

WAR OF WORDS: THE DISCOURSE OF HATE IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS

The beginning of the eighteenth century was a time particularly significant for the development of the English newspaper and the corresponding discourse of propaganda which violently issued from their broad pages. Circumstances aiding this development include: an expanding middle class, increasing literacy, thriving club and coffee-house culture and, crucially, a developing party political system. Although at the beginning of the eighteenth century the two-party system was not yet fully visible on an ideological level, nevertheless, the Whigs and Tories were becoming the two most politically influential factions. This rivalry defined the political situation in early eighteenth century Britain and laid the foundation for a powerful ministerial propaganda machine, which set out to discredit opponents while justifying the policies of the government. The article explores this potent political tool through an examination of extracts from key contemporary essay periodicals and newspapers in order to present this perpetuated discourse of hate and fierce rivalry.

Keywords: propaganda, essay, periodical, Tory, Whig, newspapers, 18th century

Introduction

The perception of 18th century culture by modern intellectuals may influence its proper understanding and, as a result, create a somewhat distorted image of the period. A significant example that may exemplify this idea is contained in an article published by Jason Farago, a writer for the *New York Times*, and a correspondent for the *Guardian* who, while arguing the needs to control hateful tweets, claimed that:

If only this were still the 18th century! We can't delude ourselves any longer that free speech is the privilege of pure citizens in some perfect Enlightenment

salon, where all sides of an argument are heard and the most noble view will naturally rise to the top¹.

Although the citation refers to 18th century France and its almost legendary salons, nevertheless, this remains the cultural milieu most often compared with its English equivalent, namely that of the coffeehouse: both institutions often identified as the incubators of future public opinion². As we can see, the given quotation, misleadingly compares the written discourse of contemporary *tweets* with the spoken discussions that took place in the 18th century salons. In fact, spoken discussions today which lead the public debate do not reflect either the language or tone of free speech, especially those which are propagated through social media. A similar situation took place 300 years ago – the ‘noble tone’ used in some perfect Enlightenment salon did not reflect the discussion led in written form in the then available publications such as pamphlets, newspapers or periodical essays. What is more, the 18th century was a time when the emerging public opinion was not merely limited to the high-culture of salons. In England such debates left the circles of the elites and began to spread among the lower social orders who felt free to discuss contemporary events in the flourishing institution of a London coffeehouse. In consequence, the emerging public opinion began to influence the development of propaganda. Although the impact of the eighteenth century newspaper discourse is presented as having a very limited influence on the politics of the time³, there is no doubt that contemporary politicians were well aware of the significance of the press and the impact newspapers and other printed material may have on their readers⁴.

The beginning of the eighteenth century was a time particularly significant for the development of the newspaper. The friendly circumstances that reinforced this growth includes: an expanding middle class, increasing literacy, thriving club and coffee-house culture and a developing party political system. Though at the beginning of the eighteenth century this two-party system was not yet fully visible on an ideological level, nevertheless, the Whigs and Tories

¹J. Farago’s citation was published in Glenn Greenwald’s *France’s censorship demands to Twitter are more dangerous than ‘hate speech’*, “Guardian” of 2 January 2013 (date of access: 15/01/2019).

² On the differences between coffeehouses and salons see J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989, p. 30-43, Cowan Brian, *English Coffeehouses and French Salons: Rethinking Habermas, Gender and Sociability in Early Modern French and British Historiography* [in:] *Making Space Public in Early Modern Europe, Performance, Geography, Privacy* (Eds.) A. Vanhaelen, J. P. Ward, New York, 2013, p. 41-53, Calhoun B., *Shaping the Public Sphere: English Coffeehouses and French Salons and the Age of the Enlightenment*, “Colgate Academic Review” 2008, vol. 3, p. 75-99.

³ J. Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, London 2011, p. 97.

⁴ The development of propaganda during Harley’s ministry (1710-14) as well as the history of Sir Robert Walpole and the criticism of his government by *The Craftsman* can serve as examples of the influence of the press.

were becoming the two most politically influential factions. It was their rivalry that defined the political situation in early eighteenth century Britain and laid the foundation for a powerful ministerial propaganda machine⁵, which set out to discredit opponents while justifying the policies of the government. The article explores this potent political tool through a detailed examination of extracts from key contemporary essay periodicals and newspapers in order to present this discourse of hate and fierce rivalry with a special focus on denoting the target picture of a rival⁶.

The expression used in the title, namely “discourse of hate” deliberately differs from the widely known modern term ‘hate speech’. The choice was dictated by stressing the difference in meaning which associates the latter more with attacks on individuals or groups due to attributes such as race, religion, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, disability, or gender. However, this was not yet entirely the case in the early 18th century and the application of this modern term may erroneously suggest that problems relating to ‘hate speech’ from a contemporary perspective existed some 300 years ago in the same form that they do today.

The other aspect that needs a further explanation is the use of the term ‘discourse’. Used widely in analyzing literary and non-literary text, the term ‘discourse’ actually presents a problem with its definition. The possible significations of ‘discourse’⁷ differ from its most general meanings to specific aspects of communication. The discourse analysed in this article draws on Foucault’s broad understanding of discourse “as the general domain of all sentences”⁸ and Emile Benveniste’s argument that:

Discourse must be understood in its widest sense: every utterance assumes a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way [...] It is every variety of oral discourse of every nature from trivial conversation to the most elaborate oration⁹.

Although in defining ‘discourse’ the impact is mostly placed on the oral aspect of communication, there are references to both its spoken and written form. For example David Crystal when making a distinction between discourse and text analyses, states:

⁵ J.A. Downie, *Robert Harley and the Press. Propaganda and public opinion in the age of Swift and Defoe*, Cambridge 1979.

⁶ The use of passions was explored by Kozak Katarzyna in *The Hurry and Uproar of their Passions: Images of the early 18th century Whig*, “*English Literature*”, Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, Dec. 2017, vol. 4, p.73-89.

⁷ A broad analysis of the term ‘discourse’ with the examination of its historical definitions is provided in Sara Mills, *Discourse*, Routledge 2004.

⁸ M. Foucault, *The Archeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*, London and New York 2002, p. 90.

⁹ Cited in Sara Mills, *Discourse*, 2004, p. 4-5.

...this distinction is not clear-cut, and there have been many other uses of these labels. In particular, 'discourse' and 'text' can be used in a much broader sense to include all language units with a definable communicative function, whether spoken or written. Some scholars talk about 'spoken or written discourse', others about 'spoken or written text'¹⁰.

The extensive use of propaganda was an inherent part of the early modern media discourse. Most of the titles then established supported one of the two major sides of the political conflict. In a reading market full of different and competing titles, the war of words was a logical consequence and reflection of the bias in English society. In such circumstances the newspapers focused not only on justifying the supported policy but at discrediting other rival authors. What should be stressed is the fact that the discourse of hate does not refer to a fair set of discussions based on sound argument but rather aims at creating a discourse in which the rival is openly attacked, most often with little or no evidence supporting the accusations being meted out. The beginnings of the discourse of hate can be traced as early as the time of the Civil War in the middle of the 17th century when actually for the first time the press market became relatively free from any control. The Civil War newspapers were dominated by titles supporting either royalists or parliamentarians. Both sides tried to shed the most negative light on their political opponent. In the 1640s the reading public witnessed fierce, impolite exchanges between two influential authors, Nedham and Berkenhead. Both these gentlemen represented two sides of the contemporary political conflict: King and Parliament respectively. Nedham addressing Berkenhead used deliberately chosen vocabulary to make him appear altogether unreliable as an author:

Thou mathematical liar, that framest lies of all dimensions, long, broad and profound lies... the quibbling pricklouse every weeke... I tell thee thou art of knowne notorious forger: and thou I will not say thou art (in thine own language, the sonne of an Egyptian whore) yet all the world knows thou art an underling pimpe to the whore of Babylon, an thy conscience and arrant prostitute for base ends¹¹.

The early 18th century brought the development of political groups which indirectly were the inheritors and continuators of the 17th century conflict which had originally been staged between monarch and parliament. Therefore the developing press industry became the tool for continuing the war of words, led both in the form of a proper and fair debate as well as the exchange of insults. This latter, however, chose types of 'argument' which mostly depicted

¹⁰ D. Crystal, *How Language works*, Avery 2007, p. 260.

¹¹ *Mercurius Britannicus*, January 27 1645, quoted after B. Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street*, Brighton 2010, p. 28.

the opponent as unreliable and therefore not worth even being read or listened to. The corpus chosen for the analysis of this strategy includes *The Examiner*, *The Guardian*, *The Reader*, *The Whig Examiner*, *Common Sense*, *Daily Gazetteer* – all these being titles involved to a lesser or greater extent in the eighteenth century political debate.

Discrediting the rival: the depiction of a Madman

The seventeenth century philosophical inheritance regarded passions as “an overbearing and inescapable element of human nature, liable to disrupt any civilised order, philosophy included unless they were tamed”¹². The fact that by the early eighteenth century the mind was identified as the true source of the passions rather than other parts of the body as had been thought previously, signified the necessity of imposing greater control over them for the sake of the rational intellect. This notion became a source for the evolving rhetoric of passions deployed in some essay periodicals, rhetoric which formed a technique set on discrediting political opponents. The rhetoric of passions seemed to fluctuate considerably with the appearance of important elements of government policy. Such was the case during the war with France (the War of Spanish Succession). For example, the handing over of the Spanish crown to the Habsburgs was one of the aspects of Whig government policy before 1710 and was strongly criticised by the opposition. The Tories’ desire to pursue peace was an altogether appealing sentiment and after their landslide victory in October 1710, the prevalent propaganda was aimed at grounding the validity of a pro-peace policy. *The Examiner* no. 22 (II) powerfully depicted the state of near madness the Whigs were being brought to by the mere debate over peace:

Talk of Peace, and they appear like those miserable Wretches vex’d with an incurable Lunacy, who fall into fresh Ravings and strange Distractions, at the least hint of what occasion’d their Distemper. If Peace be but mention’d in our Coffee-houses [...] they Goggle, Foam, Rave, Cry¹³.

The Tory *Examiner* repeatedly identifies Whigs with noise, movement and rage. Emotionally charged words such as: Clamorous, Hurry, Whine, Fretfulness, Poignancy, Rage, Frantickness, Anger, Tears or Cry display a broad spectrum of irrational behaviour (meaning without the use of reason rather than actually ‘stupid’): from wailing, through agitation and fury up to madness. Whigs, as well as writers publishing in their support, are consistently presented as with “Mouth so deep and Open so wide, that the Art of Whispering is become

¹² S. James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*, New York 1997, p. 1.

¹³ *The Examiner*, v. II no. 22.

perfectly useless”¹⁴ and who “had lost their Senses” and whose “Fury is little abated”¹⁵. Another aspect of the use of the rhetoric of passions was to call Whigs “Inflamers” and “Make-bates”- both terms were an allusion to Whigs’ use of pathos: the tendency to appeal to reader’s emotions. The comparison between passions and flames is frequently used in *The Examiner*, denoting the devastating nature of the passions. Using figurative language *The Examiner* vividly portrays the effects of ‘pathetic writing’ on contemporary people who are apparently “so very Combustible, that a little Breath, a puff of Wind set us on Flame.”¹⁶ The description is followed by the detailed outline of a process revealing how “a few Vowels and Syllables serve to blow us up, and do the Work of Gunpowder”¹⁷; ultimately preventing any form of rational debate:

The most violent Ravings and Excesses of Fury are to be roused and excited this way: As supposing you are talking of Government, the word [Powers] does but just make the Blood circulate; if you go on and mention [Supreme] there is presently a gentle Commotion among the Animal Spirits; suppose you proceed and utter the Word [Monarchy] you will find the Fire begin to kindle: and after that, upon the first echo of the word [Prerogative] you may perceive some Smoke; till you pop out the Monosyllable [Right] and then the Man blazes; but if you offer to add to it [Hereditary] he is immediately all over in a Flame, and you must fly for fear of a Roasting¹⁸.

The Examiner’s adversaries did not remain silent. For example, *The Reader*, a short-lived periodical, political in tone and established by Richard Steele in 1714 (a few months after closing another of his projects: *The Englishman*, served to counter *The Examiner*, widely using the rhetoric of passions and accusing *the Examiner* of disabling the political debate which could not be properly led when passions take control over reason. *The Examiner* was described by its rival as one “who a great while had nothing else to utter but meer Words of Passion”¹⁹. As proof of this the periodicals persona, the anonymous ‘reader’, presents an extract from *The Examiner*, which through a number of exclamation marks aims to exemplify its lack of self-control:

...he [the Examiner] says of them [Whigs], That instead of making Atonement for their past Sins, they are still reviving their own Shame and Infamy, and ringing over the same Chime in our Ears without ceasing, Popery!, the Pretender!, French Tyranny! Dunkirk not demolished! Toby Butler! The Highlands! Swarms of Jacobites! The Catalans! The Peace! Importation of Jesuits!

¹⁴ *The Examiner*, v. VI, no. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, v. II, no. 36.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, v. III, no. 19.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ *The Reader*, no.2.

Invasions from Bar-le-Duc! All these stale noisy Topicks, are still flying about our Ears like Wild-fire wrapp'd up in Paper²⁰.

Discrediting the rival: the depiction of a Liar

One of Addison's Essays in *The Whig Examiner* actually tackles the issue of nonsense. The distinction he makes when defining 'high' and 'low' nonsense stands for a type of analytical discourse, on the basis of which an author's skills are judged and he can then be identified as either a liar or a fool. According to Addison's description

high nonsense blusters and makes a noise, it stalks upon hard words, and rattles through polysyllables. It is loud and sonorous, smooth and periodical.... has a majestic appearance, and wears a most tremendous garb, like Esop's ass clothed in lion's skin²¹.

The essay was reused by Richard Steele in *The Reader*: here so-called High Nonsense is once again identified with Lying and is most strongly visible in the action or depiction of leading people "into wrong things but as long as you keep up the Appearance of Right", and in its definition of "a disregard to Truth"²². In *The Reader* no. 2 *the Examiner* was openly accused of being a liar whose "Assertions are so gross and his Falsehood so visible, that there is no need of taking any notice of Him"²³. *The Examiner* uses markedly similar rhetoric when remarking that "For scarce a Day passes, but it [the Press] brings forth a Mouse or a Monster, some Ridiculous Lie, some vile Calumny or Forgery"²⁴. Rather tellingly, these exact words were quoted 4 days later by *The Guardian* in a Letter criticising *The Examiner*²⁵.

An interesting type of rhetoric concerning the act of lying was introduced by Swift in *The Examiner* where he presented lying in demonic and earthly terms. Thus before accusing the opponents of being liars he first establishes a traditional Christian evaluation of the concept of lying and identifies political lying with an innate manifestation of sin. In the juxtaposition of the heavenly origins of Truth and the earthly origins of Lies, Swift emphasises the latter aspect through depicting lying as "the last Relief of a routed, earth-born, rebellious Party in a State"²⁶. He strengthened the earthliness of the association by introducing an animal (insect) metaphor to conclude that "Swarms of Lyes

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *The Whig Examiner*, no. 4.

²² *The Reader*, no. 4.

²³ *Ibidem*, no. 2.

²⁴ *The Examiner*, IV, no. 7.

²⁵ *The Guardian*, 8 June 1713.

²⁶ *The Examiner*, v. 1, no. 14.

... buzz about the Heads of some People, like Flies about a Horse's Ears in Summer"²⁷.

Discrediting the rival: the depiction of a Fool

Another form of discrediting rivals was to claim them incapable of being part of any discussion, thus defining them as fools. And while in the abovementioned essay the use of High Nonsense was described as a disregarding of the Truth, Low Nonsense equally represented a Disregard for Reason:

Low nonsense is the talent of a cold, phlegmatic temper, that, in a poor dispirited style, creeps along servilely through darkness and confusion. A writer of this complexion gropes his way softly amongst self-contradictions, and grovels in absurdities. He has neither wit nor sense, and pretends to none²⁸.

Again, Steele referred to Addison's essay in *the Reader* and when in no. 3 he directed attacks against two Tory periodicals (*The Examiner* and *The Post Boy*) the two types of nonsense were applied to describe his erstwhile rivals. While identifying *The Examiner's* discourse as an example of 'high nonsense', Steele ascribed the notion of 'low nonsense' to *The Post Boy*. *The Post Boy* was compared to "a natural Fool"²⁹ who was taught "scandalous verses which he had Memory enough to repeat, tho' not Wit enough to understand"³⁰. Furthermore, he was presented as someone that others take advantage of: "who is thus made use of by our Dabblers in Politicks.... The Nonsense [of *The Post Boy*] is composed of Ignorance and Stupidity".³¹ While "the Examiner flies from the Law, The Post Boy need not fly, because he is exempt from it as an Idiot"³². Steele went to extremes referring eventually to *The Post Boy* as a thing, "an Accessory that we know could not of himself have entered into the Guilt"³³.

Discrediting the rival: the depiction of a Criminal

Apart from the image of a Madman, a Liar and a Fool the writers used the parallel of the Criminal to shed negative light on the enemy. Acting against the social order or against the law formed a particularly serious charge because the position of the politically inclined periodicals on the press market depended

²⁷ *Ibidem*. The subject of Swift's rhetoric was developed in D. Clayton, *Rhetoric and Allegory in Swift's 'Examiner 14'*, "Studies in English Literature 1500-1900", 1977, vol. 17, no. 3, p. 409.

²⁸ *The Whig Examiner*, no. 4.

²⁹ *The Reader*, no. 3.

³⁰ *Ibidem*.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ *Ibidem*.

mostly on the fame and authority of their authors, even if they were hidden behind the 'eidolon'.³⁴ Being accused of any criminal offence might have damaged any self-portrait constructed by the accused writers and, what is more, strongly affect their influence on the reading public by being presented as individuals in which there is little or no public confidence.

The charge of breaking the law was particularly common practice in the case of anti-government periodicals which in turn accused their counter-papers of being supported and protected by the government. *The Reader* complained that the chief aim and purpose of the authors of *The Examiner* and *The Post Boy* was "Defamation, which both carry in Security... The Examiner escapes punishment by being concealed...and is a Criminal which is not yet taken"³⁵. The same metaphor was employed while commenting on a newly established Tory paper, *The Monitor*:

as I conceive he [the Examiner] had a younger brother born to Him the same Day of my first Appearance, and is named the Monitor. He begins with the old Trick of Pickpockets who commit a Robbery, and join in the Cry after the Offender³⁶.

The reference to *the Examiner* as "a Criminal which is not yet taken"³⁷ stressed another reason for a number of wishful demands expressed by his enemies. *The Examiner* repeatedly received threats of vengeance and physical violence³⁸ and apparently, the only thing saving him from such a miserable state was the fact that much to the chagrin of his rivals, he remained anonymous. This anonymity caused anger and formed the basis for accusing *The Examiner* of attempts to avoid punishment. One of the correspondents to *the Englishman* referring to *The Examiner's* accusations against John Churchill, duke of Marlborough and expressing the support for the latter, complained that:

³⁴The concept of 'eidolon' with reference to the early eighteenth century English periodicals was thoroughly discussed by T. Osell in *The Ghost Writer: English Essay Periodicals and the Materialisation of the Public in the Eighteenth Century*, University of Washington, 2002 available at <http://delong.typepad.com/tetra-osell.pdf> (access date: 31.12.2015), and by M.N. Powell in *Performing Authorship in Eighteenth-Century English Periodicals*, Lewisburg 2012. Katarzyna Kozak analysed the concept of 'eidolon' with a particular focus on *The Examiner* in *William Oldisworth and the Performance of Authorship in "The Examiner"*, [in:] *From Queen Anne to Queen Victoria, Readings in 18th and 19th century British literature and culture*, Uniwersytet Warszawski 2016, vol. V, p. 205-214.

³⁵ *The Reader* no. 3.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, no. 4.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, no. 3.

³⁸ For example John Smith, a correspondent to *The Englishman*, menaced: "I will beat him for that in a very little Time...I shall shew him that I can cut the Head as well as the Feet", *The Reader*, no. 4.

What can a Man say who owns his Name, and is abused by one who does not own himself? Who is the more unjust, he who with his Name defends an Argument, or he who without any Name calumniates that Person without any Possibility of Recrimination? Let all guilty Men be punished³⁹.

Discrediting the rival: the depiction of a hack writer

This type of discourse aimed at attacking the writing skills of the opponent, depicting him as a 'hack' writer: somebody without ideological preference and simply paid by the lines of written text to fulfill the employer's demands. Hack writers received no public acclaim therefore being compared to them meant being equalled to the worst sort of writers. A fine example of impolite discussion took place between *The Daily Gazetteer* and *Common Sense* with the intention of totally ridiculing the opponent:

The *Common Sense* of last Saturday tells the *Daily Post* that he is a Pyrate, a Pick-pocket, and a Highwayman and treats his brother scribler in almost as many Names, as he would do a Minister of State, a Privy Counsellor or a Bishop... this egregious Blunderer ... means nothing more by what he writes, than to earn a penny, and get Bread, which he would otherwise be obliged to steal or work for... a Retailer of Scandal! A Disperser of Lies! A common Defamer! A hired hackney, abandon'd, profligate Scribler ... an infamous Vagrant ... a contemptible Outcast of Faction⁴⁰.

The reply contained similarly foul language but also the threat of a possibly different kind of answer to be considered by the addressee:

Man might as well pretend to answer the Barking of a mad Dog, which has about as much Sense or Argument in it as can be found in this Paper... if we should have the Honour of hearing from thee in the same Blackguard Stile, as Rogue, Rascal or Son of a Whore, which cannot be properly answered in print, we shall take some other Method of letting thee know a Piece of our Mind⁴¹.

The author of *the Daily Gazetteer* drew once more on the image of the hack writer and focused on presenting *Common Sense* as a newspaper written only in pursuit of financial gratification:

The little, low Emissaries of Faction...write merely that they may Eat ... pelt even Persons of the Highest Rank with all the Dirt an Excrement that they can

³⁹ *The Englishman* no.4.

⁴⁰ *Daily Gazetteer*, March 24, 1739, published in B. Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street*, Brighton 2010, p. 15.

⁴¹ *Common Sense*, April 7 1739, published *ibidem*.

rake out of their Kennels...when I saw to what a Height of Impudence the Fellow that writes the Journal, most improperly called Common Sense, was arrived...I can't say I was at all surprised...it was no more than what might be expected from an infamous Miscreant, who has spent his whole Life in the very Sink of Scandal; who has wallowed in the Mire of Calumny and Defamation ever since he left the Bogs where he was ingender'd and came naked and starved to seek his fortune in this Country and a Knight of the Post, a Bully to a Brothel, a Puff to a Gaming-Table, or a Hackney-Writer, as Chance and Time should direct⁴².

A repeatedly used expression to emphasise a rivals' lack of ideological engagement was to depict their writing activity as 'prostituting their Pens'⁴³.

Conclusions

The presented spectrum of possible negative images of the rival as madman, liar, fool, criminal and hack writer - is certainly not exhausted. What made these derogatory descriptions the most popular choice for depicting the opponent is the fact that all of them undermined the authority of enemy writers and aimed at discouraging potential audiences from reading their periodicals and thus diminishing any impact they might have on the public. The war of words led between the authors of the newspapers seems at first sight to be a conflict concerning only those authors who were active on the press market. The accusations or ridiculing is often directed to the concrete paper only. What is more, one of the techniques employed to disunite the opponent's side was based on charging with wrong doing or false report a given paper and not an opposite political group⁴⁴. Despite these facts, however, criticizing a newspaper must have equated in the eyes of readers with the criticism directed towards a specific political party. If this had not been the case, the establishing of rival periodicals would have been rendered utterly meaningless. The fierce language, which included addressing greater or lesser insults, appears to have developed particularly in the first half of the 1710s, during Oxford's ministry when the machine of propaganda for the first time was successfully employed by Robert Harley. These years also witnessed the emergence of a new genre, that of the essay periodical. The essay periodical, designed by Addison and Steele, essentially followed Dryden's advice that a perfect satire should have a "fineness of a stroke that separates the Head from the Body, and leaves it standing in its

⁴² *Daily Gazetteer* 17 April 1739, published *ibidem*.

⁴³ For example *The Examiner* no. 20; no. 40.

⁴⁴ The technique can be traced for example in *The Examiner* (1710-1714) and *The Englishman* (1714).

place”⁴⁵. The fact that after closing *The Tatler* and *The Guardian* – the first model essay periodicals – Addison and Steele launched other titles such as *The Englishman*, *The Whig Examiner* and *The Reader* which were much more politically engaged and definitely abandoned the mild satire used in their earlier work. Despite the popularity of these titles, it must have been the direct and open criticism, the act of ridiculing the enemy which seems to have had and real and sustained impact on the readers. The change of tactics in which a series of discussions takes place between rival periodicals offers powerful evidence for such an inference.

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⁴⁵ J. Dryden, *Essay on Satire*, *The works of John Dryden*, ed. Walter Scott, v. XIII, London 1808, p.94. The subject of Addison’s mild satire against Tories in *the Spectator* was raised in C. Lewis’ (1945), *Addison*, [in:] *Essays on the Eighteenth Century presented to David Nichol Smith in honour of his seventieth birthday*, Oxford 1945, p. 2-3.

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