information, the public, and the news

Concepts of Information
Feb 9, 2008
end of an era?

Weak circulation
Newspaper penetration per 100 households
According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, newsstand sales for magazines dropped 9.1 percent last year, with overall subscriptions down 2.23 percent. Popular individual titles fell anywhere from 41 percent (/W/ magazine) to 30 percent (/Good Housekeeping/). /Folio/ <http://www.foliomag.com/2010/paid-consumer-circ-continues-decline>: Of ABC’s 25 best-selling newsstand magazines, only six saw an increase during the second half of 2009. /NYP/ <http://www.nypost.com/p/news/business/for_mags_less_is_less_sfbqCq6YSCyo2PV4TfLAl>: While both /Time/ and /Newsweek/ each recorded sharp declines, it was the latter that suffered the most, booking a 41.3 percent plunge in newsstand sales to slightly more than 62,000.
Demand Media now tests headlines for reader salience and cranks out thousands of articles and videos daily that it pays about $20 apiece for....Various media labs are now testing algorithms that assemble facts into narratives that deliver information, no writers required. The results would not be mistaken for literary journalism, but on the Web, pretty good — or even not terrible — is often good enough.

"Fall & Rise of Media"
New York Times 2009
"I found it fascinating that the people who were editorializing against it were The New York Times Company and The Washington Post Company," Thomas said at Stetson, according to a report in The New York Times. "These are corporations."
Minerva's owl?

It didn't take much vision to figure out that unlimited perfect copyability, with global reach and at zero marginal cost, was slowly transforming the printing press into a latter-day steam engine. And once that became obvious, we said so, over and over again, all the time. We said it in public, we said it in private. We said it when newspapers hired us as designers, we said it when we were brought in as consultants, we said it for free. We were some tiresome motherfuckers with all our talk about the end of news on paper. And you know what? The people who made their living from printing the news listened, and then decided not to believe us.

Clay Shirky, boingboing, Dec 2008
meanwhile, on the net

the new medium for
the public sphere
meanwhile, on the net

the new medium for
the public sphere
"news on paper"

development of "news"
   an illustrative career:
      from adjective to substantive
      new account to news
      from particular to a category
      "these news" to "the news"
      institutionalized
      "BBC can report ..."
      "technologized"

medium or content?: "what's on the news?/in the paper"

a causal character?
"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them."
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"The only security of all is in a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary, to keep the waters pure."
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"The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors."
back to the beginning

public and private
the public sphere
establishing the news/papers
counterblasts
restrictions and freedom
stabilizing the form
endemic problems
dividing the state

the king and the nobles

the king vs the nobles

Magna Carta 1215

the king vs parliament

"There is nothing [that] can more obstruct the long hoped for peace of this Nation, than the illegal proceedings of them that presume from servants to become masters and labour to bring in democracy."

-- Charles I, 1649
revolutions

the bill of rights 1689
the king and parliament

the bill of rights 1789
congress and the people
Habermas: "the german word privat ... 'not holding public office' ... The authorities were contrasted with the subjects excluded from them; the former served, so it was said, the public welfare, while the latter pursued their private interests ..."
connections

Habermas: "The great trade cities became at the same time centers for the traffic in news; the organization of this traffic on a *continuous* basis became imperative to the degree to which the exchange of commodities and of securities became continuous. *Almost simultaneously with the origin of stock markets, postal services and the press institutionalized regular contacts and regular communications.*"
"Civility: of conversing in quiet one with another, without being ingag'd in the passions, and madness of that dismal Age. And from the Institution of that Assembly, it had been enough, if no other advantage had come, but this: That by this means there was a race of yong Men provided, against the next Age, whose minds receiving from them, their first Impressions of sober and generous knowledge, were invincibly arm'd against all the enchantments of Enthusiasm."

Sprat, *History of the Royal Society*, 1667
Habermas: "there existed a press in the strict sense only once the regular supply of news became public ... accessible to the general public ... [contributing to] a public sphere whose decisive mark was the published word"
"Habermas's Öffentlichkeit is one of those German words that can be both sociological (meaning the public as a group of persons) or philosophical (meaning making something public—the airing of an idea). When Chartier ran into it in translation, however, it had become spatial... as Öffentlichkeit hardened into "space" or "sphere," the metaphor lost its suppleness. It became reified and lost much of the meaning that Habermas had infused in it."

### Schema of Social Realms

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<th>Sphere of Public Authority</th>
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**Private Realm**: Civil society (realm of commodity exchange and social labor) and Conjugal family’s internal space (bourgeois intellectuals).

**Sphere of Public Authority**: State (realm of the “police”), Court (courtly-noble society).

Cofl News - 17
antecedents

Rome, *Acta Diurna*

China, *tipao* [Han Dynasty, 202 BCE]

town crier

merchants' letters
modern news

**Europe, 16-17c**

**Venice:** *Notizie Scritte* [bought for a "gazetto"]

**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
[prior to that, untitled news sheets]

**Leipzig:** *Einkommendeg Zeitung*, daily, 1650

**Spain,** *Gaceta Nueva*, monthly, daily, 1661
(earlier, incidental 16c *relaciones*, much produced for Americas)

**British America:** *Publick Occurrences*, 1690

**Russia:** *Vedomosti*, 35 x per year, 1702
new to news

Brant, Nevve fassions and disguised garments, 1509

[new editions, new additions, new plays, ..
also new laws, rules, treaties, recipes]

Hevy newes of an horryble earthquake, 1542
"Newes / newes / newes / have ye ony newes
Myn eeres ake / to here you call and crye
Ben bokes made with whystelynge and whewes
Ben there not yet ynow to your fantasye
In fayth nay I trow and yet haue ye dayly
Of maters sadde / and eke of apes and oules
But yet for your pleasure / thusmoche do wyll I
As to lette you here the parlament of foules."

Introduction by Roberte Coplande
"boke printer to new fanglers" to Chaucer,
*Assemblie of Foules*, 1530
A Copy of a letter Contayning certayne news & the ... Deuonshure & Cornish Rebelles, 1549

News From Rome concerning the blasphemous sacrifice, 1550

A proclamacion, set furth by the Kynges Maiestie ... for the reformation of vagabondes, tellers of newes, sowers of sedicious rumours, 1551

The strange and marueilous newes lately come from the great kingdome of Chyna, 1577
Newes out of Germanie ... a cruell murderer, who had kylled in his life tyme, nine hundred, threescore and odde persons among which six of them were his owne children begotten on a young woman which he forceablie kept in a caue seuen yeeres, with the manner how he was taken, and the aboundaunce of wealth that was found in the said caue: executed at Berkessell on the 14, 1584

Straunge newes out of Calabria prognosticated in the yere 1586,1587

A confutation of the ... prognosticated... from the country of Calabria, to happen in ... 1587 1587
news

personal

... some news of you ...

... what newes they hath brought of her ...

... of newes hastily he doeth enquire ...

La Sale, 15 Joyes of maryage,

<Wynkyn de Worde> 1509
good news

religious

News out of heaven, 1541

[? first book with news in title?]

the need for novelty?

"Salvation in Christ is no newes, but a thyng prophecyed"

Epistle of Peter, Bible [Coverdale] 1535
did information have to be new?

"these Gentlemen talk of being surprized, and that this is the first time they have heard of this Information, but have we told any news in this Information? Was not all that is contained in it, notoriously enough known before?

--Sancroft, Proceedings and Tryal, 1689

a question that lingers:

"Dacier observes that this is added by Homer not for our information, for we already know it," --Pope: *Oddyssee*
"The King scarce believing the News at first, upon better Information, ..."

Robert Brady, *Continuation of the Complete History of England...* 1700
political character

"... news of the takyng of the kynge ..."

"... news of the countrey ..."

"... news out of straunge places ...

"... upon these news the king ..."

Froissart, Chronicles, 1525
"news ... at which

"Upon the news hereof, the Emperor desisted ... "Upon the news whereof, the king sends ...
"Upon news of ... Queen Elizabeth forsaketh the Tower
"This news being brought ... caused king Henry to...
"Certain news came ... Whereupon, the Queens Army was dismissed ...
"News was brought him ... with which he was so moved, that he swore ..."

Richard Baker, Chronicle, 1643
which helps explain

Edward VI, 1551

A proclamacion, set furth by the Kynges Maiestie, with the aduise of His Highnes moste honorable counsail, for the reformation of vagabondes, tellers of newes, sowers of sedicious rumours, players, and printers without license & diuers other disordred persons, the xxviii. day of April in the v. yere of His Highnes most prosperous reigne,

[London?] : Richardus Grafton, tpyographus Regius excudebat, M.D. LI.
with fals antecedents ...

Tellers of fals newes and fals messagys

Statues ... 1527

it is commaunded that from hensforth none be so hardy to tell or publyshe any false news or [tales?] whereby discord or sklaunder may [ ] betwen the kyng and his people ....

Statutes of Edward III, [1327] in Boke of Magna Carta with divers other statutes,

1534
1621-1641 John Butter & Nicholas Bourne (Thomas Gainsford, ed.)

30 Years War

Between 1621 and 1632 news books appeared for the most part weekly in sequentially numbered series, printed in quartos of four to forty pages, and generally sold for 2d. each.
"I went with him to his house, where I propos'd these several following Questions to him: Whether it was true, the Book reported of him, concerning the Hair? ... He answer'd me distinctly to all these, and told me he understood the Newsbook reported his Hair to become a dark brown again, but that is false."

Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World*, 1673

"d'ye think I'll stay any longer, to have a Rogue, because he knows my name, pluck me aside, and whisper a Newsbook-secret to me, with a stinking breath?"

Wycherley, *The Plain Dealer* 1677
350 titles of news publications of all kinds appearing in the period from 1641-1659 alone

--Dooley, *Politics of Information*

**EEBO titles containing newes OR news**

1473-1500: 0
1501-1550: 7
1551-1600: 65
1601-1650: 824
1651-1700: 586
"On the Third of January last past, The Loyall Protestant- News-Paper had this following Passage in it ..."

Roger L'Estrange, *The Shamer Shamed*, 1681
"We had no such thing as printed newspapers, in those days, to spread rumours and reports of things; and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. 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. But it seems that the Government had a true account of it, and several councils were held, about ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private."

--Daniel Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Years*
1665: Oxford (then) London Gazette
This day the first of the Oxford Gazettes come out, which is very pretty, full of news, and no folly in it, wrote by Williamson
Samuel Pepys, Sept 4, 1663

in vogue
The Parliament being grown to that height of contempt, as to be gazetted among runaway servants, lost dogs, strayed horses, and highway robbers.
Andrew Marvell, Growth of Popery 1678

circulation, c. 6,000 Payne

[London population c. 500,000]
Tensions?
"Almost simultaneously with the origin of stock markets, postal services ..." - Habermas
establishing the news

**seriality**

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

**currency**
courant, post

**voice, independence**
intelligence(r), informer, observer, spectator, guardian

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

**completeness**
full, complete, entire
November 18. Numb. 17. The Continuation of our News, from the 4. to the 29. of this Instant. Concerning many other things, of particular. A great overthrow given to the King of Persia by the Turks. A Letter written by the King of Sweden, being a General Manifestation of his proceeding, of the Councill disposed, with several passages concerning Germany, and of the Assumption of His Majesty. He prepared and finished in, and some more. The valour and courage of the Troopers in Bussaco, in reducing the tyranny of the Imperialists over their Country. Some late passages of the King of Denmark, and others with news, and of the good success against the Poles, and others. 

A Continuation of the Diurnal Occurrences and proceedings of the English Army against the Rebels in Ireland, from the first of April, to this present. 1642.

Certified by several Letters from Dublin, Dungannon Fort, and Carlisle. April the 25. undersigned by Lieutenant General, a Commander there, and been many worthy Gentlemen in Highness.

With certain joyfull news from Ireland, printed by order of the House of Commons. -

London, Printed for Nathaniel Nurse, and Nicholas Bourne. 1642.
"irregularly published reports ... were not comparable to the routine production of news" -- Habermas

"there existed a press in the strict sense only once the regular supply of news became public"
I will say no more, but let the Letters answer for themselves: only by way of Caution let me intreat you, neither to expect an order from Prioritie of date, nor any such exactness, as men are tied to in a continued Story: For in plain terms for anything I see, they that are writ these Letters had them by snatches, and the whole business resembles a Bill of accounts, divided into several Items, whose Summa totalis is the news of the last July, and to the tenth of August 1623

B&B, *More Newes from Europe*, 1623

I think it not unfit to resolve a question which was lately made unto me, viz. wherefore I would publish any tidings which were only rumoured without any certainty: I will answer that I do it to shew both my love and diligence to the unpartial Reader. And that I rather will write true tidings only to be rumoured, when I am not fully sure of them, than to write false tidings to be true, which will afterwards prove otherwise

B&B, *Late Newes of a True Relation ...*, 1624]
I shall from time to time report and consider all matters of what kind soever that shall occur to me, and publish such my advices and reflections every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday in the week, for the convenience of the post. I resolve to have something which may be of entertainment to the fair sex, in honour of whom, I have invented the title of this paper.
I HAVE observed, that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure, till he knows whether the writer of it be a black or a fair man, of a mild or choleric disposition, married or a bachelor, with other particulars of the like nature, that conduce very much to the right understanding of an author. To gratify this curiosity, which is so natural to a reader, I design this paper and my next as prefatory discourses to my following writings, and shall give some account in them of the several persons that are engaged in this work. As the chief trouble of compiling, digesting, and correcting will fall to my share, I must do myself the justice to open the work with my own history.

I was born to a small hereditary estate, which, according to the tradition of the village where it lies, was bounded by the same hedges and ditches in William the Conqueror's time that it is at present, .....
... Thus I live in the world rather as a Spectator of mankind than as one of the species; by which means I have made myself a speculative statesman, soldier, merchant, and artisan, without ever meddling with any practical part in life. I am very well versed in the theory of a husband or a father, and can discern the errors in the economy, business, and diversion of others, better than those who are engaged in them; as standers-by discover plots, which are apt to escape those who are in the game. I never espoused any part with violence, and am resolved to observe an exact neutrality between the Whigs and Tories, unless I shall be forced to declare myself by the hostilities of either side. In short I have acted in all the parts of my life as a looker-on, which is the character I intend to preserve in this paper.
... I should not have assumed the title of Guardian, had I not maturely considered, that the qualities necessary for doing the duties of that character, proceed from the integrity of the mind more than the excellence of the understanding. .... to be faithful, to be honest, to be just, is what you will demand in the choice of your Guardian ... the main purpose of the work shall be, to protect the modest, the industrious; to celebrate the wise, the valiant; to encourage the good, the pious; to confront the impudent, the idle; to contemn the vain, the cowardly; and to disappoint the wicked and profane. .... I shall publish in respective papers whatever I think may conduce to the advancement of the conversation of gentlemen, the improvement of ladies, the wealth of traders, and the encouragement of artificers.
THE difficulty of the first address on any new occasion, is felt by every man in his transactions with the world, and confessed by the settled and regular forms of salutation which necessity has introduced into all languages. Judgment was wearied with the perplexity of being forced upon choice, where there was no motive to preference; and it was found convenient that some easy method of introduction should be established, which, if it wanted the allurement of novelty, might enjoy the security of prescription.

Perhaps few authors have presented themselves before the publick, without wishing that such ceremonial modes of entrance had been anciently established, as might have freed them from those dangers which the desire of pleasing is certain to produce, and precluded the vain expedients of softening censure by apologies, or rousing attention by abruptness. The epick writers have found the proemial part of the poem such an addition to their undertaking, that they have almost unanimously adopted the first lines of Homer, and the reader needs only be informed of the subject, to know in what manner the poem will begin.

But this solemn repetition is hitherto the peculiar distinction of heroick poetry; it has never been legally extended to the lower orders of literature, but seems to be considered as an hereditary privilege, to be enjoyed only by those who claim it from their alliance to the genius of Homer.
Something the Idler's character may be supposed to promise. ... the Idler is always inquisitive and seldom retentive. ... naturally censorious; those who attempt nothing themselves, think every thing easily performed, and consider the unsuccessful always as criminal. ... I make no contract, nor incur any obligation. If those who depend on the Idler for intelligence and entertainment, should suffer the disappointment which commonly follows ill-placed expectations, they are to lay the blame only on themselves.

Yet hope is not wholly to be cast away. The Idler, though sluggish, is yet alive, and may sometimes be stimulated to vigour and activity. He may descend into profoundness, or tower into sublimity; for the diligence of an Idler is rapid and impetuous, as ponderous bodies forced into velocity move with violence proportionate to their weight.

But these vehement exertions of intellect cannot be frequent, and he will therefore gladly receive help from any correspondent, who shall enable him to please without his own labour. He excludes no style, he prohibits no subject; only let him that writes to the Idler remember, that his letters must not be long; no words are to be squandered in declarations of esteem, or confessions of inability; conscious dulness has little right to be prolix, and praise is not so welcome to the Idler as quiet.
from ballad to gazetti

Cleo: Nay, 'tis most certain, Iras: saucy lictors
Will catch at us like strumpets, and scald rhymers
Ballad us out o'tune: the quick comedians
Extemporally will stage us, and present
Our Alexandrian revels; Antony
Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see
Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness
I' the posture of a whore

Sir Pol: O, I shall be the fable of all feasts
The freight of the Gazetti ...
Printer: I'll give any thing for a good copy now, be't true or False, so it be Newes

....

Printer: See mens divers opinions! It is the Printing of 'hem makes 'hem news to a great many, who will indeed beleeve nothing but what's in Print. For those I doe keepe my Presses, and so many Pens going to bring forth wholsome relations, which once in halfe a score yeares (as the age growes forgetfull) I Print over againe with a new date, and they are of excellent use

Jonson, *News from the New World* 1620
Prologue: Come Gossip, be not asham'd. The Play is the Staple of Newes, and you are the Mistresse, and Lady of Tatle, let's ha' your opinion of it: Do you heare Gentleman? what are you? Gentleman-vsher to the Play? pray you helpe vs to some stooles here.

Jonson, *A Staple of the News*, 1626
A corranto-coiner is a state newsmonger; and his own genius is his
intelligencer. His mint goes weekly, and he coins money by it. Howsoever, the
more intelligent merchants do jeer him, the vulgar do admire him, holding his
novels oracular; and these are usually sent for tokens or intermissive
courtesies betwixt city and country. He holds most constantly one form or
method of discourse. He retains some military words of art, which he shoots
at random; no matter where they hit, they cannot wound any. He ever leaves
some passages doubtful, as if they were some more intimate seccrecies of
state, closing his sentence abruptly with—hereafter you shall hear more.
Which words, I conceive, he only useth as baits You shall many times find in
his gazettas, pasquils, and corrantos miserable distractions: here a city
taken by force long before it be besieged; there a country laid waste before
ever the enemy entered. He many times tortures his readers with
impertinencies, yet are these the tolerablest passages throughout all his
discourse. He is the very landscape of our age. He is all air; his ear always
open to all reports, which, how incredible soever, must pass for current and
find vent, purposely to get him current money and delude the vulgar. Yet our
best comfort is, his chimeras live not long; a week is the longest in the
city, and after their arrival, little longer in the country, which past they
melt like butter, or match a pipe, and so burn.

Braithwaite, Whimzies, Or a New Cast of Characters, 1631
Up betimes, and an hour at my viall, and then abroad by water to White Hall and Westminster Hall, and there bought the first newes-books [Observateur] of L’Estrange’s writing; he beginning this week; and makes, methinks, but a simple beginning.

Samuel Pepys, Diary, Sept 4, 1663
"Any Londoner who wanted to read his newspaper in English had a dozen to choose from. On Monday he could select *A perfect Diurnall, Certaine Informations, or Aulicus* ... Tuesday he had *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*; Wednesday, *The Weekly Account* or the newly revived *A Continuation* ... and Thursday a choice between *Britanicus* and *Civicus*. Friday brought forth three papers ... On Saturday the reader either acquired *The True Informer* or went newspaperless. On Sunday he rested."

Frank, *Beginnings of the English Newspaper*
This Intelligence, having gained reputation as well by its truth as honesty, some persons have maliciously printed another with the very same title, which can be done with no other design than either to discredit ours by their falsities, or else in hopes to vend them under our Title; Therefore we think fit to give notice, that the Counterfeit Currant Intelligence is printed for Allen Banks in Fetter Lane; but the true one for John Smith in great Queen Street, which for the future, to prevent mistakes, shall be called Smith's Currant Intelligence, etc. [April 26, 1681]
1688 Dyer's newsletter
from coffee house to country

"Dyer ... conducted his News-letter on a rather ingenious principle. The copies, instead of being written quite alike, were varied according to the tastes of the persons they were meant for. Previous to sending to a fresh Coffee House, he used to inquire what sort of people frequented it, and, on getting an answer, "would send such news as would fit them."

--Wright, Life of Daniel Defoe
A Perfect Diurnall
OF THE
PASSAGES
In Parliament:
From the fifth of September, unto the 13.
More fully and exactly taken then by any
other printed Copies as you will finds upon
Company No.
Printed at London for Francis Coates.

Munday the 5. of September.

The Lord Speaker, and the Lord President came
to the House, and presented them with a Message
from his Majesty, in reply to the House's last
Message, the effect whereof was, That if the Par-
liament will appoint a certain day to recall their
Votes and Declarations against such Persons that
are declared Traitors or otherwise for affinity to
his Majesty, he also will upon the same day see all
his Proclamations and Declarations, and take downe his Standards, to
that the Treaty may goe on, as was formerly Proposed.

After the Reading of this Message in the House of Commons, and
some Controversy concerning it, it was divided into several Branches and
Voted by the Commons, the effect of which Votums were:
1. That his Majesty had declared the Parliament Traitors, as decla-
...
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
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

Cofl News - 58
John Dunton 1669-1732

Athenian Gazette; or, Casuistical Mercury, resolving all the most nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious of either sex 1691-1696

a dialogue between readers and experts "informing" and "correcting"

in league with the penny post

the "Athenian society"

cp. Defoe's 'scandal club'

Steele's Bickerstaffe

Addison's Spectators
"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
"[in 1709] there were six distinct publications to read .. on Monday, twelve on Tuesday, six on Wednesday, twelve on Thursday, six on Friday, and thirteen on Saturday."

Fox Bourne

1701, New Observator (Anne Baldwin)
1702, Observator (Tutchin)
1703, Daily Courant (Elizabeth Mallett)
1704, Review (Daniel Defoe)
the greatest part of the people do not read books, most of them cannot read at all. But they will gather together about one that can read, and listen to an Observator or Review --Leslie, The Rehearsal

1705, Post Boy (Abel Boyer; circulation about 3,000)
1708, British Apollo
1709, Tatler (Richard Steele; circulation about 3,000)
1710, Examiner (Henry St. John, Jonathan Swift)
1711, Spectator (Joseph Addison & Richard Steele)
1713, Guardian, Mercator, British, Merchant
On Saturdays during 1746 at least 45,000 papers were sold .... Allowing for the moderate estimate of ten readers per page ... a de facto readership of not far short of half-a-million.

[the population of London was under 700,000]

In 1780, estimated that 25,000 papers were produced each day.

Harris, London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole, 1987
"It must be granted that many of our Public Miseries and Dissensions may be ascribed to the abuse of the daily Vehicles of Intelligence, which are too often employed in the service of Faction ... But these inconveniences should not lead the Lovers of the Country to condemn the Liberty of the Press, but to guard against the perversion of this inestimable blessing"

'The Examiner', Morning Post, 1780
perversion vs regulation

cabinet papers
London Gazette
Review
Examiner
Post-Boy
Mercator

in-house journalists
Defoe
Swift ...
An Advertisement.

Being daily prest to the Publication of Books, Medicines, and other things, not properly the business of a paper of Intelligence. This is to notify once and for all, that we will not charge the Gazette with Advertisements, unless they be matter of State; but that a Paper of Advertisements will be forthwith Printed apart, and recommended to the Publick by another hand.
An Advertisement. The Commissioners Request may be put into the Gazette, That upon the Third day of July next, there will be sold at Grocers’ hall, of Prize-goods, Wines, Brandies, Tobaccoes, and other Goods; and a considerable quantity of Spanish Salt; to be delivered at Dover.
Mr Whites house at the Cock and Bottle, Aldersgate-street, Egbertus Will, of the City of Utrecht, having, by the blessing of God, and his long experience therein, arrived to a great knowledge in curing many defects of Body; doth hereby give notice, that he is ready to undertake the said Cures of deformed Bodies, crooked Legs and Feet, wry Necks, and whatever of this Nature hath been formerly practiced by one Mr. Scot;
"All the public papers now on foot depend on advertisements."

-- Defoe, Review, 1705
"Some regard is likewise to be paid to posterity. There are men of diligence and curiosity who treasure up the Papers of the Day merely because others neglect them, and in time they will be scarce. When these collections shall be read in another century, how will numberless contradictions be reconciled, and how shall Fame be possibly distributed among the Tailors and Bodice-makers of the present age.

"The trade of advertising is now so near perfection that it is not easy to propose any improvement.

"Advertisements are now so numerous that they are very negligently perused, and it is therefore become necessary to gain attention by magnificence of promises and by eloquence sometimes sublime and sometimes pathetic

Samuel Johnson, *The Idler*, 1759
1754, the [Daily Advertiser] appeared in the format which was to be the standard for the English newspaper until The Times added a fifth column in 1808. Hence the Daily Advertiser may fairly be regarded as the first modern newspaper -- Morison.
becoming an institution?

18c books with "news" in title

18c books with "newspaper" in text

"news" w10 "newspaper" 47, all after 1780