The newspaper, the public sphere, public opinion

A very short history
the concept of the public sphere
"blogs represent passage to the public sphere"
Jay Rosen, "Who Owns Journalism"

"How influential are bloggers"
Peter Daou, "The Triangle"

towards 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
"Three events ... mark the beginning ...

[1] The founding of the Bank of England ...

[2] The elimination of the institution of censorship ... [and] the influx of rational-critical arguments into the press ...

[3] the first cabinet government ..."

Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Bourgeois Public Sphere*, 1962/1989, 58
"Public debate was supposed to transform \textit{voluntas} [the will of one or many] into a \textit{ratio} [rational-universal] that in the public competition of private arguments came into being as the consensus about what was practically necessary in the interest of all."

Jürgen Habermas, \textit{The Structural Transformation of the Bourgeois Public Sphere}, 1962/1989, 82–83
The first English newspaper, *The English Mercurie*, 1588.

George Chalmers, *Life of Thomas Ruddiman* (1795)
of war and peace

1618-48, Corantos, etc
1621 Butter & Bourne Newsbook
1624 Staple of the News
1637 weekly public post newsletters, etc
1662 Licensing Act
1665 Oxford Gazette
1695 end of Licensing Act
1695 Flying Post
1696 Post-Boy, Post Man

1702 Daily Courant
1704 Review
1709 Tatler
1710 Examiner
1711 Spectator
1712 Stamp Act
1713 Guardian
Mercator
British Merchant
“Whereas the great Glut of News-Papers, that are of late publish'd on Saturdays, is grown almost as a common Nuisance ...”
— British Mercury, 1715

“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
“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.”

Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, 190

[the population was under 700,000]

In 1780, estimated that 25,000 papers were produced each day.
Spectators, Observers, Tatlers, Guardians, Ramblers ...

"Impartial Spectator..."

"An insatiable Thirst after Knowledge ..."

"I live in the World, rather as a Spectator of Mankind, than as one of the Species; by which means I have made my self a Speculative Statesman, Soldier, Merchant, and Artizan ... can discern the Errors in the Oeconomy, Business, and Diversion of others who are in the Game..."
Spectators, Observers, Tatlers, Guardians, Ramblers ...

“I never espoused any Party with Violence, and am resolved to observe an exact Neutrality between the Whigs and Tories .... In short, I have acted in all the parts of my Life as a Looker-on ..."

“I have neither Time nor Inclination to communicate the Fulness of my Heart in Speech, I am resolved to do it in Writing; and to Print myself out, if possible, before I Die.”
“We had no such things as printed newspapers to spread rumours and reports of things, and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practiced since.”

Defoe, *Journal of the Plague Years*, 1722
"We shall only add, That as we pretend not to Infallibility: if by Mistake or Misinformation any thing should escape us that requires it, we shall think we owe it to the Reputation we aim to preserve, and to Ingenuity, to take notice of it as soon as possible."

Daily Courant, 1729
“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
"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."

Samuel Johnson, The Idler, 20 January, 1759
Mr. SPECTATOR.

Several of my Friends were this Morning got together over a Dish of Tea in very good Health, though we had celebrated Yesterday with more Glasses than we could have dispensed with, had we not been beholden to Brooke and Hellier. In Gratitude therefore to those good Citizens, I am in the Name of the Company, to accuse you of great Negligence in overlooking their Merit who have imported true and generous Wine, and taken Care that it should not be adulterated by the Retailers before it comes to the Tables of private Families or the Clubs of honest Fellows. I cannot imagine how a SPECTATOR can be supposed to do his Duty, without frequent Resumption to such Subjects as concern our Health.”

[Steele, Spectator, Friday April 25, 1711]
Messieurs Brooke and Hellier Merchants in Leadenhall near Bread-street, having experience that their new Wines and Viana Wines do give such universal satisfaction, they encouage'd further to accommodate the Town, and give Notice they resolve to retail the entire Cargoes of the Sophonia and Galleries just arrived and landing, consisting of 300 Pipes of red and white Oporto, and 20 Pipes of red and white Anafea Wines, being the only Wines of these Sorts in Merchants Hands, in several Vaults and Taverns following, viz., in Freeman's Yard in Cornhill, under the Crown Tavern in Bread street, under a front House in Salisbury-Court in Fleetstreet, under Mr. Rymes a Furrier against May-pole in the Strand, and at the Horn-Tavern in Palace-Yard, Westminster, and there is now open'd other Vaults, viz., in Tavern-Yard against Billingsgate, in the middle Street in York Buildings, and under St. James's Market-house; also on Tuesday 18th Instant will be open'd the Green-Dragon Tavern in Grey Lane in Holborn; Note, The Prices of the above-said Wines, in the Vaults, the new natural red and white Oporto and white Viana at 18 d. per Quart and 17 l. per Hogshead, and the new red Viana at 15 d. per Quart and 13 l. per Hogshead, and in the said Taverns Oporto and white Viana at 20 d. and red Viana at 16 d. per Quart, Note, The new white and red Anafea Wines are at 25 per Quarter and 20 l. per Hogshead, and to be had only in the aforesaid Vaults and York Buildings, and under St. James's Market-House.

This is to give Notice, That Messieurs Brooke and Hellier of London, Merchants, who do now give such general satisfaction in Retailing their New Natural Portugal Wines in the said City, being the best that have come from Portugal, for many Years past, have for the more effectual supplying the other Parts of the Kingdom, caused Ships to Sail directly from Portugal to the following Places, where they are Arrived with the like Natural Wines, being the only New Wines that are now there, or can Arrive this Season; which Wines are to be sold by the following Persons, in the respective Places, viz., By Mr. Barth. Ayens in Plymouth; Messieurs James and John Arnold in Portsmouth; Messieurs James Wakeman, and John Negus in Tarmouth; Mr. Joseph Taylor of Falmouth in Lynn Regis; Mr. Crowle in Hull; Mr. Johnson in Gainsborough; Mr. William Proctor in Newcastle upon Tyne; Note, the Price, viz., The Viana Wines at 14 l. per Hogshead or at 5 s. 4 d. per Gallon, and the Oporto Wines at 16 l. per Hogshead, or 8 s. per Gallon.

Printed for and sold by John Baker at the Black Boy, Pater-Nober-Row, 1711.
the wall
civil society/state

**Oxford's papers**
- London Gazette
- Review
- Examiner
- Post-Boy
- Mercator
the wall
civil society/state

**Oxford's men**
- Defoe
- Swift ...

**Karl's men**
- Armstrong Williams
- Maggie Gallaher
- Jeff Gannon ...