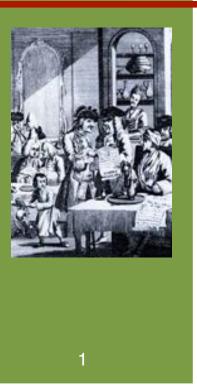




The Emergence of the Public

History of Information i103 Geoff Nunberg

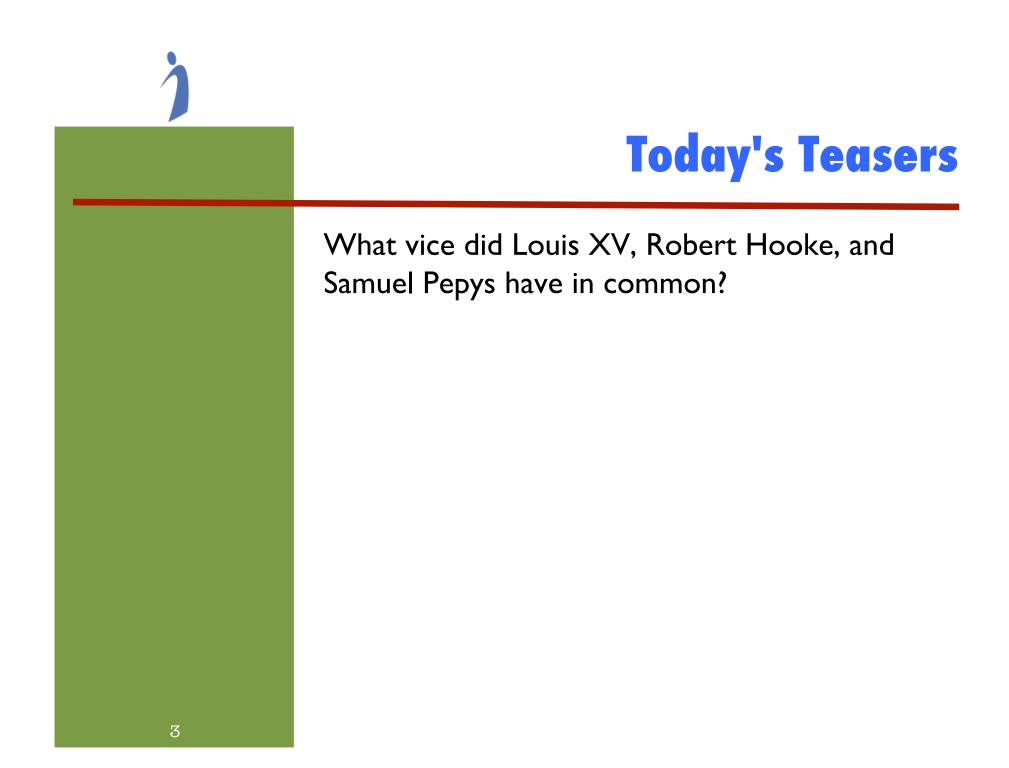
Feb. 14, 2014



Itinerary, 2/114

From Gutenberg to Samuel Morse: An IT Iull? The birth of the modern informational system The Interpenetration of the spoken, the written, and print The salon, the coffee-house & the 'virtuosi' The spreading use of print Emergence of the public "News" and public opinion







Today's Teasers

What vice did Louis XV, Robert Hooke, and Samuel Pepys have in common?

Today's Teaser

Who is the singer talking about?



That a bastard strumpet Should get ahead in the court, That in love and in wine, Louis should seek some easy glory, Ah! there he is, ah! there he is He who doesn't have a care.



Mme. de Pompadour

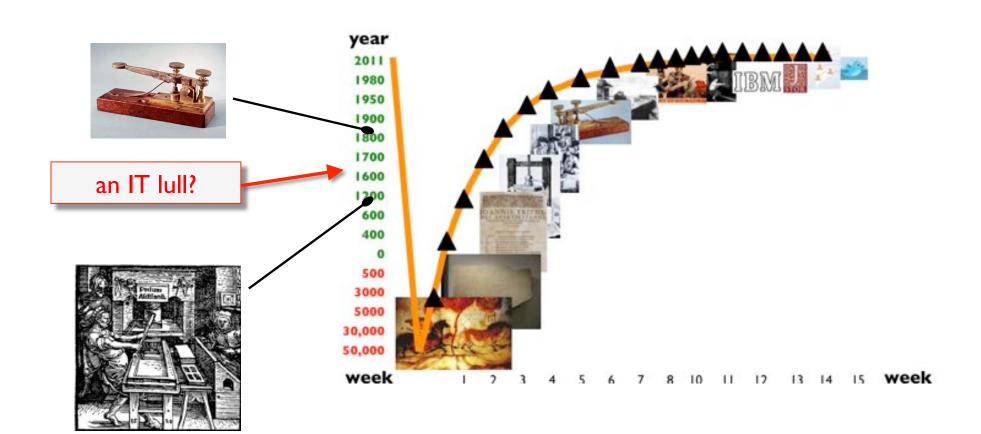
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Today's Teasers

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Where We Are



17th-18th c. Technology

Improved means of diffusion of information: Improvements in roads



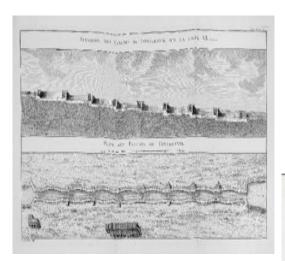
C. Vernet, Construction of a Great Road, 1782



Main English roads, 1756

17th-18th c. Technology

Improved means of diffusion of information: canals









Double lock, Thames and Severn Canal, 1814



17th-18th c. Technology

Improved means of diffusion of information:









The Emergence of the Modern "Informational System"

Many, if not most, of the cultural phenomena of the modern world derive from [the 18th century] -- the periodical, the newspaper, the novel, the journalist, the critic, the public library, the concert, the public museum [not to mention advertising, intellectual property, propaganda, the scientific society (and science itself), the modern dictionary and encyclopedia, etc.- GN]. Perhaps most important of all, it was then that 'public opinion' came to be recognized as the ultimate arbiter in matters of taste and politics."--Tim Blanning, The Culture of Power

The political & social significance of "information"



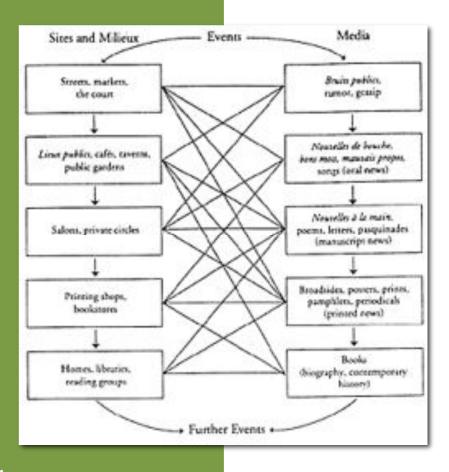
"Print culture" – a multimedia society

The doctrine of supercession: "Ceci tuera cela"

The archdeacon silently considered the giant edifice, then with a sigh extended his right hand toward the book that was open on the table and his left hand toward Notre-Dame, casting a sad look from the book to the church. "Alas," he said, "This will kill that."



Print, Writing, & Orality

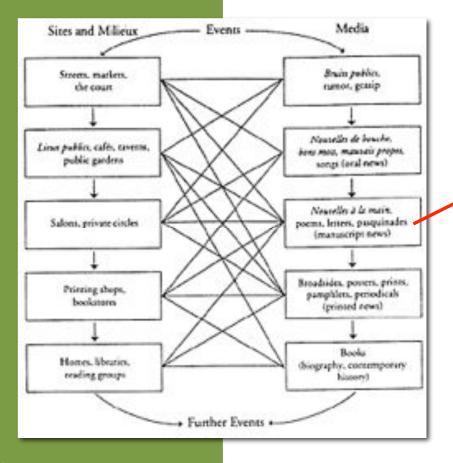


"It makes no sense, I think, to separate printed from oral and written modes of communication, as we casually do when we speak of "print culture," because they were all bound together in a multi-media system." Robert Darnton



Print, Writing, & Orality

The pasquinade



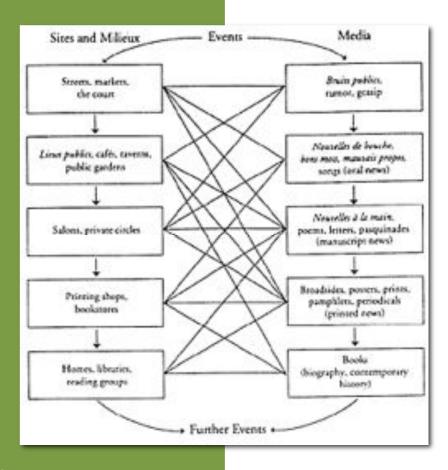




Mò so' ccent'anni e ppiù ch'hanno occupato; so' ccambiati i governi co' su' capi, ma anvedi te che cambiamento è stato: ar posto 'n do' era er Papa ora c'è er papi.



Assignment



In the light of Darnton's discussion of the various ways in which information was circulated in the France of the Old Regime, consider the various ways in which you have kept yourself informed about the Berkeley budget crisis/situation. Which of these are parallel to the channels of information circulation in France of that period (i.e., the various media listed in the second column of figure 3 and the others he mentions)? Which have no exact equivalents? Would you say that the contemporary system is qualitatively different from the one in use at that time?

Allison Mason

When I first began hearing of the budget crisis, it was in the classroom, what I will call the modern-day equivalent of Old Regime France's salons. Academia today is about spreading the word, engaging in conversations... Salons operated in effectively similar ways; they brought together a group of individuals with a precise purpose, who had chosen to be there and take part. ... One would be able to remain blissfully ignorant... I could easily go to class every day, avoid walking down Sproul completely, and never even have the semblance in the participation in the information dissemination system that movement leaders have worked so hard to create. Similarly, if one wanted to be informed in Early Modern France, one had to try to be informed. One would have to purchase broadsides and pamphlets, one would have to be invited to salons... Yes, we have days of "walk out" in which professors cancel classes, or "teach outs" in which professors decide to teach in a public setting (perhaps equivalent to the coffeehouses?), but the main factor here is choice..

Amelia Beetham

In following the Berkeley budget crisis, I have focused mainly on following Twitter posts and Facebook updates from the UC Berkeley sites about when, where, and what information is being discussed on and off campus between school and state officials. In Darnton's terms I have relied heavily on gossip and manuscript news. In addition to this I have seen a few YouTube video statements speaking against the institutional system's mismanaged finances. Darnton's model includes oral news as one of the mediums, and though I feel it has no exact equivalent, YouTube, I believe, is the evolutionary form of oral news. Because instead of our oral news spreading just from mouth to mouth, we have access to the things we say truthfully and behind closed doors on this site; freedom of speech is the epitome of everything on YouTube...

Janet Lee

I rely mainly on information transmitted by word-of-mouth in various locations, online news and email announcements, and occasional budget protests on Sproul. What I glean from the informational flyers given out during Berkeley protests can be compared with France's *nouvelles à la main*, or printed manuscript news. Like the *nouvelles à la main*, the informational flyers I receive supposedly contain reliable info from trusted sources about high- ranking officials such as Chancellor Birgeneau... Everything from rumors of the regents' lavish financial expenses, to their decisions to cut departments, to their dismissal of students' concerns about growing student loan debt are all presented on these flyers. The things I hear via my roommates, classmates, and friends are the equivalent of the *bruit public* in France. The information I receive through online news and email, however, has no equivalent when compared with 18th century Paris. Nothing in Paris could have been transmitted so instantaneously after it had occurred, with such high accuracy, and with such extensive background information. ...

Sophia Richter

our present methods of communicating ideas, opinions, and facts about events like the budget crisis have not changed dramatically in their organization. ... Despite the heavy presence of social networks as well as open access to blogs and online news, our transmission of ideas, especially at universities, is still largely oral or informal. What during the Old Regime in France would have been discussed at Mme. Doublet's salon(6) is now shared at open campus forums, independent meetings of friends, and organized conversations held by student groups. ...The Old Regime print materials that were distributed by Mme. Doublet and others are still present in our contemporary system of communication, but published instead on Facebook, Twitter, and personal blogs. This contemporary "bruit public"(16) is not necessarily verified as fact and is often passed on by word of mouth from those in power down to other friends, groups, and acquaintances. What is different now, perhaps, is the speed at which the information spreads by shares, retweets, and reblogs. ...



California's Crisis Hits Its Prized Universities

Related Photos



The Evolution of the

College Dorm



Special Report

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0 California's crisis continues while Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger

From: Robert J. Birgeneau, Chancellor <CALmessages@berkeley.edu> Subject: President Yudof issues an open letter to the people of California and the UC Community

Date: November 8, 2010 1:18:54 PM PST
 To: Academic Senate Faculty, Staff, All Academic Titles, Other Members of the Campus Community,

Dear Campus community:

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You Tube

▶ 40[°] 0.03/2.42

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President Yudof has this morning issued an open letter to the University of California, Berkeley, will have to cu...

UC Berkeley Budget Protest. The Wheeler Frontlines



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Breezy & Rain

O JOHANNES MEHSERLE MURDER TRIAL WILL GC KRON

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Cal_Politics Martell Thomton UC Berkeley could take \$80M hit in Jerry Brown's budget: The University of California, Berkeley, will have to cu... http://bit.ly/hgRwj2

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UC Berkeley Budget Crisi.

July 3, 2009 UC Berkeley Commun Fild ander Jahren 2744

Sources of information on the UC budget

Print, Writing, & Orality



Blog for the UC Berkeley community to post recommendations, articles and letters. This blog can be used to share your own dat and experimences so that we can collectively better understand how different departments are dealing with the budget crisis and see campos-web patterns. It can be used to post and comment on events. Also see email post for the Faculty Budget forum Ustsere. <u>http://facultedugetforum.berkeley.edu</u>

Capturing the Campus

A Cal blog brought to you by The Daily Californian

You know what they said?





Print, Writing, & Orality

Sources of information on the UC budget crisis

Oral

Conversation Meetings Demonstrations/rallies Classes Print publications (newspapers, magazines) Broadcast (TV, radio) Online/Networked Videos Blogs Vebsites Email Twitter/texting Facebook/Soc. Networking

Other

1

Wired and Shrewd, Young Egyptians Guide Revolt

Networks in the Developing World



CIRCLE OF DISSENT Protestors holding candles walked around an Egyptian Army tank parked in Cairo on Wednesthy DAVID D. KINKPATINCK Published: February 9, 2011

CAIRO — They were born roughly around the time that President <u>Hosni Mubarak</u> first came to power, most earned degrees from their TWITTEN

The day of the protest, the group let it be known that they intended to gather at a mosque in an upscale neighborhood in central Cairo, and the police gathered there in force. But the organizers set out instead for a poor neighborhood nearby....They divided up into two teams — one coaxing people in cafes to join them, the other chanting to the tenements above.

All technologized cultures are "multi-media"

Cf modern interaction of print/broadcast, intermediate oral forms...

"Vision is a spectator; hearing is a participator. Publication is partial and the public which results is partially informed and formed until the meanings it purveys pass from mouth to mouth." John Dewey

But where is "mouth-to-mouth" in the age of Facebook & Twitter?

Cafe owner asks patrons to log off, talk « Back to Article | Buy Photos | More Photo Galleries







17^{th-}18th century: New contexts of communication

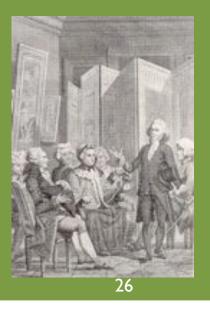
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The birth of the salon



The salon (or *conversazione*): gathering held at (usually fashionable) houses with mix of society, artists, writers, scholars & discuss politics, literatures, etc.



Coffeehouse society

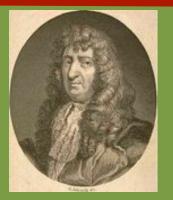
"The English have no settled Academies de Beaux-Esprits, as we have in Paris, but instead of such assemblies, themost ingenious persons ... meet either in places of promiscuous company, as coffee-house, or in private clubs, in taverns."--Abel Boyer, *Letters of Wit*, 1701

A loathsome Potion, not yet understood, Syrrop of soot, or Essence of Old Shooes, Dasht with Diurnals, and the Books of News? Broadside poem, 1663

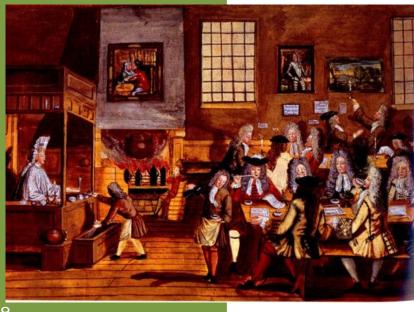




Coffeehouse society



"The coffee-house... admits of no distinction of persons, but gentleman, mechanic, lord, and scoundrel mix." Samuel Butler, 1667



Now being entered, there's no needing Of compliments or gentle breeding, For you may seat you any where, There's no respect of persons there.

A Character of Coffee and Coffee-Houses, 1661





Existificação de la nouvelle Philopophie > (2 Notre Berevan fut un Caffe's

Coffee-House Politics

"there is an incredible degree of liberty in these places, where not only the generals and ministers but even the emperor is torn to shreds" Visitor to Vienna, 1706

"...loud-mouths sounding forth about the actions and plans of great sovereigns..."

Men condemn, approve, revile, rail with bitter invectives both in speech and in writing without the authorities daring to intervene. The King himself is not secure from censure. Abbe Prévost, 1729, in London



Condorcet, Voltaire, Diderot



Coffeehouse, Vienna

1

Coffee-House Politics



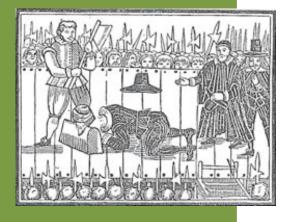
1675: Charles II tries to close "resorts of idle and disaffected persons [who spread] *False*, *Malicious*, and *Scandalous Reports*," ... to the defamation of his Majesty's Government."

When they take from the People the freedom of words, They teach them the sooner to fall to their swords; Let the City drink coffee, and quietly groan, They that conquer'd the father won't be slaves to the son. Andrew Marvell



Coffee-House Politics





1675: Charles II tries to close "resorts of idle and disaffected persons [who spread] *False*, *Malicious*, and *Scandalous Reports*," ••• to the defamation of his Majesty's Government."

When they take from the People the freedom of words, They teach them the sooner to fall to their swords; Let the City drink coffee, and quietly groan, They that conquer'd the father won't be slaves to the son.

Andrew Marvell



"Coffee-houses make all sorts of people sociable, the rich and the poor meet together, as also do the learned and unlearned. ... here an inquisitive man may get more in an evening than he shall by books in a month... I have heard a worthy friend of mine ...who was of good learning ... say, that he did think that coffee-houses had improved useful knowledge, as much as the universities have."-- John Houghton, *Collections*, 1701



Knowledge and the "Virtuosi"

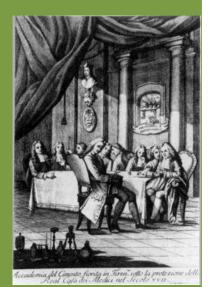


"I content myself with the speculative part of swimming; I care not for the practical. I seldom bring anything to use.... Knowledge is my ultimate end."

Sir Nicholas Gimcrack, in The Virtuoso, by Thomas Shadwell, 1676



Knowledge and the "Virtuosi"



The little Bodies that the ingenious Mr. Lewenhoeck, and since him divers other Virtuosi, have observ'd

Virtuosi, have observ in Water wherein Pepper has been infus'd. Boyle 1685 "He Trafficks to all places, and has his Correspondents in every part of the World; yet his Merchandizes serve not to promote our Luxury, nor encrease our Trade, and neither enrich the Nation, nor himself. A Box or two of Pebbles or Shells, and a dozen of Wasps, Spiders and Caterpillers are his Cargoe. He values a Camelion, or Salamander's Egg, above all the Sugars and Spices of the West and East-Indies...." (Mary Astell, "Character of a Virtuoso," 1696)





The spreading use of print

Growing Use of Print

Size of personal libraries

Personal library of typical French magistrate, 15th c. 60 books

Montaigne, late 16th c. 1000 books

Montesquieu, early 18th 3000 books

Annual sale of newspapers:

1750: 7 million

1810: 24 million

Increase in number of printed genres

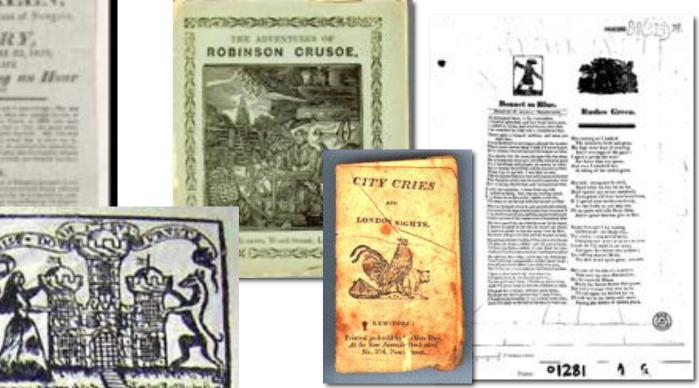
Eighteenth Century: Earliest appearance of printed posters, theater bills, newspapers, handbills, labels, tickets, marriage certificates, papers of indenture, receipts, etc.

)	An Age of Growing Use of Print
	Growing numbers of book titles, though not strictly linear: Number of titles printed in England: (from Wm. St. Clair, Reading Nation) 1630s 600 1640s 1,600 1650s 1,200 1660s 800 1670s 1,000 1680s 1,500 1690s 1,400 1700-50 500 1750-89 600 1790-1800 800 1800-1810 800 By 1827 1,000 ("rising fast")



New & Expanded Print Forms

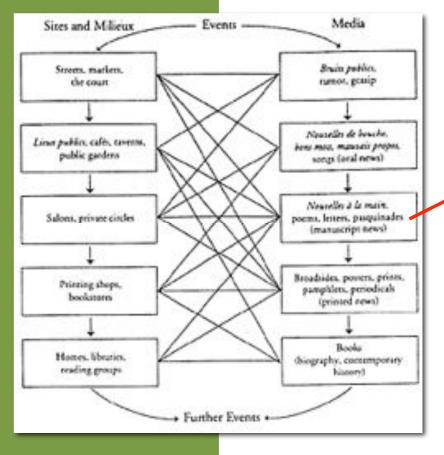
17th-18th c. see rise of chapbooks, broadsides, ballads, almanacs, pamphlets, etc.





Print, Writing, & Orality

The pasquinade







Mò so' ccent'anni e ppiù ch'hanno occupato; so' ccambiati i governi co' su' capi, ma anvedi te che cambiamento è stato: ar posto 'n do' era er Papa ora c'è er papi.



The Epigraphic and the Bibliographic: Epigraphy in Classical Antiquity





West on this Property on across and accounted on lower tables and or up sends his Mandeum Propagation account of his schemensche was muchted on lower tables and or up sends his Mandeum in Rame alar his death. The original is low, but the account regulated on public measurems in the premiers the costs at Askars orthonor process?

2/14/12

40

NEH





2/14/12

The Renaissance Book



Quefto nobile & [pectatifiimo fragmento in uno folido frutto anco ra & una portiúcula dil fuo faftigio, o uero frontifipcio feretinea egregia mételiniato-Nella triangulare planitie dilquale dui figmenti io uidi in-fealpti, & non integri. Vno uolucre decapitato, arbitra fuffe di Bubone, & una uetufta lucerna, tuto di perfecto alabaltryte. Cufi io le interpretai. VITAE LETHIFER NVNTIVS. Peruenuto dapoficia in la mediana parte dil tempio, alquanto imune & difoccupata di frefifidine la trouai. Oue ancorai le cófumabile tempo, ad una opera ficlara di narrato, tuta di rubineundo porphyrite, folamente hauca perdonato. Laquale era fexangula, cum lebafe bora una folida pe tra ophites dillamedelima figura nel pauimento i pacta, & fri columnelle diffate una dalaltra pedi fei, cui lo epitilito.zophoro, & coronice, fencia al cuno liniaméto & figno, ma fimplicemente terfo & puro-Cliquali erano extrinfeco la forma imitanti. Maintertliciin figura circinata. Oue fora la piana dilla corona nafecua una cupula di unico & folido faxo, mirabi la piana dilla corona nafecua una cupula di unico & folido faxo ,mirabi leartificio. Laquale graciliua nel acumine, quale uno peruio infu-mibulo ftrifio & fpeculare copriua una fubterranea uacuitateilluminata p una circulare aptione di egregia cancellatura impedita di metal lina fufura. Ilquale fpettando ci borio di maxima pollitura cufi il tro

Epigraph from the *Hypnerotomachia* Poliphili, Venice, 1499

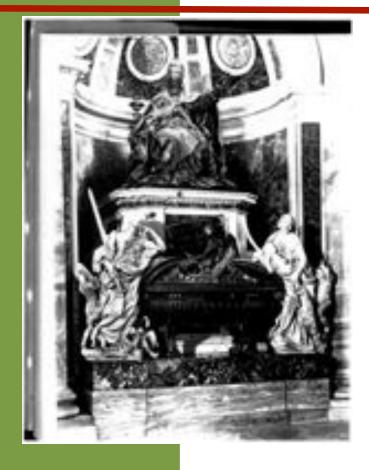


Piranesi frontispiece, 1764

2/14/12

NEH





Bernini, Tomb of Urban VIII, 1628 2/14/12 43

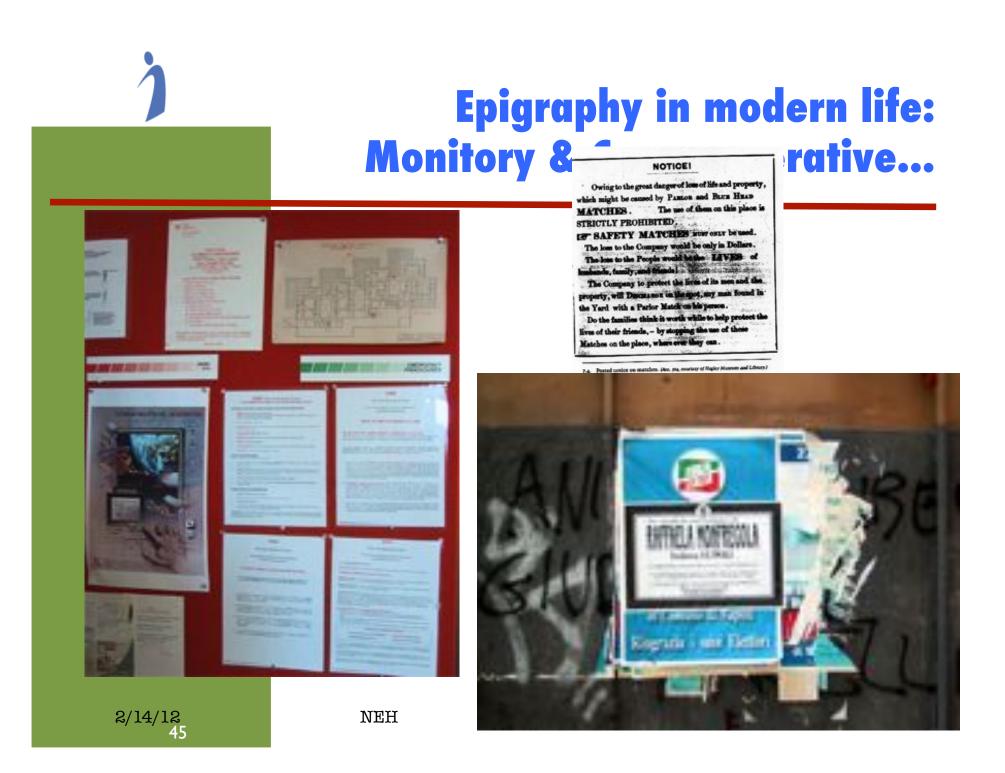
j Epigraphy in modern life: Hortative & Commercial





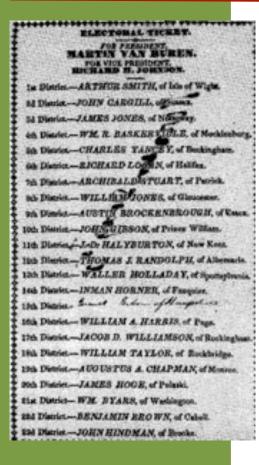


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New & Expanded Print Forms



US Ballot 1840

I7th-I8th c. see rise of chapbooks,
broadsides, ballads, almanacs, pamphlets,
etc. Also: earliest printed handbills, labels,
posters, handbills, forms, indentures,
receipts, tickets, ballots, etc.

T. ROBINSON,

SURGION, ATOTHICARY, AND MAN.MINATIFE.

The other berts of informing the Public of Large, that he has an entropy of Dakton, and trusts by his Associativ and Attention is these estructed to his care, to not it a portion of Public patronege.

Daiton June sut they

Ashiarar, Proser, Chersen.

The Rise of the Periodical Press

Europe, 16-17c

Venice: Notizie Scritte [bought for a "gazetto"]1566 Netherlands: Nieuwe Tydinghe, 1605(weekly from 1617 and thrice weekly from 1621) Frankfurt: Frankfurter Postzeitung, 1615 England: Coranto or Weekly Newes, 1622 France: Gazette de France 1631 Turin: Successi del mondo, 1645 Leipzig: Einkommendeg Zeitung, daily1650 Spain, Gaceta Nueva, monthly, daily 1661) British America: Publick Occurrences, 1690 Russia: Vedomosti, 35 x per year, 1702

The Rise of the Periodical Press

The Dai Courant

1695 -- abolition of the Licensing Act 1702 -- appearance of the *Daily* Courant, usually considered 1st daily newspaper in England

Printed on one leaf, with blank side (like earlier news-letters) for insertion of handwritten additions.



1691, Athenian Mercury

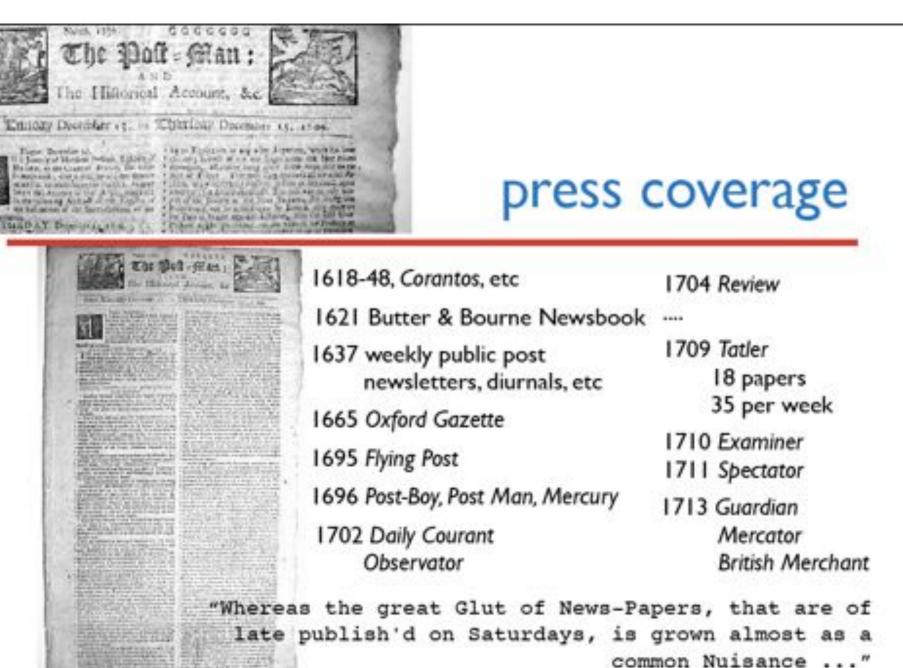
1693, Ladies Mercury

1695, Flying Post

1696, Post Man

before the year 1715 a newly founded newspaper [excluding Dailies] ... would be printed in the format and style originated by Robert Baldwin for The Post Man of 1696. Morison





- -- British Mercury, 1715
 - 13

cabinet government

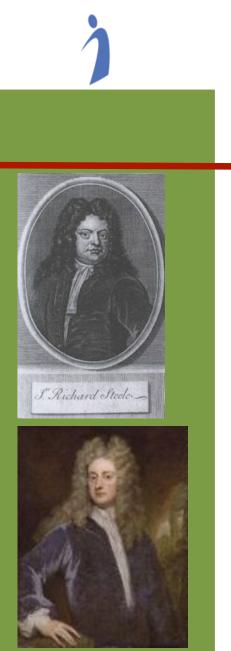






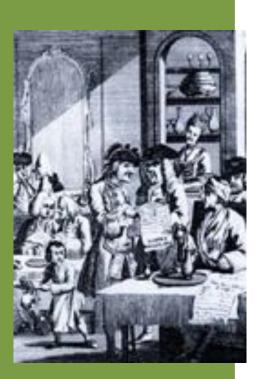
cabinet papers London Gazette Review Examiner Post-Boy Mercator

in-house journalists Defoe Swift ...



The Rise of the Periodical Press

1709: the *Tatler* first published by Richard Steele, under the pseudonym Isaac Bickerstaff 1711: Steele and Joseph Addision found the *Spectator*, with contributions from various members of the "Spectator Club."



The Rise of the Periodical Press

"All Englishmen are great newsmongers. Workmen habitually begin the day by going to coffee-rooms in order to read the latest news. I have often seen shoeblacks and men of that class club together to purchase a farthing newspaper" --César de Sassure, 1726

"Lackeys, stable lads, odd-job men, gardeners and porters sit together and chatter about the news in the public prints... So they often think themselves better than the town mayor because they think they know a lot more than he does about every matter of state" Steiler, *The Pleasure and Utility of Newspapers*, 1695

1

The "reading revolution"

"Readers of books...rise and retire to bed with a book in their hand, sit down at table with one, have one lying close by when working, carry one around with them when walking, and who, once they have begun reading a book are unable to stop until they are finished. ... No lover of tobacco or coffee, no wine drinker or lover of games, can be as addicted to their pipe, bottle, games or coffee-table as those many hungry readers are to their reading habit." Frankfurt 1796



The invention of "news"



"We had no such thing as printed newspapers, in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things.... But such things as those were gathered from letters of merchants, and others, who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation as they do now."--Daniel Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Years, 1722,* speaking of 1660's

What makes something "news"?



What makes for "news"

The Daily	y Courant.
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Seriality

Periodicity

periodical, journal, daily, weekly, monthly, annual...

Currency

courant, postvoice,

Independence

intelligence(r), informer, observer, spectator, guardian

Voice...

Source

Lloyd's News, Defoe's Review ...

Completeness

full, complete, entire ("all the news...")



The political role of print

Newspapers, broadsides, etc. rouse popular feeling in periods of crisis...



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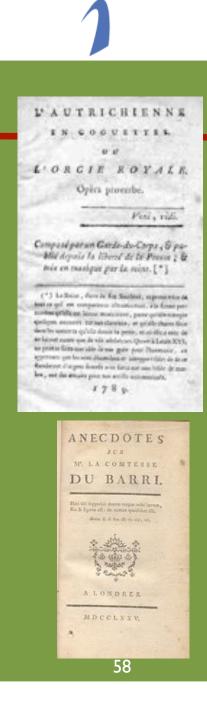
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Mock processison of the Pope during "exclusion crisis" of 1681





The political role of print

18th c. libelles and broadsides

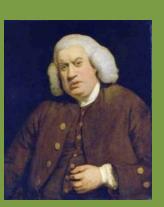






1

The "Age of Authors"





Emergence of modern notions of intellectual property, publishing, authorship, etc.

The present age... may be styled, with great propriety, the Age of Authors; for, perhaps, there was never a time when men of all degrees of ability, of every kind of education, of every profession and employment were posting with ardour so general to the press...Samuel Johnson, 1763

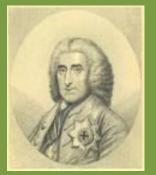
Cf Oliver Goldsmith, 1761, "The Distress of a Hired Writer":

"...that fatal revolution whereby writing is converted to a mechanic trade; and booksellers, instead of the great, become the patrons and paymasters of men of genius... Can any thing more cramp and depress true genius, than to write under the direction of one whose learning does not extend beyond the multiplication-table and the London Evening-post?"

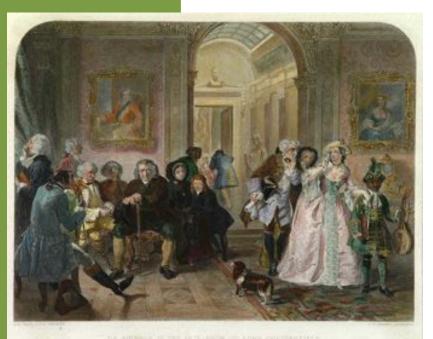
But Goldsmith adds:

For my own part, were I to buy an hat, I would not have it from a stocking-maker but an hatter... It is just so with regard to wit; did I for my life desire to be well served, I would apply only to those who made it their trade, and lived by it.





Writers (ostensibly) freed from direct dependence on patronage. Lord Chesterfield offers his ipatronage for Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary*:



Good order and authority are now necessary. .. We must have recourse to the old Roman expedient in times of confusion, and choose a Dictator... I give my vote for Mr. Johnson to fill that great and arduous post. And I hereby declare that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a freeborn British subject, so the said Mr. Johnson... Lord Chesterfield, 1754



Johnson's response:

"Seven years, my lord, have now past since I waited in your outward rooms..., during which time I have ...have it at last to the verge of publication without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour...

Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help?"

"the Magna Carta of the modern author..." Alvin Kernan

"Writing is become a very considerable branch of the English commerce." Defoe, 1725

Samuel Johnson receives £1575 advance for the *Dictionary*; David Hume receives £1400 for one volume of *Hist. of Britain*; £6000 paid for copyright of account of voyages of Captain Cook.

"Sir, if you talk of it as an object of commerce, it will be gainful; if as a book that is to increase human knowledge, I believe there will be not much of that." Johnson to Boswell 1

Emergence of the Public

1

Emergence of the Public

"[In the late seventeenth century] . . a new cultural space developed, ... a 'public sphere' in which private individuals came together to form a whole greater than the sum of the parts. By exchanging information, ideas, and criticism, these individuals created a cultural actor -- the public -- which has dominated European culture ever since."--Tim Blanning, *The Culture of Power*



Emergence of the Public



"A tribunal has arisen independent of all powers and that all powers respect, that appreciates all talents, that appreciates all talents, that pronounces on all people of merit. And in an enlightened century, in a century in which each citizen can speak to the entire nation by way of print, ... men of letters are, amid the public dispersed, what the orators of Rome and Athens were in the middle of the public assembled."

Guillaume-Chrétien de Malesherbes 1775

Defining "the Public"

public, n.

Am. Her: The community or the people as a whole. **2.** A group of people sharing a common interest: *the reading public*.

OED: The community as an aggregate, but not in its organized capacity

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Am. Her: The community or the people as a whole. **2.** A group of people sharing a common interest: *the reading public*.

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Ratio of occurrence in major newspapers:

the American people/public	4 to 1
the Egyptian people/public	80 to 1

Goog Scholar hits for the nineteenth-century public: 1300; the medieval public 128

The reading public vs. the stamp-collecting public

The emergence of a public discourse

"Rank and privilege" in theory set aside, and discourse becomes ostensibly impersonal:

"...when any work is addressed to the public, though I should have a friendship or emnity with the author, I must depart from this situation; and considering myself as a man in general, forget, if possible, my individual being and my peculiar circumstances." David Hume, 1757

"Civility: of conversing in quiet one with another, without being ingag'd in the passions, and madness of that dismal Age."

Sprat, History of the Royal Society, 1667



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Cf modern sport-talk radio...

1

Publics and "Public Opinion"

"By 'the public sphere' we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens. A portion of the public sphere comes into being in every conversation in which private individuals assemble to form a public body. They then behave neither like business or professional people transacting private affairs, nor like members of a constitutional order subject to the legal constraints of a state bureacracy." Jürgen Habermas



Publics and "Public Opinion"



"It is certainly right and prudent to consult the public opinion. ... If the public opinion did not happen to square with mine; if, after pointing out to them the danger, they did not see it in the same light with me, or if they conceived that another remedy was preferable to mine, I should consider it as my due to my king, due to my Country, due to my honour to retire ... but one thing is clear, that I ought to give the public the means of forming an opinion." Charles James Fox, 1792

Print and the Creation of "Imagined Communities"



[Britain] has become a nation of readers. --Samuel Johnson, 1781

The newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbors, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life...creating that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations. --Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.





