive en el piso segundo, no es una vecina como cualquiera otra, y por eso quiero que la conozcan mis lectores” (141). In Flores’s novels, the narrators guide the reader through complicated plots and spaces, such as in Fe, Esperanza y Caridad when he directs the readers to follow a chamberlain’s footsteps, because “El lector no tiene más que hacer sino seguir sus pasos, para ver a unos de los personajes principales de esta historia” (II, 43). The novel has a lot of small spaces in which people are trapped, such as basements and towers, and Flores often starts off chapters with vivid descriptions of the spaces in which the action is to take place, including details like architecture and furniture. He also takes care to contrast spaces and bring readers from one space to another, just as Ayguals does. In the first volume of Fe, Esperanza y Caridad, there is a chapter called “Dos barrios extremos” that perfectly exemplifies this tendency to contrast spaces. Flores’s narrator contrasts two regions of Madrid; the first is composed of the southern neighborhoods like Lavapiés and El Rastro, where people are poor, but have no sense of pride or shame. According to the narrator, the “gentes de los barrios bajos del Sur, decididas a ostentar su miseria, cifran en ella su orgullo” (I 101), and do so by walking around half-clothed, wandering and begging in an

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185 Museo de las familias, 25 de junio de 1849.
undignified manner. Meanwhile, the northern neighborhood where the young female protagonist lives is identified by the Calle de Leganitos\textsuperscript{186}, a much more dignified and humble street near the Plaza de España, with buildings composed of “restos arqueológicos de la aristocracia del siglo pasado” (I 103). The people are just as poor, but they work hard and don’t advertise their misery:

…el aseo y la compostura de las gentes que allí viven, y otra porción de circunstancias que allí se advierten, hacen de aquel cuartel del Norte de Madrid, una mansión tranquila y silenciosa donde parece que el vicio y la inmoralidad no han osado nunca estampar su inmunda huella (I 100).

It is necessary to go inside the houses to see their true poverty and misery, which is precisely what the novel does. Flores spends pages advertising “las diferencias morales que separan a la gente pobre de la parte alta y extrema de la capital, con la de igual clase de los barrios bajos” (I 102). These neighborhoods are not merely extensions of the characters’ personalities, nor are they the direct cause. They are living spaces, almost characters in themselves, painted by an “escritor preocupado por su entorno urbanístico” (Rubio Cremades, “La configuración urbana” 308) who was increasingly concerned about the city’s relationship with the self.

\textit{Man About Town}

Simmel’s theory that understands the city as a transformative force on the human experience is abundantly illustrated by the work of Antonio Flores. One of his primary concerns is the changing nature of privacy and public interaction; in the time period he

\textsuperscript{186} Humorously enough, Ayguals de Izco’s \textit{Sociedad Literaria} had its offices on that very street.
identifies as “ayer” (1800), Flores claims that everything was private, and with the arrival of “hoy” (1850), all aspects of life had become public: “¡Hasta lo que se llama vida privada es vida pública! Hasta el ostracismo y la emigración tienen cristales para que el público pueda verlos. No hay medio de estar a solas” (“Un cacho de vida privada y un mendrugo del pan de la emigración” IV 185). Privacy was very important to Flores, and silence was an extension of that courtesy. In some cases, it is understandable that “la calle es del público” (FEC II 181); in the December article of “Un año en Madrid,” he insists that, while a Christmas Eve celebration in the Plaza de Santa Cruz is acceptable, silence should be observed “con las demás festividades que dan fin del año porque como para todas ellas se reúnen y aíslan las familias, no queremos violar el sagrado de ningunas de ellas” (290). However, in Ayer, hoy y mañana, Flores explains that, while houses are luxurious and sumptuously decorated, people don’t actually spend any time in them:

…se encuentra en todas las casas un gran salón, con dos gabinetes colaterales, que ocupan los dos tercios y algo más de la superficie del edificio, que monopolizan toda la luz y todo el aire, y que tienen a su disposición todos los balcones de la fachada principal. Estas habitaciones, que son las que dan tono y las que determinan la categoría del cuarto y el valor del inquilino que le ocupa, no faltan en ninguna de las casas de la corte…en ellas no se alojan ni el jefe de la familia, ni la mujer, ni los hijos, pero se guardan los muebles de más lujo y las alhajas de más precio

187 El museo de las Familias, 25 de diciembre de 1849. 145
que hay en el cuarto… Esas grandes casas sólo sirven para no estar en ellas (IV 276, 280, emphasis my own).

Instead of spending time with their families at home, madrileños spent time at casinos, tertulias, schools, streets, cafés, and trains, all of which had, according to Flores, “disuelto los grupos heterogéneos de las antiguas pequeñas familias, para formar las grandes y homogéneas familias nacionales” (*AHM* III 163-164). Modern rooms were small, which created a sense of community within a building\(^{188}\), but houses felt like cages with little green space\(^{189}\), so instead of developing individual personality or close family relationships, residents were forced to spend most of their time in the transitive, confusing, and bustling public space of Madrid, intermingling and losing their individuality.\(^{190}\)

Aygualls’s presentation of the influence of space is much more associated with individual characters; the city of Madrid “compendia las virtudes y defectos de la metrópoli moderna” (Romero Tobar, *La novela popular* 141), and the spaces in which the characters move are important forces in their daily lives. Aygualls would sometimes point to specific instances of spatial control, such as the *real orden* of August 3, 1834 “para que se plantease el Asilo de mendicidad de San Bernardino” (*Maria* 218) – “el objeto de este

\(^{188}\) “las habitaciones modernas son pequeñas, como hay muchas en cada casa” (*AHM* III 222) y esto resulta en “un perfecto comunismo entre los inquilinos de una finca” (*AHM* III 222).

\(^{189}\) “Los jardines particulares en el centro de la población son muy raros, y aun puede decirse que no existen desde que la moderna arquitectura, inventada por la ambición de los propietarios, construye jaulas en vez de casas, y tiene a los habitantes de Madrid encerrados en altísimas anaquelerías como están las piezas de tela en un almacén de lienzos” (*FEC* II 219).

The references could be general, such as contrasting the “bullicio de Madrid” (Marquesa II 391) with the solitude of the countryside, a mention of a character meditating in a garden191, or calling the calle de la Palma Alta “el cenagal de la inmoralidad” (María 116) because of the abundance of taverns and drunks.

The most elaborate example, however, is Ayguals’s personification of the palace in Pobres y ricos, a complex literary technique by which the palace comes to represent many things. From within, the duke is an unhappy man, and he claims: “Estoy convencido…de que la horrible soledad de este palacio es la causa principal de mis pesadillas” (93). When Eduardo, the duke of Azucena’s son, wishes to marry, and the duke does not approve, Eduardo asserts: “El palacio del duque de la Azucena ya no existe para mí” (636), indicating that he has rejected his father and that the palace is a metonymic representation of the duke himself. From outside, the palace represents all that is evil and corrupt in society; the bruja is constantly decrying its terrible nature, and Eduardo’s love interest Enriqueta insists that “los palacios no dan guarida a la virtud” (337). Near the end, when there is reparation of certain characters’ relationships, it is the space that changes the mood of the characters, not vice-versa: “El palacio del duque de la Azucena destellaba por todas partes animación y alegría, hasta que, allá a las altas horas de la noche, invadió el sueño a sus felices habitantes” (681). The palace is a living being that symbolizes whatever Ayguals wishes it to; Rubén Benítez believes that “Ayguals conoció personalmente el palacio de María Cristina, que convierte en un símbolo de la

191 “Paseábase don Eduardo por el invernadero del jardín del palacio del duque, sumergido en graves meditaciones” (Pobres y ricos 341).
corrupción social” (144). The power of spaces is undeniable in his novels; Leonardo Romero Tobar explains that “los pequeños escenarios domésticos sirven para abocetar el carácter de su morador” (La novela popular 143), rather than simply framing or translating a character’s state of mind, as Ferreras suggests.

*Projecting the Self*

The examples cited so far in this discussion – primarily from novels – have shown how both Ayguals and Flores acknowledge the possibility that space is formative and transformative of the human experience; the self was indeed threatened, in Simmel’s words, by the “fluctuations and discontinuities of the external milieu” (326). However, they also show how individual authors, through the use of literary characters, can imprint their own experience onto space, giving it significance and context. Often, this projection is positive, such as in Ayguals’s *La marquesa de Bellaflor* when the narrator describes General Espartero’s entrance into Madrid and the accompanying celebration, with its “magníficos arcos triunfales, vistosas iluminaciones, funciones dramáticas, espectáculos líricos, opíparos banquetes, corridas de toros y cuanto pudiese dar expansión a la general alegría” (I 256, emphasis my own). In the same novel, the marquesa reunites with her husband, and their happiness directly affects their space: “La reconciliación de los dos esposos había hecho renacer la alegría en aquella casa” (II 180). Likewise, the duke in *Pobres y ricos* acknowledges his own nobility and wealth, and how those characteristics surround him: “¡Cuántos en Madrid envidiarán mi suerte! Mi nobleza es antiquísima, mi riqueza inmensa…Poseo un magnífico palacio y varias quintas con deliciosos jardines…Véome rodeado de fausto y grandeza” (628).
Flores’s characters also project their identities onto their spaces, whether it is the “pésimo gusto” (FEC II 311) of the Marquesa de Santa Rita, or the humble white clothing that hangs on the balconies of a home in Lavapiés, confirming that “las gentes allí viven, pertenecen a la clase menesterosa” (FEC III 194). Enrique Rubio Cremades discusses Flores’s predilection for using the plaza as the nucleus of his work, observing the streets that radiate from it, and converting it into the fundamental stage of the world he creates (Rubio Cremades, Costumbrismo I 58). Flores also imbues significance onto the spaces with speech, dialogue, accents, and the “vulgarismos propios de las zonas infimas de Madrid” (Rubio Cremades, Costumbrismo I 143).

Flores’s treatment of space goes beyond the projection of meanings and identities. He recognizes that individuals can actively change their urban environment. He discusses many instances of this in Ayer, hoy y mañana, such as the pronunciamiento, a “tribuna al aire libre” (III 130) that an individual makes as a call to political action. Flores explains how citizens actively contribute to political discourse through their discussions in cafés, stores, plazas, and even musical groups who “poblaban el aire de himnos patrióticos, que a la vez que cultivaban el entusiasmo cívico, halagaban y entretenían la ternura del ciudadano” (III 125). This tendency to publicly project one’s enthusiasm in the public sphere was not limited to politics; it extended to culture and fashion as well; Flores detailed the process of going “shopping” at the display windows, where the madrileños

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192 Flores’s article “Los gritos de Madrid o la publicidad en 1850” (Ayer, hoy y mañana III) discusses the proliferation of millions of texts in an urban environment that previously only distributed a hundred.
“no [van] a comprar, sino que [vienen] a ver” (V 11), going on to describe luxury items like diamonds, corsets, and even food.

Through the actions of their characters, Ayguals and Flores symbolically altered the city space, which “has never been, and can never be, culturally unmarked or neutral” (Donald 114). Critics like Donald\(^{193}\) and García Canclini have recognized “el importante papel que juegan las ficciones, los imaginarios colectivos, en la formación de las identidades” (García Canclini 96). By portraying their characters performing site-specific actions, they are turning urban spaces into loci of memory\(^{194}\), frequently using spatial metaphors, which “construct reality and don’t simply reflect it” (Reynolds 43). That is to say, the act of reading novels like those of Ayguals and Flores gave significance to actual spaces in the urban environment, even if the reader had never set foot in the space itself. This is an important component of reciprocal development: no madrileño can possibly know every street, every building, or every cultural event. The act of mapping the imagined city could have direct effects on a reader’s experience within the lived city.

The Power of the Pen

As periodistas, Ayguals and Flores recognized that they had a power to criticize, alter, and recommend improvements to the spaces around them. For example, In El

\(^{193}\) “The text is actively constitutive of the city…plays a role in producing the city for a reading public” (Donald 127).

\(^{194}\) Paul Connerton (2007) defines “locus” in the following way: “A locus is definable as a place easily grasped by the memory, such as a house, arch, corner, column, or intercolumnar space. The loci or places in question can be actually perceived or they can be simply imagined” (5). The place memory is specific to topography, and does not need to be acknowledged; it can be merely lived in passively. However, the destruction or remodeling of space endangers the embedded memory within it, which is a danger that he presents in the context of homogenization and erasure that accompanies modernity.
Museo de las familias\textsuperscript{195}, Flores recounts an instance when “El Retiro abría sus puertas a las seis de la mañana, hasta que un periódico le rogó que madrugase algo más, y hoy lo hace a las cinco” (166). Both authors frequently evaluated specific buildings or public spaces in Madrid in the hopes of changing their city in actual, tangible ways.

Ayguals often deviated from his narration in María to criticize specific buildings that had little or nothing to do with the plot of the novel. One building that he found particularly offensive was the post office in the Puerta del Sol:

La Casa de Correos fue desde su construcción, severa y justamente censurada por los inteligentes…[por] el poco gusto que en las galerías se nota…la inmensa elevación de las paredes que circuyen el patio…la ninguna elegancia de los arcos…[y] la ridícula situación de la escalera principal (101).

Criticisms like these were a fundamental part of newspaper commentary, because irony is “important to the production of city space on a more theoretical level, as it illustrates what is lacking from city planning as it arose in the nineteenth century” (Fraser 80).

Ayguals found fault with the principal theaters in Madrid: the Príncipe, the Cruz, and the Circo, asserting that “ninguno de estos edificios es digno de la capital de España” (Maria 202). The same year that María was written (1845), the Príncipe was renovated and redecorated with a new curtain and sapphire velvet windowshades, leading Ayguals to proclaim in El Dòmine Lucas\textsuperscript{196} that “Todo en fin es bello y lujoso. No vacilamos en asegurar que es el más elegante de todos los teatros de la corte” (8). Ayguals did

\textsuperscript{195} “Un año en Madrid: julio,” 25 de julio de 1849.
\textsuperscript{196} Mayo de 1845
celebrate the city’s successes when they merited celebration, such as the bounty of delicious restaurants on the calle de Alcalá. However, he never shied away from criticism; in *El Fandango*, he criticized the new water fountains in Madrid which had a “chorro muy gordo y bajo, por manera que es imposible beber en ellas; pero pueden servir en cambio para quitar el polvo de las botas” (216). Often, he offered specific solutions for the problems he encountered:

Se ha establecido en esta corte otra nueva línea de ómnibus desde la puerta de Toledo a la de Bilbao. El proyecto de estos utilísimos carruajes, ha sido muy bien acogido; pero aconsejemos a los empresarios que les hagan comunicar mayor celeridad.

Flores had similar tendencies when it came to evaluating urban spaces; when a place earned his respect, he celebrated it, such as the Museo de Pinturas, which, in his estimation, “proporciona deliciosa frescura en sus extensos salones…por un laudable amor al arte.” However, he also found numerous aspects of the city to criticize or denounce, including:

La especulación urbana, altura de los edificios, habitáculos, categorías sociales que configuran los edificios, materiales inapropiados, orientación pésima de los edificios, falta de luz e higiene, escala originalidad en las construcciones, etc. (Rubio Cremades, “La configuración urbana” 312).

197 “De Alcalá la calle célebre, / desde el principio hasta el fin / ofrece al voraz gastrónomo / mil delicias y otras mil” (*La linterna mágica*, 1 de octubre de 1849, p. 74).
198 *El Fandango*, Núm. 14, 15 de enero de 1846.
199 *La Guindilla*, Tomo IV, Núm. 1, 20 de abril de 1843, p. 3.
One of the most specific instances comes from *El Laberinto*, in which Flores wrote a weekly article called “Revista de la Quincena.” It was here that he made a simple request for a sidewalk on the calle de Preciados:

Todos los que vivimos en la capital de España sabemos…que desde la Puerta del Sol hacia el real palacio, tiene asentados sus reales una gran parte del pueblo madrileño; nadie ignora tampoco que los ministerios y las principales oficinas de la nación están situadas en esa parte de Madrid, y es excusado decir que una de las calles que más directamente comunican esos barrios con el centro es la de Preciados; para la cual pedimos, con urgente y apremiante necesidad, una acera. 201

It was through simple and noticeable suggestions that *periodistas* were able to turn the will of the people into reasonable requests, which led to real, visible changes in Madrid during this time period.

This textual imprinting onto the living text of the city was not exclusive to *periodistas*, and it certainly wasn’t exclusive to Madrid. David Henkin’s book *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (1998) examines urban texts in New York City during the early- and mid-1800s, such as money, posters, banners, and naturally, newspapers. He explains that:

…remarkable numbers of ordinary people consumed and composed written messages in the public space of the metropolis. City reading thus marked, shaped, and reinforced the transition from the bourgeois urban

201 “Revista de la Quincena.” *El Laberinto*, 1 de abril de 1845, p. 174. I have not been able to verify whether or not this plea had an immediate effect on the construction of a sidewalk.
public of the early national period, centered around New York’s Tontine Coffee House, to a broader-based, more boisterous, and more populous public centered in the streets (13).

Daily newspapers were an especially important form of communication; they created a public area of print exchange in which people could represent themselves and their ideas.

The circulation of texts was a constant process in 19th-century Madrid, such as “carteles, que se paseaban por las calles o se fijaban en las puertas y paredes de las imprentas y librerías” (Ferreras 58) to attract attention. In addition to contributing to the circulation of texts, Ayguals observed it as a social phenomenon; madrileños of the time had a shared experience of seeing “una cuartilla de papel, pegada a la pared con pan mascado, en la que con letras de mano se anuncia que por dos cuartos se proporcionan decentes dormitorios con buena cama para pasar la noche.” Ayguals also criticized the methods by which people read urban texts: “Malvados y muy malvados son los que se quedan con papeles públicos o los extraen de correos para tener el placer de leerlos gratis…La correspondencia pública es sagrada.” He did recognize their power, however, and recounted an experience in La Guindilla in which an urban text had political ramifications:

Graves acontecimientos en Madrid: Anteayer a las tres de la tarde se turbó la tranquilidad pública a resultas de haberse fijado los carteles de un poema de Sr. Villergas, titulado: El baile de las brujas. Agrupáronse algunas personas en la Red de San Luis y querían arrancar los carteles

202 La Linterna Mágica, 1 de febrero de 1850, p. 107.
203 El Dómine Lucas, mayo de 1844, p. 6.
porque en ellos se habla mal de los ayacuchos. No faltaron algunos de esos a quienes el gobierno llama pillos que se opusieran a un ataque tan directo a la libertad de imprenta, y la cosa hubiera tenido serias consecuencias a no haber intervenido un piquete de la casa de correos.²⁰⁴

Politicians both employed and feared urban texts, because they could be used both “to undermine and to enlarge government authority” (Henkin 175), and the new era of textual proliferation within a “ciudad documentable” required “métodos no limitados al ámbito mediáticos de periódicos y revistas” (Haidt, “Flores en Babilonia” 305). Flores complained about the proliferation of texts; his articles “Retratos en tarjeta” or “Los gritos de Madrid y la publicidad de 1850” spoke out against the overtexaturalization of the urban experience and the loss of individuality that results from it. However, he himself acknowledged that he engaged in the practice of reading the city on a regular basis:

Las calles de la capital eran mi biblioteca; leía en las gentes que salían en tropel de los salones, y cada puerta que se abría para recoger al dueño de una casa, era una hoja más del libro en que yo estudiaba los goces de la humanidad.²⁰⁵

While Flores did not appreciate excessive urban textualization, he read the city as a text and translated it into new forms of expression, thus participating in a constant reciprocal development process of interpretation and projection. Both he and Ayguals read and rewrote the urban experience constantly, and that textual representation of Madrid helped to define and alter the actual experience of living in it.

²⁰⁴ La Guindilla, Tomo II, Núm. 42, 8 de diciembre de 1842, p. 251.
The question of personality and individuality often goes hand-in-hand with the appearance of modernity, because “modernity is associated with the dizzying proliferation of objects, papers, numbers, words, and even people…As the many melt into one undifferentiated mass or into identical units, individuality is threatened” (Sieburth 32-33). Fragmentation, particularly that of the self, is “the ultimate threat of modernity” (Sieburth 71), and fragmentation comes about when the public sphere dominates the private mind.\textsuperscript{206} Émile Durkheim’s idea of “collective consciousness” was in some ways, an extension of Simmel’s ideas, because Durkheim “believed that each city created a state of mind. Each culture…established norms that regulated behavior; these norms were internalized as part of the individual’s personality” (Lehan 7). This is how urban “types” are formed; within the urban space, one’s individual personality is replaced by a collective one, and the type then “organically binds together the general and the particular both in characters and situations” (Lukács 6), preventing “the adequate presentation of the complete human personality” (Lukács 7), a personality that would take into account individual experience, opinions, and behaviors.

Ayguals and Flores do use the technique of “types” to classify their characters,\textsuperscript{207} and rather than simplifying or pigeon-holing the characters, this method is useful for developing their psychology, as well as how their personalities, emotions, and lived

\textsuperscript{206} Fragmentation of the urban self, if it is to be understood as a real phenomenon, is one of the “adaptations made by the personality in its adjustment to the forces that lie outside of it” (Simmel 325).

\textsuperscript{207} Flores himself contributed five entries to the urban catalogue \textit{Los españoles pintados por sí mismos} (1843-1844).
experiences are affected or manipulated by Madrid’s changing spaces and technology. This is a particularly significant theme in María o la hija de un jornalero, in which María’s sadness and bitterness is often directly contrasted with the happiness, movement, and noise of the street fairs of the Calle de Carmen or the crowds of the Puerta del Sol. Life in Madrid has a direct psychological effect on María, particularly the “espantoso desarrollo del cólera-morbo-asiático [que] sumergió todos los ánimos en un mal-estar que es imposible describir” (51). Leonardo Romero Tobar maintains that the characterization in the novelas de folletín is practically nonexistent, and is merely supplemented by “abundantes referencias a las sensaciones experimentadas por los personajes” (La novela popular 137), while Montesinos criticizes pre-realist novels for their lack of “hombres y mujeres interesantes, ricos de vida interior” (94). María is a particularly melodramatic character, and her suffering is a central facet of the novel. Her family also suffers because of hunger, her mother’s blindness, her brother’s death from cholera, and the indifference of the government toward the working poor; therefore, the places that María goes are extensions of that suffering, just as “Galdós usa la calle para exponer la confusión de sus personajes” (Ramos 58). However, I would argue that the psychology is not limited to shallow emotions, but rather that, in these novels, distinct psychological

208 In the context of Eugène Sue, Elisa Martí-López explains the “influence readers had in the actual writing of Les mystères de Paris, and Sue’s willingness to incorporate in his ongoing text the readers’ suggestions, reactions, and petitions regarding the plot and characters” (79). She does not confirm that the same practices were being enacted in Madrid, but there was certainly an awareness of readers’ tastes in terms of characterization and plot development.

209 The María novels fit well within Wadda Ríos-Font’s definition of melodrama; she understands melodramatic plays as “featuring a conflict between good and evil personified in clearly drawn heroines and villains” (10) in which “the characters live moments of crisis; melodrama constantly asks the audience to empathize with their extreme wretchedness” (31), often centering on a young woman (34).
effects are imprinted upon the spaces that the characters inhabit. When María’s father is imprisoned, the narrator describes the prison as “un baldón perenne de incuria, de falta de civilización, de falta de humanidad” (María 171), showing how the inhabitants and the space itself are neglected. Furthermore, when Ayguals moves the reader from one space to another, he takes care to bring along the vices associated with that space:

Dejemos, pues, por un momento el lujoso palacio de la marquesa de Turbias-aguas, donde medra el vicio y se fomenta impunemente la desmoralización, para trasladarnos con nuestros lectores a la infeliz morada de Anselmo el Arrojado, donde la indigente virtud es atrozmente atropellada (167).

It is for this reason that Russell Sebold takes a spatial approach to characters’ psychology when examining Ayguals’s novels, explaining that “las alteraciones en el movimiento argumental iniciadas por uno o dos personajes también pueden tener valor de signos y advertirle a la vez al lector cambios ambientales y psicológicos” (En el principio 131). Space and mindset are inextricably linked, and one cannot be examined without the other.

Flores also associates spaces with emotion in Ayer, hoy y mañana; for example, he portrays the individual buggies as “el símbolo del egoísmo y el verdadero retrato del gobierno absoluto” (V 39) as opposed to the more democratic omnibus, which “tiene plaza para dieciséis personas dentro del coche...es el único carruaje digno del moderno espíritu de asociación” (V 40). He also dedicated much of his fiction to illuminating the plight of the impoverished masses, and in his work, the “psicología, temerosa e ingenua,
artera y servicial, de los desamparados, es conocida por Flores y transcrita de modo perfecto” (Benítez Claros 97).

The suffering of the poor was a constant theme in Ayguals’s and Flores’s novels, and their approach to it was not exclusively political. Their analysis of poverty took the form of psychological examination, language practices, and, above all, moral education; “Los escritores populares también asocian educación con moralidad, y hasta les parece imposible la una sin la otra” (Martínez Arancón 50) but “la instrucción ha de ser sencilla, práctica y adecuada al puesto que va a ocuparse” (Martínez Arancón 53), so the novel was the perfect soapbox. In the novels, they could detail the mindset of the poor madrileños, the dehumanizing and often exaggerated ways in which they survive, and even their language. The imprinting of language – heard in the public sphere, but transcribed in the novelas de folletín – was an important aspect of the maintenance of personality in the face of linguistic standardization. Primary characters usually engaged in standard speech practices, but minor characters added local linguistic color to the text, such as pronunciation (“Pue ceñó, como íbamoz isiendo…”)210 or turns of phrase (“sopas de ajo en mi casa mejor que pichones en la ajena”).211 In this way, the personality of Madrid could remain intact, catalogued by writers who documented public speech for the purposes of authenticity.

The psychology of the characters was often related to their poverty or societal ills; María’s low self-esteem throughout the novels leads her to believe that she is unworthy of the love of the marqués. She tells him: “Caballero…soy una pobre…hija de un infeliz

210 El banderillero Frijoles, La marquesa de Bellaflor II 115.
211 La zapatera, Fe, Esperanza y Caridad I 24.
jornalero…no puedo dar oídos a las palabras con que se digna usted favorecerme, sin faltar a la ley del honor, único tesoro que poseo” (María 85). Characters are at times suspicious of other characters due to their poverty; the duke of Azucena warns his son Eduardo about the humble Enriqueta, saying: “¡Es pobre, y crees tú, insensato, que te ama! ¡Es pobre, y no conoces que ambiciona tus riquezas!” (Pobres y ricos 445). There is often a distinction made between the vagrant, shiftless poor people and those who are “pobres pero honradas” (FEC I 9), and Flores takes care to show how society can change a man, as it did in the case of El Duende. As the villain of Fe, Esperanza y Caridad, El Duende locks a young woman (Adelaida) in a tower, and dies a graphic death at the end of the novel as punishment for his crimes. However, Flores’s narrator acknowledges that he was “uno de esos hombres melancólicos y fríos que habiendo gastado su corazón en los desordenes de una juventud borrascosa, se concentran en sí mismos para tomar venganza de la sociedad que han ultrajado” (III 19), indicating that his evil nature was perhaps not his own fault.

Flores’s real psychological fears in the context of modernity were related to the creation of vanity and the loss of the individual in the face of excessive representation, pre-dating Simmel’s insistence on the resistance of the individual to the domination of the outside world. With the proliferation of images and depictions of real life, Flores feared the loss of the true self, and he satirized the vanity and visual obsession that these images created when he quipped: “Benditas sean las almas nobles que han sabido inventar esta transmigración de la vanidad, convirtiendo los objetos de lujo en artículos de primera necesidad” (AHM V 20-21). Much of Flores’s work is a rallying cry against
new modes of representation and their effect on the human condition, specifically against the commodification and distortion of the individual. These new technologies changed the ways in which madrileños interacted with their environment and with each other, and if Flores is to be believed, they had a profound impact on human psychology as well.

Rage against the Machine: Flores and Technology

When discussing space, it is essential to consider the ways in which citizens inhabit that space, and acknowledge that technology, industrialization, and urbanization change the nature of the movement and interaction in the city. New inventions such as the railroad and the telegraph had a profound impact on daily life and the concept of distance. In their study of the Ensanche, Carballo, Pallol and Vicente explain that:

La aparición del ferrocarril, y del vapor en general, tuvo un hondo impacto en la historia de la humanidad, pues no sólo significó un novedoso medio de transporte, una innovación en los intercambios comerciales o en el modo de desplazarse de las personas, sino que alteró para siempre la idea que se tenía sobre la distancia y el tiempo” (229).

They also note that the gas plant, established in 1846, was “uno de los escasos símbolos de la nueva era industrial con los que contaba la capital del país” (271). In a European context, Wolfgang Schivelbusch argued that “technology creates an artificial environment which people become used to as a kind of second nature” (Schivelbusch

212 For more, see:
154), while in the context of Madrid, the city was “el espacio de esa burguesía tradicionalista, un espacio estático y estructurado que empieza a ser invadido por el progreso” (Arroyo 83).

This urban presence of progress and innovation seemed to have bothered Antonio Flores in ways that numerous scholars have recognized; Lee Fontanella claims:

I could cite many instances of Antonio Flores’ expression of bewilderment before the fact of the new medium. But this is the bewilderment of a writer, simply, faced with problems that new technologies inevitably will present when they force themselves onto a strong traditional context (“Fashion and Styles” 186).

Meanwhile, Edward Baker acknowledges that Flores “se mostró especialmente atento a aquello que hoy denominaríamos nuevas tecnologías y formas de comunicación y a las vivencias surgidas en torno a ellas” (86). Flores found visual media especially vexing; there is a persistent “antagonismo expresado por Flores hacia las nuevas tecnologías y medios visuales que hacen de la ciudad” (Haidt, “Flores en Babilonia” 300). His essays on the matter are often satirical and defensive in response to the proliferation of portraits; he complains in Ayer, hoy y mañana that “Nadie se escapa de ser retratado y de ser vendido” (IV 120). The novelty of capturing an image is bothersome to him because “Si estornudáis, os retrata estornudando; si bostezáis, copia el bostezo; y, en suma, el pistógrafo copia el pájaro que pasa volando por la ventanilla del coche” (AHM IV 119).

Naturally, other technologies were problematic as well; Flores claimed that the electric telegraph was “un rey constitucional verdaderamente irresponsable” (AHM IV
144) and that “con las luces de gas, que no dejan rincones oscuros…los corrales han quedado convertidos en unos verdaderos templos de la inmortalidad” (AHM IV 56).

Several of his objections took on a spatial component; the growth of the railroad, for example, was a necessary process that shortened the travel time between cities and allowed for more contact between people who would not have been able to meet in a previous century, but Flores quips that the “hombres de ayer no conocieron ni aun sospechaban que había de conocerse nunca” (AHM III 196). Yet, in the new age of trains and steam engines, “los viajeros, llenos de orgullo, van a merced de la máquina, en cuya invención todos reclaman su cacho de gloria” (AHM III 190). These methods of transportation take on a psychological interpretation as well when Flores describes the different methods of transportation in Madrid:

La carreta no representa solamente el movimiento material de aquella época de reposo y de calma, sino que es el simbolo de la paz y de la tranquilidad que disfrutaban las ciencias, las letras y las artes [mientras en el ómnibus] la discusión toma un aire más formal y más académico, en armonía con el paso tranquilo y reposado que lleva el carruaje (AHM V 36, 43).

Flores’s rejection of technological innovation in his writing is almost universal, even in the context of the romantic notion of truth, as we see in this fragment from “Un año en Madrid”:

Si lo que se buscan son verdades, el tiempo es un gran testigo, y él nos ahorrará de cruzar la Europa en locomotores de ninguna especie, y de
andar traduciendo signos telegráficos, para anticiparnos noticias cuya mayor parte sería de desear que se quedaran en camino.\textsuperscript{213}

One of Flores’s most critical essays in Ayer, hoy y mañana, “El gran reloj del siglo XIX,” speaks directly to his fear of the effects of technology on the human experience. The great clock that man carries in his pocket at all times is a symbol of a mathematical, statistical age that is turning him into a number. Time is increasingly divided and mathematical, and the metaphorical clock that divides up man’s life "[no] señala la hora en que [vive], pero marca las horas que [ha] vivido, las que [ha] empleado en comer y en dormir y en trabajar y en hacer el vago” (III 154). The 19th century, in Flores’s estimation, had become “el siglo de los matemáticos” (III 153), in which the personified statistic is ever mindful of what people do and how they spend their time, but cares nothing about their individual personalities. Flores addresses the reader directly, admonishing him that “Eres muy rico, eres muy sabio, estás casi a punto de ser omnipotente, pero has perdido tu personalidad” (III 151). Once again, decades before Simmel wrote about the individual’s resistance to being swallowed up in the machine, Flores was warning his readers that it had already happened.

Although he was a member of the publishing industry, Flores even reacts negatively to the proliferation of dictionaries, manuals, and books, complaining that “La erudición ha salido a pública subasta” (AHM V 106). Whether or not he was willing to acknowledge it, Flores used new technologies on a daily basis, and his complaints about

\textsuperscript{213} “Un año en Madrid (enero).” El Museo de las familias. 25 de enero de 1849, p. 21.
lithographs\textsuperscript{214} and steam engines\textsuperscript{215} were somewhat disingenuous as he was using both
technologies to produce and distribute his materials. Ironically, Flores was promoting an
awareness of technology; on a basic, textual level, he was talking about watches, trains,
steam engines, and portraits, thus disseminating knowledge of these items through
criticism, while on a visual level, Flores took advantage of lithographs and woodcuts to
complement his texts during his leadership of \textit{El Laberinto}. No later than the fifth issue
of the paper\textsuperscript{216}, readers began to see as many as two pages dedicated to graphic
advertisements for other publications or novels:

\textsuperscript{214} “Me irritan los dibujantes / los grabadores, me angustian / los literatos, me abrasan / y
en la imprenta me espeluznan” (\textit{El Laberinto}, 16 de abril de 1845, p. 187).
\textsuperscript{215} Flores claimed that inventors like James Watts were “dejando a cargo del vapor el cuidado de
todos nuestros negocios.” (“Cuadros de costumbres de actualidad,” \textit{La Época}, Núm. 1027, 4 de
agosto de 1852, p. 5).
\textsuperscript{216} Image from: \textit{El Laberinto}, 1 de enero de 1844, p. 69.
Despite the contradictions that arise from a newspaper director who spoke out against technological innovation at every turn, and yet actively utilized technological advances in print journalism, Flores was remarkably consistent in his rhetoric, and this did sometimes manifest itself in the way he chose to run his publications. He directed *El Laberinto* for a year and a half, supervising 36 issues, all of which were 14 pages long and ended with his trademark fortnightly review called “Revista de la Quincena.” In May of 1845, the leadership of the paper was turned over to Antonio Ferrer del Río, at which point the fortnightly review was divided into local theater/bullfight announcements and European news, and the paper was shortened by half and published weekly. The
announcement in *El Laberinto* explaining the changes attributed them to “el nuevo plan de nuestro periódico.” Mesonero Romanos had described this tendency to adapt to technology six years earlier in an article in *El Semanario Pintoresco Español*:

…el siglo que vivimos corre sin mirar atrás; por eso la instrucción tiene que ser rápida, instantánea, como el efecto del fósforo; y aún las más sólidas doctrinas y los profundos discursos han de disfrazarse con el modesto título de artículos de periódico, y distribuirse…por tomas, no por tomos, a un público inconstante, indeciso, acostumbrado a los mágicos efectos del vapor y a las prodigiosas aplicaciones del gas.

Flores did employ technological means in his career as a writer and publisher, all the while demonizing the effects of machines on the human experience. Publications in the mid-19th century were becoming shorter, more frequent, and more palatable to the technologically-aware public, and that was outside Flores’s realm of experience. After 36 issues, Antonio Flores ceased to be involved with *El Laberinto*, and the paper continued for five more months in his absence. The “Advertencia” in the 37th issue merely stated: “Ha cesado el señor don Antonio Flores en la dirección de *El Laberinto*,” so it is unclear whether he quit or was edged out of the production. However, it is clear that his departure coincided with a decisive reformatting of the paper; Flores’s long-winded, detailed examinations of life in Madrid were replaced by shorter texts that could be published more frequently.

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218 “Crónica Literaria,” *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, 16 de junio de 1839, p. 190 (originally cited in Lee Fontanella’s *La imprenta y las letras*, 1982).
Ayguals de Izco took quite a different approach; as an entrepreneur and publishing innovator, he fell more into the category of the “pequeños burgueses que se lamentan de la progresiva desnaturalización del color local de la vida popular española, los que por otro lado manifiestan su admiración por el progreso técnico de Europa” (Ucelay 158). The mentions of technology in Ayguals’s novels were much less frequent, and were often positive, praising the democratic nature of new technologies:

El telégrafo, el vapor y los ferro-carriles han herido de muerte a los tiranos. El telégrafo, el vapor y los ferro-carriles pasearán por el orbe entero la gloriosa insigne de la democracia. El telégrafo, el vapor y los ferro-carriles propagarán por do quiera el triunfo de la fraternidad universal (Palacio 1 738).

Other mentions were neutral, such as when he described how “millares de luces bañaban de inmenso resplandor los sinuosos salones del palacio de la marquesa de Verde-Rama” (Pobres y ricos 489). In his newspapers, Ayguals displayed almost none of the animosity toward technology that we see in Flores; he directed seven newspapers, several of which were even named after technologies of spectacle, such as El Telégrafo or La linterna mágica. Ayguals traveled to the 1851 International Exposition in London to procure new technologies, and he also supported the democratization of information. In collaboration with the Sociedad Literaria, Ayguals wrote and distributed encyclopedias, collections, anthologies, and even children’s educational texts (silabarios).
Like Flores, Ayguals was influenced by the technological currents of the time, but he also contributed to the modernization of printing machinery and marketing. Critics like Sylvie Baulo, Juan Ignacio Ferreras and Victor Carrillo have written about Ayguals’s innovations and techniques; Sylvie Baulo in particular dedicates an entire article called “Prensa y publicidad” to the advances made by the Sociedad Literaria:

Ayguals de Izco utilizó métodos comerciales que merecen ser analizados por la modernidad que manifiestan en España. La estrategia global hizo de la Sociedad Literaria una empresa floreciente durante algunos años, razón por la que constituye, para los especialistas de la edición madrileña de mediados del siglo XIX, un modelo de empresa editorial (63).

Commercially speaking, “la novela de entregas fue uno de los mejores negocios de la época” (Ferreras 36) in a time when industrial production was smaller-scale and focused on consumer goods like tobacco and shoes. Ayguals did everything he could to further the success of newspapers, such as purchasing printing machines abroad, adapting the models of successful French novels, and experimenting with the length, formatting, and advertising content of serialized publications. He was an editor during a time period when that position began to have real possibilities for modernization and novelty:

The technological revolution in printing processes and the implementation of new capital policies in the traditionally restricted field of literary production brought about the emergence of the figure of the editor and the

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unprecedented expansion of the book market; the serial novel is the most representative and successful creation of this new printing era (Martí-López 33).

Ricardo Valladares Roldán cites other figures like Ayguals, who “llegaron a fundar periódicos que ellos mismos dirigían” (59) such as León Amarita (El Censor), Gregorio Estradam, (La Litografía), and Casimiro Rufino Ruiz (Guía del Comercio), identifying them as important figures in the cultural union of art, study, and intellectualism.

However, it was largely because of innovators like Ayguals, who took the initiative to evolve the technology of the medium, that the 19th century was so transformative for the print industry. 221

Technology and Promotion

The publications that Flores and Ayguals directed were technologically advanced for the time period, and these “adelantos tecnológicos…favorecieron la posibilidad de expresar la experiencia multivariada” (Fontanella, *La imprenta y las letras* 67). Some of the advances in printed technology were aimed at improving textual legibility, such as columns and clearer type 222, but the majority were “tecnologías visuales…destinadas, de hecho, a fines plena y tradicionalmente didácticos y satíricos” (Haidt, “Flores en Babilonia” 301). In addition to textual content tailored to the interests and budget of a

221 “En el siglo XIX las publicaciones periódicas sufrieron una transformación radical. Los avances de la mecánica tipográfica y las conquistas liberales abrieron campo extenso al desenvolvimiento periodístico que hizo evolucionar las publicaciones, convirtiéndolas, de simples noticiarios, en órganos y fines de opinión, y fijando su periodicidad por la construcción de empresas responsables” (del Campo 97).

222 In “Dos estudios sobre Wenceslao Ayguals,” Victor Carrillo mentions “los diferentes tipos de letra (hemos contado hasta ocho), lo que hace que la lectura sea fácil y llamativa para la vista” (13).
middle-class reader\textsuperscript{223}, the newspapers also contained portraits, landscapes, flourishes, and decorative initials in order to make the reading experience more varied and exciting. Ayguals’s publications incorporated more and more images throughout the 1840s; \textit{La Risa} (1843-1844) contained only two or three images per issue, while \textit{El Dómine Lucas} (1844-1846) had 10-12 and \textit{El Fandango} (1844-1846) had 15-18, especially caricatures and cartoons.\textsuperscript{224} The introduction of images in publications was gradual, because Ayguals understood that “una tecnología sólo puede penetrar en la sociedad en la medida que venga a satisfacer determinadas demandas planteadas y lo haga de un modo eficaz y económicamente posible” (Riego 294). Given Flores’s aversion to technology, one might expect him to omit images from his publications, but \textit{El Laberinto} included 15-20 images per issue, especially in the advertisements section.

Flores did not advertise as aggressively as Ayguals, but he still made effective use of the space in his own publications. For example, the “Anuncios” section of \textit{El Laberinto} began to include images in 1844\textsuperscript{225}, and often included up to two pages of advertisements for almanacs, biographies, translations, and works of fiction, such as \textit{Los españoles pintados por sí mismos}\textsuperscript{226} and Flores’s translation of \textit{Les mystères de Paris}.\textsuperscript{227} Flores also advertised \textit{Los españoles pintados por sí mismos} in the newspaper \textit{El Clamor}

\textsuperscript{223} “A la diversité des prix et aux facilités d’acquisition, Ayguals ajoute une autre technique: celle qui consiste à cibler des groups particuliers” (Baulo, \textit{La trilogie} 124).

\textsuperscript{224} Sylvie Baulo explains that “\textit{El Fandango} évoque l’illustration comme un critère de la qualité de l’œuvre et de sons succès qui va entraîner une argumentation du prix du roman” (\textit{La trilogie} 146).

\textsuperscript{225} \textit{El Laberinto} Núm. 5, 1 de enero de 1844.

\textsuperscript{226} \textit{El Laberinto} Núm. 5, 1 de enero de 1844, p. 70.

\textsuperscript{227} \textit{El Laberinto} Núm. 9, 1 de marzo de 1844, p. 126.
Público,\textsuperscript{228} which did not use images to draw attention to the ads, but rather large, block capital letters.\textsuperscript{229} Ayguals, meanwhile, advertised primarily in his own publications; he directed seven newspapers during his career, which gave him many opportunities for cross-promotion. In an issue of El Fandango\textsuperscript{230}, he dedicated almost 2 ½ pages to advertisements for María and El cancionero del pueblo, including the half-page ad for María that was mentioned in chapter two (Figure 3).\textsuperscript{231} Advertising was a complex process; the newspaper directors had to offer enough content to keep their subscribers happy and enough promotion to interest them in future publications, all while keeping the newspaper small enough so that printing costs did not outweigh profits. Reciprocal development is a therefore a useful framework for understanding advertising and publication; although Ayguals and Flores had different ideological reactions to technology, they both used that technology to promote their own products and respond to the desires of their readers. The dichotomy between the two men – the resistance to new technologies contrasted with the celebratory innovation of the medium – captures the “unevenly modern city” (Sieburth 140) of 19\textsuperscript{th}-century Madrid in all its complexity.

\textit{The Ticking Clock of Immediacy}

The central question when considering the technologies of the era seems to be time; the time it took to perform tasks, learn information, capture an image, travel from one place to another, or even publish a newspaper was shortened. The mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century

\textsuperscript{228} El Clamor Público, 7 de septiembre de 1844, p. 4 & 24 de octubre de 1844, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{229} Ayguals also advertised his translation of Sue’s \textit{El judío errante} in El Clamor Público, 14 de noviembre de 1844, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{230} Num. 10, 15 de septiembre de 1845, pp. 153-155.
\textsuperscript{231} In 1845, this ad appeared in the Sept. 15 issue of El Fandango, and was reused in the October 1\textsuperscript{st} issue of El Dómine Lucas.
was a time when “Machinery and speed seemed to capture fleeting reality” (Haidt, “Commodifying Place” 17), when important historical events were reported with increasing immediacy232, when the world was beginning to be “perceived to be ‘smaller’ than it used to be, a phenomenon known as time-space compression” (Reynolds 19), and when transportation innovations were shortening distances and allowing people to travel across Spain in a matter of hours.233 Many of the spatial innovations of the time such as mapping and railway construction also had temporal ramifications such as time zones and travel itineraries. Thus, time became more standardized and uniform for the sake of public order234, and chapters in Aygual’s and Flores’s novels often started with a temporal marker such as “El reloj de San Isidro acababa de dar las tres de la tarde” (Maria 141) or “permítame que te hable del día 17 de junio de 1834” (FEC I 42). These mentions of time all fit into the “eje modal” of narration, the axis which determines the ways in which the content of the story – or the “eje proairético” – is organized (Romero Tobar, “Forma y contenido” 81). The temporal markers were necessary because of the short chapters, which could leave readers confused from one issue to the next. The short chapters were just another symptom of the rhythm of the century, which “presses for ever


shorter pauses in the change of impressions – cigarettes can be smoked more rapidly than
cigars – and this more impatient tempo is irresistibly drawn to temporal boundaries, to
beginnings and endings, to comings and goings” (Connerton 61). Authors were subject to
the public demand for a temporal shift, while their publications contributed to the
episodic nature of literature. And yet, even with the shrinking time of the present, both
Ayguals and Flores frequently turned their gazes toward the future; Ayguals hoped for
political reform and insisted that “la democracia es ya sin duda el único puerto de
salvación que nos queda,”[^235] while Flores pleaded: “Olvidemos lo que somos y lo que
fuimos, para no pensar en otra cosa sino en lo que vamos a ser más adelante” (AHM IV
41).

[^235] La Guindilla, Tomo I, Núm. 5, 31 de julio de 1842, p. 70.
Chapter 5: Walking and Talking: Reciprocal Development and the Popular Press

The popular press between the years of 1833 and 1868 was the central instrument of reciprocal development; it was essential to both cultural and urban progress in a way that more traditional media like theater were not, largely due to its constant negotiation with a massive reading public. The printed publication itself acted as an agent of that negotiation, and within the space of each newspaper, a dialogue took place between the *periodista* and his readers. This dialogue consisted of observation, criticism, satire, and a collective creation of cultural identity, all of which facilitated the reciprocal development of the lived city and the urban imaginary.

The print industry was a complicated and heterogenous enterprise, and we can see reciprocal development at work through the collaboration of many individuals involved in its production. During this time, “escritores y libreros, editores y dibujantes, grabadores y encuadernadores, tipógrafos y legisladores forman el conjunto de la historia de la Imprenta, en la que influyen la política, las artes, las finanzas” (del Campo 11). Newspapers and magazines emerged to appeal to a wide range of readers, and this proliferation was a characteristic feature of the time period: “las crecientes apariciones de semanarios y revistas, ya de carácter literario, de religión, militares, de ciencias médicas, de espectáculos, de jurisprudencia, de crítica teatral, etc., serían la auténtica constante de
la prensa” (Rubio Cremades, *Costumbrismo* 36). Many periodistas placed a central importance on the freedom of the press and the newspaper’s ability to educate the public:

> La educación, la difusión general del conocimiento y el impulso a una actitud científica de la mente se considerará a partir de este momento como el medio principal para alcanzar la libertad individual y procurar el bien de la sociedad (Pascual 47).

The advancement of society requires many simultaneous processes such as urban development, financial investment, and technological innovation, but “no matter how many inventions, machines, or industrial advances a country might produce, none of them is of benefit if the public lacks access to ideas and readings” (Haidt, “Visibly Modern” 35). When discussing Eugène Sue’s *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842-1843, published as a serial novel), Christopher Prendergast describes how the reading public changed:

> …transformations in the structure of the reading public accompanying and reflecting a profound shift in the nature of popular culture, broadly as a shift from a tradition based on ritual modes of ‘sociability’ to one based on a more anonymous commercially manipulated culture of print (of which the modern newspaper, as the crucial form of the new public sphere, was the distinctive instrument and emblem) (6).

While I agree that the modern newspaper was the crucial form of the new public sphere in the case of Spain, I would not characterize such modes of popular culture as

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236 Here, Rubio Cremades is talking about the time period 1843-1868; the first ten years of Isabel II’s rule witnessed a slower rate of growth within the print industry.
anonymous. The popular press was still very much a people-oriented business that encouraged and facilitated communication as a way of cultivating its readership. In fact, as Stephanie Sieburth explains, the term “culture” had been a synonym for “cultivation” before the 19th century; “it denoted a process, applicable to plants, animals, or human facilities. But in the early nineteenth century it began to refer to a thing in itself” (3). There are many negative connotations to this “thing,” such as the notion that it was a mediated form that propagated the “low sphere” of cultural production, but we cannot ignore the fact that it was an essential tool for conversation and education. A periodista, like Larra, for example, was “living in and writing about Madrid, aware of his urban context and attentive to the urban shifts that characterized the nineteenth century” (Fraser 43). His work, and that of his contemporaries, was not merely a cultural monolith pushed upon the masses; it was the result of a collective conversation and a shared identity among Spaniards, specifically among madrileños. David Henkin writes about this tendency in 19th-century New York, when moments of collective celebration “depended not only on the newspapers’ advertising and coordinating events involving unwieldy numbers of city residents, but also on their construction of an intelligible and broadly inclusive public identity of New York,” drawing on members’ shared status as potential readers (128).

There is a collective identity that is fomented by popular literature, specifically for urban dwellers who can conceive of a larger setting while only inhabiting a small part of it. In this way, the “‘urban imagination’ is…very much a ‘synecdochal imagination,’

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defined by the ability simultaneously to conceive the part and the whole” (Ferguson 68). In Spain, this imagined Madrid – as well as the lived Madrid – is both the product and catalyst of figures like Antonio Flores and Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco, whose work shows that it is:

…erróneo entender la literatura como mera causa o resultado…El arte costumbrista no ‘creó’ el gusto por la documentación, aunque sin duda favoreció esta tendencia; tampoco fue causa de la naturaleza formulario que este género poseía en esencia…fue tanto un resultado de los efectos…como su origen (Fontanella, La imprenta y las letras 107).

It is this simultaneous capacity to create and be created that makes costumbrista literature – and, to a certain extent, all literature – such an essential cultural specimen with regard to collective identity, and the proliferation of newspapers that disseminated that literature was especially significant.

In this chapter, I will provide a theoretical framework for the methods by which the urban imaginary – constructed through the popular press – was a medium of reciprocal development cultivating collective identity in Madrid. I will argue that the supposedly archetypal 19th-century urban figure, the flâneur, is helpful for conceiving of the role of the periodista, but that it is ultimately not adequate to approach the urban imaginary and reciprocal development. I will propose that Edward Soja’s notion of

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238 Ferguson made this statement about 19th-century Paris, but I find it equally applicable to Madrid.
Thirdspace\textsuperscript{239} better permits an understanding of the newspaper’s role as both a printed product and a space for symbolic elaboration of the urban imaginary. A further model for the function of reciprocal development within Thirdspace is that of a cooperative conversation, in which periodistas engaged with their readers and were thus able to articulate such abstract concepts as public opinion and collective identity.

\textit{Flânerie and Serial Publications}

An examination of 19\textsuperscript{th}-century literature reveals the emergence of the figure of the \textit{flâneur} as “an emblem of the changing city and the changing society, a product of urbanization and revolution” (Ferguson 82). The term appears in Charles Baudelaire’s 1863 essay “The Painter of Modern Life,” personified by Monsieur G., a curious man who sees everything as a child does, with a sense of newness and wonder (7-8). He is a spectator, a loiterer, an explorer, a people-watcher, and simply of a man of the crowd; he observes the people, places, and objects of modernity and he delights in spectacle. Deborah Parsons describes the \textit{flâneur} (or \textit{flâneuse}) as “a figure who loiters in the city, shopping and watching the crowd” (\textit{Streetwalking} 17); the \textit{flâneur} is “frequently described as a personification of spectatorial authority, yet…someone who is out of place” (Parsons, \textit{Streetwalking} 19). According to Walter Benjamin, the \textit{flâneur} plays the role of scout in the marketplace. As such, he is also the explorer of the crowd. Within the man who abandons himself to it, the crowd inspires a sort of drunkenness, one accompanied by very specific illusions” (21). Studies of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century are replete with

\begin{footnotesize}\textsuperscript{239}\end{footnotesize} According to Edward Soja’s definition from his seminal work of the same name, to be defined later in this chapter.
discussions of the *flâneur*\(^{240}\), sometimes to the point of excluding other theoretical approaches. While the figure of the *flâneur* is useful for discussing the *periodista* and *costumbrista*, merely focusing on the urban individual observer is one-sided and limiting, and does not help to articulate the complexities of reciprocal development. Rather, urban correspondents like Ayguals and Flores went beyond the practice of *flânerie* and engaged in active creation of the urban imaginary through strategic spatial practices.

There is a constant sense of movement associated with the *flâneur*; the “motion of *flânerie* reflects the fleeting aspect of the modern, yet this motion is one of walking, of human as opposed to technological movement” (Parsons *Streetwalking* 41). One can also generalize that “the city is the properly sacred ground of *flânerie*” (Benjamin 420-421), and that the street is the primary locus of its existence. The city street is “a possible zone of massive contestation and can turn into a special kind of political space” (Connerton 22) such as a site for revolution, protest, demonstration, occupation, and resistance. At the same time, the street is where multiple people meet with different interpretations of the city that interact and influence each other, making the street the primary domain of the urban imaginary as well. It is that tension between the real and imagined city on the public street that makes *flânerie* possible, and the act of navigating this labyrinth imbues the *flâneur* with a sense of intoxication as he:

Donald, James. *Imagining the Modern City*. Minneapolis, UM Press, 1999.
…not only feeds on the sensory data taking shape before his eyes but often possesses itself of abstract knowledge – indeed, of dead facts – as something experienced and lived through. This felt knowledge travels from one person to another, especially by word of mouth. But in the course of the nineteenth century, it was also deposited in an immense literature (Benjamin 417).

While the street is the flâneur’s territory, his experiences cannot pass from the ephemeral to the permanent unless they are documented. This literature was an essential facet of the flâneur experience because the “social base of flânerie is journalism. As flâneur, the literary man ventures into the marketplace to sell himself” (Benjamin 446). Therefore, it would make sense that popular newspapers and the genres that they contain (serial novels, costumbrista sketches) represent such a wide variety of stories, images, and ways of seeing the city; the category of “illustrative seeing [is] fundamental for the flâneur” (Benjamin 419). However, literary translation of the visual is only one of the tasks of writers like Ayguals and Flores, who served a multitude of functions within the print industry.

As discussed in chapter two, Ayguals and Flores were periodistas, costumbristas, and novelistas, as well as directors and editors of newspapers. In the capacity of periodistas, they did serve the function of the flâneur for their readers by navigating and translating the streets, but they also engaged in research, correspondence, and forays into
private space\textsuperscript{241}, none of which fits within the definition of the \textit{flâneur}. The figure of the \textit{costumbrista} does seem to match more closely the definition of the \textit{flâneur}, the artist who is sometimes “a poet, more often he comes closer to the novelist or the moralist; he is the painter of the passing moment and all the suggestions of eternity that it contains” (Baudelaire 5). The \textit{costumbrista} sketches that Ayguals and Flores included in their newspapers captured momentary occurrences such as a “conversación que tenían entre el zapatero del portal, su mujer y una ver dulera del patio,”\textsuperscript{242} attaching to those moments a sense of importance and permanence. \textit{Costumbrismo} is a literary genre, and is therefore not equivalent to the social act of \textit{flânerie}, but \textit{costumbristas} do tell stories that link together places and “specify the kind of passage leading from one to the other” (de Certeau 115). Their stories transmitted the “felt knowledge” into literature that reaffirmed a sense of shared identity for \textit{madrileños}, and contributed to the construction of the imagined city.

Cartoons and caricatures were extremely common in serial publications; in Ayguals’s newspaper \textit{El Fandango}, we see a cartoon of a woman walking her dog, with the caption “No hay ya señorita elegante en Madrid, que no lleve a paseo su perrito.”\textsuperscript{243}

\textsuperscript{241} Antonio Flores’s “Revista de la Quincena” (\textit{El Laberinto}) often provided information about private events such as palace dances.
\textsuperscript{243} \textit{El Fandango}, Núm. 19, 15 de junio de 1846, p. 304.
The caption is reminiscent of a humorous quip from Benjamin’s *The Arcades Project*: “In 1839 it was considered elegant to take a tortoise out walking. This gives us an idea of the tempo of *flânerie* in the arcades” (422). The woman in this image seems to want to stroll at a leisurely pace, but is being dragged by a large dog (humorously referred to as a “perrito”) that is significantly more forceful than a tortoise. I see the cartoon as a humorous statement on society and *moda*: the woman is uncomfortable and overpowered, but she is compelled to move forward by a society that dictates how an *española* is supposed to behave. This sort of social criticism is common within the literature of the *flâneur* because of the figure’s status as an outsider. Baudelaire was born in Paris, lived there for most of his life, and died there, but “no one ever felt less at home in Paris than Baudelaire” (Benjamín 336) because he made himself an outsider in order to capture the fleeting nature of modernity. Ayguals is likewise able to engage in social criticism by distancing himself from cultural trends in order to point out their ridiculousness.
A sense of critical flânerie is evident in Flores’s narratives as well; in his article “Las fiestas de Navidad,” he describes the mountains of food, the children playing drums, and the carols that the participants sing at Christmas, all while seeming an outsider to the action – a man of the crowd, but out of place. He is unquestionably Spanish, and yet seeks to distance himself from some of the Spanish customs in order to engage in satirical social criticism; he explains that “la única costumbre perpetua que se ha emancipado de la moda es la de comer; por la cual repetimos a coro: ‘Comer, dormir y no pensar en nada / es tener la salud asegurada’” (64). His movement is also evident in his published series such as “Un año en Madrid” and “Una semana en Madrid,” in which he describes his routes around the city and the sensory experiences that are characteristic of the urban space: “El viernes santo, huelen las calles de Madrid a una cosa que nadie sabe lo que es, compuesta de partes iguales de cofre, membrillo y polilla.” Again, by documenting the city as both a participant and correspondent, Flores achieves critical distance while still authentically representing local experience.

There are tensions that emerge within the figure of the flâneur, and these tensions make it so that the use of the term to describe figures like Ayguals and Flores is at times applicable, but ultimately insufficient. Baudelaire articulates that the flâneur wants “to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world” (9). The flaneur frequently appears in studies of 19th-century culture, yet he represents the opposite of the progress and modernization of the time period. He doesn’t work, build,

244 Flores, Antonio. “Las fiestas de Navidad.” El Laberinto. 1 de enero de 1844.
design, or innovate; he is merely a connoisseur of the streets, a gourmet of the visual.

Baudelaire offers two possibilities for understanding the *flâneur*:

…we might liken him to a mirror as vast as the crowd itself; or to a kaleidoscope gifted with consciousness, responding to each one of its movements and reproducing the multiplicity of life and the flickering grace of all the elements of life (9).

As previously stated, I do see the act of representing the city as a mirror, but the reflection is not static or passive. I find Baudelaire’s second definition, that of a complex kaleidoscope, more accurate in describing the role of the *periodista*, because he who documents the urban experience is consciously reproducing the elements of daily life. However, it must be noted that the *periodista* was not simply a loafer who strolled around the city. The production of newspapers was real work that required a great deal of commitment, training, and research. A kaleidoscope could show reflections of light and color, but the printing press was a far more complex technology.

I have shown that there are consistent themes in the work of both Ayguals and Flores that tie them to this figure of the *flâneur*: their sense of exploration, their people-watching, and their ability to transform this temporary experience into permanent textual evidence that contributed to the imagined Madrid. Nonetheless, an understanding of the *periodista* as a *flâneur* merely acknowledges his observational tendencies, and does not completely capture the reciprocal development process. One must also take into account

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246 The discussion of the *flâneur* also tends to limit the gender of the person being discussed, unless the term “*flâneuse*” is used. Since the *periodistas* I am studying are men, I have chosen not to change the pronoun.
the means of distribution that facilitated this exchange of information within a Thirdspace that is both imagined and real, both material and metaphorical. I posit that the newspaper fulfills this role in the 19th century as the first truly modern form of communication.

The Newspaper as Thirdspace

In his seminal work “Thirdspace,” sociologist Edward Soja calls us to explore “other spaces’…that are both similar to and significantly different from the real-and-imagined spaces we already recognize” (21). Previously, sociologists had distinguished two kinds of space: “Firstspace (Perceived Space) refers to the directly-experienced world of empirically measurable and mappable phenomena” (Soja 17) and is understood as the actual realm of human geography: the public and private spaces where people work, sleep, walk, socialize, and eat. Alternatively:

Secondspace (Conceived Space)...is more subjective and “imagined,” more concerned with images and representations of spatiality, with the thought processes that are presumed to shape both material human geographies and the development of a geographical imagination (Soja 18).

In an attempt to trouble that dialectic, Soja proposes the existence of Thirdspace, which allows for:

…a different kind of human geography, one that combines the grounded and politically-conscious materialism of Firstspace analyses and the rich, often metaphorical representations of space and spatiality characteristic of Secondspace geographies…spaces that are radically open and openly
radicalized, that are simultaneously material-and-metaphorical, real-and-imagined, concretely grounded in spatial practices yet also represented in literary and aesthetic imagery, imaginative recombinations, epistemological insight, and so much more (24).

Thirdspace is where Firstspace and Secondspace interact; the real, directly-experienced world is converted into images, depictions, and representations. Firstspace is perceived by means of the senses, and Secondspace is conceived by means of the text. Therefore, the text itself is not the imagined environment, but rather the space in which that imagined environment is constructed. The understanding of the newspaper – particularly popular publications like those of Ayguals and Flores – as a Thirdspace allows for the possibility of “keeping the material and the metaphorical interconnected, acknowledging that the real and the imagined are dependent upon one another” (Reynolds 46), thus supporting the notion of reciprocal development in the context of the popular press. The newspaper was certainly a real, tangible object, but it also provided a space in which symbolic understandings of the city could be elaborated and constructed.

On a political level, Thirdspace can be “a strategic meeting place for fostering collective political action against all forms of human oppression” (Soja 22), and that is precisely what Ayguals sought to accomplish with La Guindilla, when he stated that the “prensa independiente tronará desde ahora con más energía que nunca contra los opresores del pueblo…Guindilla será el primero que escitará el pueblo a una sublevación salvadora.”

This uprising does not take place in the real, physical streets of Firstspace,

\(^{247}\) La Guindilla, Tomo II, Núm. 29, 23 de octubre, 1842, p. 35.
but rather within the strategic Thirdspace of the newspaper which was being threatened by censorship. A newspaper was not only a printed object; it could be used as a tool of democracy, but also as an instrument of corruption. It was for this reason that Ayguals insisted that the press “no pudo resignarse a esta situación en lo presente, ni aceptar sus forzosas consecuencias en lo venidero.” He recognized that, if revolution were to take place in the lived Firstspace, there would have to be freedom of expression and information in the periodic Thirdspace.

Ayguals also pioneered many satirical, humorous publications, which “le sirvieron para crearse una plataforma publicitaria y un prestigio periodístico que hoy le reconocen los historiadores del tema” (Romero Tobar, “Forma y contenido” 58). He produced a great variety of content, including his weekly column “Ambigú” in La Risa, in which one of his many alter egos, “Don Abundio Estofado,” gave advice about cooking soup, noodles, lamb chops, tortillas, and other traditional Spanish food. Not all of Ayguals’s content was politically or socially motivated; at times, he just sought to promote topics or hobbies that were of interest to him, and his readers, in turn, engaged with his periodical Thirdspace by reading the paper and perhaps connecting with the content.

This periodical Thirdspace is necessary for reciprocal development because it is the medium through which the lived and imagined cities can interact. For example, the aforementioned “Ambigú” column in La Risa dealt with real, practical advice: how to

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248 La Guindilla, Tomo II, Núm. 32: 6 de noviembre de 1842, p. 84.
cook certain Spanish foods. In the first issue, Ayguals explained how the publication was to be used:

…no hay publicación más útil que la nuestra a toda clase de personas de buen gusto; pero en las fondas, cafés, botillerías y pastelerías, es donde conviene a los intereses de sus dueños tener continuamente a la vista nuestra enciclopedia, porque al paso que será su Mentor para el buen éxito de sus tareas.  

Ayguals wants his readers to engage with the content in their real lives within Firstspace, particularly if they are in a position to cook for customers. However, he also includes many references to Spanish manners and ways of eating, cooking, and serving food, thus contributing to a Secondspace-understanding of what it means to be a Spaniard and follow “nuestras costumbres.” He also acknowledges that these recipes did not come from his own mind, but rather that he had “elegido los métodos mejores y más sencillos entre los innumerables que enseñan los tratados de cocina.” This is reciprocal development at work; within the Thirdspace of the publication, recipes that have come from various sources are documented in a tangible publication, and within that publication, one finds both practical advice for everyday life and a reinforcement of a sense of Spanish-ness that the readers collectively understand.

The act of reading is essential to an understanding of Thirdspace; it is the process by which the madrileños engage with the newspaper and make connections between their

249 “Ambigú.” La Risa. 2 de abril de 1843, p. 8.
250 “Ambigú.” La Risa. 23 de abril de 1843, p. 31.
251 “Ambigú.” La Risa. 23 de abril de 1843, p. 32.
lived experiences (Firstspace) and their geographical imaginations (Secondspace). Flores spent an entire year (1849) chronicling the experience of Madrid in a series called “Un año en Madrid” in El Museo de las Familias; he stated in the first issue: “Un viaje por Madrid me parece que sería una gran ocupación para el presente año” (21). He then chronicled every month as he lived it, combining basic descriptions of “los paseos, las fondas, los cafés y los teatros” with more symbolic elaborations of the madrileño experience, such as his description of the month of March:

…cuenta treinta y un días de una vida tempestuosa y bullanguera, que ni duerme, ni deja dormir a nadie, y que su extremada afición a los instrumentos de viento, la hace pasar las noches silbando en medio de la calle. Las torres, las ventanas, las puertas, los faroles, todo lo anima con su incansable aliento, y en todas partes halla armonías para su diabólica orquesta.

Flores uses the Thirdspace of El Museo de las Familias to not only combine the lived and imagined experiences of the city, but also to document those events in Madrid which had both visible and symbolic components, such as the Carnaval de Madrid, the Easter and Holy Week rituals, and the procession of 2 de mayo. He also imbues the entire year’s narration with the metaphor of a year being born and dying, from the “año nuevo,

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254 “Un año en Madrid: febrero.”
255 “Un año en Madrid: abril.”
256 “Un año en Madrid: mayo.”
vida nueva”\textsuperscript{257} statement in January to the cold winds of December that symbolized not only the end of the year, but the end of the 1840s.\textsuperscript{258} Those who read his work were not only learning about that which could be seen and experienced in the city, but also that which could be felt and understood within the context of a collective community. That shared experience can only take place through the act of reading and interpreting the content that Flores put forth to his subscribers.

Flores provides an interesting take on the act of reading in his essay “Vamos a matar el tiempo,”\textsuperscript{259} in which he says that madrileños primarily enjoy activities that waste time, and he puts reading newspapers in that category. The narrator encounters a young mother who had fallen asleep with a book in her hand; she explains: “me había puesto a leer un rato para matar el tiempo: pero como estas novelas modernas son tan pesadas, me he quedado un poco traspuesta” (92), as though the book had somehow captured her.

The narrator doesn’t portray all activities this way, claiming that the “hombre que va a paseo, a los teatros, a las tertulias, y las demás diversiones deliberadamente, es trabajador; cree no hacer nada y hace mucho” (92).\textsuperscript{260} Yet, reading is a strange activity that somehow exists outside of time; because newspapers are “set in homogenous, empty time” (B. Anderson 204) in which many different pieces of information are being put forth simultaneously, to be read at the consumer’s leisure.\textsuperscript{261} The act of reading, according to

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{259}] La Semana, 10 de dic. de 1849, p. 92.
\item[\textsuperscript{260}] This statement is very similar to descriptions of the flâneur.
\item[\textsuperscript{261}] In footnote #54 of \textit{Imagined Communities}, Anderson states: “Reading a newspaper is like reading a novel whose author has abandoned any thought of a coherent plot” (33).
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Flores, is not deliberate, and it takes time away from people without their knowledge. It is a spatial practice, yet it participates in the formation of a symbolic understanding of one’s environment. In this way, “lived, perceived, and conceived space fold into and spin across one another, working together to accomplish the production of space” (Reynolds 16), making Thirdspace a more effective method for understanding the popular press than that of flânerie. The flâneur wanders through space and describes it, but the periodista strategically categorizes, politicizes, interprets, and makes symbolic the lived Firstspace of the city within the Thirdspace of the newspaper. There is a dialogue within this Thirdspace that facilitates this creative process, and it takes place between the readers and creators of periodical publications.

_Distribution as Dialogue_

The essential element of writing successful popular publications is finding a readership who wants to engage in a conversation with the content that is being published. Finding a truly massive readership was not entirely possible in a country with such a high rate of illiteracy, and during a time period when “there was no such phenomenon as a mass media. There was, however, the mass medium of print, with all its increasing quantity and variety of imagery” (P. Anderson 198). Through this medium, Ayguals and Flores could engage with their readers and discuss topics of historical importance, especially the issue that dominated the public discourse: politics. It is here once more that we encounter the idea of public opinion, which was “fundamentalmente una comunicación de los ciudadanos con su gobierno que tiende a producir unos efectos que sean visibles en los niveles de decisión y de poder” (Pereira and García 213). Just as
with gossip, it is not generally possible to determine the origins of public opinion on a certain matter; it emerges from the “difusión de mensajes de interés colectivo con el empleo de todas las formas comunicativas posibles” (Pereira and García 213), and those messages could exercise “presión o fuerza profunda en la elaboración y ejecución de la política exterior del Estado” (Pereira and García 212). Ayguals was especially adept at identifying collective sentiments, which, according to Pereira and García, could be manifested in the following ways:

...la opinión inmediata, móvil e inestable, resultante de un acontecimiento o de varios; la ideología, de un carácter estructural y de un nivel de análisis más profundo; las mentalidades colectivas, en las que se mezclan actitudes mentales con los efectos de inconsciente, las relaciones coyunturales y las opiniones ideológicas; los caracteres nacionales, expresiones simbólicas de grupos, que tienden a considerar las reacciones de una colectividad o un individuo de una cultura específica (215).

Some of the collective reactions were extreme or revolutionary; Ayguals himself claimed in Palacio de los crímenes that “La opinión pública...se declaraba a cada momento más a favor de la insurrección” (II 480). Ayguals, in fact, considered himself an “intérprete de la opinion pública” (Palacio II 414), but it must be acknowledged that “en muchas ocasiones los periódicos ‘fabrican’ la opinión más que la reflejan” (Pereira and García 215-216). It is here that we see the function of reciprocal development once more; political discontent emerges from groups of citizens, but it can be captured, classified, and even invented by those with a medium to communicate it.

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Those with the power to influence or manufacture public opinión, even those who did not agree politically, would join forces against those who wished to censor their right to publish. In the 1850s, "los moderados y los progresistas, contra [Bravo Murillo] centraron el fuego de sus respectivos periódicos, que eran los más numerosos e importantes" (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 382). The fluctuation in power during the 19th century was volatile, and journalism was directly involved in government affairs; one of the “principales constantes del periodismo decimonónico, será la continua renovación de disposiciones y decretos que cada Gobierno establece según los propios intereses del partido en cuestión” (Rubio Cremades, Costumbrismo I 35). The press served to reflect political problems and attempted to provide solutions; sometimes it was through direct calls to action, and other times, there were more subtle criticisms or suggestions for reform. In the case of Mesonero and Larra, their status as urban reformers and critics has been well-established:

Through what was a predominantly picaresque genre, both writers attacked the inertia of their contemporary society and urged enlightened urban reform; Mesonero of a city he recognised as severely flawed in design and socio-economic structure, Larra of a society he regarded as culturally and politically provincial and tedious (Parsons, Cultural History 23).
I argue that Ayguals and Flores also prompted important change in the city, not simply to the built environment, but also to the imagined city through dialogue within a periodistic Thirdspace. They participated in the creation of a community within Madrid, and “the reality of a community with which to identify comes from collective acts” (Noyes 468). One person cannot simply impose his or her own definition of a community; it emerges through dialogue over the course of many years.

Popular publications were an effective method for *periodistas* and *costumbristas* to engage in regular dialogue with their readers, and the periodicity of their circulation allowed for an environment in which “el acontecimiento y la actualidad tienen efectos inmediatos sobre la propia construcción social de la realidad” (Riego 145). In collections like *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos*, Flores engages in the process of “describir y analizar la vida colectiva a través de sus tipos genéricos, recorriendo en su estudio desde los niveles más altos a los más bajos” (Ucelay 67), a task which required him to engage the residents of the city on a personal level. He even admits in an article: “soy algo dado a la discusión, y me gusta consultarlo todo con mis lectores.”

Ayguals was equally prone to discussion, although his methods of describing this dialogue were more complicated. In the publication *El Dómine Lucas*, he and Villergas engaged in a weekly dialogue in their column “Palmetas,” taking on the role of “El Dómine Lucas” (Ayguals) and “Cartapacio” (Villergas). Often, the duo would discuss an issue of the day, engaging in a conversation that illuminated some of the popular

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262 However, in Chapter 4, I provide several examples of how both men strove to improve the built city.
opinions. One column\textsuperscript{264} in particular discussed print culture and readership while praising the \textit{Sociedad Literaria}:

\begin{quote}
Cartapacio: “…no hay español que no sea poeta, y periodista,
comediero… los escritorcillos ramplones, lo mismo que los
periodiquillos de chicha y nabo, mueren al nacer, recibiendo en
castigo de su osadía el desprecio del pueblo.”
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Dómine Lucas: “…hay truchimanes que hacen un daño inmenso, con sus
barbaridades, no sólo a la literatura sino a la prensa en general y
muy particularmente a los editores de buena fe. Prometen grandes
cosas en sus prospectos y rifás, y loterías, que no parece sino que
no hay más que subscribirse a tal o cual publicación para hacerse
rico y ser feliz.”
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Cartapacio: “…ya ve usted las continuas muestras de aprecio y de
confianza que de todas partes prodigan los inteligentes a la
Sociedad Literaria de Madrid. La brillante acogida que se dispensa
al \textit{Judío errante}, al \textit{Cancionero del pueblo}, a la historia de los
Jesuitas, al \textit{Pilluelo de Madrid} y demás notables publicaciones de
una sociedad que tanto se desvela por la ilustración de su patria, es
el galardón más grato para los que se esfuerzan en elevar la España
da la altura de las naciones más civilizadas de Europa.”
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Dómine Lucas: “Política…uf! … no me pronuncie usted más esa palabra
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{264} “Palmetas,” \textit{El Dómine Lucas}. Marzo de 1845, p. 7.
ominosa. En las páginas del Dómine Lucas no ha de haber más que amenidad, instrucción y recreo."

This conversation captures – and satirizes – the effects that newspapers had on their readers. Publications had the ability to offend, swindle, educate, or simply entertain their public, and the Sociedad Literaria (ostensibly) sought to civilize Spain and raise it up to the level of other European countries.265

The Sociedad Literaria printed many letters that they had supposedly received; most of them were not actual submissions, but rather scripted letters that served as part of the humorous content. They were intentionally badly written, and often exaggerated something about madrileños or foreigners that the writers found amusing. This tendency was important to the creation of the urban imaginary because it played with the readers’ understandings of their collective identity and the idea of public correspondence. One such letter was published in El Fandango,266 and Ayguals introduced it saying: “hemos recibido la siguiente carta que creemos divertirá a nuestros lectores” (65). The letter was supposedly submitted with a manuscript from someone claiming to be an “individuo de la Real Academia de la Ystoria,” but was written with grammatical and spelling errors such as “beinte” and “hignoro.” The letter was likely written by Ayguals himself, and he inserts his own commentary making fun of the writing style, with asides like “¿Qué lengua es ésta?” (66). Ayguals was engaging with an amalgamation that emerged from real people whom he had met and found pompous or ridiculous, proving that satire of

265 Amusingly, El Fandango caricaturized and ridiculed every other Western European country with cartoons and jokes.
266 El Fandango, Núm. 5: 15 de abril de 1845, pp. 65-66.
one’s own readers was an acceptable form of humor. This is reciprocal development at work once again: Ayguals uses the Thirdspace of the publication to simultaneously identify a person in the lived city and create an urban type in the imagined city. The readers were thus made to recognize their material selves and laugh at their metaphorical selves.

The readers of the popular press were active participants in the process of reciprocal development by means of a dialogue with the cultural content that they consumed, and the popular press was readily available, affordable, and tailored to their tastes. The city that was developed and defined within the Thirdspace of the popular publications was not merely a collection of people, places and events that could be observed by a flâneur; it also held within it abstract concepts that emerged through collective dialogue, such as public opinion and shared identity. In order to examine the urban imaginary as a complete entity, we must take into account all of the pieces of the changing culture, built environment, and other aspects of the urban experience.

Interconnected Puzzle Pieces

If we understand the city as an *oeuvre*\(^{267}\), as a collective production of all of the people who inhabit it, it then follows that all of the parts are developing together: politics, municipal development, culture, social change, and technology are all pieces of a puzzle that depend on each other and feed off of each other’s momentum. In the case of Spain, this development was uneven; “modernization came in fits and starts, alternating with periods of stagnation” (Sieburth 231), but no aspect of the city stood alone. Margot

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\(^{267}\) As defined by Lefebvre: a collective creation by the residents of the city, “a production and reproduction of human beings by human beings, rather than a production of objects” (101).
Versteeg acknowledges that this collective development is especially true of the press:

“Si es cierto que la prensa periódica contribuyó a la formación de la nación, también lo es que el desarrollo de esta nación ocasionó determinados cambios en la prensa” (14). The culture of creativity emerged as a force in the 19th century, and this surfaced most notably “in the salons, informal social gatherings (tertulias), albums, almanacs, poetic homages (coronas poéticas), and poetry competitions (juegos florales) that proliferated throughout nineteenth-century Spain and elsewhere” (Valis, *Culture* 122). This creativity manifested itself in many ways, and newspapers had multiple agendas; *La Risa*, for example had “un carácter estrictamente humorístico” (Elorza, “Periodismo democrático” 94), and in other papers, journalism “a la vez que afirmaba y robustecía ideas, preparaba para la acción pública” (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 289). However, these periodistas, regardless of their intentions, often used many of the same techniques to communicate their ideas: exploring the spaces of the city as a flâneur, communicating with their readers, and using the newspaper as a Thirdspace that fed into the imagined city through “la búsqueda de signos intangibles de identidad, formas de orientación, de evocación y de memoria” (García Canclini 94). There is intentionality to this act; Pascual Pla explains that the process of writing popular publications is an attempt to “guiar, encaminar o manipular una masa, cuanto mayor mejor, a favor de la ideología y la visión del mundo del autor” (15), which is why so many government orders were directed towards censoring or repressing the popular authors of the day. The newspaper, the literary magazine, and the folleto all permitted writers to speak to “un público mucho más extenso que el que alcanzaba el

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*268* For example, the *Real Orden* of July 1839 “señala los excesos y peligros de la Prensa” (Gómez Aparicio [1967] 258).
libro en los años anteriores” (Ucelay 31), and that society to which they spoke, in turn
“fomenta y dificulta la profesión del cronista. Si bien genera una alta demanda de
crónicas, también impone un ritmo que el cronista apenas puede seguir” (Versteeg 44-45). The work of a periodista, costumbrista, or novelista of the time was one of constant
negotiation with a reading public within the Thirdspace of the newspaper, and while the
impact of that relationship is not always recognized, it was certainly a cultural
juggernaut. The editor of El Progreso referred to “la famosa María o la hija del
jornalero, que tantos estragos ha causado en nuestra clase media”” (Fernández 141), due
to its status as a seminal novel of Madrid culture. It’s clear that the middle class listened
to the popular press and the individual voices who contributed to it, whether they were
being told to challenge authority, to understand their own history, or simply to laugh.
Conclusion: Movable Type, Legible City

The invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in the 15th century was, unquestionably, a major milestone for communication, education, and knowledge. Despite their different opinions regarding technological innovation, both Ayguals and Flores recognized the magnitude of Gutenberg’s contribution to society:

- ¡Gutemberg! ¡Gutemberg! he aquí el glorioso nombre del mortal a quien la humanidad entera deberá sus mayores triunfos, sus verdaderas glorias, sus progresos científicos, su omnipotente libertad (*Palacio* I 38).
- To the reader: “tú y yo somos el mejor cuadro del mundo, cuando nos comunicamos por medio del telégrafo de Gutenberg, que a pesar de los años y de las reformas, sigue siendo el mejor de los inventos conocidos hasta el día.”269

This “telegraph” that Flores refers to is not a literal telegraph, but rather a two-way method of communication between an author and a reader that can take place within a strategically developed Thirdspace. It is a newspaper, and the years from 1833-1868 witnessed an unprecedented expansion in the production, readership, and variety of serial publications. While some have characterized these publications as “paraliterature” or


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used “folletinesca” as a derogatory term for a novel, the newspaper was a collaborative and essential cultural component during the years of Isabel II’s reign, and the authors did not limit themselves to inconsequential topics. In fact, the “historia del periodismo ha sido ayuda fundamental para comprender no sólo la realidad de la ciudad sin también los intereses ocultos que muchas veces defendían o promovían en la prensa periódica campañas reclamando determinadas actuaciones” (Sambricio, “Introducción” 27), and a study of newspapers is therefore necessary to gain an awareness of the larger social and political issues of the time.

I have set up a background of Isabelline Madrid and the various changes at work during that time period, such as spatial transformations, shifts in class dynamics, and the proliferation of newspaper and visual culture. The publications of the popular press became an essential tool for the education and entertainment of the growing middle classes, and writers often invoked the term “pueblo” to refer to their readership, even though the term was an imagined construct with no real definition. However, we can refer to “popular publications” as those with a large middle-class readership, a generally liberal political agenda, and a serial rhythm of publication – anywhere from once a month to several times a week.

Within the context of the popular press, I have established the basis for a process that I call reciprocal development, the method by which print culture interacts with the city that it represents. I agree with Georg Simmel’s assertion that the city has an impact on the human mind – in this case, the creative mind of the periodista – but I also insist on recognizing the city as an oeuvre or collective creation; Lefebvre’s work suggests that the
city is a production of human beings who can imprint their own experiences on the
textual palimpsest of the city. Therefore, reciprocal development acknowledges both
possibilities and examines the ways in which the city and the newspapers published
within it can shape each other. The content and images of newspapers had a power to
shape both the environment and the people of Madrid through the creation of an urban
imaginary that affected the ways in which the lived city was experience and perceived.
This urban imaginary was the result of embedding the metaphorical city in the planned
city, which required a mythification of the lived experience of Madrid. Images, portraits,
cartoons, and other visual content aided in this mythification because it allowed
madrileños to recognize their own existence as a meaningful spectacle.

I have set up Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco and Antonio Flores as exemplary
representatives of the history of reciprocal development and the popular press: they were
pioneers in print and visual media, they worked in multiple capacities within the print
industry, and they engaged with their public on a consistent basis, displaying an
awareness of readers’ tastes and opinions. Through an examination of the work of both
men, we see two vital, prolific figures of 19th-century print culture, who were
collaborating on a large-scale project within Madrid for decades, whether they were
aware of it or not. They helped define what it meant to live in the Spanish capital, and
throughout their work, we see the formation of an identity that is created collectively by
the residents and those in a position of cultural authority.

Though Ayguals and Flores were not collaborators, or even friends, they shared
many similarities in their liberal ideas, their criticisms of the Catholic Church, their
opposition to foreign influences, and their insistence on the freedom of speech, especially in the popular press. All of these themes emerge in their writing, and their publications both reflected and affected their readers’ opinions on political matters. Ayguals’s *Sociedad Literaria* was also an example of the profound influence of small-scale literary industry; Ayguals’s innovations in marketing and printing technology made him one of Spain’s true entrepreneurs of the 19\(^{th}\) century. The *Sociedad’s* advances in imagery and visual content were equally important in terms of their representation of the city and the creation of the urban imaginary.

The *periodistas* elaborated what the soul of Madrid was: what it meant to be a *madrileño* and live in the city on a daily basis. I have examined several aspects that stand out in the work of Ayguals and Flores, such as poverty, morality, and pride in the city, which often took the form of criticizing foreign influences. They also made an effort to mention monuments, festivals, events of historical importance, and sacred spaces in order to imprint their own emotions and meanings onto the urban space. This is one of the primary mechanisms of reciprocal development: Ayguals and Flores did not create these aspects of the city that they found so significant. Rather, they acquired this knowledge from their lived experience in the city, actively selected it as an important facet of *madrileño* identity, and disseminated it throughout their readership.

In order to examine reciprocal development within popular novels and newspapers, I set up three sub-topics: space, psychology, and technology, all of which
intersect within the changing pace of life within the context of modernity\textsuperscript{270}: a gradual transformation of society and industry that the popular press helped interpret. Not only did narrative space become a performative realm in which spaces could be associated with moral, emotional, or historical significance, but Ayguals and Flores also suggested architectural and structural changes in order to improve the actual built environment of the city and make it a more modern European capital. There was a textual imprinting on the lived city that went far beyond that of mere reflection or representation of the madrileño experience.

Psychologically, the characters in the novels of Ayguals and Flores had a relationship with the urban environment; specific spaces either contrasted with or were an extension of their suffering or happiness. We also see different psychological components to their discussions of technology: Flores was concerned about the loss of individuality and personality in the face of excessive representation, while Ayguals actively engaged in technological modernization of the print industry. It is this dichotomy that personifies reciprocal development; technology can impact the individual’s experience in the city, but individuals can enact significant change if they so choose.

Ayguals and Flores serve as excellent examples of periodistas who put forth their own opinions, disseminating knowledge and projecting an understanding of the city that made the changes and developments of the Isabeline period legible. The figures of the periodista and costumbrista do share some characteristics with the 19\textsuperscript{th}-century flâneur, and Paul Connerton defines modernity as “the objective transformation of the social fabric unleashed by the advent of the capitalist world market which tears town feudal and ancestral limitations on a global scale, and psychologically the enlargement of life through the gradual freeing from fixed status hierarchies” (4), and I find this definition suitable for the present study.
but their practices went beyond that of simple movement, observation, and documentation. Rather, they used some of the techniques of the flâneur to engage in more complex criticism of Spanish customs and traditions by putting forth their own opinions and interpretations.

Reciprocal development was possible because of the popular press; these publications were a Thirdspace that allowed periodistas to go beyond the process of flânerie and engage with the readership on a real level. Printed publications like El Fandango and El Laberinto strove to entertain and attract readers, but also attempted to capture such elusive content as public opinion and the identity of Madrid. These newspapers were not a passive medium for consumption; they were a Thirdspace within which the lived and imagined cities interacted, political resistance took place, and information circulated. Specifically, their content arose from a continuous conversation between writers and their readership over the course of several decades.
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Appendices

Appendix A: The Calle de Antonio Flores, in Madrid, off of the Calle de Sagasta
Appendix B: The Calle de Antonio Flores, in Madrid, off of the Calle de Sagasta
Appendix C: The Calle de Antonio Flores, in Madrid, off of the Calle de Sagasta
Appendix D: Calle de las Carretas n° 8, home of Ignacio Boix’s bookstore/publishing house where Antonio Flores published El Laberinto.
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Appendix H: Algarra Cosme, “Retrato de Antonio Flores.” Bellas Artes Collection, BNE
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Appendix K: A portrait of Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco, courtesy of Wikimedia Commons:
Appendix L: E. Julia, “Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco.” Bellas Artes Collection, BNE.