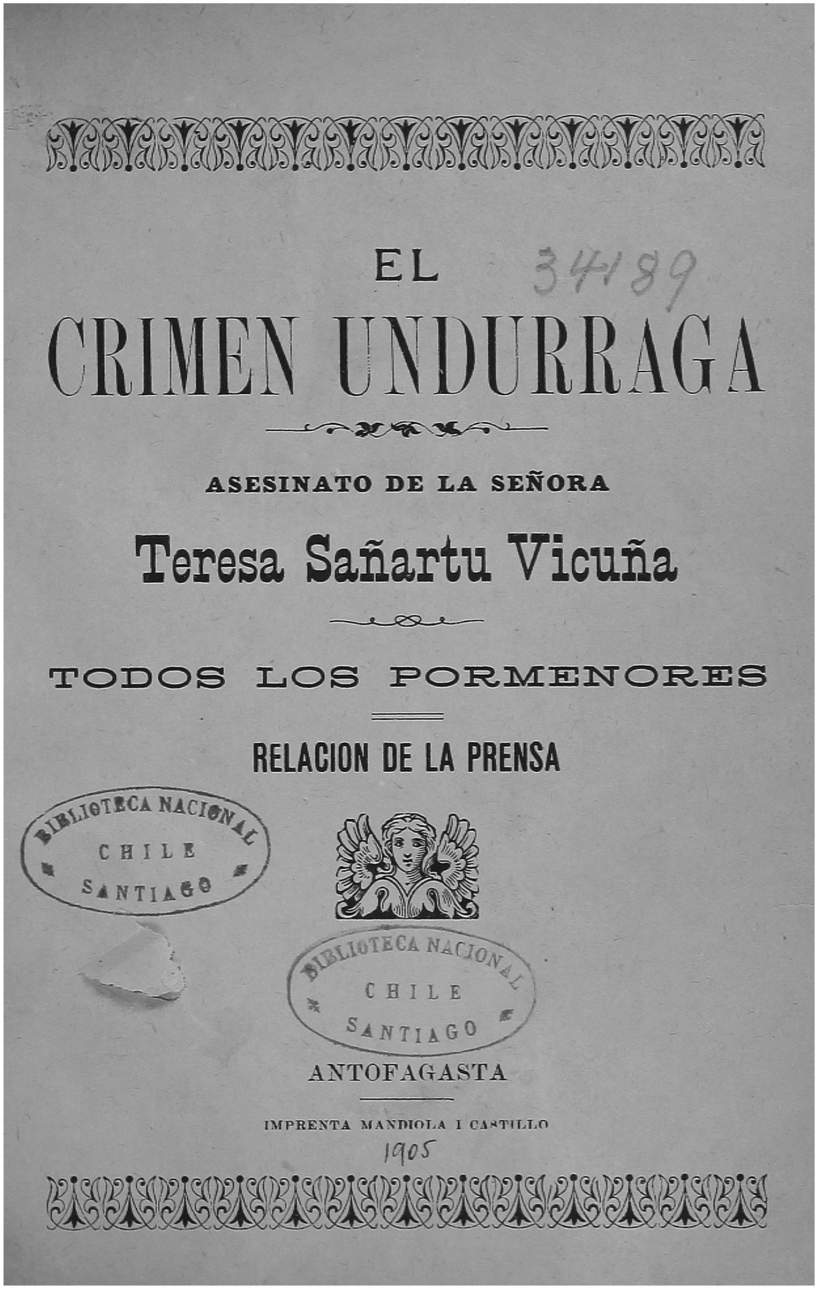

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French Influences on the Nineteenth-Century Chilean Press: The Case of the Pioneering *Crónica Roja*, 1860–90

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Abstract: This study analyzes the beginnings and development of the Chilean crime or police story, later known as the *crónica roja*, a Latin American branch of contemporary literary journalism. While the held belief is that this new Chilean genre was influenced by the *fait divers* and the *chronique judiciaire* that appeared in nineteenth-century French print journalism, in fact, a more complex cultural mediation took place. After considering the particular historical and cultural features of both French and Chilean societies at the time, taking special note of their respective journalistic traditions and the manner in which the French press entered Chilean print culture, the study compares the narrative treatment of criminal actions reported in three Chilean newspapers, *El Chileno*, *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, and *La República*, against *Le Petit Journal*, a popular French daily well known in Chile. The historical and comparative analysis shows that French *faits divers*

criminels and *chroniques judiciaires* share more similarities with the Chilean *folletín* crime books than with the country's more famous *crónica roja*. The reasons are twofold. First, the French texts' sensationalist tone and penchant for narrative detail did not have a place in the logic of the informative journalism that began imposing itself in Chile at the fin-de-siècle. It was a logic the Chilean *folletín* could largely ignore given its different editors, format, and target audience. And second, the Chilean press began adopting a moralizing and didactic tone in its *crónica roja* more in line with the rationale of its elite readership, which equated criminal activity with the lower classes, than with its growing populist audience, which favored these more sensationalist narratives.

Keywords: *crónica roja* – *fait divers criminel* – feuilleton – journalism and literature – crime reporting – Chile – France – the nineteenth-century press

Studies have shown that societies in the Southern Cone of South America were strongly influenced by French culture at the turn of the nineteenth century.[1] In Chile, this influence amounted to the early implementation of the French education model, which remained in place between 1842 and 1890 and had a direct impact on Chilean print culture. In her *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile* (History of education in Chile), Amanda Labarca demonstrates just how that French culture was disseminated, detailing the French literary canon to which Chilean students were readily exposed:

> . . . in no other place were Musset, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Balzac, and George Sand read as intensively as here [in Chile]. French was recognized as the language of wisdom, art and fashion, and France was the distinguished teacher where you should have gone to find the solution to the problems of these republics, daughters of their Revolution.[2]

This importation was promoted in large part by the Argentine intellectual, writer, and politician Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who lived in Santiago de Chile between 1840 and 1852.[3] For Sarmiento, as historian Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt states, "French ideas, fashion and literary trends were a model and an ideal for all other nations."[4] Paris had become the Promised Land for many Chilean aristocrats, especially its intellectuals, who had both the time and the financial means to travel abroad. When they returned home from the French capital, they brought with them ideas and materials that contributed to the expansion of Chile's fin-de-siècle cultural field, rendering it more autono-

mous from its colonizer and its Latin neighbors.[5] Given the intraregional cultural and economic exchanges taking place in Latin America and quickly being incorporated into the late nineteenth-century global market, France, a country revered as much for its genteel culture as for its republican spirit, had superseded Spain as the most important foreign influence throughout the region.

While French literature and enlightenment philosophy constituted the highbrow elements of that importation, popular French culture, specifically its mainstream newspapers, also made inroads into Chilean print culture. Among these appropriations, the most visible was the feuilleton (*folletín* in Spanish), which began with the complete reproduction of original French novels and illustrations in the Chilean press, such as Victor Hugo's "El rey se divierte" (*El Progreso*, 1842), George Sand's "León Leoni" (*El Siglo*, 1844), Alexandre Dumas's "El caballero de Casa Roja" (*El Timón*, 1849), Eugène Sue's "El castillo del diablo o el aventurero" (*La Tribuna*, 1850), and Alphonse de Lamartin's "Proceso y muerte del mariscal Ney" (*El Mensajero*, 1854).[6] Several scholars, including Gina Cánepa, Elizabeth Garrels, Hernán Pas, Carol Arcos, and Marina Alvarado Cornejo, have already studied this cultural importation to a great extent.[7] But while they have examined the *folletín* from distinct literary or journalistic perspectives, no one has yet analyzed the aesthetic characteristics of this French medium's influence on Chile's print culture from a *literary journalistic* perspective. This study, therefore, seeks to complement the existing panorama of French influences on the development of the informative press in Chile by looking at how the nineteenth-century French feuilleton—and the *fait divers criminel* and *chronique judiciaire* that it appreciably influenced in the second half of that century—relates to the rise of the Chilean crime or police story known as the *crónica roja*, a Latin American branch of contemporary literary journalism.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that scholarly studies in Latin America traditionally apply the word *crónica* to texts written by the *Modernistas* and published in Hispanophone newspapers at the fin-de-siècle. Good examples are pieces about *flânerie*, literary texts that are considered as journalism merely because they appeared in a newspaper. On the contrary, this study, by comparison, asserts two premises that should nurture and enrich literary journalism studies: (1) the Latin American *crónica* must be understood primarily as a journalistic text that has its roots firmly planted, like the French *fait divers* and *chronique*, in narratives about daily events but that later, again not unlike its French cousin, transcended its interests beyond the ephemeral[8]; and (2) periodicals and newspapers are not just material containers of meaningful cultural content, but are influential actors *themselves* in the field of cultural mediation.[9]

These two premises buttress the structure of this study: The first is the specific socio-historical particularities of French print culture in Chile in the nineteenth century, especially in the latter part of the century, when both nations' presses were growing increasingly populist but for different reasons. From there, the study explores the narrative treatment of stories in Chilean newspapers that bear traces of the literary and journalistic aesthetics (including, but not limited to, those aesthetics that Tom Wolfe outlined in his essay that leads *The New Journalism*[10]) palpable in "viral" French *fait divers* press stories of the day, in particular sensationalist *faits divers criminels*, and *chroniques judiciaires* about crime.[11] Because scholarship on the *fait divers* as a transdisciplinary literary and journalistic genre is monolithic, and because the breadth of French influences on Chilean print culture is itself expansive, this study limits its focus to the development of and growing fascination with these crime stories in Chile. The growth was due in large part to the popularity of the French newspapers' serialized crime novels (*romans-feuilletons* and *romans policiers*) and *faits divers* of murder, mystery, and mayhem, the narrative arc of which had influenced Chilean writers over the years, but also to the varying degrees in which violence was perceived, confronted, and mediatized in both nations.

Police stories in particular present a clear tension between the two nations' journalistic systems: the old system, which was intellectual and ideological, and the new one, which is commercial and informative. This is readily seen on the *contextual* level because, as both nations' journalistic systems developed, the text became a cultural mirror through which their respective populations saw themselves evolving. Print media soon became a product for mass consumption, a means to inform, persuade, and entertain an increasingly literate body politic. The crime story played a central role in that development, though notably later in Chile than in France due to the time lag between both nations' governing aesthetics and literacy development among the lower classes who relished such stories. Crime stories, be they the *fait divers criminel*/*chronique judiciaire* or, half a century later, the *crónica roja*, not only directed readers' attention away from a daily diet of political discourse in both countries, but also satisfied the tastes of a new reading public, one characterized by an interest in the emotional over the rational.[12] Ironically, in their race to attract readers by offering more titillating stories of ghoulishness that echoed the fictional narratives of the French *romans-feuilletons* or the (semi) factual narratives of the *faits divers*, Chilean newspapers openly contradicted their original didactic and democratizing missions.

On the textual level, though, a comparison between the particular combination of literary and journalistic resources and strategies found in both

nations' crime stories reveals a substantially different story about how crimes and criminals were reported and represented. Owing to the gruesome, gothic nature of the events recounted, the crime story in both nations' presses adopted a narrative style typically absent in the textual economy of traditional news stories. Just like the *roman-feuilleton*, with which it shared restricted column space, the crime chronicle does include motives, identifies actors situated within specific roles with relative clarity, and constructs narrative arcs of suspense and climax. In fact, if the greatest distinction between the two mediatized genres was factual representation, the nineteenth-century line dividing fact (*chronique judiciaire*/*crónica roja*) from fiction (feuilleton/*folletín*) in both nations was frequently and intentionally blurred for readers, as much to inform them of their neighbors' private habits as to increase the sale of hard copies sold by street vendors instead of by subscription.[13]

And yet, curiously, the way the crime story reached its readers in France and in Chile differed in substantial ways. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the French texts' sensationalist tone and penchant for narrative detail—which had shaped the narrative development of the French *roman policier*, such as Émile Gaboriau's *L'Affaire Lerouge* (1867), and the (false) *chronique judiciaire*, such as René de Pont-Jest's *Le Procès des Thugs* (1877)[14]—did not have a place in the logic of the informative journalism that began imposing itself in Chile at the fin-de-siècle. That logic was one the Chilean *folletín* could largely ignore given its different editing style, format, and target audience. Second, the Chilean press began adopting a moralizing and didactic tone in its *crónica roja* more in line with the rationale of its elite readership who equated criminal activity more with the country's lower classes than with its growing populist audience, which favored these more sensationalist narratives. If sensationalist crime stories such as Jean-Batiste Troppmann's murder spree in France (in which a loner mechanic slaughtered an entire family over a period of weeks in August and September 1869 and was subsequently tried, convicted, and guillotined in January 1870), took so long to get established in Chile, it was because the country waited until the second half of the twentieth century to begin aligning itself with the logic and aesthetic choices of the growing middle and working classes, thus moving away from the aristocratic "good taste" that dominated the newspapers of the previous decades.

Admittedly, to single out any specific national influence on the development of another country's literature or journalistic production raises certain epistemological red flags and methodological reservations. Given Chile's evolving ties with Spain and France, let alone with countries in both Americas, such caveats are of particular concern in this study. And yet, both nations' varying responses to the omnipresence of violent crime reported in their dailies

evinces as much their cultural differences as they do their journalistic similarities. While changes in the French print media were vast and volatile throughout the nineteenth century and reverberated far and wide to the Southern Cone, local factors in Chile, such as its conservative milieu and its lack of a robust cultural market, were also responsible for demarking the limits of a transatlantic cultural mediation. The discussion that follows thus focuses on the literary crime journalism produced during the last third of the century when the Chilean press, sparked by various social changes, began its own transformation from a propaganda-ideological matrix to a modern-informative model.[15]

(Literary) Journalism and the Evolution of French Print Culture

As media scholars have pointed out, French literature became the bedrock of early French newspapers following the Revolution of 1789, when celebrated authors swapped their plumes for a printing press, and their recognizable writing styles filled both news and opinion columns. When Chile underwent its own revolution against Spain in the early decades of the nineteenth century, its press culture also experienced a major transformation; and France, with its proto-literary journalistic content, played no small role in this change. In their introduction to *Presse, nations et mondialisation au XIX*e *siècle*, Marie-Ève Thérenty and Alain Vaillant note, "The prestigious ghost of revolutionary journalism will almost always haunt foreign presses in times of popular unrest and republican or anti-colonial insurrections (or often both, as in Latin America)."[16]


Le Petit Journal

QUOTIDIEN

FEUILLETON DU PETIT JOURNAL

PAULINE

Le Petit Journal, August 28, 1866, page 1 (gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France).

At the dawn of the Republic, the literate French population (largely, until 1840 at least, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie) were hungry for

legislative debate and political ideologies, so newspapers became the mouthpieces of various rival political factions. But, as Ingemar Oscarsson notes, these late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century French newspapers also carried the first appearances of the feuilleton, a central news genre which would, through the course of the nineteenth century, evolve into the *fait divers* and its many avatars, all forerunners to today's French and European literary journalism[17]: the *canard*, an early form of sensationalist fake news; the *chronique*, a timely news item that ranged from health and economic news to local and international crime stories; the *roman-feuilleton*, an often exotic serialized novel detailing mysteries and crimes of passion; and, much later, the *reportage*, a genre of in-depth "*chronique engagé*" about social injustice frequently told in the first person.[18]

These earlier feuilletons, which carried various French *faits divers* "mainly devoted to theatre programmes, literary news, [public] announcements etc.,"[19] were at first in-octavo inserts within the larger in-quarto newspapers themselves. The feuilleton was added separately because the newspapers needed space for the debates and political commentary, and also because the feuilleton's news often came late in the day and thus halted printing and distribution to subscribers outside of Paris. And because the *fait divers* interested primarily Parisian readers, the feuilletons could be excluded from the papers sent to the provinces.[20] By 1800, though, the *faits divers* in the feuilleton inserts found their way directly into the pages of the newspapers themselves, often occupying the *rez-de-chaussée* (ground floor) of the front page just under a thin jumpline (*sous le filet*), and then continuing onto the second, third, or fourth page as necessary.[21] It is this tradition of the feuilleton, and the later *roman-feuilleton* (serialized novels) which eventually displaced, "little by little[,] all the other rubrics, worldly talks, historical fragments, literary criticism, travel stories,"[22] that are found in the major Parisian dailies throughout the nineteenth century, as well as in the continental newspapers a short while later.[23] The result of placing *faits divers* beneath news items and political commentary was that media information was being ingested differently than before. Over time, the style and content of these "hard" and "soft" news stories began blending, and the boundaries between fact and fiction blurred.

The French press shifted during la Monarchie de Juillet (1830–48) from being a political organ to a commercial enterprise, disseminating cultural and socio-economic ideas alongside political commentary. It was during this watershed period of the French press, when a newspaper format that would last up until World War I, Chilean readers and writers would have encountered and first brought copies back to Santiago de Chile and other cities. During France's Second Republic (1848–51), however, the *chronique* underwent

major changes, "losing [the] ephemeral nature" of a *faits divers* and "shifting towards a monolithic chronicle, centered around one or two important events."[24] As Thérenty posits:

> the chronicle of the Second Empire asserts its own identity: news is subjectively selected by the author, and this arbitrary selection no longer poses a problem. The chronicler sets down his own hierarchy of information. Finally, the chronicle adopts a more conversational tone, chatty even, as if in an apostrophe. It is intended to weave a strong emotional bond between the author and the reader, whose common sense is flattered.[25]

It was this new journalistic voice and genre, one that was also developing in the United States and, later, in Britain with its "new" journalism, that would eventually migrate and take root in Chile, though the cultural "soil" was still vastly different from that found in France at the time—a fragile republic surrounded by formidable monarchies.

By the start of France's Third Republic (1870–1940), French newspapers had become more affordable, and their readership varied. This greatly affected the Chilean press, which had looked to the French press for stories—and intellectual guidance. Evidence of this virality of French press articles appearing in Chilean newspapers, however, is still scarce, because countless early Chilean papers were never preserved in the microfilm archives of the Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. Moreover, much of what was archived has yet to be scanned and rendered OCR searchable, as French papers have been in Gallica, the digital library of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. But the Chilean practice of copying and translating texts from the Parisian newspapers is well known. The columns "Lectura Instructiva. De la infancia de la educación actual de las mujeres" and "Lectura Instructiva. Sobre la educación," for instance, published in *El Progreso* on February 21, 1843, and January 31, 1844, respectively, are good examples of this practice. The first text was written by Aimé Martín (1781–1844), a French author from Lyon; the second, by Augusto Desrez, a French journalist and director of *Journal des connaissances utiles*. Later, Chilean newspapers such as Santiago de Chile's *El Ferrocarril* even reproduced *faits divers* translated directly from French publications, such as *L'Économiste français*, *Le Correspondant*, and *La Nouvelle Revue*.[26]

One specific example of these *faits divers* from the French press that had an impact on the development of the later *crónica roja* can be found in "Muerte horrorosa de un enano."[27] This French *fait divers* about the tragic death of a circus dwarf eviscerated by several "tiger cubs" (feral cats, in actuality, whose fur was zebra striped to simulate tiger cubs[28]) that he was taming in a cage, made its way, translated verbatim, into *El Ferrocarril* on September 23, 1882. The proto-*crónica roja*, for instance, provides the same graphic details

French readers would have read:

> Immediately the other improvised tigers threw themselves on top of him, and before anyone could intervene, the poor dwarf lay on the ground, strangled, his eyes gouged out and his face completely disfigured.
>
> When the corpse was removed, the wretch's features had no human form.[29]

The gory details, including "gouged" eyes and "completely disfigured" visage, came directly from the story "Le Dompteur nain" ("The dwarf lion tamer") first reported in *La Lanterne* on July 27, 1882:

> In a second, all the other Lilliputian tigers were upon him, and before anyone could intervene, the dwarf, strangled, eyes gouged out, and completely disfigured, was dead. When the corpse, still shod in its soft boots and black coat, was removed from the cage, it no longer had a human face."[30]

The story, taken up in full and edited slightly, appeared a few days later in the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (July 31, 1882), where the word "Lilliputian" was replaced with "improvised" to correct the initial error in referring to the tigers' diminished size rather than the cats' dyed fur.[31] The Chilean story's use of "tigres improvisados" signals its alignment with the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*' "tigres improvisés" instead of *La Lanterne*'s Swiftian allusion, "tigres lilliputiens," which makes perfect sense, given that the *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* was a paper popular among the French bourgeois, whereas *La Lanterne* was a radicalist paper whose anticlerical leanings would not have been well received in staunchly Catholic Santiago.

TIRAGE DU PETIT JOURNAL

255.600

Dimanche 26 août 1866

LETTRE D'UN EX-ÉTRANGLEUR

J'ai à donner à mes lecteurs copie de la lettre suivante. — Elle a son parfum d'originalité ; elle est curieuse, venant de la part d'un homme qui a manié le roomal et étranglé ses contemporains :

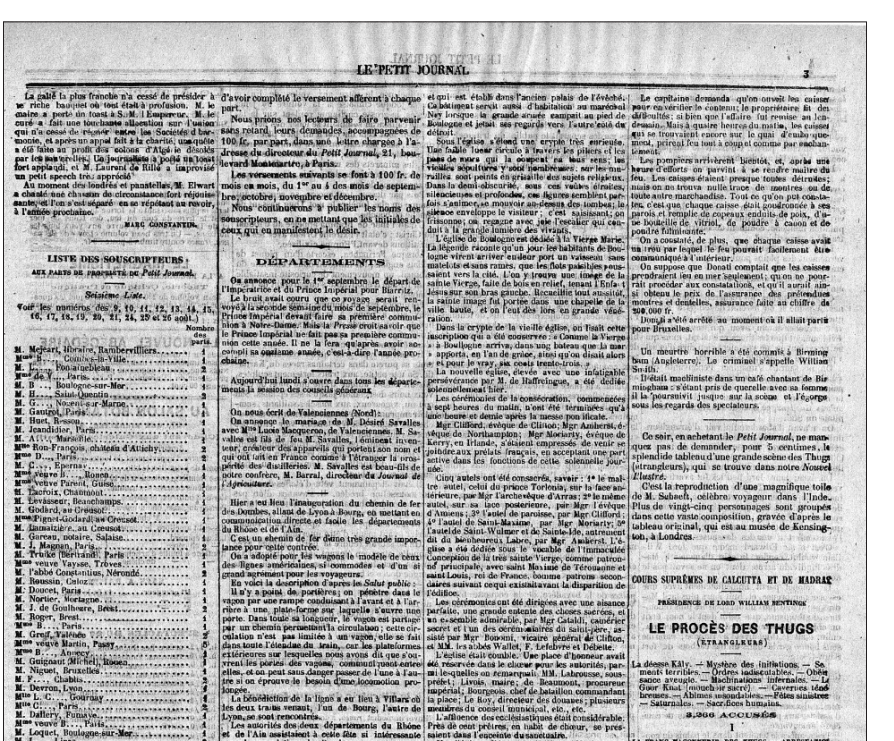
Londres, ce 25 août 1866.

Monsieur Timothée Trimm,

On assure que le *Petit Journal* commencera le lundi 27 du courant le récit parfaitement complet et détaillé du *Grand procès des Thugs*, jugés par ceux-là même qu'ils ont si souvent attaqués.

Je comprends qu'il y ait un grand intérêt de curiosité à relater les divers incidents révélés durant les débats de cette cause célèbre.

Le Petit Journal, August 27, 1866, page 1 (gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France).



LE PETIT JOURNAL 3

La gaîté la plus franche n'a cessé de présider à ce riche banquet où tout était à profusion. M. le maire a porté un toast à S. M. l'Empereur. M. le curé a fait une touchante allocution sur l'union qui n'a cessé de régner entre les Sociétés de bienfaisance, et après un appel fait à la charité, une quête a été faite au profit des soldats d'Afgé le dimanche par les bonnes âmes. La journée a passé un peu trop vite, car elle a été fort applaudi, et M. Laurent de Rillé a improvisé un petit speech très-applaudi.

Au moment des bondrées et paniers, M. Elwart a chanté une chanson de circonstance fort réjouissante, et l'un n'est regardé en se réjouissant ne savoir, à l'année prochaine.

MARC CONSTANTIN.

LISTE DES SOUSCRIPTEURS

AUX PARTS DE PROPRIÉTÉ du *Petit Journal.*

Sixième Liste.

Voir les numéros des 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25 et 26 août.

	Nombre des parts.
M. Mégeart, libraire, Rambervilliers	1
Mme B..., Comes-la-Ville	1
M. Jean Pol-Archelan	2
Mme de V..., Paris	1
M. B..., Boulogne-sur-Mer	1
M. H..., Saint-Quentin	3
M. G..., Nogent-sur-Marne	1
M. Gautier, Paris	1
M. Huet, Besson	1
M. Jeandillier, Paris	1
M. A. V., Marseille	1
Mme Ron-François, château d'Atichy	1
Mme D..., Paris	2
M. C..., Epernay	1
Mme veuve B..., Rouen	1
Mme veuve Pavet, Guise	1
M. Lacroix, Chaumont	1
M. Levasseur, Beauchamps	1
M. Godard, au Creusot	1
Mme Pignet-Godard, au Creusot	1
M. Immatidge, au Creusot	1
M. Gurvan, notaire, Salonique	1
M. J. Magnan, Paris	2
M. Trulke (Bertrand), Paris	1
Mme veuve Vargue, Troyes	1
M. l'abbé Constantius, Néronde	2
M. Beaussin, Cateau	1
M. Doucet, Paris	1
M. Nortier, Mortagne	1
M. J. de Goulhaere, Rosai	1
M. Roger, Brest	1
Mme B..., Paris	1
M. Greuf, Valenciennes	1
Mme veuve Martin, Passy	5
Mme B..., Auxerre	1
M. Guigeant (Mitchell, Rosen	1
M. Niguet, Bruxelles	1
M. F..., Chablis	2
M. Devron, Lyon	2
Mlle L. C..., Gournay	1
Mme G..., Paris	2
M. Dallery, Pumaye	1
Mme veuve B..., Paris	1
M. Loquet, Boulogne-sur-Mer	1
M. L..., Linas	2
Mme Bruiol, Nantes	1
M. Benaiz, Paris	1
M. Biard, Paris	2
Mme P..., Paris	1
M. L..., Versailles	2

(*La suite à demain.*)

C'est dans quatre jours, le 31 août, que sera close la souscription aux parts de propriété du *Petit Journal*.

Ce délai est irrévocablement le dernier.

On comprend en effet qu'il serait impossible de le prolonger en admettant que toutes les parts ne fussent pas prises.

En effet, les versements se font à 100 fr. de mois en mois, et le premier dividende sera distribué au mois de janvier prochain; or il arriverait, si la souscription restait ouverte, que les souscripteurs toucheraient les revenus avant d'avoir complété le versement afférent à chaque part.

Nous prions nos lecteurs de faire parvenir sans retard leurs demandes, accompagnées de 100 fr. par part, dans une lettre chargée à l'adresse du directeur du *Petit Journal*, 21, boulevard Montmartre, à Paris.

Les versements suivants se font à 100 fr. de mois en mois, du 1er au 5 des mois de septembre, octobre, novembre et décembre.

Nous continuerons à publier les noms des souscripteurs, en ne mettant que les initiales de ceux qui en manifesteront le désir.

DÉPARTEMENTS

On annonce pour le 1er septembre le départ de l'Impératrice et du Prince Impérial pour Biarritz.

Le bruit avait couru que ce voyage serait renvoyé à la seconde semaine du mois de septembre, le Prince Impérial devant faire sa première communion à Notre-Dame. Mais la *Presse* croit savoir que le Prince Impérial ne fait pas sa première communion cette année. Il ne la fera qu'après avoir accompli sa onzième année, c'est-à-dire l'année prochaine.

Aujourd'hui lundi s'ouvre dans tous les départements la session des conseils généraux.

On nous écrit de Valenciennes (Nord):

On annonce le mariage de M. Désiré Savalles avec Mlle Lucie Macqueron, de Valenciennes. M. Savalles est fils de feu M. Savalles, l'éminent inventeur, créateur des appareils qui portent son nom et qui ont valu à la France comme à l'étranger la propriété de plusieurs mines. M. Savalles est beau-fils de notre confrère, M. Barral, directeur du *Journal de l'agriculture*.

Hier a eu lieu l'inauguration du chemin de fer des Dombes, allant de Lyon à Bourg, en mettant en communication directe et facile les départements du Rhône et de l'Ain.

C'est un chemin de fer d'une très grande importance pour cette contrée.

On a adopté pour les wagons le modèle de ceux des grandes américaines, si commodes et d'un si grand agrément pour les voyageurs.

En voici la description d'après le *Salut public*:

Il n'y a point de portières; on pénètre dans le wagon par une rampe conduisant à l'avant et à l'arrière à une plate-forme par laquelle s'ouvre une porte. Dans toute sa longueur, le wagon est partagé par un chemin permettant la circulation; cette circulation n'est pas limitée à un wagon; elle se fait dans toute l'étendue du train, car les plateformes extérieures sur lesquelles nous avons dit que s'ouvraient les portes des wagons, communiquent entre elles, et on peut sans danger passer de l'une à l'autre si on éprouve le besoin d'une locomotion prompte.

La bénédiction de la ligne a eu lieu à Villars où les deux trains venant, l'un de Bourg, l'autre de Lyon, se sont rencontrés.

Les autorités des deux départements du Rhône et de l'Ain assistaient à cette fête si intéressante pour les populations des Dombes.

CORRESPONDANCE.

Boulogne-sur-Mer, 25 août 1866.

La dédicace de la magnifique église de Boulogne vient d'avoir lieu en présence d'une affluence innombrable de fidèles.

L'église actuelle est un vaste et haut édifice qui, à l'intérieur, rappelle la Madeleine de Paris. Mais son dôme est d'une hauteur prodigieuse; il dépasse de beaucoup par sa hardiesse et son élégance la lourde coupole de Sainte-Geneviève.

Du sommet, la vue s'étend sur un horizon immense, embrassant la terre et la mer, jusqu'aux rives d'Angleterre.

Cette église est l'œuvre d'un prêtre infatigable qui la fit commencer il y a quarante ans et qui a consacré toute sa vie à terminer les travaux. Quelques soirs à son achèvement, ce prêtre, Mgr Haffreingue, est enlevé par de quarante-cinq à cinquante mille ouvriers, parmi lesquels les maçons devaient tenir une place nombreuse, pour la maçonnerie du château coûta 43,372,024 livres, 8 sols, 2 deniers.

L'émigration annuelle des maçons commença chaque année vers la fin de février. Ils s'embarquent pour Paris aux stations de Guéret, de la Souterraine, de Limoges, de Châteauroux. Pendant plus d'une semaine, chaque train en emporte trois ou quatre cents. Ils voyagent en troisième classe et ne sont pas exigeants. Peu leur importe d'être à l'étroit dans un wagon, pourvu qu'ils s'y trouvent ensemble. Ils se mêlent gaiement entre eux, une très grande fraternité, quoique ce soient les seuls ouvriers d'habitement qui n'appartiennent à aucun compagnonage et qui ne soient pas.

Les tailleurs de pierre ont la prétention d'être les successeurs des Tyriens, auxquels fut en partie confiée l'édification du temple de Jérusalem; aussi s'appellent-ils les *Enfants de Salomon*, les *Compagnons étrangers*; ils ont affilié les menuisiers et les serruriers avec le titre de *Compagnons du devoir de liberté ou Gavots*.

On retrouve, parmi les *Enfants de maître Jacques*, des tailleurs de pierres qualifiés de *compagnons passants ou loups-garous* en compagnie de menuisiers et *Dévoirs* se disant *descendants* de chênes.

Les charpentiers, *compagnons passants ou drilles*, qui se sont adjoint les plâtriers et les couvreurs, observent les rites des *Enfants de maître Soubise*.

Vous, les trois grandes affiliations et leurs annexes, point de place pour les maçons, et il est inutile de dire qu'ils n'ont pas sollicité. A quoi leur servirait d'être des *compagnons du tour de France* ? Ils vont droit de leur pays natural au lieu de leur destination, que ce soit Paris ou tout autre point; ils y passent la saison du travail, y amassent un modeste pécule, et quand l'hiver interrompt la bâtisse, ils disparaissent avec leur butin. Rien encore que les maçons nomades, ils méritèrent le surnom d'*hirondelles*.

Une fois arrivé à Paris, le maçon se loge, en chambrée, dans une de ces rues étroites, qui, malgré les embellissements auxquels il a contribué, avoisinent encore les berges de la Seine. Le lendemain, dès cinq heures, il se coiffe d'une casquette de drap, endosse une blouse blanche, passe un pantalon de cotonnade bleue, se chausse de gros et solides souliers, et part pour la Grève. Là il contracte, pour un temps plus ou moins long, un marché avec un entrepreneur, avec un chef de chantier, et loue les ouvriers et de fixer un salaire qui varie selon qu'ils sont maçons expérimentés, ou simples manœuvres, piocheurs et gâcheurs.

La journée du maçon commence à six heures du matin et finit à six heures du soir. Elle est interrompue, à neuf heures et à deux heures, par un repas composé pareillement d'un potage, où règnent en abondance les carottes et les pommes de terre. C'est le consommateur qui fournit et taille le pain. Une bouteur, renouvelée au cabaret, arrose chacune repas. Le maçon, qui est un Lorrain, ou

Le capitaine demanda qu'on ouvrit les caisses pour en vérifier le contenu; le propriétaire fit des difficultés; si bien que l'affaire fut remise au lendemain. Mais à quatre heures du matin, les caisses qui se trouvaient encore sur le quai d'embarquement, prirent feu tout à coup et comme par enchantement.

Les pompiers arrivèrent bientôt, et, après une heure d'efforts on parvint à se rendre maître du feu. Les caisses étaient presque toutes détruites; mais on en trouva huit intactes, et montrées on de toute autre marchandise. Tout ce qu'on put constater, c'est que chaque caisse était goudronnée à ses parois et remplie de paquets enduits de poix, d'une bouteille de vitriol, de poudre à canon et de poudre fulminante.

On a constaté, de plus, que chaque caisse avait un rou par lequel le feu pouvait facilement être communiqué à l'intérieur.

On suppose que Donati comptait que les caisses prendraient feu en mer seulement; qu'on ne pourrait procéder aux constatations, et qu'il aurait ainsi obtenu le prix de l'assurance des prétendues marres et dentelles, assurance faite au chiffre de 200,000 fr.

Donati a été arrêté au moment où il allait partir pour Bruxelles.

Un meurtre horrible a été commis à Birming ham (Angleterre). Le criminel s'appelle William Smith.

Il était meilleiste dans un café chantant de Birmingham; s'étant pris de querelle avec sa femme il la poursuivit jusque sur la scène et l'égorga sous les regards de spectateurs.

Ce soir, en achetant le *Petit Journal*, ne manquez pas de demander, pour 5 centimes, le splendide tableau d'une grande scène des Thugs (étrangleurs), qui se trouve dans notre *Nouvel Illustré*.

C'est la reproduction d'une magnifique toile de M. Sabatelli, célèbre voyageur dans l'Inde. Plus de vingt-cinq personnages sont groupés dans cette vaste composition, gravée d'après le tableau original, qui est au musée de Kensington, à Londres.

COURS SUPRÊMES DE CALCUTTA ET DE MADRAS

PRÉSIDENCE DE LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

LE PROCÈS DES THUGS

(ÉTRANGLEURS)

La déesse Kâly. — Mystère des initiations. — Sements terribles. — Ordres indéchiffrables. — Obéissance aveugle. — Machinations infernales. — Le Guer Khat (meurtre sacré). — Cavernes ténébreuses. — Abîmes insondables. — Fêtes sinistres et saturnales. — Sacrifices humains.

3,266 ACCUSÉS

I

LA FRANC-MAÇONNERIE DES THUGS. — ARRESTATION DE FERINGHEA.

Depuis bien des années, des crimes étaient commis dans l'Hindoustan avec une incroyable audace, des personnages importants avaient disparu, des caravanes entières n'avaient pas atteint le but de leur arrivée sans qu'on eût ce qu'elles étaient devenues; les familles et les intéressés s'étaient inutilement adressés aux tribunaux.

Aucun soupçon n'avait été retrouvé; et quelque le nom des thugs eût été souvent prononcé, on n'avait pas voulu y croire. On mettait tous ces meurtres, toutes ces disparitions sur le compte des voleurs ordinaires du grand chemin ou sur celui des accidents, des tigres, des ouragans, des inondations.

Il ne fallut rien moins que l'attaque dirigée contre le colonel sir Edward Butler, sur la route de Tritchinapaly à Madras, pour ouvrir les yeux.

Par miracle, sir Edward avait échappé au fe

CURIOSITÉS

DE L'HISTOIRE ET DE LA SCIENCE

LES OUVRIERS

Le Maçon

Le maçon est le roi de l'heure présente. La régénération de nos villes, la démolition des vieux quartiers, l'élargissement des rues, les grands travaux entrepris de toutes parts lui ont donné une importance qu'il n'avait jamais eue.

Paris surtout a l'air d'une ville prise d'assaut par les maçons.

Il n'est guère de rues où on ne les voie dresser des échafaudages, empiler des moellons; gravir l'échelle en échelle, un oiseau sur la tête, ou, la taloche à la main, écarter les passants qu'une pierre pourrait atteindre.

Il n'est guère de rues où l'on n'entende retentir ce cri : *Une truelle, s'il vous plaît!*

Pourquoi les maçons viennent-ils presque tous de la Creuse ou de la Haute-Vienne? Parce qu'un sombre des entrepreneurs du temps de Louis XIV, il se trouva des Marchois et des Limousins, qui attirèrent leurs compatriotes à Paris et aux environs. Il résulte d'une note du marquis de Dangeau, qu'au 31 mai 1685 il y avait, à Versailles seulement, plus

Blondin au petit pied, et qui se livre à des exercices gymnastiques à 20 mètres au-dessus du sol, comprend qu'il a besoin de sobriété. Il ne se permet d'excès qu'aux frais du propriétaire ou de l'entrepreneur, le jour de la *paie du bourgeois*.

Si, le dimanche, il hante parfois les bals des barrières, c'est à titre de simple spectateur, il ne danse jamais.

Pendant que le mari monte des murs et fait du *funambulisme* à Paris, la femme ou la fille qui plante, récolte, moissonne, soigne ses enfants et veille aux intérêts du foyer. Un jour de novembre, un cri s'élève dans les villages : « Voilà nos hommes! voilà nos gars! »

Les approches du printemps avaient amené la tristesse; la joie renaît avec la bise. avec le froid, quand hommet les femmes dont le pauvre émigrait est condamné à ne jamais voir chez lui la nourriture. Tout le monde est en fête; les femmes courent les bras tendus d'avance à la rencontre des voyageurs et répandent, chemin faisant, la bonne nouvelle. Les petits en sauts gambadent le long des haies; les grands pères courbés hâtent le pas en trébuchant et des larmes roulent dans leurs yeux éteints.

Ce sont les maçons qui reviennent!

RENÉ LIERRE.

Le Petit Journal, August 28, 1866, page 3 (gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France)

While French readers might have had a primary interest in the dwarf's tragic death as a *fait divers* because it took place on French soil, Chilean readers would have been fascinated essentially with the story's bizarre and gothic nature, hence its inclusion among Santiago de Chile's local interest stories that day; that the story took place in France was, to them, arguably secondary at best. The topic's universality alone was enough to have effaced any specific cultural references. This was not always the case, however, as stories migrated from France across the ocean. To be sure, *fait divers* stories such as this one were written to "appease the need for the romantic and the sensational,"[32] a trend growing in France ever since the popular *roman-feuilleton* and the *chronique*, once separate journalistic genres, began cross-breeding. This frontier between reality and fiction in the Chilean dailies at this time, unlike in the country's *Lira Popular* (the peoples' lyre),[33] was clearly policed, either in the section titles (poems, *folletín*, and so on) or just because the author pointed it out ("this is a true story"). When such viral hybrid stories did make their way into the Chilean press, they would have been understood only as factual. Two brief examples of this literary journalistic hybridization in France that, despite their common human appeal, were geographically pertinent are *Le Procès des Thugs* and the viral story of the gruesome Troppmann affair, which appeared in the pages of Paris's *Le Petit Journal* before finding a second life overseas.

A *chroniqueur judiciaire* for the Parisian daily *Le Figaro*, René de Pont-Jest serialized the fictional novel *Le Procès des Thugs*, based loosely on historical events, between August and October 1866, years before the famous French law of July 29, 1881, was enacted to prohibit judicial court chronicles, or *chroniques judiciaires*, from being anything but "fidèle," or faithful, to the facts in their reporting.[34] But unlike the way other novels were traditionally advertised in the press days before they were to appear, *Le Procès des Thugs* was announced as the lead on the front page of the August 27, 1866, edition as a *fait divers* "Letter" from a former apprentice "strangler" named Robinson to the paper's famed chronicler Timothée Trimm (the pseudonym of writer Léo Lespès). The "Letter" was based on a real story from India about a band of thieves and assassins who strangle their victims. Moreover, when it appeared the following day, the story was not placed in the paper's *rez-de-chaussée*, where the fictional *roman-feuilleton* normally appeared, but rather above the jump line, where factual news stories were placed. In fact, the story was presented as a journalistic text and even placed on page three under the column "Étranger," dedicated to foreign news items, bearing its title in full caps typical of the factual *chronique judiciaire*:

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(ÉTRANGLEURS)

The *chronique* opens with an exposition that reads like a novel but which its readers thought at the time was nonfiction told with a literary flair:

> For many years, crimes had been committed in Hindustan with incredible audacity. Important figures had disappeared; entire caravans had not reached their destinations without our knowing what had become of them; families and those concerned had turned hopelessly to the courts.
>
> No corpse had been found, and although the name of the thugs was often mentioned, no one wanted to believe it. We attributed all of these murders, all of these disappearances, to the acts of ordinary highway robbers or to those of accidents, tigers, hurricanes, floods.[35]

And it concludes on the next page, though teases the reader to return the following day for another installment:

> We cannot recapture here the savage pride with which, in raising his chained hands towards the tribunal, he spoke in Hindi, that soft and harmonious language like Italian:
>
> "I am the descendant of a royal race, and I swear by Kali that I won't say a word unless my chains are taken off."
>
> The tiger cannot stand its shackles!
>
> (*To be continued tomorrow*).[36]

As Amélie Chabrier rightly notes, the story was presented in *Le Petit Journal* as a nonfictional *fait divers*, an official report or "*compte rendu judiciaire*," but it was actually "une fiction déguisée" that would be published a decade later as novel.[37] The "ambiguïté générique" of the piece, she adds, where de Pont-Jest found "an original angle to speak again of a story already well known to the readership, but which he presents as an authentic narrative, told in the manner of a journalistic article,"[38] not only prompted the sale of more copies of *Le Petit Journal* but considerably blurred the lines between fact and fiction for its readers, especially given the fact that the second part of Dumas's 1838 gothic novel *Pauline*, itself filled with dark crimes of theft and murder, was the *roman-feuilleton* that shared the pages of *Le Petit Journal* with de Pont-Jest's story over the next couple of weeks.[39]

While the events surrounding the crimes and subsequent trial of the

band of Indian assassins were (meant to be) taking place in the exotic clime of Calcutta, the real crimes and trial and execution of Troppmann—which Dominique Kalifa, Alain Vaillant, and Marie-Ève Thérenty identify as having ushered in the "modern" *fait divers*[40]—were happening now, in 1869–70, in the same city as its Parisian readers. It was an event so mediatized[41] that it reached across the Atlantic.[42] The Troppmann affair was a salacious news story that lasted several months in the press. The perpetrator killed all eight members of the Kinck family, burying the mother and the youngest children in a field near Pantin, in the northern outskirts of Paris. The event alone almost single-handedly made *Le Petit Journal* the most popular daily in Paris at the time:

> On September 23, two days after the crime was discovered, the circulation of *Le Petit Journal* reached 357,000 copies. It increased to 448,000 copies on September 28, after the discovery of the corpse of Gustave Kinck. And this figure increased further in October and November."[43]

The numerous *faits divers* based on the story, all written in a sensationalist prose worthy of Gaboriaus and de Pont-Jest, were signed by "Thomas Grimm," the collective pseudonym of several *chroniquers* at *Le Petit Journal* who succeeded Timothée Trimm.[44]

It was increasingly clear that French readers of the popular press were devouring gothic purple prose and that, to satisfy the demand, papers like *Le Petit Journal* were printing longer *fait divers* stories that followed events closely over several weeks or months, even serializing them like *romans-feuilletons*, which, in Troppmann's case, may have led to the crime in the first place, since he admitted that reading the crime feuilletons of French novelist Eugène Sue had influenced his actions—a fact that would not have escaped the conservative Chilean editors.[45] As Laetitia Gonon writes in *Le fait divers criminel dans la presse quotidienne française du XIX^e siècle*, these readers:

> turned more readily to the *faits divers* that they were used to reading, the writing of which was very similar to that of the serialized novels, which tend to broaden the readership of the dailies as well. It seems certain that the *roman-feuilleton* as well as *faits divers* were, above all, popular among the working class and women.
>
> This influence of the *fait divers* on the paper's literature (romantic, medical, philosophical) of the time is particularly interesting: the *fait divers* was indeed for these authors seen as a document that reflected reality, especially the criminal.[46]

In short, as readers at this time grew impatient for more salacious stories of murder, political assassinations, executions, domestic violence, and other forms of nefarious crime, the dailies in France and, later, in Chile were all too

willing to supply them, but for different reasons, as will be discussed later.

Not long after the virality in France of these two mediatized events, Gonon continues, the *fait divers criminel* and *chronique judiciaire* parted ways indefinitely:

> The *faits divers* appear in the last third of the newspaper . . . . The sections may change from one paper to the next, and you can never be sure to find exactly the same sections the following days—one of them being a counterpart to the *fait divers criminel*: the *chronique judiciaire*, which reports on a trial. If the motive is the same (the crime, and what follows) and the actors are identical (culprit, victim, witnesses, representatives of the law), we cannot, however, align the writing of the *chronique judiciaire* with that of the *fait divers* . . . .[47]

Dominique Kalifa concurs, describing how the *chronique judiciaire* became "entirely independent": "Entrusted to a court reporter, a journalist by trade, it was a genre in its own right, nobly written, the antithesis of the *fait divers*."[48] That antithesis, Gonon adds, is evidenced by the chronicle's interest in "the long process of the judgment," and, if the story involves a heinous crime, the chronicle "deals with the crime well after it was committed":

> . . . it is studied, narrated, taken up again, interpreted by all those involved in the drama who have had time to refine their testimony. The *fait divers*, on the other hand, is generally written immediately after the crime, and it tells about or reports on the crime from the outside. It is without a doubt more accessible reading, and if the *chronique judiciaire* is a more noble genre, the *fait divers* is a genre systematically associated with the people.[49]

In sum, short *faits divers criminels*, such as those that appeared each week in the columns of the popular daily *Le Petit Journal*, captured the immediate intrigue of a growing populist readership for sensationalism, while longer *chroniques judiciaires*, often lifted directly from the courtroom minutes, demonstrated how some of those same readers grew addicted to the real-life cliff-hangers of the *romans-feuilletons*, when court was adjourned and the story would be continued in the next day's paper. Just as each installment of a *roman-feuilleton* would conclude with the phrase "*La suite à demain*" ("To be continued tomorrow"), as Gonon rightly notes, longer *faits divers criminels* and *chroniques judiciaires*—those, such as the first installment of "Thugs" discussed above, that would last for days or weeks in the press and appear in the pages of subsequent editions when more facts of the crime were uncovered—even began concluding their days' entries with the phrase "*A demain des nouveaux details*" ("New details tomorrow"), "*La suite à demain*" ("Follow-up tomorrow"), or "*À bientôt de nouveaux details*" ("New details soon") if the story was to be picked up at a later date.[50] Such is the case of the

chronicle "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles" ("The crime of Chazelles Street"), which appeared in *Le Petit Journal*, just above chapters thirteen and fourteen of Part II of Paul Saunière's *roman-feuilleton*, *La Belle argentière*:

> The Garins, who have owned this wine merchant catering establishment for ten years, are highly regarded in the neighborhood.
>
> New details tomorrow.[51]

The popularity of both the *fait divers criminel* and the *chronique judiciaire* only grew with time. If the manner in which factual crime stories evolved, the reasons why they still appeal to readers arguably have not. For Gonon, their popularity lies in their function to make the unreal real for the reader. They confer on that reader an image of himself, as if looking into a mirror: "These *faits divers criminels* are often bloody, and they have spilled much ink."[52] That ink, of course, came as much from the chroniclers—and *cronistas*—themselves, as it did from their many critics and scholars. In *L'encre et le sang*, Kalifa provides perhaps the best answer as to how and why this genre fascinated readers, even after the nineteenth century:

> At the dawn of the Great War, . . . the fervor for stories about crime became a real phenomenon of society. While the press was opening its columns up to various crime *faits divers* . . . , detective novels and detective films were attracting an increasingly larger audience, fascinated by a new imaginary made of bloody footprints and steps in the snow, tenuous clues and mysterious cryptograms.
>
> At the heart of this craze, the reporter stood out as the incarnation of adventure and heroism. The writing of *fait divers* professionalized, and we began to see in the investigation a new way of interpreting the world.[53]

One wonders, though, if certain French readers could distinguish between the two closely tied genres, discerning where fact ended and fiction began. It was a question that obviously troubled Chilean editors, which is why they chose not to reproduce *à la lettre* the French sensationalist *faits divers* in their own proto-*crónicas rojas*.

(Literary) Journalism and the Evolution of Chilean Print Culture

In Chile, the last three decades of the nineteenth century saw the ascent of liberal governments and constitutional reforms, which led to stronger political participation. The press was the preferred storyteller of these political battles, both the internal struggles within the political classes and their social effects. During the period between 1831 and 1841, when the police and judicial systems in Chile grew under censorship, freedom of expression was restricted, which of course served the interests of the ruling elite.[54] Here the role of the press was fundamental, because it worked as a platform for

the promotion of modern punitive ideas.[55] But relevant changes, such as the new Print Law of 1872—the third one in the nineteenth century and, without doubt, the most liberal, which helped consolidate public opinion[56]—and growing literacy rates in the framework of new educational policies, changed Chilean print culture, providing new readerships for newspapers, magazines, and books.[57]

France, too, as noted earlier, played a palpable role in the evolution of Chilean print culture. In addition to the cases already discussed of certain French stories having been copied, translated, and reprinted in Chilean papers, there is ample evidence of the reproduction of French illustrations.[58] As the number of French immigrants to Chile increased—from 1,654 in 1854, to 10,000 in 1912[59]—it is only natural that they brought with them both French newspapers and French print culture in general, with its proto–literary journalistic bent. Moreover, French citizens themselves were sometimes included within the directive and creative circles of various Chilean newspapers, the earliest being Pedro Chapuis, who was editor and director of *El Verdadero Liberal* in 1827. Other names include: Z. M. Dauxion Lavaisse, collaborator with *El Observador Chileno*, August–November 1822; Bernard Péry-Etchart, owner of *El Mercurio* from 1838 to 1840; and Eugene Choteau, collaborator with *El Mercurio* upon his arrival in Chile in 1863.[60] Their presence no doubt increased the importation of French texts in Chile, which by 1910 had reached 76,207 units, almost fifty percent more than those imported from Spain.[61] Decades later, from 1910 to 1930, the journalistic writings of correspondents Joaquín Edwards Bello (for Chilean newspapers *La Mañana*, *La Nación*, and *Los Tiempos*) and Augusto D'Halmar (for *La Unión*) maintained Chilean readers' interest in Parisian news.[62]

The closing decades of the nineteenth century thus witnessed both the modernization of the Chilean press and the professionalization of the writer. The development of new technologies, such as the telegraph, and the progressive influx of the U.S. media system led to the development of the "informative model" as a world trend, leaving behind the "doctrinal press," which had been predominant in Latin America since the days of independence.[63] It is important to stress that the constitution of a "modern social communication system," which occurred during this modernization period, reached all social and cultural strata and sparked the development of journalism as a legitimate business practice. Numbers show the transformation of the print system during these years: by 1860, there were only two important newspapers in Chile: *El Ferrocarril* in Santiago de Chile and *El Mercurio* in Valparaíso. Thirty years later, there were seven newspapers in Santiago and about fifty in other minor cities.[64] Likewise, if there were twenty-three print-

ing presses in the country in 1840 through 1850, that number increased to sixty-three in 1870 through 1880.[65] Moreover, typographers grew in number from 210 in 1845 (Chileans and foreigners) to 650 in 1875.[66] Finally, the number of regular publications (newspapers and magazines) rose from 193 in 1888 to 406 by 1902.[67]

This widening of the cultural market produced a diversification and dispersion of new audiences and new "reading models"[68] in the Chilean press, which led to the newspapers' earlier *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission) as enlightening the educated reader to now providing entertainment for the masses. Yet Chilean newspaper editors did not fully embrace this democratization of the press in terms of its wider, heterogeneous audience. For example, while advertisements were the first, and most evident, sign of this new, commercially minded, press paradigm, the editorial pages remained conservative in their illuminist, and elitist, logic. As Carlos Silva Vildósola recalls about Santiago de Chile's *El Chileno*, one of the first examples of the popular press in Chile to abandon this positivist logic:

> . . . as the newspaper contained the best information and its articles were totally free from partisan political pressure, and provided the most honest inspiration, they [the public] began to take it into account and read it and consider it all as one of the opinion forces in the country. The great newspapers never named us. They looked at us as the common enemy. Orthodox conservatives deemed us dangerous innovators and undisciplined. The ecclesiastical authority lived in constant anxiety, but we were protected by the personal friendship that each of us cultivated with that man of talent and great culture that was Archbishop Don Mariano Casanova. The liberals and radicals considered us a "picaresque sacristy," as Roberto Huneeus wrote in his book "Sursum Corda." The public bought the newspaper and published advertising in it.[69]

One of the most contested sites of this enlightenment versus entertainment debate in the media's efforts to assert their mission and flex their muscles centered on the increasingly popular crime story, the *crónica roja*. Before 1896, Tomás Cornejo explains, the Chilean press published news in the following manner: on the front page were stories that carried the newspaper's political position; the second page collected the events of the day (similar to French *fait divers*), including stories about violence. Whereas some of these crime stories emerged locally, several, including the Troppmann affair, arrived directly from France, more specifically from *Le Petit Journal*. And if no reference to *Le Procès des Thugs* could be located in the Chilean press from August through December 1866 (probably because the *chronique* had already been unveiled as a piece of fiction by the time the story reached Chile two months

later), several other Parisian crime stories imported from this period do appear. *La República*, for example, published fortnightly an unsigned chronicle entitled "Revista de París" ("Paris Magazine"), which offered Chilean readers a glimpse into French *faits divers*, including culture, fashion and crime reports.[70] In addition to the *Gazette des tribunaux*, a source for these crime reports was *Le Petit Journal*, as one article from November 1866 makes clear: "At his death, the *Petit Journal* wanted to show that these idlers, whom they [the French people] call useless, are necessary men, and are also the most precious instruments available to the circulation of values."[71] Most relevant here is the fact that the writer, and the editor, did not feel the need to elaborate on the French source, which suggests that Chilean readers were already quite familiar with *Le Petit Journal* as early as 1866.

Several days later, in another entry from the "Revista de París," the *cronista* alerts readers to the growing importance of, and strange fascination with, French *choniques judiciaires* in Chile:

> These judicial newspapers constitute the most complete repertoire that can be consulted when one wants to study the uses and customs of modern society. The only drawback is that the facts appear here as imaginary, as in serialized fictions, when on the contrary there is nothing more positive or more authentic. For example, here is a story that, if we did not see it recounted in long detail in the *Gazette des tribunaux*, would surely seem to us one of those fables invented by writers such as P[aul] Féval and [Pierre Alexis de] Ponson du Terrail, whose fertile imaginations do not know the limits of the implausible.[72]

The warning was particularly apropos for, three years later, *La República* covered the Troppmann affair for the first time on February 17, 1870. The text, entitled "Los dramas judiciales" (Court dramas), in which the case was referred to as "El crimen de Pantin," begins:

> Until now we have refrained from talking about the famous and horrendous crime in Pantin, which has produced such profound emotion and great horror throughout the world, because the multiplicity of incidents, contradictions and the most adventurous conjectures usurped the place of truth. Today, we present for our Latin American readers the best account of the funereal tragedy that took place in Pantin: of the accusation record read at the hearing of the 28th by the imperial attorney, and in the debates of this terrible process, whose facts are hard to imagine and whose idea alone terrifies us, and of its incomparable criminal, who appeared before the jury (*Court d'Assises* of the Seine).[73]

The entire text runs an unprecedented two full pages (five columns each) in *La República* and concludes with a dramatized verdict:

Troppmann has been sentenced to death.

This terrible sentence provokes applause that is later suppressed.

Troppmann remains motionless and greets the jurors unaffected.

He makes the passage from the courtroom to the Conciergerie in silence.

He enters his cell and does not show the same joy as the previous nights. He doesn't eat anything and just drinks a glass of wine.[74]

While the editors at *La República* may have "refrained" from serializing the criminal *fait divers* as the French (and other nations') press had done, ostensibly to protect its urbane Chilean readers from excessive exposure to fallacious information and tabloidesque details, they nonetheless splashed the story all over the paper's front page, and then a ran a follow-up story a few days later.[75] By March 1870, the Troppmann affair had become a regular reference for the *cronista* of "Revista de París," attesting not only to its ubiquity among Chilean readers but also to the Chilean press' paradoxical (and hypocritical) agenda to secure the separation of enlightenment from entertainment-news stories in their dailies.

Six members of the Kinck family, victims of Jean-Baptiste Troppman: (Top, left to right) Émile (16), Madame Kinck (40), Henri (14); bottom, left to right, Achille (6), Marie (3), Alfred (8), September 18, 1869 (Wikimedia Commons).

As a response to the growing interest in this kind of salacious information, newspapers increased the space for criminal reports, and soon the bigger and more important newspapers followed. From that point onward, important crime news had its own independent space on the first or second page.[76] Just as in France, then, this shifting print media context led to the progressive development of the crime story as a "natural" extension of the narratives that were traditionally linked to the lower classes, especially the new popular reading material that began emerging after 1866 (*Lira Popular*).[77] Unlike in France, though, the Chilean press tried to limit the new approach's impact on that emerging reader out of deference to the nation's conservative elite and its beliefs that the press' role was to educate and enlighten a population, whose lower classes were gaining political traction.

Chile's urbanization—including migrations from the countryside, industrialization, and overcrowding, especially in Santiago de Chile and Valparaíso—transformed cities into complex and menacing hotbeds for the proliferation of crime. Epidemics, prostitution, and various vices turned once popular neighborhoods into "a horrendous mix of misery and corruption," which were seen as threats to society.[78] The Chilean press played a twofold role in criminalizing the lower-income and poorly educated sectors of society, instilling in its urbane readers the link between poverty and crime: explicitly, through the editorializing content of the newspapers, and implicitly, through the crime pages. Moreover, the arrival of modern criminology in Chile—especially through the ideas of Italian criminologist Cesare Lombroso—deepened the stigmatization of the lower classes. The statistical data available at the time ratified the prejudices of the elite, showing that most of the transgressions were committed by the poor.[79] Lombroso's positivist criminology attempted to define the dangerous classes as naturally different from the workers; the former presented as degenerate, the latter seen as useful.[80]

Thus, the Chilean press of the period from 1880 shows the circulation of ideas linked to criminological determinism, not only in intellectual or academic circles, but also in various medical, legal, and scientific publications that explained and applied the Lombrosian principles to the Chilean context.[81] And yet, the crime story, with its complex amalgam of sociopathy, sleuthing, and jurisprudence provided entertainment for working-class readers as much as it did fodder for the nation's aristocracy, who saw the stories as justification for their elitist attitudes. The *crónica roja* attempted to balance these contradictions: to educate and inform, it adopted a journalistic, plain style; to sell and entertain, it resorted at times to the literary gothic but nothing on par with the *faits divers criminels* in France. Given the strong influence of the aristocratic tradition in nineteenth-century Chilean society, then, the informative style in these *crónicas* (short phrases, lack of details, factographic) should be understood not only through the lens of a new journalism logic, but also as a way to maintain "good taste" and social order. The case of *El Chileno* illustrates these contradictions: though it was considered "the newspaper of housemaids" for its populist orientation, it was "cultured and ha[d] a refined style. Its short, clear, and precise articles were aimed at fulfilling the readers' demands, mostly people of modest means . . . ."[82]

A "refined style" here does not imply a "fancy" but rather a "correct" style, grammatically speaking. Even though the target readership for *El Chileno* was the un(der)educated Chilean population, that did not mean the paper allowed its articles to be any less highbrow in recounting its lowbrow content, evidenced in a short piece from November 27, 1889, titled simply, "Crime":

> Laureano Gomez is the name of an individual who, on the night of the 24th, was drinking with four friends in a forest located in the rural subdelegation 13 "Pudahuel," near the Mapocho River. It is presumed that, during a dispute they had had[,] brought on by excessive drinking, the four killed Gomez, killing him so quickly in fact, with several blows to the head, apparently from a stone, that he was already a corpse even before they sent him to the General Cemetery. The police have taken precaution with the case in order to apprehend the alleged perpetrators of this crime.[83]

As Joaquín Edwards Bello—one of Chile's most famous *cronistas*—would write years later, in 1923, about the nation's newspapers in general: "We are enemies of narrative writing in the daily press, which anyone can do, and that is a fact of life, but modern journalism cannot exist without police publications . . . . "[84]

If the *crónica roja* helped turn beat reporters into well-known and respected journalists,[85] and a new social conscience, supported by a liberal editorial market, allowed these journalists to legitimize themselves within an intellectual sphere,[86] Chilean fin-de-siècle print culture nonetheless placed limits on the *crónica roja* that ultimately distinguish it from its French cousin. But, as history has repeatedly shown, any idea suppressed in one place sprouts up in another, and often in a state more virulent than its original. Such is the case with the rise of the Chilean *folletín*—understood not only as a serialized novel appearing daily in chapters, but also as a space for other more hybrid texts, both in matter and style, for which the articulating center was the presentation and debate of the modern circumstances of the new spheres of social, cultural, and political life in the country.[87]

While French feuilletons were, at first, *fait divers* items published separately and later inserted into a newspaper following its print run and, later, serialized novels published within the newspapers themselves, these Chilean *folletines* were more nonfictional in nature, and the writer's role was similar to that of an editor: select the facts, arrange the details, and provide rhythm to the narration. To be sure, Chilean newspapers published French style *romans-feuilletons* as well, even placing them, as the French papers had, in the paper's *rez-de-chaussée*; in fact, many of them reproduced texts by French writers themselves, as described earlier.[88] But these nonfiction *folletines* were written (or edited) by Chilean writers, based on real criminal facts, and circulated independently as popular books. The idea behind these *folletines* was to collect the many ephemeral *crónicas rojas* that appeared in the newspapers—and which soon lined the bottom of many a bird cage or litter box—and piece together all their legal and gruesome details, thereby cementing the crime story within the nation's psyche.[89] What the *crónica roja* could not do in Chile,

then, these *folletines* managed: namely, to deliver salacious, French-like *faits divers criminels* and *chroniques judiciaire*, in gothic narrative fashion, to eager Chilean readers, while remaining loyal to the doctrinal principles of education and enlightenment explicit to the early Chilean press.

The Chilean print scene during the second half of the nineteenth century, then, was a hybrid, incorporating " 'mixed' newspapers, or 'transition' newspapers, which imported new elements from modern journalism but which also did not want to abandon entirely the literary elements that characterized the previous period."[90] All of the *crónicas rojas* and *folletines* included in the corpus analyzed in the following section are drawn from these "mixed" or "transition" papers, but it is important to understand these qualifiers in all their complexity: differences were nonetheless vast and far-reaching, depending on the newspaper, their various sections, and their individual writers.

Narrative Characteristics in the French *fait divers* and the Chilean *crónica roja*

Given the proliferation of weekly and daily newspapers that appeared in both France and Chile throughout the nineteenth century, and the increase in crime stories that graced—or soiled—their pages, the choice of a corpus of proto–*crónicas rojas* and -*folletines* to analyze poses a certain problem. In the case of the French press, Thérenty, among others, has identified 1836 as being the watershed year in French print media, with the birth of two commercially directed Parisian dailies, *La Presse* and *Le Siècle*.[91] But the Chilean popular press (one that was fully aware of a populist editorial bent and not ashamed of it) was not yet established by 1836—and would not be for another century—complicating any comparative analysis between the two countries' print cultures at that point in time. Instead, for the present study, a later Parisian paper, *Le Petit Journal* (1863–1944) was selected, not only because it was well known in Chile's main cities, but also because its nonpartisan editorial stance, its accessible language, and its low cost catered to popular classes, making it ubiquitous on the French media scene. When Agustín Edwards created Santiago de Chile's *El Mercurio* in 1900, for example, he cited specifically *Le Petit Journal* as one of his inspirations: "I would like for us to try the feuilleton, a format very popular here [in Paris] implanted by the *Petit Parisien*, the *Journal*, the *Petit Journal*, and other newspapers to increase their circulation."[92]

Le Petit Journal is thus representative of the press of its time due both to its massive circulation and its common practice of paraphrasing or even plagiarizing crime stories previously published in other media, some of them foreign. In the Chilean corpus, there were papers with similar tendencies:

El Chileno, one of the first popular dailies, founded in 1883[93]; *El Mercurio de Valparaíso*, a serious daily founded in 1827, which followed the informative–commercial trend; and *La República*, a political daily founded in 1866, which showed its ideological origins in clearer lines. These Chilean newspapers, selected for their different editorial stances and readerships, provide a wide swath of crime reporting characteristic of *Le Petit Journal* that started to develop in Chile at the fin-de-siècle. Per the analysis that follows, the decision was made to widen the range in the Chilean press in the interest of comparing how, and how much, the narrative strategies of the French popular press were drawn upon in writing crime stories, according to the orientation of each Chilean paper.[94]

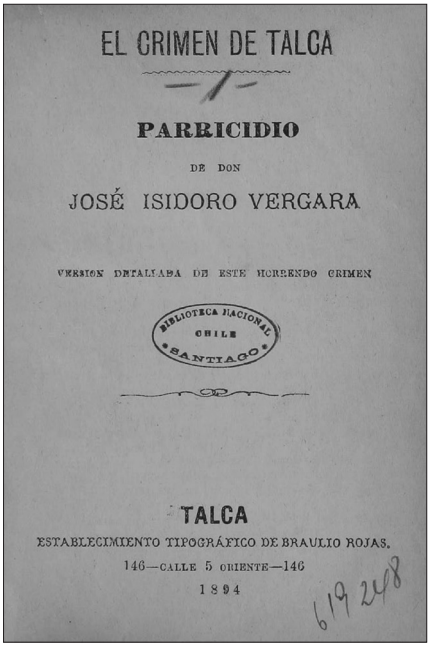
A close examination of a selection of articles that appeared in *Le Petit Journal* during the three decades of modernization of the Chilean press can help identify the ways that transcultural mediation occurred between the two nations, developing narrative markers of a proto-literary journalism that have been identified in the literary journalism of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.[95] A close textual analysis reveals ten recurring narrative characteristics that are discernable in the way crime stories were reported in both nations' presses:

1. Continuity (stories continuing in successive issues, similar to *romans-feuilletons*);
2. Third-Person Point of View (complex perspective built as much from subjectivities of characters as from narrator);
3. Scene-Setting;
4. Dialogue and Testimony;
5. Reliance on Rumor and Supposition;
6. Elaboration of Dramatic Images;
7. Suspense;
8. Lateralization (sub-plots connected to main plot);
9. Narrative Awareness (for both journalist and reader); and
10. Moralizing Tone and Value Judgment.

Most of these characteristics come from fiction writing, which suggests that the narrating of a criminal news item is privileged to help both the writer and reader make sense of the nonsensical, that is, to give order to a series of facts that defer or deflect meaning, and to lend sense to an action deemed antisocial or pathological.[96]

1. Continuity

The first characteristic of the French corpus, continuity, appears in the Chilean papers more as a result of news in progress than as an editorial choice.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To be sure, there are plenty of stories in *Le Petit Journal* that roll over into the next day's issue—such as judiciary chronicler Victor Cochinat's "Le Parricide" in December 1867 through January 1868, and "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles" in February 1880—if only because the judicial proceedings related to the crime were adjourned at the end of a working day or details of a given murder were slow in developing.[97] But the press editors also understood the hook that serialized *chroniques judiciaires* provided for readers, who had been used to the strategy through the paper's *roman-feuilletons*. This can be seen in final tag lines to stories, such as "*La suite à demain*," mentioned earlier, or in the division of the story into parts or "chapters." But, at other times, the proliferation of *fait divers* news on a given day or the prolongation of a particularly gruesome crime story was splayed over several pages on consecutive days that trumped even the inclusion of a serialized novel, as evidenced by the note: "The abundance of material forces us to postpone the rest of our novel *La Belle Argentière*."[98] In certain French crime stories, as Gonon details to great extent, gothic facts were thus rendered more captivating than the fantastic fiction from which it drew many of its tropes.[99]

In the Chilean press, however, continuity depended solely on the appearance of new facts, seen at the end of certain stories. As one *crónica roja* concluded: "As soon as we have more details of this event, we will communicate them to our readers."[100] Continuity as an editorial choice, considered as a commercial strategy to attract and captivate readers, is encountered only in the publication of independent feuilletons, which build a report of criminal deeds based on previous journalistic investigations. For example, the *folleto* (pamphlet) *Asesinato de Pancul* (Murder in Pancul), published in 1890, was constructed from news items that previously appeared in the dailies *El Ferrocarril* of Santiago de Chile and *La voz libre* of Temuco.[101] Four years later, the book *El crimen de Talca. Parricidio de don José Isidoro Vergara* (The crime

of Talca: The parricide of Don José Isidoro Vergara) was published, reprinting the stories that had earlier appeared in *La Actualidad* and *La Libertad*, both dailies from Talca, and from *La Lei* and *El Constitucional*, two Santiago de Chile papers.[102] A third example is *El crimen Undurraga. Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña* (The Undurraga crime: The murder of *Mrs. Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*), a 1905 book about the murder of Mrs. Teresa Sañartu Vicuña that constructs its narrative from material in various Chilean dailies, including *El Mercurio*, *La Lei*, *El Imparcial*, *Últimas Noticias*, and *El Chileno*.[103] Such nonfiction reportage crime books were not (yet) popular in France, where crime stories based on *faits divers criminels*, such as Gaboriau's *L'Affaire Lerouge*, became fodder for short fiction and novels instead.[104]

Although only a few comprehensive studies exist that focus on Chilean print culture in the late eighteen-hundreds, it is possible to infer from their forewords and editors' notes the measures editors took to continue exploring a story left incomplete or understated in a *crónica roja*. For instance, one declared objective of these Chilean *folletines* was to determine the *truth* behind a given murder, beyond, and sometimes even in opposition to, the judicial findings and the fragmented details published in the newspapers. In these cases, *folletines* served an ad hoc political role in Chile. This is evident in *Asesinato de Pancul*, in which the author accused judges, governors, and even policemen of inciting a journalist's murder, hiding evidence, and protecting the hitman.[105] A second declared goal was thus to sway public opinion: because newspaper readers risked growing preoccupied by a *crónica*'s gothic details, the *folletines* had to "correct" their interpretation of the material. The role of the *folletines* at this point was thus interpretative and didactic: ". . . popular versions [of the criminal facts] are not the best guides for justice; as they are the product of a fanciful and excited imagination—because of the rare nature of their facts—they are generally wrong."[106] Contrary to French feuilletons, Chilean *folletines* not only provided entertainment but also strengthened ideological, that is, bourgeois values.

2. Third-Person Point of View

The second relevant characteristic of the French corpus is the use of the third-person point of view, which allows the writer to shift the story's focus between different subjectivities (those of the characters and of the narrator). This shows the early narrative command of French reporters, who were no doubt influenced by the *romans-feuilletons* of such master storytellers as Eugène Sue, Alexandre Dumas, Ponson du Terrail, and others whose works appeared in the daily papers. For example, in "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles," the story begins from the bakery vendor's point of view but quickly

shifts to the butcher's, the victim's own, her husband's, the doctor's, and a policeman's.[107] Also, in "L'assassin Couvelaere" ("Couvelaere, the murderer") the focus shifts from the narrator to a witness, and then to the victim's husband.[108] The technique has a narrative more than an informative function: the perspective of the witnesses helps set the scene and elicit the reader's emotions (horror, mainly). As Gonon writes, it is above all the "theatrical description of the crowd at the crime scene, who are the first to have discovered the victim," that enhances "the fictionalization of the *fait divers*" and makes it "possible to transcribe emotions and point of view."[109] The same technique occurs in the Chilean corpus. In the story "Horroroso crimen," for instance, the following exposition appears:

> The police officers entered the room where, a few minutes later, they witnessed the saddest and most harrowing of scenes: two female corpses were laying on the ground, their faces completely demolished, shattered even, their heads, split with an axe, bearing traces of the blows of sticks, their dresses completely torn, and the older victim's throat crushed, as if somebody had tried to strangle her. . . .
>
> After a moment of distress and shock, the guards understood that they had to look for the authors of this horrendous crime, the effects of which they soon witnessed, as they started to search for evidence in the house.[110]

While the French *fait divers criminel* and *chronique judiciaire* could articulate point of view through an enunciative, or declarative, mode—prefiguring one of Tom Wolfe's edicts for the New Journalism—narrative options for the Chilean *crónica roja* were not so liberal. Chilean texts recreated a witness's perspective, not necessarily to paint a vivid picture for the reader but, more restrictedly, to provide evidence for the subsequent judicial case. This explains why the *chronique judiciaire* could include emotional details (gestures, feelings) often in the opening lines, as Gonon notes,[111] whereas the *crónica roja* refused all references to pathos and focused instead on a story's facts, laws, and official statements. However, it is interesting to note that this eluded pathos strongly resurges in the independent Chilean feuilletons, evident in their reliance upon *apostrophe* (a direct address to an absent figure, such as the victim or the story's reader) and *ethopoeia* (the embodiment or impersonation of an absent person, such as the victim, to express his or her thoughts and emotions), as in this brief extract from *El crimen Undurraga. Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*:

> In the middle of her honeymoon, she discovered the man to whom she had given her heart and her destiny, with all the tenderness and purity of her heart, was a beast. A brutal and lascivious degenerate.

> Horrified, she discovered that this poet with a delicate soul, who lulled her twenty-year-old imagination, was like a snake that sings before curling around its victims' necks.[112]

This resurgence may be explained in terms of format and function: a detailed story is much longer than a newspaper's *fait divers*, and its purpose is not to inform but, as seen here, to entertain, and now (to a lesser extent), educate.

3. Scene-Setting

Closely related to point of view but still serving a similar purpose, scene-setting is another of the most common tools in reporting on crime, in both the French and the Chilean press. The only noticeable difference, in narrative terms, is that the French relies here on the present tense, which stresses the immediacy of the dramatic event, while the Chilean press uses the past tense to provide a safe distance between the reader and the event. In the 1863 story, "Assassinat. Aliénation Mentale," for example, the present tense situates the reader inside the courtroom, as if the trial were just happening:

> It is ten thirty and the court starts its session.
>
> Early in the morning the room is invaded by the public, which is anxious to see the features of the accused.
>
> The man is brought to the room. He is dressed in a sailor's uniform of the Imperial Navy. Two guards sit at his side.[113]

The effect here heightens the drama for readers, putting them in the same courtroom as the killer. In an 1890 example from the Chilean press, though, the reader is safely removed from the action through the use of the past tense:

> In the aforementioned restaurant, owned by Francisco Neri—who lived with his wife Concepcion Neri—a man called Emilio Sacco arrived on Sunday and asked for two cigars. The owner replied that he did not have any, and for this reason, as it has been told, Sacco insulted him and forced the man to evict him from the premise. Before leaving, Sacco said in a loud voice and with a threatening tone: "tomorrow I will get even."[114]

Readers are distanced from the violent scene, preserving them from being directly affected by the criminal's actions. And yet, the Chilean *folletín* is like the French *fait divers criminel* in that it resorts to the present tense to emphasize drama, crudity, and sensationalism:

> Mr. Vergara's corpse has, on the right side of the head, a wound wide and deep that split the skull to the brain. Apparently, the wound was made with a machete.
>
> The throat shows signs of strangulation, as a large part of the neck is black and blue, and still bears the traces of a thin rope . . . .[115]

4. Dialogue and Testimony

Point of view and scene-setting are further complemented using dialogue and testimony.[116] If point of view and scene-setting provide an essentially narrative function to the story, dialogue and testimony supply "hard" information. Among the testimonies, it is common to include extracts of private letters, which help establish a motive for the crime. The use of this paratextual material is identical in the French and Chilean press. The differences appear in the relation to the judicial material (judicial declarations, pleas, lawyers' arguments, and so on). In *Le Petit Journal*, for instance, several re-creations of trial scenes from the perspective of the reporter as witness appear, such as in the long, three-page story, "Assassinat. Aliénation Mentale," from February 6, 1863, while in the Chilean press are found more neutral transcripts of the legal proceedings. This difference can be explained by the fact that the Chilean legal system did not establish oral hearings until 2001. Chilean *folletines*, however, did include judicial material, perhaps because writers had more time to prepare the texts and acquire official documentation with the help of friends and judicial sources (a normal practice in Chilean journalism until the judicial reform of 2001). *Asesinato de Pancul* and *El crimen Undurraga. Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña* both include transcriptions of several judicial texts, such as lawsuits and court decisions.

5. Reliance on Rumor and Supposition

The use of rumor and supposition is linked to the previous technique, dialogue and testimony. Rumors appear as leaks: unofficial information presented in formulas that protect the source, as in "it is argued," "it was suspected," "it is believed," "some sources think," "as it is known," and so on. Suppositions are not expressed as information but presented as the paper's position before the facts. These are marked by expressions such as "presumably," "probably," "arguably," "maybe," and the conditional "could have happened." No substantial differences were found in the use and function of these elements in the French and Chilean newspapers. In Chilean *folletines*, however, because of the temporal distance between the event and its reporting, rumors are mentioned but as something minor or anecdotal: leaks are outflanked by the final truth, established by the judicial system and summarized in the *folletín*.

The first five elements discussed above generally show little difference between the French *fait divers criminell chronique judiciaire* and the Chilean *crónica roja*. The noted differences between them are, at best, incidental. It is likely that the French genre had nonetheless influenced its Chilean counterpart, though to what extent remains conjecture. Further, extensive corpus

research is needed to justify any amount of influence or virality on the textual level, which is beyond the scope of this study. What does become apparent, though, is that in the remaining five elements, noticeable cultural differences between the two types of crime stories—their responses to violent crimes, for example, as well as their perceptions of the criminally minded, their presumed motivations in recounting crime stories, and so on—might render certain queries of influence and borrowings entirely moot.

6. Elaboration of Dramatic Images

For example, the sixth relevant characteristic, dramatization, is a technique designed to provoke emotion in the reader. Its use in these texts shows a preference for the construction of symbolically charged images, with an emphasis on exclamation marks and repetitions. One French example from "Le Parricide" reads:

> An illness, a terrible illness, nailed her to a dirty bed in the prison hospital of Madelonnettes! There she was, spending the last days of her life, in the middle of the most atrocious suffering, and she was unable to sleep due to the tears that flowed from her eyes. Close to the funeral sofa, where the unfortunate woman trembled, as she had done in Frédéric's dishonored bed, a ghost hovered ceaselessly, and the bedroom where she professed her laments resonated day and night with her desperate pleas. Louise was condemned by the doctors, but she could not die, and as soon as the evening shadows began covering the walls of the nursery, where she was constantly agitated, her sad companions came to her aid to hide her from her own terror.[117]

The excessive use of superlatives and other subjective adjectives are intended to sway the reader through emotive as opposed to logical means. The extract here could well have appeared in a *roman-feuilleton.*

However, in a Chilean example from 1871, a story entitled "Suicide," the dramatization is less marked:

> . . . Mr. Collet had ingested enough poison to burn his insides. At ten in the morning, after terrible agony, that unfortunate man exhaled his last breath.
>
> His debts with mankind had been cancelled!
>
> God would have not been so ruthless as to ask for His own.[118]

Pathos as a narrative technique is more common and extended in the French than in the Chilean corpus. In the former, pathos veers—and, in many cases, directly enters—into the terrain of morbid fascination. The Chilean press resorts to sobriety, and even modesty, to dampen the most spectacular elements of a crime, using ellipses and self-censorship: "Bermal added other details in which he can be considered as guilty as Salas, but we have preferred to silence them as a gift to the reader . . . ."[119] By contrast, in the Chilean *fol-*

letín similarities again resemble the heightened drama of the French corpus:

> When Mrs. Zañartu passed in front of her husband at the theater's entrance, he stepped behind her and, in a space of a few seconds, took a gun from his pocket and pointed at Mrs. Zañartu's head, reaching over one or two people that now stood between them. The shot, passing through the victim's mouth, hit her brain, and she fell immediately to the ground, leaning on her left side. The killer pounced on his wife's body and shot her again.[120]

7. Suspense

The use of suspense marks the seventh applicable characteristic in the texts from the two corpuses. Even if continuity contributes to this suspense, the fragmented nature of the narrative technique is a rhetorical device, not an editorial strategy, used to keep readers transfixed by one particular text. In the French corpus, the main literary element here is the *apostrophe*, that is, suspicion, which takes the form of a rhetorical question: "But then, if Lefebvre was not murdered . . . . [a]re the Fayes then not murderers?"[121] And again: "The culprit seemed to know exactly where to place his hand in order to find these valuable objects immediately . . . . But who was the culprit?"[122] Gonon understands this shift in perspective as a narrative means to draw the reader into the text:

> The perspective changes . . . : for the journalist, it is no longer a question of just relaying an official statement to the reader that is principally informative, but also of coaxing him, by publishing that information at the request of the examining magistrate himself, to participate in the police inquiry, to become one of its auxiliaries.[123]

Furthermore, extended narration is also found, building the drama punctuated by the rhetorical question, as in the following example from the story "Le Parricide":

> Frédéric went to Nr. 129, in the house of games at the Royal Palace, the night after the bloody expedition to Versailles. Coincidence, which had played to his favor up to then, suddenly turned against him, and he lost all he had earned before.
>
> It was a bad omen. Then he returned to his house angry and tired. A painful sleep was up to that moment his only punishment, and around three in the afternoon, after making sure he had placed a deadly instrument in his pocket, he left for Pont Neuf.
>
> Where was he heading?[124]

In the Chilean *crónicas rojas*, the suspense is more "cinematic," in the sense now commonly used for that term. In other words, it focuses on details that slow down the narrative action rather than heightening them:

> When they reached the gate of Lima, two of the pursuers overcame their mates to explore the road. Near the estuary, the bandits had realized they were being followed, and they ambushed their pursuers amongst the trees: the two explorers were then separated from their team by a clever maneuver of the criminals, who attacked them from behind. An uneven fight ensued, and the result was clear enough from the start. After a few moments, in fact, one of them fell dead, struck by a bullet. The other one bravely defended himself in spite of the minor injuries he had received, and he was finally able to escape and join the rest of the team, which had remained behind.
>
> Meanwhile, Don Juan de Dios Valenzuela, the owner of the premises, gathered the servants and neighbors to join the first party, which was chasing the bandits. The bandits, who were sure they were being pursued, hastily escaped and disbanded in different directions.[125]

The intertwined or connected stories, rather than the sullied and gothic details, as in the French corpus, help keep the reader's attention. In the Chilean *folletines*, because of their extended textual space, the narrative action is slowed down even more, protracting the suspense. Chapter four of *El crimen de Talca* provides an excellent example of how the reader's attention is maintained with minimal information: the witness indecorously describes what he did, saw, and thought before arriving at the police station to give a deposition. This narrative arc crosses another, in which some local fishermen discover human body parts floating in the river. From here, the narrative rhythm is quickened: the corpse is found and the murderer exposed.[126]

8. Lateralization

Closely related to the technique of adding suspense is the journalistic and narrative capacity to find secondary stories with human potential. Here called lateralization, the strategy merits further discussion. In the "Le Parricide" series, for example, two of the texts in the series are dedicated entirely to the subplot stories of the suffering and sacrifice of the lawyers involved in the case.[127] This is the only point on which the Chilean press differs entirely from its French counterpart: in the logic of the restrained, informative narrative, the recounting of criminal events focuses on the crime without venturing into parallel stories that frequently accentuate their gothic elements. That concise, objective style, which expresses itself in short lines and brief paragraphs, is found in fragments from stories such as this one, entitled "Salteo":

> Fourteen outlaws stormed last night at twelve in the country house known as "El Cármen" as they fired their guns.
>
> A poor man who tried to close the door was the first victim.
>
> They tied his hands and feet and threatened with killing him if he did

not tell them where the money was.

The unfortunate swore he knew nothing and kneeled down to beg for his life.

One of the bandits, who was angry because he was getting nothing from this man, fired a gun at close range and killed him.

They looked around the house and found a woman hiding under a bed. They drew her out, maligned her, and, after she did not confess where the money was, stabbed her three times.

They committed these crimes for a miserable booty. They took only a few valuables and ten pesos.

Up to the moment, none of the bandits has been captured.[128]

This rather dry, indifferent style is indicative of the informative paradigm of the modern Chilean press, as well as a token of the rational and didactic traditions that have characterized it since its inception. The informative nature of the modern press is reflected in the way *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* treats crime stories: it recites a list of facts, avoiding digressions and adjectives, such as those encountered in the French stories. That is why most of these *crónicas rojas* are short. For instance, consider a few examples taken from *El Mercurio*. The first example is taken from "Muerte repentina" ("Sudden death"):

> A drunken man was carried at around eleven last night in a cart to the police office and was unable to state his name; this morning he was dead.
>
> The corpse was taken to the local hospital to be identified by the city's physician.
>
> After writing the previous lines, we have received the following information: the deceased is a shoemaker of around forty years old by the name of Juan de la Cruz Díaz, married to Catalina Salvo.
>
> This individual went out yesterday to sell the shoes he


Le Petit Journal

QUOTIDIEN

CINQ CENTIMES

El Mercurio, September 12, 1827 (Biblioteca Nacional Digital, Memoria Chilena).

had made during the week and never returned to his house.[129]

And a second, from "Herido" ("Injured"):

> Last night, the police arrested a man known as Antonio Arrieta, who stabbed his friend Pioquinto Vazquez, with whom he was having a good time, twice in the belly because he did not want to accompany him into his house to have a drink.
>
> The wounded man was taken to the hospital, but it is not believed that he will survive.
>
> The accused locked himself up in his house and it was necessary to tear down the front door to extract him and take him to prison.[130]

Early *crónicas rojas* such as these, based on the dry, ideological press paradigm, are seemingly apologetic to their offended readers for having to detail such stories out of the necessity to educate society and prevent criminal activity from spreading. The publishers had yet to adopt the commercially minded press paradigm that unabashedly appeals to their readers' appetite for blood and gore. As such, they are like the earlier French *faits divers criminels*, as Gonon describes them, in that they paradoxically had to entice their reader with gothic details in order to carry a higher message. If, however, for the *crónicas rojas*, that higher message was education and enlightenment (and palpable class bashing), for the *faits divers criminels* it was reassurance and familiarity with the fictional tropes about crime that readers had grown familiar with through their exposure to the *romans-feuilletons*.[131]

9. Narrative Awareness

The ninth element of comparative interest is the *cronistas'* awareness of their stories' narrative impulses and the effects those impulses will have on their readers. These are writers under the clear influence of popular fiction, particularly novels of action or intrigue, many of which were published as feuilletons in Chile. This awareness is expressed in two different ways: first, by differentiating reality from fiction and, second, by supplying textual operators that mark the organization of the stories. In this first case, French and Chilean journalists distance themselves from the horrible deeds they are describing by declaring them to be unreal, almost fictive, in nature. Their reports on crime are presented explicitly as a *roman* (novel), which conveys both the stupefaction produced by a senseless act and the naturalism inspired by the French fin-de-siècle novel.[132] Gonon writes of this paradox, ". . . naturalism will very often retrace the life of the most disadvantaged, extensively covered in the local interest column of the dailies, but at the same time claim as well a style or work directly opposed to that of journalists."[133] "Let me tell you one of these real life novels," Charles Dickens writes in a *roman-feuilleton*

for *Le Petit Journal* on February 1, 1863, long before Émile Zola penned *Le roman experimental*, published in 1880.[134]

It should be stressed that, in the Chilean case, only the first of these two explanations of a narrative awareness applies, where journalists infused their stories of daily life, suddenly disrupted by crime, with fictional references, so as to make them seem *less* real. A clear example of this can be seen in the series "Un homicida" ("A murderer"), published in *La Semana* between July and August 1859, in which the journalist avoids detailing the treason and infidelity in the story and focuses instead on criticizing the state as responsible for failing to educate the accused properly to control his wild passions.[135] Unlike in France and the French press, naturalism, "a scientific writing whose form would guarantee its effectiveness,"[136] had not taken root in the Chilean press, which was much more sparing and modest, probably due to the influences of the Catholic Church in Chile, which remained strong until the second half of the twentieth century.[137] According to historians of Chilean literature, the documentary nature of naturalism found its expression in *criollismo*, a regionalist literary movement that drew on rural experiences, unlike naturalism's urban life stories.[138] Life in the cities, especially with respect to the growing middle classes, was instead the domain of the emerging mass media, covered to great extent in the crime or police sections of their papers. It is from this perspective that the Chilean journalist finds a relationship between a society in flux and fiction. This can be seen in expressions such as, "showing the courage of a Napoleon," "similar to the appearance of the Comendador among the guests at the feast of (Don Juan) Tenorio,"[139] or, "In the neighborhood, that family had a reputation akin to that of the Owl, the School Master and the Lame in the Mysteries of Paris."[140]

With regards to the second explanation of narrative awareness, *textual operators*, the French corpus offers numerous examples of narrative construction, where the chronicler or *fait-diversier* openly plays with time in the story, tracing hierarchies within the available information, and stressing points of interest for the readers. The series, "Un cadaver vivant," provides a good example of this from its opening lines: "We promised our readers to tell this story. It is definitely worthwhile. Its first chapter starts in 1877."[141] Gonon discusses at length the use of chronological versus narrative constructions of *faits divers criminels*, pointing out how writers alternated between past tenses—the more literary *passé simple* (a formal, written expression of the simple past) to the more oral *passé composé* (a more informal expression of the past or the past perfect)—to generate different effects on their readers, making them feel, as it were, that they were no longer passively reading a crime report but actively participating in a criminal inquiry.[142]

For instance, in the story, "Une Femme sciée en morceaux," from January 9, 1872, a horrific, albeit salacious story of a husband who killed his wife and sawed her into pieces, the anonymous author of the long *fait divers criminal* in *Le Petit Journal* repeatedly alternates between tenses (including the French *imparfait*, the past progressive tense) to actively situate the reader at different moments of the crime. Here, in a story for which the events took place a year prior to the *fait divers*, is told, in the far distant *passé simple* how factory workers found (*aperçurent*) the severed head of a woman in a nearby dam, but that it was seen, in the past progressive (*voyait*)—as opposed to the terminating tense of saw—that her body was dismembered, a grammatical distinction that sways the reader to move quickly past the chronological marker of the initial finding of the head and to the moment when he can linger for some time on the image the severed head produces in the mind.[143] Then, after a long digression, told mostly in the *passé simple*, in which the context of the murder is constructed, the author moves the reader closer to present time, anterior to when the wife was killed and when her body was later discovered but prior to the judgment in court. His use here of the *passé compose*, in "We looked for the origin of this fable but could not find it," places the reader at the moment the crime was pronounced and up to the moment a sentence was passed.[144] Other examples include "Le Parricide," where the writer explicitly relates that he will focus his attention on a secondary character, who had been ignored up to that moment[145]; or "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles," where the narrative reconstruction of the logic of the action is announced[146]; or in "Assassinat. Aliénation Mentale," where the narrator plays skillfully with time in the story itself, juxtaposing narration with testimonies and court documents.[147]

The Chilean press, on the other hand, presents these textual markers more intensively and more frequently, particularly in the form of direct *apostrophes*, or asides, to the readers, or commentaries on selected stories. In the first case, the author talks to the readers in a direct or indirect way to force them to adopt an ethical stance toward the story, using expressions such as "my reader friend" or "anyone would believe/think that . . . ." The second case is apparent when the newspaper reproduces the story of a crime as told by another newspaper, through either direct quotes or paraphrase, ending with a brief, judgmental commentary. For example, in the text, "Gran asalto: 18 personas robadas," the reporter of *El Chileno* paraphrases the information that had already been published in *El Independiente* and concludes with an editorializing reflection:

> The robbers appear around our city in armed squadrons and with enough force as to get hold of the money which was honestly earned by 100 or more men. And the police neither suspect such a threat nor have the means

> to go after the criminals! Millions of millions are used to build prisons like palaces, but the criminals live outside, in the free air, and the poor Santiago workers are at their mercy. All of this is horrible and absurd.[148]

The same tone occurs in the Chilean *folletines.* Because *folletines* were based fundamentally on the compilation of recent newspaper *crónicas rojas*, the editor of these booklets took time to comment upon and evaluate not just the criminal case, but also the questionable work of colleagues' reporting on it:

> In its edition yesterday, *La Lei* includes the great and sensational news story of the escape of the accused, Mr. Ismael Vergara. This kind of *canard*, distributed with irresponsibility and malicious intent, incites acrimony toward the accused, who, regardless of his responsibility as a criminal, has human rights, just like everyone else, and deserves respect and consideration for his misfortune.[149]

10. Moralizing Tone and Value Judgment

This leads to the final characteristic of the two corpuses under analysis: the moralizing tone, which accompanies a value judgment meant to influence the reader. In the French corpus, there is a clear position taken in the face of the events being told—and toward the main actors of these events—as well as in the general ethical dilemmas hiding beneath the specific crimes. In the story "Le Parricide," for example, the narrator feels terror before the dissociated and indifferent behavior of the murderer, who in the middle of the reconstruction of the crime says he felt hungry: "A tray was set, and at a table in the corner on which the blood was still red, Formage's murderer was sipping his soup!"[150] And in "Un drame de famille," the position is expressed without euphemism:

> Maurice Bichon was a miserable, jealous, lazy, drunken, violent man. For two weeks, he mistreated his family, especially his unfortunate wife, who was esteemed by all. During the four or five years he had left the country, leaving his family behind, even when he worked nearby, he only appeared in Avesnes-lez-Aubert (north) to get drunk and to try to kill his wife, whom he stabbed on several occasions.[151]

This editorializing point of view is even more evident in texts such as "Le Duel," which discusses the legal nature of this moribund aristocratic practice[152]; "Exécution of Prévost," which starts with the story of the sentencing of a murderer, after which the author insists on the need to abolish public executions as a first step to eliminating capital punishment altogether[153]; and "La mort de Rollin," in which ethical and penal responsibilities are questioned

when a homicide was dismissed by the courts since it involved a man who was already gravely ill.[154]

In the Chilean case, though, this moralizing tone stands at the base of all its early crime reporting. The press had regularly worked with a kind of rational-ideological logic, but as the press opened up to a wider reading public later in the nineteenth century, it assumed a didactic approach as well. The inclusion of *crónica roja* had to be justified in terms of providing readers with a cautionary tale, and newspapers began pushing a moralist tone. This can also be seen, more explicitly, in the longer crime *folletines*. The supposed (or declared) interest of their editors was strictly informative and sobering, as evinced in this comment from *El crimen de Talca*, ". . . we would at least like our society to draw useful lessons from this episode, which inevitably reached the public eye."[155] Or this one from *El crimen Undurraga. Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*: "There are events whose coincidence seems prepared by a wise and provident hand to lead societies, in which they develop, to reflect morally on those events that, from time to time, force us to stop and contemplate the nature of social consciousness."[156]

In the same manner as the French press, criminal activity in the Chilean media is linked to characters of ill repute (prostitutes, drunkards, beggars, petty thieves), and the crimes themselves are presented as a direct consequence of their lower-class lifestyles, as Kalifa discusses at length.[157] Chilean *folletines*, on the other hand, tended to focus on high society crimes, such as the murderer of Teresa Sañartu Vicuña in *El crimen Undurraga*, or the parricide of José Isidoro Vergara in *El crimen de Talca.* Editors were conscious of their motives and of the success they would have in exposing crime among the nation's aristocracy:

> The author of the crime was a gentleman, and in these days, by singular coincidence, a humble broken man, who had murdered his wife a year earlier, was to be shot in the central jail. This coincidence fueled comparisons and, among commoners, cruel satisfaction.
>
> Finally, a gentleman will meet the gallows!
>
> Finally, it will be decreed that every Chilean is equal before the law![158]

Inherent in the social warfare played out in *faits divers criminels* and *crónica roja*—as studied by Kalifa per the French, and Sunkel per the Chilean press—lies the notion that, if the French press generally had faith in the state (perhaps even more so than in its increasingly populist reader) and in the legal/judicial processes that it surveyed daily, the Chilean press moralized so as to chastise the state and its institutions, and not its elitist readership. That, perhaps, marks the greatest distinction between the French and Chilean press at the time. Unlike Gaboriau's inspector Lecoq in *L'Affaire Lerouge* (or Poe's

Dupin earlier and Doyle's Sherlock Holmes later), whose deductive reasoning to solve crimes inspired French readers of the popular *roman policier* (and its ancestor, the *roman judiciaire*, many of which evolved from *fait divers*),[159] the police in these Chilean texts appear as incompetent, and thus subject to criticism. "Inaudita impavidez" ("Unheard of dauntlessness"), for example, exposes the issue by telling the story of an overweight policeman who is not only incapable of arresting three burglars but exaggerates the danger to which he is subject in order to justify his ineffectiveness.[160] In other texts, the newspaper reporters—by far the most critical of those analyzed here—slip in ironic statements, such as "[the female burglar] was meanwhile stationed as a watchwoman at some distance from the robbery in case a police agent should appear, *which, as the reader would probably imagine*, never happened";[161] "After reading the preceding lines, anyone would ask: And where are the police?"[162]; or, simply, "We recommend the police take action."[163]

Conclusion

The historical and comparative analysis undertaken here between (proto–) literary journalistic texts in both France and Chile during the nineteenth century shows that French *faits divers criminels* and *chroniques judiciaires* share more similarities with the Chilean *folletín* crime books than with the country's more famous *crónica roja*. Two reasons for this have been argued: First, the sensationalist tone and narrative arcs of the French texts were out of place in Chile's informative journalism at the end of the nineteenth century. The French *faits divers* appealed to a different kind of audience at a different time in the country's history, which was not synchronous with Chile's development as a young republic. And though the Chilean press could not (yet) allow such salacious narratives into its pages, the Chilean *folletín* could largely ignore these protocols, given its different editorial stance, format, and readership. And second, the Chilean press had begun opting for a more moralizing and didactic tone in its proto–*crónica roja* that pleased its elite readership (which equated criminal activity with the lower classes) at the expense of its growing populist audience (which favored these more sensationalist narratives). Consequently, the gothic narratives encountered in the French texts really had a place only outside the mainstream Chilean press. It was only with the restoration of the popular press in the 1930s that the true *crónica roja* would find complete expression in Chile, finally making it similar in extension and intensity to the macabre examples of the nineteenth-century French *faits divers criminels*.

This time lag of about fifty years between the two countries' adoption of the approaches, however, should not be understood solely in remote geo-

graphic terms (it must not be forgotten that Southern Cone intellectuals visited Paris regularly). Rather, varying cultural and political ideologies were also factors that preoccupied both vulnerable republics. In fact, Chilean writers were familiar with the French *faits divers* and feuilleton, and even applied these genres' narrative strategies at times to their own stories, if only for different ends. This should indeed be considered as an influence, not merely as a copying, of the tradition in the French press of narrativizing criminal stories. "Influence" here is understood, instead, as a creative incorporation, one that nonetheless passed through local idiosyncrasies, policies, and epistemologies. As revered journalist Carlos Silva Vidósola once noted, Chilean journalism in the opening decades of the twentieth century was influenced not only by the press model developed in France, but also the models advanced in Britain and the United States. But "at the same time a serious, methodical adaptation was being made to meet the peculiarities of the country."[164] If the sensationalist crime story had taken so long to establish itself in Chile, it was because the country needed to wait until the second half of the twentieth century to experience a widespread, robust editorial market that began aligning itself more with the logic and aesthetic choices of the growing middle and working classes, moving away from the aristocratic "good taste" that dominated the newspapers of the previous decades.[165]

The goal of this study was to move beyond cursory inquiries of similitude or dissimilitude between France's and Chile's early traditions in crime reporting in order to understand how and why the process of sensationalist crime reporting in Chile, evident in French commercial dailies such as *Le Petit Journal*, took so long to get established in the Chilean press. The incipient development of the crime story in Chile during the last decades of the nineteenth century clearly shows how, within the same text, two journalistic currents could coexist: the didactic-enlightened perspective that refused to disappear entirely, and the informative-commercial approach that seemed to be forced to justify itself, because it did not possess the cultural and symbolic weight of the other. In this sense, the Chilean crime story was born with a clear understanding of its inherent "inferiority." During its infancy, it hid this awareness by justifying its timid inclusions of the morbid and the macabre within a didactic aim that, as the decades passed, turned less deterministic and much more realistic.[166]

Research for this article, developed as part of the three-year binational project, "CRONICA: Comparative Reportages: An Ontology of French Narrative Journalistic Influences and Dialogue in Chile and Argentina," was jointly funded by ECOS–Sud in France and CONICYT/ANID in Chile (N° C18H01/ECOS180053).

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Notes

[1] Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and the southern states of Brazil including São Paulo make up the Southern Cone, which is the region of South America covered by this study's research grant—N° C18H01 from ECOS Sud (France) and ANID (Chile). More importantly, it should be recognized that Chile was a captaincy until 1818 and not a viceroyalty as were Argentina (Virreinato del Río de la Plata, Buenos Aires), Mexico (Virreinato de Nueva España), Peru (Virreinato de Perú, Lima), or Colombia (Virreinato de Nueva Granada), whose early media infrastructures were better financed and thus more advanced than Chile's around the time of its independence. It is thus important to examine how the more disadvantaged Spanish territories, like Chile, managed to engender their cultural life by looking beyond the influences of their more affluent neighbors, as well as directly to those of Europe, namely France, which was at the forefront of republican enlightenment during the nineteenth century.

[2] Labarca, *Historia de la enseñanza en Chile*, 108–109: ". . . en ninguna parte leyeron más a Musset, Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Balzac y George Sand. El francés se reputó la lengua de la sabiduría, el arte y la moda, y Francia la maestra insigne a donde había que ir a buscar la solución de los problemas de estas repúblicas, hijas de su Revolución." Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Spanish and French into English are our own. Italics have been added to English translations for terms retained in their original languages.

[3] The Chilean government sent Sarmiento to Europe in 1845 to collect ideas from their public education system, and historian Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna traveled to Paris in 1853, also looking for new ideas to implement in Chile. See Sanhueza, "El viaje a París," 208, 215.

[4] Jocelyn-Holt, "La idea de nación en el pensamiento liberal chileno del siglo XIX," 86: "las ideas, las modas y la producción literaria francesa constituyen un modelo y un fin para todas las otras naciones."

[5] Pierre Bourdieu understands the automation of fields, in this case the literary field, as a process that allows for the distinction of different spheres of knowledge in society thanks to the specialization of involved agents, the generation of distinction strategies, and the struggle between different positions. See Bourdieu, *Las reglas del arte*, 201.

[6] Hugo, "El rey se divierte"; Sand, "León Leoni"; Dumas, "El caballero de Casa Roja"; Sue, "El castillo del diablo o el aventurero"; de Lamartin, "Proceso y muerte del mariscal Ney."

[7] See Cánepa, "Folletines históricos del Chile," 248–58; Garrels, "El 'Facundo' como folletín," 419–47; Pas, "La educación por el folletín," 37–61; Arcos, "Novelas-folletín y la autoría femenina," 27–42; and Alvarado Cornejo, "La sección folletín," 53–71.

[8] See Poblete Alday, "Crónica hispanoamericana actual," 228–38; Poblete Alday, "Crónica narrativa contemporánea: Enfoques, deslindes y desafíos metodológicos," 133–53; Poblete Alday, "Crónica narrativa contemporánea: Límites y abismos," 37–45; and Poblete Alday, "Monstruos posmodernos," 249–58.

[9] Bourdieu, *Las reglas del arte*, 289–320; Chartier, *El presente del pasado*, 27.

[10] Wolfe, The New Journalism, part 1 in *The New Journalism*, 3–52.

[11] Digital humanities projects in French journalism, such as Médias 19 and Numapresse headed by Marie-Ève Thérenty, are exploring the textual virality of newspaper stories that first appeared in France before spreading across North America. While a complete study similar to these for Chile has yet to be conducted, the present study is designed to lay some initial groundwork. See Cordell, "Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author," 417–45.

[12] Sunkel, *Razón y pasión en la prensa popular*, 80–127. The term *crónica roja* is the popular name attributed to sensationalized and morbidly fascinating crime reports only from the middle of the twentieth century onward. The kinds of fin-de-siècle *crónicas* being studied here were not properly *crónicas rojas* but rather their ancestors. The Chilean press needed at least three or four more decades—until the 1930s—before it developed the proper *crónica roja*. In this study, then, the term *crónica roja* is used for its similarity to these early crime reports, to show how they changed from short and modest factual reports to more detailed and morbid versions of the crime stories by the century's end.

[13] As in France, Chilean papers were first sold by subscription. Street sales were not started until near the 1880s. See Rojas Flores, *Los suplementeros*, 13–14.

[14] Émile Gaboriau's *L'Affaire Lerouge* was serialized from 1865–66 in the French papers *Le Pays* and, later, *Le Soleil* and was published as a book in 1867. René de Pont-Jest's *Le Procès des Thugs* was serialized in the Parisian daily *Le Petit Journal* and was published as a book in 1877.

[15] Ossandón B., *El crepúsculo de los* sabios, 97–98; Santa Cruz, *Prensa y sociedad en Chile*, 37–43; Santa Cruz, *La prensa chilena en el siglo XIX*, 131–39.

[16] Thérenty and Valliant, *Presse, nations et mondialisation au XIX^e^ siècle*, 11:"Le fantôme prestigieux du journalisme révolutionnaire hantera presque toujours les presses étrangères, dans les périodes de troubles populaires et d'insurrections républicaines ou anticoloniales (ou, très souvent, à la fois républicaines *et* anticoloniales, comme en Amérique latine)" (italics in original).

[17] Oscarsson, "Le feuilleton dans la presse française," 434.

[18] Thérenty, "Pour une histoire littéraire de la presse," 633.

[19] Oscarsson, "Le feuilleton dans la presse française," 437: "Vers la fin de 1791, parut encore un supplément quotidien, tout particulièrement destiné aux programme de théâtres, 'les spectacles.' "

[20] Oscarsson, 437–38.

[21] Oscarsson, 446–47.

[22] Queffélec, *Le Roman-feuilleton français au XIX^e^ siècle*, 12: "peu à peu toutes les autres rubriques, causeries mondaines, fragments historiques, critique littéraire, récits de voyage."

[23] Oscarsson, "Le feuilleton dans la presse française," 435.

[24] Thérenty, "Pour une histoire littéraire de la presse," 633: ". . . elle perd son caractère d'éphéméride qui conduisait la chronique à partir de la nouvelle la plus importante pour aller vers des potins mineurs, mimant une sorte d'exténuement de

la matière. On constate une évolution vers une chronique monolithique, centrée autour d'un ou de deux événements."

[25] Thérenty, 633: "De plus, la chronique du Second Empire revendique son caractère personnel : les nouvelles sont subjectivement sélectionnées par leur auteur et cet arbitraire ne pose plus de problèmes. Le chroniqueur fixe sa propre hiérarchie de l'information. Enfin, la chronique se vit de plus en plus ouvertement sur le mode de la conversation, de la causerie comme le montrent tous les indices de l'apostrophe. Elle est là pour tisser un lien affectif fort entre l'auteur et le lecteur dont on flatte volontiers le bon sens."

[26] Martín, "Lectura Instructiva. De la infancia de la educación actual de las mujeres," *El Progreso* (Santiago de Chile), February 21, 1843; Desrez, "Lectura Instructiva. Sobre la educación," *Journal des connaissances utiles* (Paris), January 31,1844.

[27] "Muerte horrorosa de un enano," *El Ferrocarril* (Santiago de Chile), September 23, 1882, 2.

[28] The story appeared years later in the book *Les nains et les géants*, wherein Édouard Garnier provides the detail "de tigres minuscules, qui n'étaient autres que des chats aux fourrures teintes," or "tiny tigers" which were only "cats with dyed fur." Garnier, 256.

[29] "Muerte horrorosa de un enano," *El Ferrocarril* (Santiago de Chile), September 23, 1882, 2: "Inmediatamente los demas tigres improvisados se arrojaron encima de él, y ántes de que nadie pudiera intervenir, el pobre enano yacía en tierra, estrangulado, con los ojos sacados y la figura destrozada.

"Cuando se estrajo el cadáver, las facciones del infeliz no tenían forma humana." (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[30] "Le Dompteur nain," *La Lanterne* (Paris), July 27, 1882, 3: "En une seconde, tous les autres tigres lilliputiens furent sur lui, et avant qu'on eût pu intervenir, le nain étranglé, les yeux crevés, la figure arrachée était mort. Quand on retira de la cage le cadavricule encore chaussé de ses bottes molles et de son habit noir, il n'avait plus figure humaine."

[31] "Nouvelles Diverses," *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* (Paris), July 31, 1882, 2: "En une seconde, tous les autres tigres improvisés furent sur lui, et, avant qu'ou eût pu intervenir, le nain étranglé, les yeux crevés, la figure arrachée, était mort. Quand on retira de la cage le cadavre encore chaussé de ses bottes molles et de son habit noir, il n'avait plus figure humaine."

Versions of the story, often reduced to just a few lines, kept reappearing in the French press over the next weeks: "Faits Divers," *Le Rappel* (Paris), August 3, 1882, 4; "Paris au Jour le Jour," *La Petite Presse* (Paris), August 4, 1882, 2; "Chronique Départementale," *La Charente* (Angoulême), August 10, 1882, 3; "Drames et Catastrophes," *Le Voleur* (Paris), August 11, 1882, 509; and "Télégrammes & Correspondances," *Le Gaulois* (Paris), August 12, 1882, 4.

[32] Thérenty and Vaillant, *1836*, 14: "satisfaire le besoin du romanesque et du sensationnel."

[33] A popular form of Chilean print media produced on cheap quarto and folio sheets by and for the masses during the second half of the nineteenth century, *Lira Popular*, like French *littérature de colportage* or English chapbooks, fused urban poetry, realia, and crude illustration to help diffuse the news, in versification, more quickly than the traditional press. *Lira Popular* is often termed "cord" or "string" journalism because it was affixed to a cord strung between two trees or poles.

[34] Audouin, "La chronique judiciaire," 68–69.

[35] "Le procés des thugs," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), August 28, 1866, 3: "Depuis bien des années, des crimes étaient commis dans l'Hindoustan avec une incroyable audace, des personnages importants avaient disparu, des caravanes entières n'avaient pas atteint le but de leur arrivée sans qu'on sût ce qu'elles étaient devenues; les familles et les intéressés s'étaient inutilement adressés aux tribunaux.

"Aucun cadavre n'avait été retrouvé, et quoique le nom des thugs eût été souvent prononcé, on n'avait pas voulu y croire. On mettait tous ces meurtres, toutes ces disparitions sur le compte des voleurs ordinaires de grand chemin ou sur celui des accidents, des tigres, des ouragans, des inondations."

[36] "Le procès des thugs," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), August 28, 1866, 4 (italics in the original): "On ne saurait rendre la fierté sauvage avec laquelle, alors, en élevant vers le tribunal ses mains enchaînées, il dit en indoustani, cette langue douce el harmonieuse comme l'italien:

"—Je suis le descendant d'une race royale, et je le jure par Kâli, je ne dirai pas un mot si on ne me retire pas mes chaînes.

"Le tigre ne supporte pas les entraves!

"(*La suite à demain*.)"

[37] Chabrier, Amélie, "*Le Procès des Thugs*: Cas unique de roman du prétoire," 87, 94.

[38] Chabrier, 93: "trouve un biais original pour parler de nouveau d'une histoire déjà bien connue du lectorat, mais qu'il présente comme un récit authentique, raconté à la manière d'un article journalistique."

[39] Dumas, "Pauline," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), August 28 to September 14, 1866, 1, 2. On the eve of its serialization (August 27, 1866), the editors at *Le Petit Journal* announced that they would begin printing part two of *Pauline*: "Nous reprendrons demain le dramatique récit de M. Alexandre Dumas, *Pauline*, dont la première partie a eu un si grand succès dans le *Petit Journal*" (Tomorrow, we will resume printing the dramatic story by Mr. Alexandre Dumas, *Pauline*, of which the first part had had such great success in the *Petit Journal*), 2. It hardly seems coincidental that the editors resumed printing Dumas's gothic novel on the same day that they would print the first installment of the (false) *chronique judiciaire*, "Le procès des thugs," just above the jumpline. Also appropriate is the fact that, on September 15, "Pauline" was replaced by Turpin de Sansay's "Le testament d'un bandit," a clear echo of "Le procès des thugs."

[40] Kalifa, *L'encre et le sang*, 11, cf. 20 (italics added): "[I]n 1869, the Troppmann affair ushered in the emerging popular press the era of the *fait divers*" ("en 1869, l'affaire Troppmann inaugure dans la presse populaire naissante l'ère du

fait divers"); Thérenty and Vaillant, *1836*, 277: "The modern treatment of the *fait divers* in the press is traditionally dated from the sixfold murder of the Troppmann Affair in 1869. After this event, according to historians of the *fait divers*, the writing of the daily newspaper underwent a metamorphosis, new journalistic roles appeared (undervalued writers of *fait divers* became flamboyant reporters), literature itself (birth of the detective novel, evolution of the serial novel) came under pressure from new narrative writings based on retrospective construction and investigation ("On date traditionnellement le traitement moderne du fait divers dans la presse du sextuple meurtre de l'affaire Troppmann en 1869. Après cet événement, selon les historiens du fait divers, l'écriture du quotidien se métamorphose, de nouveaux rôles journalistiques apparaissent (le fait-diversier à la fonction peu valorisée est relayé par le plus flamboyant reporter), la littérature même (naissance du roman policier, évolution du roman-feuilleton) subit la pression d'une nouvelle écriture narrative fondée sur la construction rétrospective et l'enquête)."

[41] After months of legal proceedings, which preoccupied all of Paris, Troppmann was guillotined in Paris on January 19, 1870. The story that day in *Le Petit Journal* sparked sales of the paper that topped 600,000. For more on the mediatization of the crime, see Perrot, "L'affaire Troppmann (1869)," 28–37; Pierrat, "L'Affaire Troppmann ou l'invention du fait divers," 27–34; Cragin, *Murder in Parisian Streets*, 37–38; Gramfort, "Les crimes de Pantin," 17–30; Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 15.

[42] News of the Troppmann murders first appeared in major U.S. dailies, including New York City's *New York Times* (October 18, 1869) in October, and then quickly spread around the country: Washington, D.C.'s *Evening Star* (November 26, 1869), the *Chicago* (Illinois) *Tribune* (April 19, 1870), and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's *Evening Telegraph* (May 31, 1870), to name a few. The story was so popular that it was picked up in smaller, local papers, including Lansing, Minnesota's *Mower County Transcript* (December 30, 1869); Mineral Point, Wisconsin's *Mineral Point Tribune* (February 24, 1870); and Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania's *Columbian* (March 11, 1870), as well as on the front pages of smaller distribution French-language papers, such as Convent, Louisiana's *Le Louisianais* (December 3, 1870; January 15, 1870) and Opelousas, Louisiana's *Courrier des Opelousas* (January 22, 1870). So infamous was Troppmann in the U.S. press at this time that the Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, *Columbian* would title its front-page article (picked up from the Canadian press) about convicted murderer John A. Munroe, "The American Troppmann."

[43] Pierrat, "L'Affaire Troppmann ou l'invention du fait divers," 34: "Le 23 septembre, deux jours après la révélation du crime, le tirage du *Petit Journal* atteignait 357 000 exemplaires. Il passa à 448 000 exemplaires le 28 septembre, après la découverte du cadavre de Gustave Kinck. Et ce chiffre augmenta encore en octobre et novembre."

[44] "Thomas Grimm" was the collective pseudonym of several chroniclers at *Le Petit Journal*, of whom Henri Escoffier was the most prolific; and, as noted earlier, "Timothée Trimm" (at times Thimotée) was the pseudonym of writer Antoine

Joseph Napoléon "Léo" Lespès. See Delaporte, *Les journalistes en France*, 56–57.

[45] Readers were not only fascinated with crime stories such as the Troppmann affair, but perhaps also acting them out for real on their own. That is what the *Charleston* (South Carolina) *Daily News* suggests in the deck on its front-page story about the affair from October 15, 1869: "The Effect of Reading Eugene Sue's Wandering Jew—Seven Persons in one Family Butchered near Paris—The Motive of the Murderer—A Midnight Struggle—Finding of the Buried Bodies—Arrest of the Murderer—His Attempted Suicide, and his Confession." The author concludes: "It is stated that Traupmann [*sic*], previous to his arrest, became acquainted with a man named Dourson, with whom he took breakfast. At this breakfast they had a philosophical discussion, in which Traupmann [*sic*] remarked that he had read the 'Wandering Jew,' and that he made the character of Rodin his ideal." "The Great Paris Murder," *Charleston* (South Carolina) *Daily News*, October 15, 1869, 1.

[46] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 23–24 (italics added): "Lorsque dans les années 1860 le journal devient financièrement plus accessible au peuple, ce dernier se tournera plus facilement vers les faits divers qu'il a déjà l'habitude de lire, et dont la rédaction se rapproche bien souvent de celle des romans-feuilletons, lesquels tendent à élargir eux aussi le lectorat des quotidiens. . . . Il semble acquis que le roman-feuilleton comme les faits divers sont avant tout une lecture populaire et féminine. . . . "Cette influence du fait divers sur la littérature (romanesque, médicale, philosophique) du temps est particulièrement intéressante : le fait divers se présente en effet pour ces auteurs comme un document rendant compte du réel, en particulier criminel . . . ."

[47] Gonon, 22–23: "Les faits divers apparaissent dans le dernier tiers du journal . . . . Les rubriques peuvent changer selon les livraisons, et on n'est jamais sûr de retrouver exactement les mêmes les jours suivants—l'une d'elles fait pendant au fait divers criminel : il s'agit de la chronique judiciaire, qui consiste à rendre compte des séances d'un procès. Si le motif est le même (le crime, et ce qui s'ensuit) et les acteurs sont identiques (coupable, victime, témoins, représentants de la loi), on ne saurait cependant entièrement rapprocher la rédaction de la chronique judiciaire et du fait divers . . . ."

[48] Kalifa, "Les tâcherons de l'information," 581: "La chronique judiciaire restait, elle, entièrement autonome. Confiée à un 'tribunalier,' qui était souvent du métier, elle était un genre à part entière qui relevait d'une écriture noble, aux antipodes du fait divers."

[49] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 23: "La chronique judiciaire s'intéresse au long processus du jugement, et si elle traite du crime, c'est bien après qu'il a été commis, lorsqu'il est étudié, raconté, repris, interprété par tous les acteurs du drame qui ont eu le temps d'établir leur discours. Le fait divers, lui, est écrit généralement aussitôt après le crime, et il le raconte ou le rapporte de l'extérieur. Il est d'une lecture sans doute plus accessible, et si la chronique judiciaire peut paraître un genre noble, le fait divers, lui, est un genre systématiquement associé au peuple."

[50] Gonon, 78.

[51] "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles," *Le Petit Journal*, February 11,1880, 3: "Les

époux Garin, qui tiennent cet établissement du marchand da vins traiteur depuis dix années, sont très estimés dans le quartier.

"A demain de nouveaux détails."

[52] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 9: "Ces faits divers criminels sont volontiers sanglants, et ils font également couler beaucoup d'encre." See also Thérenty and Vaillant, *Presses et plumes*, especially the book's first part "La presse au miroir de la littérature," 13–90.

[53] Kalifa, *L'encre et le sang*, cover (italics added): "A l'aube de la Grande Guerre, . . . la ferveur pour les récits de crimes devient un véritable phénomène de société. Tandis que la presse ouvre grand ses colonnes aux faits divers criminels . . . , romans policiers et films de détectives attirent un public de plus en plus large, fasciné par un nouvel imaginaire fait d'empreintes sanglantes et de pas dans la neige, d'indices ténus et de cryptogrammes mystérieux.

"Au cœur de cet engouement, le reporter s'impose comme l'incarnation de l'aventure et de l'héroïsme. L'écriture du fait divers se professionnalise et l'on commence à voir dans l'enquête une nouvelle manière d'interpréter le monde."

[54] Pinto Rodríguez, "Proyectos de la elite chilena del siglo XIX (I)," 172.

[55] Castro Valdebenito, "Criminalización y castigo," 96.

[56] Ibarra Cifuentes, "Liberalismo y prensa," 301.

[57] Brunner and Catalán state that between the census of 1865 and that of 1875 the literate population grew from 17 percent to 22.9 percent; by 1885 it had reached 28.9 percent and in 1895 it had reached 31.8 percent. Illiteracy decreased from 83 percent (in 1865) to 60 percent (in 1907). See Brunner and Catalán, *Cinco estudios sobre cultura y sociedad*, 19.

[58] For instance, the *Almanaque Enciclopédico Pintoresco para el año 1860* reproduced illustrations by French artists, including Valeriano Foulquier, Henri Pottin, Eugène Forest, Alexandre de Bar, Gerard Pauquet, Francoise Auguste Trichon, Frédéric Lix, and Gustave Doré.

[59] Fernández Domingo, "La emigración francesa en Chile, 1875–1914," para. 17.

[60] Silva Castro, *Prensa y periodismo en Chile (1812–1956)*, 72, 84–85, 160, 227; Edwards, *Elogio de don Eliodoro Yáñez*, 82–83.

[61] Subercaseaux, *Historia de libro en Chile*, 109.

[62] For Edwards Bello, see Merino, *Prólogo*, 7–13; for D'Halmar, see Galgani Muñoz, "Paseo escritural de Augusto d'Halmar," 77–101.

[63] For more on the evolution of technology and changing information models, see Mahieux, "Vers une pratique accessible."

[64] Valdebenito, *Historia del periodismo chileno*, 68.

[65] Subercaseaux, *Historia de libro en Chile*, 66.

[66] Subercaseaux, 68.

[67] Subercaseaux, 97.

[68] Chartier, "Aprender a leer, leer para aprender," 27: "modelos de lectura."

[69] Silva Vildósola, *Retratos y Recuerdos*, 178–79: "Pero como el diario tenía las mejores informaciones y los artículos más libres de presión política partidista y la más honrada inspiración, comenzaron muy pronto a tomarlo en cuenta y a leerlo y

a considerarlo todos como una de las fuerzas de opinión que había en el país. Los grandes diarios no nos nombraron jamás. Nos miraban como el enemigo común. Los conservadores ortodoxos nos juzgaban peligrosos innovadores e indisciplinados. La autoridad eclesiástica vivía en constante zozobra, pero nos amparaba la amistad personal que cada uno de nosotros cultivaba con ese hombre de talento y gran cultura que fue el Arzobispo don Mariano Casanova. Los liberales y radicales nos consideraban una 'sacristía picaresca' como dijo Roberto Huneeus en su libro 'Sursum Corda.' El público compraba el diario y avisaba en él."

[70] As interest in French *faits divers* grew, several Chilean newspapers began publishing sections entitled "Revista de París." This trend was no doubt fueled by a wider transmedia phenomenon of Hispanophone papers coming out of Paris, such as the weekly *El Correo de Ultramar* (The overseas post). *El Correo de Ultramar* (1842–1886), which eventually developed into *El Correo de París* (1886–1893), also carried a "Revista de Paris" *croníca*. See Cárdenas Moreno, "Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera en *El Correo de París*," para. 4. For more on the French production of Spanish-language print culture during the nineteenth century, see Cooper-Richet, "Aux marges de l'histoire de la presse."

[71] "Revista de París," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), November 10, 1886, 2: "A su muerte, el *Petit Journal* quiso demostrar que estos ociosos a quienes llaman hombres inútiles, son hombres necesarios, i son también los instrumentos mas preciosos con que cuenta la circulación de los valores."

[72] "Revista de París," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), October 20, 1866, 2: "Estos periódicos judiciales constituyen el repertorio más completo que se puede consultar cuando se quieren estudiar los usos y costumbres de la sociedad moderna. El único inconveniente es que los hechos aparecen aquí como imajinarios, como ficciones novelescas, cuando por el contrario nada hay mas positivo ni más auténtico. Por ejemplo, hé aquí una historia que si no la viéramos contada con largos detalles en la *Gaceta de los Tribunales*, nos pareceria seguramente una de esas fábulas que inventan los escritores como P. Feval i Ponson du Terrail, cuya fecunda imajinacion no conoce la valla de lo inverosímil."

[73] "Los dramas judiciales. El crímen de Pantin. —Acta de acusación contra Troppman," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), February 17, 1870, 1 (italics in original): "Hasta ahora nos hemos abstenido de hablar del famoso i horrendo crímen de Pantin, que tan profunda emocion i horror tan grande ha producido en todo el mundo, porque la multiplicidad de incidentes, las contradicciones i las mas aventuradas conjeturas usurpaban el lugar de la verdad. Hoi, que se presenta ante el jurado (Corte de *Assises* del Sena) ese criminal incomparable, cuyos hechos apenas son para imajinados i cuya idea sola nos aterra, hacemos a los lectores de la *América latina* la mejor relacion de la fúnebre trajedia de Pantin, cual es la contenida en el acta de acusacion leida en la audiencia del 28 por el procurador imperial, i en los debates de este terrible proceso."

[74] "Los dramas judiciales. El crímen de Pantin. —Acta de acusación contra Troppman," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), 2: "VEREDICTO. (por vía telegráfica). París, 30 de diciembre, a las 10 de la noche.

"Troppmann ha sido condenado a muerte.

"Esta terrible sentencia ha provocado aplausos que luego han sido reprimidos.

"Troppmann queda inmóvil i saluda a los jurados sin afectacion.

"Hace en silencio el tránsito de la sala del tribunal a la Concerjeria.

"Entra a su celda i no manifiesta la misma alegria de las noches precedentes. No come nada i solo bebe un vaso de vino."

[75] "El asesino de Pantin. Los últimos incidentes del drama," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), February 23, 1870, 1–2.

[76] Cornejo, *Ciudades de voces impresas*, 93, 99, 102–103.

[77] Sunkel, *Razón y pasión en la prensa popular*, 80–88.

[78] Romero, *¿Qué hacer con los pobres?*, 10–11: "una mezcla horrenda de miseria y corrupción."

[79] León León, "Por una 'necesidad de preservación social,' " 56.

[80] Castro Valdebenito, "Criminalización y castigo," 105.

[81] León León, "Por una 'necesidad de preservación social,' " 34: "[L]a circulación e interiorización de este nuevo saber criminológico ayudó no solo a construir discursivamente una nueva idea de lo que se debía entender por un criminal, sino además a respaldar "científicamente" una serie de prejuicios que reafirmaron los estereotipos sobre el carácter vicioso y degenerado de las conductas y acciones de los sectores populares urbanos, concebidos ahora como este "enemigo interno" que podía terminar por afectar la vida, seguridad y propiedad de los ciudadanos. En función de ello, se volvía necesario prevenir y defender el orden social vigente."

[82] Valdebenito, *Historia del periodismo chileno*, 69: "A pesar de ser un diario popular, consagrado a los intereses del pueblo, era culto y de estilo refinado. Sus artículos cortos y claros respondían a las exigencias de sus lectores, en su mayoría gente de pueblo . . . ."

[83] "Crímen," *El Chileno* (Santiago de Chile), November 27, 1889, 2:

"CRÍMEN.—Laureano Gomez es el nombre de un individuo que en la noche del 24 se encontraba bebiendo con cuatro compañeros en un bosque que hai en la subdelegacion 13 rural 'Pudahuel,' a inmediaciones del rio Mapocho. Se presume que en una pendencia que hayan tenido por el exceso de la bebida, hayan ultimado a Gomez, pues este individuo fué enviado ya cadáver de dicha subdelegacion con varias heridas en la cabeza, al parecer de piedra, por lo que fué mandado al Cementerio Jeneral. Se han tomado por la policía las precauciones del caso a fin de aprehender a los presuntos autores de este crímen." (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[84] Edwards Bello, "El crimen del San Cristóbal," 58: "Nosotros somos enemigos de narrar en la prensa diaria, que va a todas las manos, estos hechos de la vida, pero el periodismo moderno no puede prescindir de las publicaciones policiales . . . ."

[85] Ossandón B. and Santa Cruz, *El estallido de las formas*, 161.

[86] Ramos, *Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina*, 124.

[87] Alvarado Cornejo, "La sección folletín," 57.

[88] *La Libertad* (Talca), 1866–1871, and *El Ferrocarril* (Santiago de Chile), 1855–1910, published texts by Alexandre Dumas, Charles Dickens, and Victor

Hugo. Eventually, fictional feuilletons were reprinted as books and sold separately in bookstores.

[89] *El crimen Undurraga*, *Dos cartas y dos vistas fiscales*, 5: "No deben esas cartas tener la vida efímera de lo que se escribe en la prensa diaria: hoy se lee y mañana se olvida."

[90] Ossandón B., *El crepúsculo de los* sabios, 93: ". . . son periódicos 'mixtos' o de 'transición,' que incorporan lo nuevo del periodismo moderno pero que, a la vez, se resisten a abandonar los elementos ilustrados y literarios propios del período anterior."

[91] Thérenty, "Pour une histoire littéraire de la presse," 626. See also, Thérenty and Vaillant, *1836*, 7–21.

[92] Agustín Edwards, "Epistolary of Agustín Edwards, Mac Clure (1899–1905)," as quoted in Bernedo Pinto and Arriagada Cardini, "Los inicios de *El Mercurio* de Santiago," 28–29: "Quisiera que ensayáramos con el folletín, un sistema que tienen implantado aquí [en París] el *Petit Parisien*, el *Journal*, el *Petit Journal* y otros diarios, para alcanzar mayor circulación" (italics added).

[93] Tomás Cornejo has studied the passionate crime and scandal as central topics at the core of the changes in the Santiago press, also focusing on the newspaper *El Chileno*, which he considers a model of modernization in the local press. See Cornejo, *Ciudades de voces impresas*, 79–124.

[94] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 77–95, 225–53.

[95] While the most celebrated set of narrative markers inherent to literary journalism is Tom Wolfe's in *The New Journalism* (e.g., scene-by-scene construction, dialogue, third-person point of view, symbolic details/status life), 31–33, a number of scholars and practitioners since then—such as Norman Sims in his preface to *True Stories*, xvii–xxiii; Mark Kramer, in "Breakable Rules for Literary Journalists," 21–34; Bernal and Chillón in *Periodismo informativo de creación*, 92–101; and Chillón, in *Literatura y periodismo*, 395–425, to name a few—have been expanding Wolfe's initial literary journalistic criteria over the years. See also the introduction to Chillón's *La palabra facticia*.

[96] See Barthes, "Structure du fait divers," 442–51.

[97] "Le Parricide," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), December 2, 7–15, 17–19, 24, 31, 1867, through to January 1–2, 4–9, 12, 14–16, 18–19, 25, 1868; "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 1880: February 10–11, 14–16, 18–21, through to March 1, 13, 1880.

[98] "Départements," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 19, 1880, 3: "L'abondance des matières nous oblige d'ajourner à demain la suite de notre feuilleton *la Belle Argentière*."

[99] See, for instance, Gonon's first part, chapter 3, "Le détour par le romanesque: la fictionnalisation du fait divers," in *Le fait divers criminel*, 77–95.

[100] "Salteo," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), December 9, 1870, 3: "En cuanto tengamos mas [*sic*] pormenores de este suceso lo comunicaremos a nuestros lectores."

[101] *Asesinato de Pancul. Datos referentes a este suceso*.

[102] *El crimen de Talca. Parricidio de don José Isidoro Vergara*.

[103] *El crimen Undurraga*. *Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*.

[104] Gaboriau, *L'Affaire Lerouge*. Despite its fictional narrative, Gonon describes the novel's "*interdiscours fait-diversier*," suggesting that behind every novel written at the time—in particular a *roman policier*—was hiding a *fait divers*. See Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 251.

[105] *Asesinato de Pancul*, 7, 12.

[106] *El crimen de Talca*, 64: ". . . no son los mejores guias de la justicia las versiones del vulgo, casi siempre erradas e hijas de una imajinacion lijera i exitada por lo estraordinario del acontecimiento."

[107] "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 10, 1880, 2.

[108] "L'assassin Couvelaere," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 26, 1880, 3.

[109] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 90 (italics added): "Cette description théâtralisée, c'est tout d'abord celle-ci présente la foule au spectacle, avec les témoins qui les premiers découvrent la victime, et dont la fictionnalisation du fait divers permet de retranscrire les sentiments et le point de vue."

[110] "Horroroso crimen," *El Chileno* (Santiago de Chile), October 10, 1890, 2: "Los ajentes de policia introdujéronse a las habitaciones donde, a los pocos momentos, presenciaron el espectáculo mas desgarrador i lúgubre; dos cadáveres del sexo femenino yacían tendidos en el suelo, sus rostros completamente demudados, mas aun, despedazados en gran parte, heridos de hacha en la cabeza, con golpes de palos en el rostro, el vestido enteramente despedazado i la garganta de la mayor de las victimas parecia oprimida como si se hubiese tratado de ahorcarla. . . .

"Despues de un momento de espanto i asombro, los guardianes comprendieron que era necesario buscar cuanto ántes a los autores del crímen horrendo cuyos efectos presenciaban, i a la verdad empezaron el rejistro de la casa" (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[111] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 67: "The *fait divers*'s introduction can also highlight the emotion of a population in the face of a crime . . ." (La Pn0 [introductory narrative sequence to a *fait divers*] peut également mettre en avant l'émotion d'une population devant un crime . . .").

[112] *El crimen Undurraga*. *Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*, 55: "En medio de su luna de miel ella descubrió que el hombre a quien habia entregado confiadamente su corazón i su destino, con toda la ternura i la pureza de su cariño, era una fiera. Un dejenerado lascivo i brutal.

"Descubrió con horror que ese poeta de alma delicada, que habia arrullado su imajinacion a los veinte años, era como esas serpientes que cantan antes de enroscarse en el cuello de sus víctimas."

[113] "Assassinat. Aliénation Mentale," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 6, 1863, 2: "Il est dix heures et demie, la cour entre en séance.

"De bonne heure la salle est envahie par le public, avide de voir les traits de l'accusé.

"On l'introduit. Il est vêtu de l'uniforme de marin de la marine impériale.

Deux gendarmes prennent place à ses côtés."

[114] "Asesinato," *El Chileno* (Santiago de Chile), June 5, 1890, 2: "A dicho establecimiento [un restaurante], cuyo dueño es Francisco Neri—que vivia con su mujer Concepcion Neri—llegó el domingo un individuo llamado Emilio Sacco, el cual pidió dos cigarros puros. El dueño del establecimiento le contestó que no tenía, i por esta causa, según se refiere, Sacco lo insultó hasta que lo obligó a que lo sacase fuera del establecimiento. Antes de retirarse, el despedido dijo en alta voz i en actitud amenazante: 'mañana me la pagarás.' "

[115] *El crimen de Talca*, 28: "El cadáver del señor Vergara presenta en la cabeza, al lado derecho, una ancha i profunda herida que le ha partido el cráneo hasta los sesos, inferida al parecer con machete.

"En la garganta presenta señales de haber sido estrangulado, pues se le nota una gran parte del cuello amoratado i aun conserva un cañamo delgado . . . ."

[116] It is important to point out that all these resources will be part of what a century later Tom Wolfe would mention as being the key strategies of the New Journalism. See Wolfe, The New Journalism, 50–51.

[117] "Le Parricide," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 5, 1868, 4: "La maladie, une maladie affreuse la clouait sur un lit immonde à l'hôpital de la prison des Madelonnettes! Là, elle passait les derniers jours qu'elle avait à vivre dans les plus atroces souffrances, et aucun sommeil ne pouvait s'approcher de ses yeux en larmes. Auprès de la couche funèbre où s'agitait l'infortunée, comme auprès du lit déshonoré de Frédéric, un fantôme veillait sans cesse, et le dortoir où elle se lamentait retentissait jour et nuit de ses cris désespérés. Louise était condamnée par les médecins, mais elle ne pouvait pas mourir, et dès que les ombres du soir commençaient à s'étendre sur les murs de l'infirmerie où elle s'agitait sans cesse, ses tristes compagnes venaient veiller tour à tour auprès d'elle pour la dérober à sa terreur."

[118] "Suicide," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), February 23, 1871, 2: ". . . el señor Collet habia tomado una cantidad de sublimato [*sic*] corrosivo que abrasaba sus entrañas. Como las diez de la mañana, despues de una agonia horrible, exhalaba aquel desgraciado su último suspiro.

"Sus cuentas con los hombres estaban canceladas!

"No habrá sido Dios tan implacable al pedirle las suyas."

[119] "Una última versión del crimen Breddin-Hoffmann," *El Chileno* (Santiago de Chile), October 31, 1890, 2–3: "Bermal agregó otros detalles en los cuales aparece tan culpable él como Salas, pero preferimos silenciarlos en obsequio al lector . . . ."

[120] *El crimen Undurraga. Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*, 9: "En el momento de atravesar la señora Zañartu por frente a su marido, éste tomó rápida colocación a su espalda i en el brevísimo espacio de unos pocos segundos, cuando la primera apenas habia dado un paso en el pórtico del teatro, sacó un revólver de su bolsillo i apuntó sobre la cabeza de la señora Zañartu, estendiendo el brazo por sobre una o dos personas que se interponían entre ambos. El disparo, lanzado a boca de jarro, dio en el cerebro de la víctima arrojándola al suelo instantáneamente, inclinada hacia el costado izquierdo. El hechor se avalanzó sobre el cuerpo de su esposa para seguir disparando su revólver."

[121] "Un cadavre vivant," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 1, 1880, 3: "Mais alors, si Lefebvre n'a pas été assassiné . les époux Faye ne sont pas des assassins?"

[122] "L'assassin Couvelaere," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 26, 1880, 3: "Le coupable semblait avoir su parfaitement où il devait mettre la main pour trouver immédiatement ces valeurs. Mais ce coupable, quel était-il?"

[123] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 186: "La perspective change . . . .: pour le journaliste, il s'agit non plus seulement d'être le relais d'une parole officielle uniquement informative, mais également d'inciter, par sa publication à la demande du juge d'instruction lui-même, les lecteurs à participer à l'enquête, à en devenir des auxiliaires."

[124] "Le Parricide," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 5, 1868, 4: "Frédéric alla passer au 129, dans la maison de jeu du Palais-Royal, la nuit qui suivit la sanglante expédition de Versailles. La chance, qui jusqu'alors lui avait été presque constamment favorable, tourna brusquement contre lui, et il perdit presque tout le gain qu'il y avait fait précédemment.

"C'était un mauvais signe. Aussi rentra-t-il chez lui furieux et fatigué. Il dormit quelques heures de ce sommeil pénible qui avait été jusqu'à ce moment son unique châtiment, et vers trois heures de l'après-midi, après avoir eu soin de mettre dans la poche de côté de sa redingote certain instrument dont il ne connaissait que trop l'usage mortel, il se dirigea vers le Pont-Neuf."

[125] "Salteo," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), December 9, 1870, 3. "Al llegar al portezuelo de Lima dos de los perseguidores se adelantaron a sus compañeros para esplorar el camino. Cerca de un estero, los bandidos que habian notado que se les perseguia se emboscaron entre los árboles: los dos exploradores se vieron luego separados del resto de la comitiva por una hábil maniobra de los bandidos que los tomaron por la espalda. Una lucha desigual se trabó entónces entre los bandidos i los dos esploradores, lucha cuyos resultados no podian ser dudosos. Al cabo de algunos instantes, en efecto, uno de ellos cayó muerto, herido de un balazo. El otro se defendia todavia valientemente a pesar de algunas leves heridas que habia recibido i logró por fin escaparse uniéndose al resto de la comitiva que habia quedado un poco atrás.

"Entre tanto, don Juan de Dios Valenzuela, propietario tambien de esa localidad, reunia a los sirvientes de su fundo i a los de los vecinos e iba a ingresar a la primera comitiva que habia salido en persecucion de los bandidos. Estos, convencidos de que se les seguia la pista, huian a todo escape dispersándose despues en distintas direcciones." (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[126] *El crimen de Talca*, 31–35.

[127] "Le Parricide," *Le Petit Journal*, January 9–10, 1868, 4.

[128] "Salteo," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), April 18, 1876, 3–4.

"Catorce forajidos penetraron antenoche a las doce a una casa en la chácara denominada 'El Cármen,' disparando balazos.

"Un pobre hombre que fué a atrancar la puerta, fué la primera víctima.

"Lo ataron de piés i manos i lo amenazaron con quitarle la vida si no decia el

lugar donde estaba la plata.

"El infeliz les juró que nada sabía i se les arrodilló para que no lo matasen.

"Uno de los bandidos, exasperado porque no obtenía nada de aquel hombre, le disparó un balazo a quema ropa i lo mató en el acto.

"Rejistran las piezas i encuentran a una señora que estaba escondida debajo del catre; la sacan de ahí, la maltratan i porque no confesaba donde estaba el dinero le asestaron tres puñaladas.

"Cometieron estos crímenes solamente para conseguir un miserable botín. Lo único que se llevaron fueron algunos objetos de poco valor i diez pesos.

"Hasta ahora no se ha capturado a ninguno de los malhechores." (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[129] "Muerte repentina," *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* (Valparaíso), June 6, 1868, 3:

"Un ebrio, que fue llevado en carretón anoche a eso de las once al cuartel de policía y que no pudo declarar su nombre, amaneció muerto esta mañana en el calabozo.

"Fue remitido al hospital para que sea reconocido por el médico de ciudad.

"Escritas las líneas anteriores, hemos recibido los datos siguientes, hemos recibido los datos siguientes: El muerto es zapatero, como de 40 años de edad y se llama Juan de la Cruz Díaz, casado con Catalina Salvo.

"El individuo espresado [*sic*] salió ayer a vender zapatos que había hecho en la semana y no volvió más a su casa."

[130] "Herido," *El Mercurio de Valparaíso* (Valparaíso), August 1, 1868, 3:
"Anoche como a la uno fué conducido a la policía un individuo llamado Antonio Arrieta, que solo porque un compañero suyo llamado Pioquinto Vazquez, con quien se estaba divirtiendo, no quiso acompañarlo hasta más tarde para beber en su casa, le dió dos puñaladas, causándole otras tantas heridas de mucha gravedad en el vientre.

"El herido fué conducido inmediatamente al hospital, y se cree que no salve.

"El reo se encerró en su casa y fué necesario echar abajo la puerta para sacarlo y conducirlo preso" (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[131] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 57: "The text of a criminal *fait divers* is thus paradoxical: on the one hand, it wants to capture the horrendous nature of the crime, or even to insist particularly on what can make the crime odious, in order to attract the attention of the reader, who is fond of such atrocities; on the other hand, its influences this same reader's understanding of the crime with textual models, narrative or not, that are often stereotypical" ("Ainsi le récit de fait divers criminel se tient dans un entre-deux qui peut sembler paradoxal: d'une part, il veut saisir le caractère affreux du crime, voire insister particulièrement sur ce qui peut rendre le crime odieux, pour attirer l'attention du lecteur friand d'atrocités ; d'autre part, il conforte ce même lecteur dans l'appréhension du crime grâce à des modèles textuels, narratifs ou non, et la plupart du temps stéréotypés").

[132] One such novel is Émile Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*, serialized in the literary magazine *L'Artiste* in 1867 and published as a book in 1868. It reflects Zola's aes-

thetics, which he describes in the last section of his treatise, *El naturalismo*, "Sobre la novela" (About the novel), first subsection, "El sentido de lo real" (the sense of the real), 183–88. Notice how Zola anticipates Tom Wolfe by more than a hundred years. Zola writes, "Make real characters move in a real environment, giving the reader a fragment of human life: this is the whole naturalist novel" ("Hacer mover a unos personajes reales en un medio real, dar al lector un fragmento de la vida humana: en esto consiste toda la novela naturalista"), 183. Zola first described this perspective in his preface to *Thérèse Raquin*, 1868. See Zola, *Thérèse Raquin*, i–ix.

[133] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 229: ". . . le naturalisme va bien souvent retracer la vie des plus démunis, abondamment traitée par cette rubrique des quotidiens, mais revendique dans le même temps aussi un travail du style qui s'oppose à celui des journalistes."

[134] Dickens, "Une assurance sur la vie," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 1, 1863, 1: "Laissez-moi vous raconter un de ces romans de la vie réelle." See also, Zola, *Le roman expérimental*.

[135] González, "Un homicida" (A murderer), *La Semana* (Santiago de Chile), vol. 9, July 16, 1859, 139–40: "Un hombre dotado de pasiones ardentísimas pero cuyo espíritu no haya sido debidamente cultivado, rigorosamente hablando no es un criminal: mas bien es un demente, i castigarlo por homicida cuando solo obra impelido por la pasión, importa tanto como castigar el puñal de que se sirviera para ejecutar su crimen." This story began in vol. 7 on July 2, 1859, and ran until vol. 12 on August 6, 1859. The second and the fifth installments were signed "Marcial González," while the others just carried his initial "G."

[136] Thérenty, *La littérature au quotidien*, 24: ". . . d'une écriture scientifique dont la forme même garantirait l'effectivité."

[137] Urbistondo, *El naturalismo*, 17–20.

[138] See Latcham, "La historia del criollismo," 7–55; Montenegro, "Aspectos del criollismo en América," 57–95; and Vega, "En torno al criollismo," 97–125.

[139] "Inaudita impavidez," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), April 8, 1867, 2: "demostrando el valor e intrepidez de un Napoleon"; "como la aparicion del comendador entre los convidados del festin de Tenorio."

[140] "Siguen los robos," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), April 9, 1867, 3: "La familia aquella gozaba en el barrio de una reputación semejante a la de la Lechuza, el Maestro de Escuela i el Cojito de los Misterios de París."

[141] "Un cadavre vivant," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 1, 1880, 3: "Nous avons promis à nos lecteurs cette histoire. Elle vaut vraiment la peine d'être contée. Son premier chapitre remonte à 1877."

[142] Gonon, *Le fait divers criminel*, 67: "The use of the verbal drawers [i.e., verbal tenses] themselves seems codified in these types of opening and closing clauses, and. . . with the passage from the simple past to the past perfect tense when the authorities appear in the story or the chronicle . . . . we shift from a story about the crime to information about the investigation" (L'emploi des tiroirs verbaux même paraît codifié dans ces types d'amorce et de clausule, et . . . avec le passage du passé simple au passé composé lorsque dans le récit ou la chronique surgissent les autorités

. . . . [o]n passe de la sorte du récit du crime aux informations de l'enquête . . . .").

[143] "Une Femme sciée en morceaux," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 9, 1872, 3: "Le 6 février 1871, des ouvriers aperçurent dans le barrage d'une usine . . . un tronçon d'un cadavre. C'était le buste d'une femme. On voyait que la tête et les bras avaient été séparés au moyen d'une scie."

[144] "Une Femme sciée en morceaux," 3: "On a cherché l'origine de cette fable, on n'a pu la découvrir."

[145] "Le Parricide," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 6, 1868, 4: "Il y a dans cette histoire un personnage secondaire, Bertrand, que nous avons laissé de côté depuis quelques temps."

[146] "Le crime de la rue de Chazelles," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 10, 1880, 2: "Mais il n'a pas été difficile de reconstituer le drama."

[147] "Assassinat. Aliénation Mentale," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 6, 1863, 2.

[148] "Gran asalto: 18 personas robadas," *El Chileno* (Santiago de Chile), December 24, 1889, 1: "Los salteadores se presentan en los alrededores de nuestra ciuda en escuadrones armados i con fuerza suficiente para apoderarse del dinero ganado honradamente por 100 o mas individuos. I la policía ni sospecha la existencia de tal amenaza ni tiene medios para perseguir despues a los delincuentes! Se destinan millones de millones para cárceles palacios, pero los criminales viven al aire libre i disponen asi antojo de la vida i ganancias del pobre jornalero de Santiago. Todo esto es horrible i absurdo" (all *sic*: original text in older Spanish; hence, spelling differs from modern Spanish).

[149] *El crimen de Talca*, 90: "La Lei en su edición de ayer, inserta la estupenda y sensacional noticia de la evasión del procesado, don Ismael Vergara. Semejante canard esparcido con toda malicia i con la más censurable lijereza, tiende a mantener una escitacion artificial í odiosa para un procesado que cualquiera que sea su responsabilidad como delincuente, tiene por su misma situación mas derechos que otros al respeto i consideración que inspira la desgracia en todo corazón bien puesto."

[150] "Le Parricide," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 7, 1868, 4: "On monta un plateau, et, sur le coin d'une table dont le bois était rougi de sang, l'assassin de Formage prit un potage!"

[151] "Un drame de famille," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 2, 1880, 4: "Maurice Bichon était un misérable, jaloux, paresseux, ivrogne et d'un caractère des plus violents. Pendant quinze jours il a maltraité sa famille et surtout sa malheureuse femme, qui jouit, elle, de l'estime générale. Depuis quatre ou cinq ans il avait quitté le pays, abandonné sa famille, travaillant cependant dans l'arrondissement, et ne reparaissant de temps à autre dans Avesnes-lez-Aubert (Nord) que pour se livrer à ses habitudes d'ivrognerie et à des tentatives d'assassinat sur sa femme, à laquelle, à plusieurs reprises, il a porté des coups de couteau."

[152] "Le Duel," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 4, 1880, 1.

[153] "Exécution de Prévost," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), January 21, 1880, 2.

[154] "La mort de Rollin," *Le Petit Journal* (Paris), February 2, 1880, 3.

[155] *El crimen de Talca*, 22: ". . . quisiéramos siquiera que nuestra sociedad sacara las lecciones provechosas que se desprenden de este acontecimiento que por la fuerza de las cosas ha tenido que ver inevitablemente la luz publica."

[156] *El crimen Undurraga*. *Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*, 24: "Hai sucesos cuya coincidencia parece preparada por una mano sabia i providente para conducir a las sociedades en medio de las cuales se desarrollan, a enseñanzas i reflexiones morales de esas que de cuando en cuando nos obligan a detenernos para contemplar el fondo de la conciencia social."

[157] See Kalifa, "Les tâcherons de l'information," 578–603.

[158] *El crimen Undurraga. Asesinato de la señora Teresa Sañartu Vicuña*, 69: "El autor del crimen era un caballero; i en esos mismos dias, por singular coincidencia, se debía fusilar en la cárcel-penitenciaria a un humilde roto que un año antes habia asesinado a su esposa.

"Esta coincidencia dio oríjen a comparaciones i en el ambiente popular se notó una especie de cruel satisfacción.

"¡Por fin un caballero iba a ser carne de patíbulo!

"¡Por fin se dejaría establecido el precedente de que en Chile la lei era igual para todos!"

[159] Queffélec, *Le Roman-feuilleton français*, 68–69.

[160] "Inaudita impavidez," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), April 8, 1867, 2.

[161] "Siguen los robos," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), April 9, 1867, 3 (italics added): "[la ladrona] mientras tanto se hallaba de atalaya a alguna distancia del lugar del golpe de mano, por si divisaba a la distancia a aris arisc [*sic*] de policía, cosa que, *como se figurará el lector*, no aconteció."

[162] "Horrible hallazgo," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), April 17, 1867, 2: "Leídas las líneas anteriores, a cualquiera se le ocurrirá preguntar, ¡i la policía!"

[163] "Robo," *La República* (Santiago de Chile), May 14, 1867, 2: "Recomendamos a la policía actividad."

[164] Silva Vildósola, *Medio siglo de periodismo*, 129 (cf. 45): "al mismo tiempo se hizo una adaptación seria, metódica a las peculiaridades del país." See also, Silva Vildósola, *Retratos y recuerdos*, where he describes how, by 1900, both *El Mercurio* and *El Ferrocarril* began turning away from emulating the French press, which its editors had greatly once admired, because they no longer valued the French press's sense of morality ("pero no estimaba mucho su moralidad"), 72. One of the reasons for this slighting of the French press can be found in the opinion of Alberto Blest Gana—a well-known Chilean writer and diplomat—on the French press, as Silva Vildósola notes in *Medio siglo de periodismo*: "He [Blest Gana] recognized its [the French newspapers'] wit, vivacity, and the existence of certain brilliant writers, but he did not admire its lack of morality" ("Le reconocía ingenio, vivacidad, celebraba ciertas personalidades de escritores brillantes, pero no estimaba mucho su moralidad"), 72.

[165] Subercaseaux, *Historia de libro en Chile*, 110–25.

[166] As to the possible continuation of this project, future researchers would be advised to 1) widen the corpus to be studied, with the purpose of further strength-

ening the current examples and determining fixed levels of influence; 2) continue investigating the crossroads between the social scientific and literary discourses applied to crime stories, as a new way to analyze the "aesthetics" of social scientific studies, especially in the field of criminology; and 3) deepen the links between the changes in urban life and the proliferation of crime stories in the local press.

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