

The Monarchy of the North (1919) in the iconographic discourse of the *Ilustração Portuguesa*

A Monarquia do Norte (1919) no discurso iconográfico da Ilustração Portuguesa

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ABSTRACT

On January 19, 1919, rebellious troops proclaimed, in Oporto, the reinstatement of the monarchy, soon followed by other garrisons in the north of Portugal. Monarchist ruled in almost all of the north of the country, particularly in Oporto, had no equivalent in the south. The ensuing confrontation between monarchist insurgents and republican forces led to the end of the Monarchy of the North on February 13. This research aimed to unveil, with a quantitative and qualitative study, the structure of the iconographic discourse that *Ilustração Portuguesa*, the only large-circulation contemporary illustrated magazine, built about this episode. It was accepted the starting hypothesis that the discourse of the *Ilustração Portuguesa* was aligned with the republican governmental power, which controlled the capital city, where the magazine had its headquarters, and most of the country. The data validated the hypothesis: the magazine's iconographic narrative glorifies the Republic and its "heroes," transforming the publication into an instrument of "infopropaganda" at the service of the established power in Lisbon.

Keywords: The Monarchy of the North, Portugal, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, iconography, discourse analysis



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RESUMO

Em 19 de janeiro de 1919, tropas revoltosas proclamaram, no Porto, a reinstauração da monarquia, logo seguidas por outras guarnições do norte de Portugal. O domínio monárquico em quase todo o norte do país, em particular do Porto, não teve equivalente a sul. A confrontação que se seguiu entre os revoltosos monárquicos e os republicanos levou ao fim da Monarquia do Norte em 13 de fevereiro. A investigação que aqui se apresenta visou a desvelar, por meio de um estudo quantiquantitativo, a estrutura do discurso iconográfico que a *Ilustração Portuguesa*, única revista ilustrada coeva de grande circulação, construiu sobre esse episódio. Partiu-se da hipótese de que o discurso da *Ilustração Portuguesa* se alinhou com o poder governamental republicano, que controlava a capital, sede da revista, e a maioria do território do país. Os dados permitiram validar a hipótese: a narrativa iconográfica da revista glorifica a República e os seus “heróis”, transformando a publicação em um instrumento de “infopropaganda” a serviço do poder estabelecido em Lisboa.

Palavras-chave: Monarquia do Norte, Portugal, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, iconografia, análise do discurso

ON JANUARY 19, 1919, rebellious troops in Porto proclaimed the reinstatement of the Monarchy, soon followed by other garrisons in northern Portugal. The monarchists’ domination of almost the entire north of the country, particularly Porto, had no equivalent in the south. Although there were monarchist attempts, Lisbon, central and southern Portugal remained in Republican hands. The ensuing confrontation between monarchist insurgents and republican led to the end of the Monarchy of the North less than a month later, on February 13, when republican institutions were re-established in Porto. The Republican way of organizing the Portuguese state was no longer abandoned.

The coeval people gave importance to the event. From contemporary works on the facts (Lima, 1919; Magalhães, 1925, 1934; Martins, 1922; Oliveira, 1919), sources for later historiographical approaches (Ferreira, 1984; Marques, 1973, 1978, 1995; Mattoso & Ramos, 2001; Peres, 1954; Ramos, Sousa, & Monteiro, 2009; Resende, 2019; Rollo & Rosas, 2019; Santos, 2014; Saraiva, 2003; Silva, 2008), the most relevant is *Monarquia do Norte [Monarchy of the North]*, a two-volume work by the monarchist journalist Martins (1922), whose title helped to establish the name of this historical episode and give it a more positive connotation than it had had until then (“Monarchy of the Spankers” [Monarquia dos Trauliteiros]).

Having been disruptive, unforeseen, violent and impactful, as well as limitable in time, the historical episode of the Monarchy of the North was notable and noticed, becoming news in the press of the time (Resende, 2019; Souto, 1989). It was, therefore, perceived as an event, as a notable singularity, in line with the reasoning of authors such as Adriano Duarte Rodrigues (1988) or Adelmo Genro

Filho (2012). And it had value as news, because it had qualities that led coeval journalists to consider it as such: a worthy singularity, a notable and newsworthy social fact, along the interpretative lines opened by Galtung and Ruge (1965). Above all, the Monarchy of the North falls within the field of dramatic and time-developing events around which journalism revolves (Elliot & Golding, 1988).

The importance that the Monarchy of the North had on the lives of its contemporaries did not have the same impact on the academic study of its journalistic coverage. Although a categorization and analysis of the articles on the Monarchy of the North taken from the official gazettes (*Diário do Governo* and *Diário da Junta Governativa do Reino de Portugal*) has been carried out, focusing on the official *communiqués* (Souto, 1989), there is no other study on the discursive behavior of the contemporary press during this historical episode, even though, at the time, the press had great penetration in Portuguese society, particularly in the main urban areas, since industrial and party-independent journalism was consolidated in Portugal (Lima, 2012; Matos, 2014; Sousa, 2021). By exclusion of parts, there is also no study focused on analyzing the iconographic coverage of the Monarchy of the North by the press, despite the fact that, at that moment in history, photojournalism was already consolidated in Portugal, as a practice and a craft (Sousa, 2020), thanks to photographers such as Joshua Benoliel, Arnaldo Garcês, Anselmo Franco and Dinis Salgado. This research aims to help to fill this gap.

An analysis of the iconographic coverage of the event by the press had to include a study of the only Portuguese illustrated magazine with national circulation published at the time, *Ilustração Portuguesa* (Sousa, 2017; Sousa, 2020), a key stage in Portuguese journalistic and documentary photography between 1903 and 1924 (Manique & Proença, 1990; Serén, 2004).

The research tried to answer to the following question: what was the iconographic narrative – including the correlated verbal text – that *Ilustração Portuguesa* constructed about the Monarchy of the North, knowing that the established powers sought to instrumentalize the press for propaganda and manipulation purposes, not refraining from censoring it and using *fake news* (Souto, 1989; Silva, 2008; Resende, 2019)? It was hypothesized that, given the specific circumstances in Lisbon, where the magazine was based, the photographic and verbal discourse of *Ilustração Portuguesa* was aligned with the Government of the Republic, which controlled the capital and most of the country's territory.

THE MONARCHY OF THE NORTH

The Monarchy of the North was the episodic restoration of the monarchical regime in Porto and the north of Portugal, between January 19 and February 13,



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1919. Coeval republicans called it the “Monarchy of the Spankers” [Monarquia dos Trauliteiros] (Lima, 1919; Oliveira, 1919), because of the violence and terror that fell upon the opponents (cf. Silva, 2008). More sympathetic to the insurgents, the monarchist journalist Martins (1922) called the event the “Monarchy of the North”, a name that went down in history.

Nuno Resende (2019), while not denying violent episodes, emphasizes that the history written by the victors gave the Monarchy of the North a violent and simplistic version, which does not always match either the facts or the public and memorial testimonies; he also notes that some occurrences may have resulted from simple personal vendettas, and not from superiorly orchestrated and systematic violence against the republicans.

It is necessary to go back in time to understand the monarchist attempt. The initial phase of the First Republic, dominated by the hegemony of the Democratic Party and by its leader Afonso Costa, came to an abrupt end in December 1917, with the triumph of the *coup d'état* led by Sidónio Pais. Supported by the Army and by the conservative sectors of Portuguese society, Sidónio tried to establish a “New Republic” [República Nova], presidentialist and conservative, which, governed by a thorough revision of the Constitution, would bring order and stability to the country. In the final phase of his consulate, in November 1918, he authorized Army officers to form military councils (the *juntas*), including those in Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra, Braga and Évora. The aim of these *juntas* was to defend the regime, even in the event that the President of the Republic was impeached or died, but monarchist sentiments predominated in them (Silva, 2008, p. 21).

On December 14, 1918, Sidónio was murdered. His death once again brought instability to the Portuguese Republic again. The members of the Democratic Party became agitated. The government, still in the hands of the *sidonistas* [supporters of Sidónio Pais], managed to defeat one first attempt of a *coup d'état*, led by the Democrats and other Republicans, in Santarém, between January 10 and 15. The insurgents demanded a return to the constitutional order of 1911. But the New Republic without Sidónio seemed doomed for failure. To avoid the hegemony of the democrats and the 1911 Constitution, some Monarchists saw a solution – and an opportunity – in restoring the Monarchy.

The prestigious monarchist army officer Paiva Couceiro, leader of the Monarchist Incursions of 1911 and 1912¹, managed to obtain the complicity of the military *junta* in Porto. The restoration of the Monarchy and of King Manuel II² was thus proclaimed in Porto on January 19, 1919. Paiva Couceiro declared himself regent of the Kingdom of Portugal. The proclamation justifying the change of regime pointed out to the need to save the homeland, placed in danger by Republican demagoguery and anarchy.

¹ Attacks by monarchists dissatisfied with the imposition of the Republic in the north of Portugal, starting from Galicia.

² As Martins (1922) narrates, Manuel II, who was not consulted, never showed any agreement with the coup that sought to restore him to the head of the State and maintained a dubious attitude towards the coup plotters. Historian José Hermano Saraiva (2003, p. 112) says the same.

The rebellious Monarchists formed a Provisional Government of the Kingdom [Junta Governativa Provisória do Reino de Portugal]. They were convinced that the country would follow the restoration of the Monarchy. In 1925, six years after the event, Luís de Magalhães wrote that the Monarchy of the North was the result of a misunderstanding on the part of some Monarchists, who were convinced that the great strength of the New Republic of Sidónio Pais [the *Sidonismo*³] lay in a supposed national Monarchist majority that would be willing to accept the restoration of the Monarchy. This was not the case. In Lisbon, the Government of the Republic still had a Sidonist base and was supported by a significant number of Army officers and soldiers. It managed to control, with the support of republican volunteers, a revolt of Monarchist Army officers⁴, on January 24, led by Manuel II's representative in Portugal, Aires de Ornelas. The divisions between the Monarchists were so strong that Aires de Ornelas had condemned Paiva Couceiro's *coup* (Ramos, Sousa & Monteiro, 2009, p. 611). On January 27, following the events, a Government of "Republican unity" took office, headed by José Relvas. The new Government of the Portuguese Republic lasted from January 27 to March 30, 1919.

³*Sidonismo* was the phase of the First Republic that took place between the military coup that brought Sidónio Pais to power, in December 1917, and the end of the regime, which fell apart after his assassination, in December 1918.

⁴Monsanto Uprising (Revolta de Monsanto).

The Monarchists tried to make themselves strong in Porto, where there were episodes of violence to control the Republican opposition, mainly centered on the Eden Theater, the headquarters of the Monarchist popular militias. Nuno Resende (2019), however, points out that this image of the events was given by the press, which was controlled and manipulated by the Republican power, which was also violent and would not refrain from exercising this violence even in the courts (Dias, 1923, p. 311). The accounts of the time, points out Resende (2019, p. 294), are contradictory and the courts "could prove little in the light of evidence and reliable testimony about what had really happened".

In Porto, the Junta legislated intensively, publishing new legislation in the official daily *Diário da Junta Governativa do Reino de Portugal*, appointing civil governors for Porto, Aveiro, Braga, Bragança, Coimbra, Vila Real, Viana do Castelo and Viseu⁵, but also Portalegre, and taking administrative measures (Marques, 1995, p. 572; Resende, 2019); meanwhile, the Government of the Portuguese Republic reacted and began to deploy its forces to subdue the Monarchy of the North. On February 13, the Army of the Republic entered in Porto, putting an end to the conspiracy. The military operations in other places of Portugal ended on the 20th, with the extinction of all pockets of Monarchist resistance and the return of Republican order throughout the country.

⁵Territory that the *Junta* from Porto believed to have under control.

José Mattoso and Rui Ramos (2001, p. 527) argue that the attempt to restore the Monarchy failed because its supporters were united only by their dissatisfaction with the Republic; everything else disunited them, which would



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have meant that the Monarchist *coup* of January 1919 was doomed from the start. In fact, as José Hermano Saraiva (2003, p. 112) emphasizes, King Manuel II did not sympathize with the Porto revolt, even though his supporters had proclaimed the restoration of the Monarchy in his name and were ready to reinstate him as Head of State.

The Monarchy of the North exhausted the Monarchists. It was, in fact, the swansong of the Monarchy in Portugal.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this research was based on a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the verbal and visual discourse on the episode known as the Monarchy of the North in the Portuguese illustrated magazine *Ilustração Portuguesa*.

The study followed a hermeneutic and heuristic line. Thus, based on the contributions of Ricoeur (1987), Maimment (1996), Gadamer (1999) and Scheufele (2008a; 2008b), we sought to deconstruct, present, interpret and understand the discourse on the Monarchy of the North in the analyzed magazine, with an emphasis on photography, from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. We identified the frameworks, in the sense given by Goffman (1974), of the discourse of *Ilustração Portuguesa* on the Monarchy of the North, considering the themes, the formal elements of the language, namely the articulations between the verbal and the visual, the symbolic and expressive resources, the discursive sequences and the iconographic examples that could most clearly translate the frames proposed to the reader.

In other words, we sought to uncover the way in which the frames for the event were constructed and proposed, the meanings that the enunciators may have intended to give the messages they produced, the meanings that these messages may have had and the implications they may have produced, taking into account the co-evaluative historical context. It was therefore considered that each journalistic article and each verbal or iconographic discursive unit was intertextually related to other material and discursive units in the same or other media, both synchronically and diachronically, and that it was also contextually related to the cultural patterns that govern the interpretation of the world, at each historical moment, by individuals or groups of individuals living in a given social space, in which there are shared cultural references (Scheufele, 2008a).

In order to detect, collect and systematize the data, all the issues of *Ilustração Portuguesa* published after January 19, 1919 were read sequentially, and it was found that the historical episode known as the Monarchy of the North was only reported from the February 3 issue onwards, although

the narrative about the episode lasted until the June 9 issue. We therefore systematically identified the articles that referred to the Monarchy of the North, the *corpus* of the research, published in *Ilustração Portuguesa* between February 3 and June 9, 1919. Next, a descriptive diachronic narrative about the historical episode was structured through deconstruction and reconstruction, based on a systematic and chronological reading of the journalistic articles published by *Ilustração Portuguesa*, in which the iconographic and verbal discursive units and segments revealing the patterns of meaning proposed by the magazine were inserted, including verbal discursive sequences that contextualize and led the reading of the images and iconographic examples that could exemplify the central aspects of the coverage of the event and the way in which this coverage evolved, with an emphasis on photography.

We considered the positive contributions that quantitative, intensive discourse analysis techniques can make to the soundness of a research project (Scheufele, 2008b, pp. 972-978). Quantitative discourse analysis, also known as content analysis (Dominick & Wimmer, 1996, pp. 174-191), was, therefore, carried out. *Ilustração Portuguesa* content about the Monarchy of the North was coded into categories. Images were categorized according to the type and genre and by their theme. The results were expressed by absolute frequency (absolute values) and relative frequency (percentages).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

At the time of the Monarchy of the North, *Ilustração Portuguesa* was the only illustrated weekly magazine of general information and national circulation published in Portugal. It belonged to the *O Século* newspaper group, an independent industrial daily – its editorial staff included well-known monarchist journalists such as Rocha Martins and Carlos Malheiro Dias – which nevertheless retained traces of the republican ideology with which it had been founded (Sousa, 2021).

At the time of the events, *Ilustração Portuguesa* was run by Silva Graça, owner of the *O Século* group (Sousa, 2017). It printed around 25,000 copies (Sousa, 2017, p. 373), fed by correspondents and professional and amateur photographers who sent photographs to the magazine, free of charge. It stood out, therefore, for its photographic and specifically photojournalistic content. The main photojournalist of the magazine, at the time, was Anselmo Franco. Their flashy covers focused on women at the time, portraying personalities from the arts and entertainment, female figures associated by family ties with the Republic – a kind of “new aristocracy” that replaced the old nobility from the time of the Monarchy – and staged images of Portuguese rural customs, in which, almost always, a young woman,



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dressed traditionally, embodied a peasant, a laundress or some other picturesque occupation. In this case, it was a staged, bucolic, pictorialist documentary that explored national stereotypes associated with the rural world, but which suggested tranquility and could symbolically function as a socially appeasing element in the face of the violence and instability of the First Republic, that opened the door for the Portuguese to accept a dictatorial regime from 1926 onwards.

To analyze the coverage of the Monarchy of the North in *Ilustração Portuguesa*, we looked at the issues between February 3 and June 9, 1919, in which the first and last sequential journalistic content about this historical episode were published. A total of 47 articles were identified, although, in several cases, the references to the attempt to restore the Monarchy in the north of the country were indirect, in articles whose central theme was, namely, the monarchist uprising of Monsanto, in Lisbon, where the magazine had its headquarters, in which the Government of the Republic, with the support of republican volunteers, emerged victorious.

Between February 3 and June 9, 1919, *Ilustração Portuguesa* published 308 images related to the historical episode of the Monarchy of the North, divided into photographs, reproductions of documents (stamps, postcards, administrative documents...) and drawings (sketches of events, portraits).

There is also diversity in the visual approach of *Ilustração Portuguesa* to the Monarchy of the North. The images that refer to individual and collective portraits of protagonists from the monarchist camp, almost always negatively connoted by the text, correspond to 4.9% of the published images. However, with 29.9% relative frequency, portraits of Republican “heroes”, protagonists of the Republic’s victory, are the most relevant category. To these images can be added, considering the ways of reading the world suggested by *Ilustração Portuguesa* for the Monarchy of the North, visual records of the mobilization, preparation and excited departure of the republican forces (2.3%), including volunteers, and the triumphant return of these same forces, victorious (also 2.3% of the images).

The images of gatherings of people, usually in general shots that highlighted the mass of people to give symbolic strength to the groups of people, namely in the context of demonstrations in support of the Republic (10.7% of the images), and also served to highlight the strength of the Republican side. Curiously, only 0.6% of the images concern the actions of Republican leaders, specifically a visit by the minister of Justice, Francisco Couceiro da Costa, to Aveiro, where the Monarchist forces were stopped. It would have been expected that the Republican Unity Government would have played a more prominent role, both real and visual. The images that diabolized the actions of the Monarchists, such as those that sought to prove and bear witness to the violence and destruction caused by the monarchist

uprising, reached 16.2% in relative weight. This shows the Manichean discursive choice made by *Ilustração Portuguesa*, pitting the visually praised Republicans against the demeaned Monarchists.

Visual representations of military actions only accounted for 10.4% of the iconographic coverage of the Monarchy of the North by *Ilustração Portuguesa*. In fact, despite the extensive iconographic coverage of the First World War (Sousa, 2013, 2015), there still was no war photojournalism, such as it was conceived during the Spanish Civil War (Sousa, 2000). So, the fighting between Monarchists and Republicans in Portugal was *indicated*, but not *shown*. The images of the spaces where the forces clashed (10.7% of the total) served, in this context, mainly to locate and contextualize the reader, just as much as the photographic records of destruction documented and proved the violence of the struggle – and also of the repression.

A word for the iconographic reproductions of objects and documents (12% of the total number of images), some of which were simple curiosities that humanized and distended the visual coverage of the Monarchy of the North (this is the case of a cap abandoned by Paiva Couceiro – figure 8). Others, however, were positive proof of the administrative organization effort undertaken by the monarchical authorities in Porto, which had included, for example, issuing postage stamps.

In the January 20 and 27 issues of *Ilustração Portuguesa*, possibly due to lack of time, there is no mention to the Monarchy of the North. The February 3 issue is mostly dedicated to the Monarchist uprising in Monsanto, Lisbon, where the magazine had its headquarters, although the Santarém uprising was also covered. The Porto's Monarchist uprising is indirectly mentioned, due to the enlistment of Republican volunteers and to the clashes that were taking place in the north: “the civil war continues in the north, heated, fierce, immolating many lives” (*Ilustração Portuguesa*, February 3, 1919, p. 82).

The magazine frames the Monsanto revolt and of the Monarchy of the North as a consequence of the instability of the Republican regime and the repression of opponents by those who had exercised power in the Republic. But it also condemns the Monarchist attempts, cause of instability and war that damaged the country and brought shame on it. The magazine is clear in its anathematization of all these events, which generated “waves of blood” among people who were being “slaughtered” and affected “the part of the country that works, that wants to live in peace” (*Ilustração Portuguesa*, February 3, 1919, p. 82-84).

The verbal text, as well as informing the reader of the movements that were taking place, particularly with regard to the recruitment of Republican volunteers to fight the Monarchist revolts, also gave an account of the “enthusiasm” that was felt among individuals who, animated by the “republican

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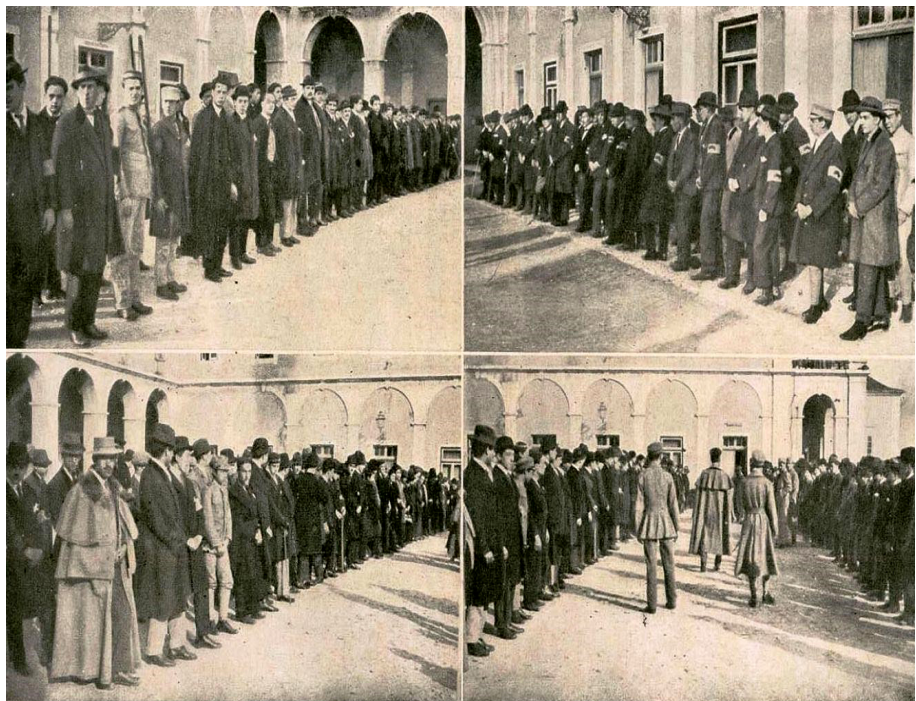
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faith”, would certainly fought the Monarchists in the north with the same “ardor” with which they had fought the insurgents in Monsanto, thus linking the Monarchist attempts in Porto and Lisbon.

The visual text, punctuated by Anselmo Franco’s photographs, mainly *documents and visually proves* the mobilization of Republican civilian volunteers, symbolically reinforcing, through the example of the volunteers, the need for Republican commitment in the fight against Monarchist restoration attempts (see figure 1). The overall shots, which are closer than the general ones, consolidate the impression of strength conveyed by the photographs. As well as adding dynamism to the images, the presence of lines of perspective in the photo directs the reader to a vanishing point, creating the illusion of depth and size of the scene, while conveying the idea that all the players positioned in oblique rows are coming together to fight for the same ideal. As Justo Villafaña (2006) wrote: “The directional vectors, generated by lines or by any other procedure, as well as creating plastic relationships between the elements of the composition, condition the direction in which the image is read” (p.103).

Figure 1

Recruitment of Republican volunteers for the Academic Battalion



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919a, pp. 87-88. Photographer: Anselmo Franco.

It should be noted that the Republican authorities allowed reporters to work, even opening the doors of their barracks to the press, since it was in their interest to spread favorable news that would help to encourage the Republicans and instigate them to fight. The February 10 edition of the magazine, for example, gives verbal and visual accounts of the demonstrations in favor of the Republic that were taking place in Lisbon, the recruitment of volunteers and the departure of the Republican forces from the capital to the north, where they were going to fight the monarchists. Words and images were used to show the unity and enthusiasm among the Republicans in the capital and the popular support for the Government of the Republic.

...the republican people of Lisbon ... carried out with indescribable enthusiasm one of the warmest and most vibrant demonstrations ever held in honor and support of the Government. Thousands of people gathered at the Rotunda and walked down the avenue waving national flags and raising cheers for the Homeland and the Republic, on their way to Terreiro do Paço, where (...) the regime and its most prestigious men were deliriously acclaimed. The speaker, with impressive frankness and sincerity, said that the government was determined to make amends for all past mistakes, but that, to do so, it needed the trust of the people.⁶ (*Ilustração Portuguesa*, February 10, 1919, p. 101).

⁶ Free translation from the original: "...o povo republicano de Lisboa ... levou a cabo com um entusiasmo indescritível uma das mais calorosas e vibrantes manifestações que têm sido feitas em honra e apoio do Governo. Milhares de pessoas congregaram-se na Rotunda e desceram a Avenida empunhando bandeiras nacionais e erguendo vivas à Pátria e à Republica, a caminho do Terreiro do Paço, onde ... o regime e os seus homens mais prestigiosos foram delirantemente aclamados. O orador, com uma franqueza e sinceridade impressionantes, afirmou que o Governo está resolvido a reparar todos os erros passados, mas que, para isso, precisa da confiança do povo."

The pictures, once again with the value of proof and testimony, show the mass of people who turned out for the Republican demonstration (see figure 2), reinforcing the idea, already suggested by the text, of enthusiastic support for the Republic, belief in the Republican regime, and the departure of sailors to the north to fight the "Monarchist insurgents" with "Republican faith and great enthusiasm". The overall shot of the crowd gathered in front of the ministry of the Interior functions as a visual hyperbole of popular exaltation of the Republic, anchored by the caption full of adjectives, such as "grandiose demonstration" and "they ardently affirmed that the Republic will emerge victorious from this conflict".

Each of Anselmo Franco's photos seems to be meticulously designed to reinforce a specific point of view and guide the reader towards a reading of victory for the Republican cause, always reinforced by the caption. In the February 10 edition, a *cliché* (see figure 3) in an ensemble view shows the determined stride of a navy column, with arms slung over its shoulder and its head held high, heading north to fight the Monarchists. Although the military expression seems modest, the photographer uses the curved lines of the rails on the ground to convey the strength of the event, a connotation reinforced by the diagonal orientation of the soldiers.

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Figure 2
Republican demonstration in Lisbon



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919b, p. 102. Photographer: Anselmo Franco.

Figure 3
Sailors leaving for the north



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919b, p. 103. Photographer: Anselmo Franco.

In its February 17 issue, published after the end of the Monarchy of the North, *Ilustração Portuguesa* was able to mark the defeat of the monarchist attempt, under the headline “O fim da luta” [The end of the struggle]. The magazine described the news as “joyous”, since “the terrible struggle” that had brought the country “under the most excruciating anguish, seeing its own children fiercely fighting each other as if they were enemies of race or religion” was over (*Ilustração Portuguesa*, February 17, 1919, p. 121). Once again, the magazine promotes the necessary civil peace between the Portuguese, reinforcing the ideas proposed on February 3. *Ilustração Portuguesa* takes care to emphasize, diplomatically, that the defeat of the Monarchist attempt could in no way be read as a defeat of Porto, but only as the defeat of those who participated, gratuitously, in a revolutionary attempt to re-establish the Monarchy, doomed to failure beforehand – and definitively, which turned out to be right. In fact, the magazine clearly states that the city of Porto was subjected to a “yoke” by the monarchists, but that it knew, thanks to its “liberal spirit”, how to find the strength within itself to obtain freedom from the oppressors.

It was also in the February 17 issue that *Ilustração Portuguesa* began to take a photographic look at the operations in the north, with the support of local photographers (possibly the magazine used also some unidentified archive images), who, as usual, sent their photographs to the magazine, possibly to have their names published as authors, thus gaining notoriety and differentiating themselves from other photographers, whether professional or amateur (a kind of personal and professional *avant-la-lettre* marketing).

The photos mainly show areas where fighting had taken place or which had been occupied by the Monarchist forces (see figure 4), while other records are rare: a republican military column in Aveiro (see figure 5); one of the Republic’s seaplanes moored in São Jacinto (see figure 6); and portraits of combatants (see figure 7), one of them of a Monarchist (see figure 8), head of one of the “trauliteiros” [spankers] groups, in a close-up that closed the photographic field. There are no pictures of the dead or wounded.

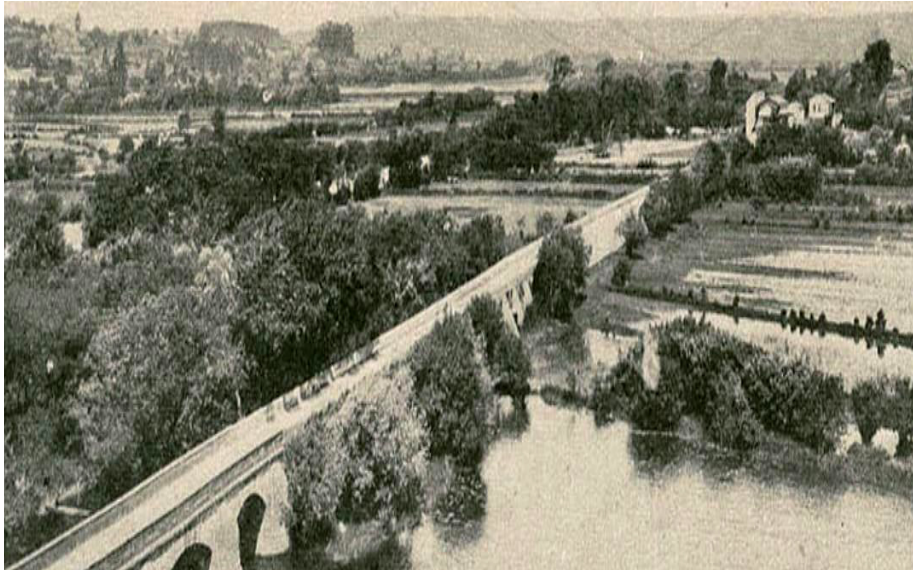
The photographs, read in conjunction with the verbal text, point to a phase of *aftermath*, of tranquility following the Republican victory - once the Republic had triumphed, it was time to rebuild and heal the country, as the text suggested. Curiously, photographs of troops leaving for the north in January, almost one month before, were also published in the February 17 issue of *Ilustração Portuguesa*. The novelty and timeliness of the events were not strong news values criteria at the time.

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Figure 4

Alquerubim, maximum point of the monarchist advance south of the river Douro



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919c, p. 124. Photographer: Manuel d'Abreu.

Figure 5

Republican military column passing through Aveiro



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919c, p. 122. Photographer: Manuel d'Abreu.

Figure 6

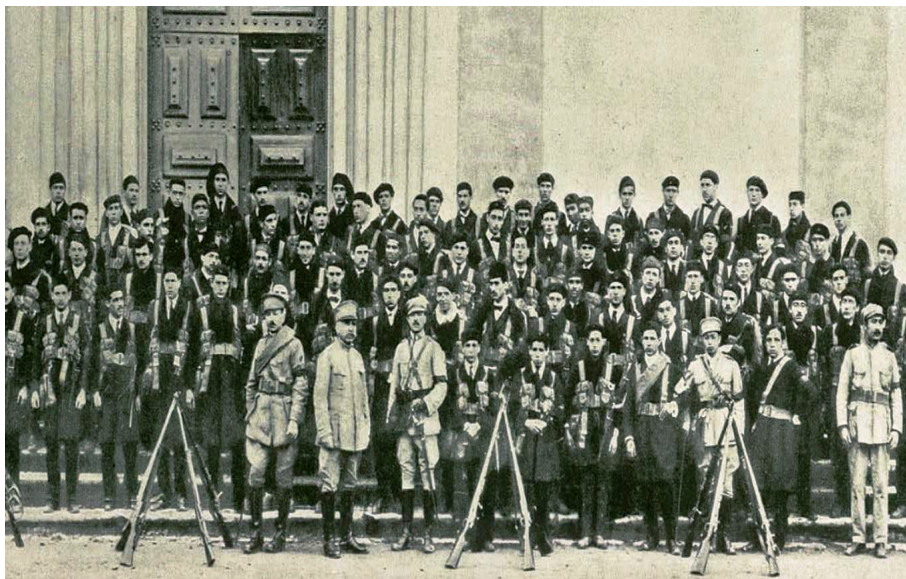
Republican forces hydroplane



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919c, p. 121. Photographer: Manuel d'Abreu.

Figure 7

Republican Academic Battalion of Coimbra



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919c, p. 125.

Figure 8

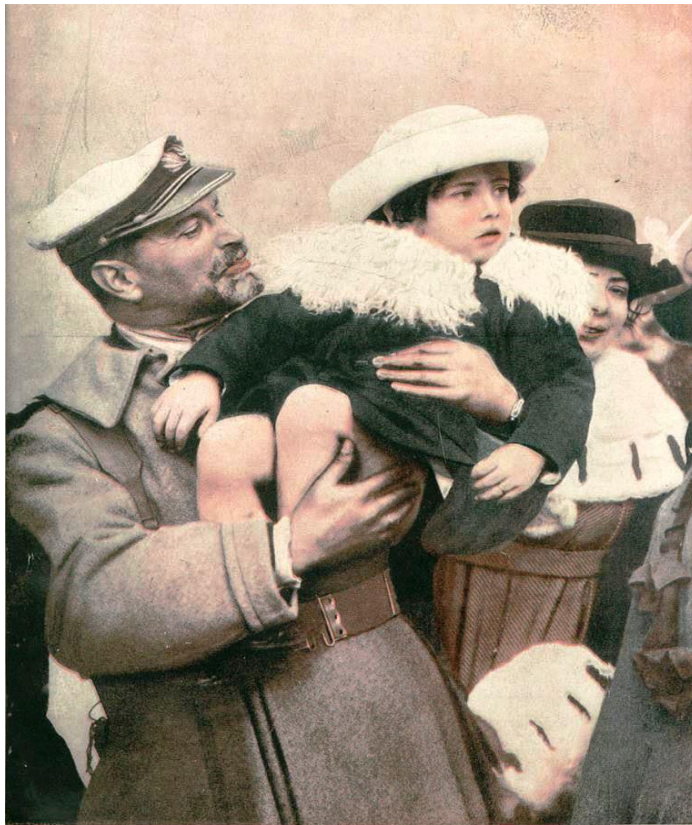
Monarchist gang leaderSource. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919c, p. 121.

Although most of the articles headlines published by *Ilustração Portuguesa* about the Monarchy of the North can be seen as relatively neutral, from the end of February, when the Republican victory was a certainty, the magazine used headlines praising the Republican side, such as “In defense of the Republic”, and demonizing the Monarchist side, such as “Victims and executioners” and “The looting of the Couceiristas [Paiva Couceiro supporters] in Bragança”. The March 3 1919 issue of *Ilustração Portuguesa*, published well after the Monarchist attempt had been subdued, in some way established the thematic matrix of what would be the iconographic coverage of the Monarchy of the North in the pages of the magazine, which continued until the June 9 issue. The cover shows a visual record of the return of one of the new “heroes of the Republic” to Lisbon, embracing his young daughter (see figure 9). The photo of Anselmo Franco is intended to generate emotional closeness with the reader by using personalization centered on the figure of the Navy officer, a leading figure in the fight against the onslaught of the Monarchist forces. Known at the time for his humanist character, it was this side of the future Admiral Afonso Cerqueira that the photographer from *Ilustração Portuguesa* wanted to visually recreate.

It is a classic, archetypal photograph, covering the aftermath of confrontations, which symbolically refers to a state of normality in the

country and a return to the idealized tenderness of family life. The idea of the triumphant and cheered return of the Republican forces to Lisbon is translated visually in other photographs, including the flag of the Portuguese Republic waving in front of the locomotive that towed the train (see figure 10). Dubois (1992, p.11) corroborates this by stating that “photography is not only an image (the product of a technique and an action, the result of doing and knowing how to do, a paper figure that is simply looked at in its enclosure as a finished object), it is also, first and foremost, a true iconic act”.

Figure 9
Republican Navy officer returns to Lisbon



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d capa. Photographer: Anselmo Franco.

Barthes (1984) emphasized that the syntax of images, such as their juxtaposition, is one of the mechanisms for generating meaning in photographic narratives. A comparison of images, allegedly one of the proclamation of the Monarchy and the other of the restoration of the Republic, in Porto, as well

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as clarifying the Manichean and biased tendency of the coverage in *Ilustração Portuguesa*, can actually demonstrate how images can be used for propagandistic purposes and for the dissemination of false messages (see figure 11).

Figure 10

Republican forces received in triumph in Lisbon after their victory over the monarchists



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d, p. 174. Photographer: Anselmo Franco.

In fact, the first photograph, which aims to show the alleged lack of enthusiasm and coldness with which a small group of people attended the proclamation of the Monarchy in Porto, may not be an image of this event, but of some other, since the photograph above was taken before 1910. It is possible to sustain this argument because the street where it was taken was levelled in that year and in 1919 it was no longer as the image documents (Resende, 2019, pp. 297-298). To add to the suspicion about the first photograph, only the second, which shows the crowd watching the re-establishment of the Republic in the same place, is credited to a photographer (from Aveiro), António Serafim.

Figure 11

Alleged contrast between the proclamation of the Monarchy and the restoration of the Republic



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d, p. 168. Photographer (second photo): António Serafim.

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The March 3 issue of the magazine was fertile in identifying the “Couceiristas” [Paiva Couceiro’s supporters] through the publication of their individual portraits (see figure 12) and, at other times, collective portraits, while reassuringly reinforcing that several of them were already in prison. Even so, in the caption of the collective portrait, the use of weapons and bombs by the group is highlighted, indicating that they would have represented a danger to the country. With the publication of these portraits, including a photograph of Bento de Almeida Garrett (see figure 8), stating that “he was arrested with others in Aveiro”, *Ilustração Portuguesa* took a clear position of publicly denouncing these Monarchy-supporting figures, taking a clear stance and conditioning the reader’s perception. “An observer, although obviously someone who sees, is above all someone who sees an enunciated set of possibilities, someone who is inserted into a system of conventions and limitations” (Crary, 2017, p.28).

The March 3 issue of *Ilustração Portuguesa* also includes a photograph (see figure 13) of the destruction of the Eden-Theatre in Porto, which had served as a Monarchist prison, by a furious Republican mob. The photo’s caption explains the choice of side made by *Ilustração Portuguesa*: the “people destroying, among enthusiastic acclamations to the Republic, the Eden-Theatre, where the New Inquisition of the brief kingdom was installed” because the Republicans who “fell into the clutches” of the Monarchists⁷ had been “savagely tortured” there with “barbarism”. The March 3 issue of the magazine also saw the start of a long sequence of signposting, identification and recognized praise of the “heroes of the Republic”, through the publication of their individual and collective portraits, which continued until June (see figure 14). This is one of the reasons that may help explain the longevity of the Monarchy of the North subject in *Ilustração Portuguesa*. It may have been due to the need to publish the dozens of individual and collective portraits of triumphalist Republicans, which, in many cases, were sent to the magazine by interested parties, as the magazine itself reports, and which it inserted over time, not least because it could not do it in a single issue. The publication of these portraits, as well as ultimately enhancing the Republic by highlighting its “heroes”, tuned the magazine in with its audience.

⁷ More recent historiography presents the events at the Eden Theatre differently (cf. Resende, 1919). The rumors that circulated about the murder of republicans at the Eden Theatre, sometimes to the sound of the piano, were many of them false. The “dead” were alive after all. The woman who was accused of playing the piano while the prisoners were being tortured did not even know how to play the piano. The “trauliteiros” [spankers] accused of torturing republicans actually acted usually out of personal revenge or greed. The Junta Governativa do Reino itself put an end to the abuses at the end of January.

Figure 12

Portraits identifying monarchists

Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d, p. 161, 167.

Figure 13

Destruction caused to the Eden Theatre by the Republicans after the triumph of the Republic

Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d, p. 161. Photographer: A. Sousa.

Figure 14
Portraits of Republicans

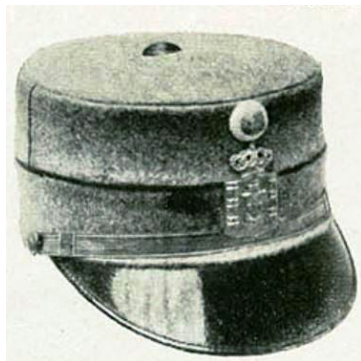


Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1989e, p. 185. Photographer: António Gomes Mourão.

Among the informative iconography used by *Ilustração Portuguesa* to cover the Monarchy of the North, there are also reproductions of documents and curious objects (see figure 15), which help to diversify the points of approach to the subject and even – as in the case of the cap abandoned or forgotten by Paiva Couceiro – to somehow entertain the reader. The case of the cap left behind by Couceiro would also prove that the leader of the monarchist attempt had left Porto so quickly that he did not even take his cap with him.

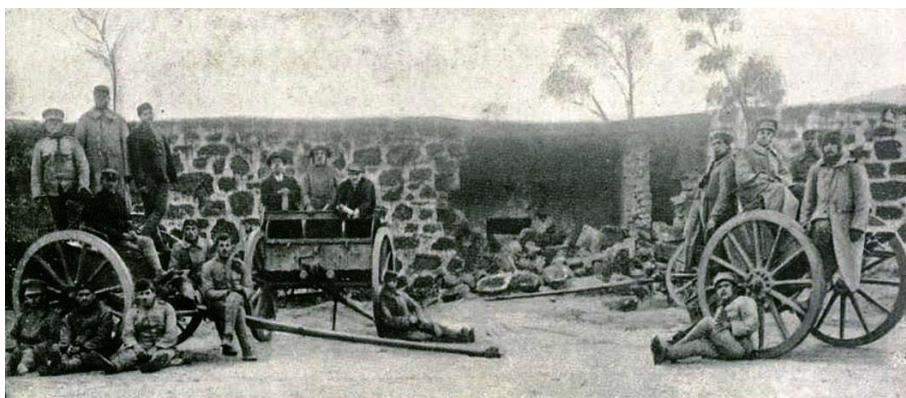
Faced with the absence of images that had witnessed the battles as they really were fought, *Ilustração Portuguesa* used images of their consequences and images of the aftermath to symbolically evoke the fighting. These substitute images shows, for example, Republican fighters posing, satisfied, after they took positions and arms of the Monarchists (see figure 16). The photography perspective is one of victory (see figure 16). The photograph would also be socially reassuring for the magazine's reader, as it documents the Republic's victory (see figure 16).

Figure 15
*Cap allegedly abandoned by Paiva
Couceiro in Porto*



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d, p. 164.

Figure 16
*Republicans pose for the camera in Lamego, where monarchist forces allegedly
abandoned artillery pieces and ammunitions*



Source. *Ilustração Portuguesa*, 1919d, p. 163. Photographer: J. Gonçalves.

The data shows that the Monarchy of the North was a long-running theme in the magazine. *Ilustração Portuguesa* echoed the importance given to the issue by the Portuguese of its time – after all, for more than three weeks the north of Portugal nominally returned to the Monarchy, even without the endorsement of the deposed king, Manuel II (Saraiva, 2003). In addition, the triumph of the Republic also meant the exhaustion of the Monarchist cause in Portugal, which would henceforth always be a minority cause among the Portuguese population. This may have been one of the reasons why the magazine prolonged the echoes of the Republican triumph for several issues,

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not only as a victory for the regime, but also as a contribution to the order and stability that the Portuguese would yearn for.

One of the signs that *Ilustração Portuguesa* chose a side to cover the Monarchy of the North was the detachment of journalists to accompany the Republican forces as special envoys. The lessons of covering the First World War had been learnt, so the Armed Forces were receptive to journalists accompanying them. This situation of embedded journalism strengthened journalists' ties with the troops and prevented the spread of negative news about the military personnel being accompanied, even though self-censorship.

One of the elements to highlight in the construction of the narrative about the Monarchist attempt in Porto by *Ilustração Portuguesa* is the systematic omission of sources. There is only a paraphrased allusion to a statement made by the minister of Justice during a Republican rally. In the magazine, the journalist functioned as an omniscient narrator, his discourse supported by photographic images.

Sharpening the analysis, the terminological survey of *Ilustração Portuguesa* proves that the magazine repeatedly emphasizes the opposition between “Monarchists”, “rebels”, “spankers” [trauliteiros], “Couceiristas” [Paiva Couceiro's supporters], “Royalists”, “those who set out on a revolutionary adventure” and “treacherously” introduced themselves into Porto, on the one hand, and, on the other, “Republicans” and also “Socialists”, the people of “the Republican Portugal”, individuals full of “Republican faith”, of “fervent ardor” who had as allies in the “defense of the Republic”, of the “guarantee of nationality”, the “Army”, the “Navy” and the “people”, “brave sailors”, “a race of heroes”.

However, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, even though it emphasizes the Republican triumphs and denigrates the Monarchists, at certain moments strives to somehow hover above the contenders with independence. It even focuses on the need to resolve the “terrible struggle”, the “constant unrest”, the “long series of tragic disturbances for national life”, the “civil war”, the “firing squad”, the “fratricidal (...) and “bloody” spectacle”, in order to “raise the country”, after the efforts made during the Great War for the “cause of the right of the people, of civilization and of humanity”. The expression of these wishes certainly echoed what was on the minds of the majority of the Portuguese, who yearned for order, tranquility, development and economic growth.

It should also be noted that the verbal and visual texts in *Ilustração Portuguesa* are not particularly informative. The words express, in addition to the idea of Republican triumph, the desire to live peacefully, in a fair and orderly society, and to rebuild and pacify the country. Even the photographic images fulfil an illustrative function – those that depict places of combat or

places that were occupied by monarchists, for example, could also evoke, in another verbal context, only bucolic or urban aspects of the country.

CONCLUSIONS

The data shows that the initial hypothesis can be accepted. In other words, the discourse of *Ilustração Portuguesa*, both photographic and verbal, was aligned with the interests of the Government of the Republic, which controlled the capital and the majority of the country's territory. The magazine was not neutral in the way it orientated the construction of knowledge about the Monarchy of the North and its singularities.

The specific circumstances in Lisbon, where the magazine was based, help to explain the pro-Republican tone of *Ilustração Portuguesa* discourse. The magazine could not challenge the established power in Lisbon where it was based and it was also subject to pressure and censorship. But we could also point out to the fact that *Ilustração Portuguesa* belonged to the *O Século* newspaper group, which, despite being industrially organized and independent (it even had Monarchist editors, such as the well-known journalist Rocha Martins), was born as a Republican newspaper, an ideological matrix that it maintained with more or less vigor.

In this frame, *Ilustração Portuguesa*, even after the defeat of the Monarchy of the North, was a propaganda voice for the Republican regime, disseminating, in the form of verbal and iconographic text, favorable messages to the Republicans. To do so, the magazine had a vast network of correspondents and other individuals who supplied information in the form of verbal text and images, mainly photographs. Among them, we should highlight the professional and amateur photographers who voluntarily sent photographs to the magazine so that they could be published with their names in the credits, thus gaining notoriety and distinction among their peers. They could even promote their photography business in this way. On the other hand, we can highlight the individuals who sent their own portraits, or portraits in which they appeared, to the magazine, also to create notoriety and differentiate themselves among their peers, an attitude that can be categorized as “personal marketing”.

It was also concluded that, in the context of the *Ilustração Portuguesa* coverage of the Monarchy of the North, pictures were used not only because of their value as news, but also because of their testimonial and evidential power, as well as their ability to evoke, remember and make people and situations present, building the image of the sense of duty of those who set out on a



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mission to defend the Republican cause and the country from the Monarchist “trauliteiros” [spankers] who, according to the *Ilustração Portuguesa* visual representation, were destabilizing national peace. Reading the articles, we can conclude that *Ilustração Portuguesa* emphasized – and celebrated – the unanimous effort of Republicans, both civilian and military, led by the Government of the Portuguese Republic, in the fight against the Monarchist attempt in the north. The side that counted, for *Ilustração Portuguesa*, was the Republican one. ■

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