News – Medieval to Modern

Secular Records

Secular Records

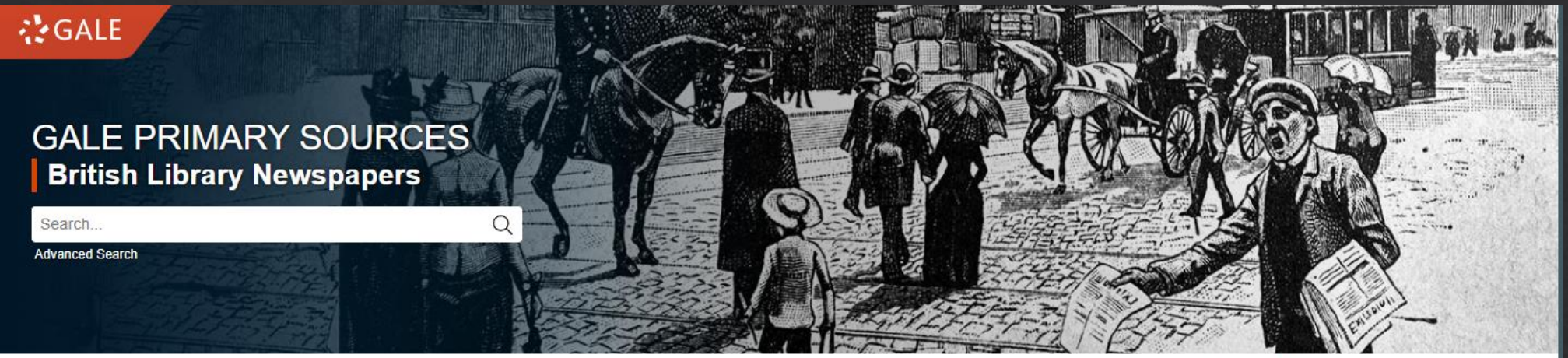
Sources we use to find out about stuff that happened

Secular Records

Sources we use to find out about stuff that is recorded as having happened

Secular Records for Modernists

- Newspapers
  - Advertisements, posters
  - Letters
  - Illustrations
- Minutes and proceedings of organisations (town councils, literary and philosophical societies)
- Annual reports
- Scientific journals
- Memoirs
- Photographs
- Ephemera
- AND MUCH MORE BESIDES



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GALE PRIMARY SOURCES

British Library Newspapers

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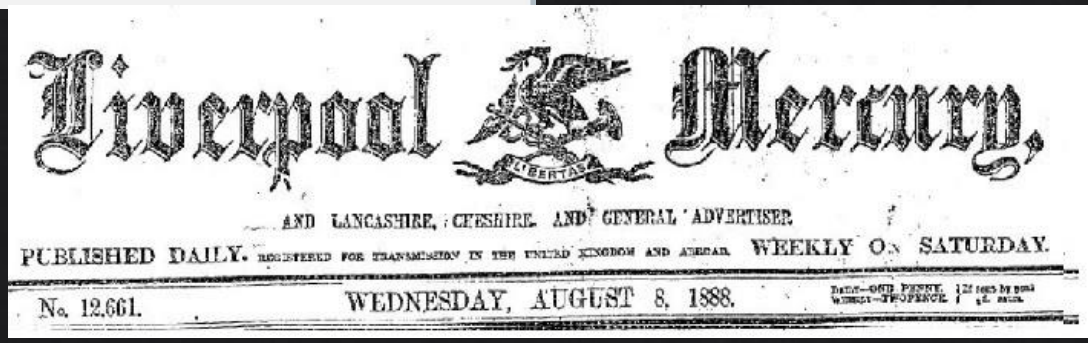
ABOUT THIS RESOURCE

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Secular Records for Medievalists

- What type of ‘secular’ records might exist in the Middle Ages?
- What types of sources might you use to get a sense of medieval everyday life?

Secular Records for Medievalists

- Land/property records
- Land/property surveys (e.g. Domesday Book)
- Literature
- Inquisition testimonies
- Inquisitions post mortem
- Pipe rolls
- Plea rolls
- Charters
- Witness testimonies
- Borough records
- Ordinances of trade guilds
- Poll tax records

Overview

1. News in the Middle Ages: Historiography and Challenges

- Helen Birkett, ‘News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188,’ *Viator* 49:3 (2018), pp. 23–61
- Christopher Fletcher, 'News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics in Late Medieval English Provincial Towns,' *Journal of British Studies* 56 (April 2017), pp. 250–272.

2. Newspapers in Victorian Britain

- Imagined Communities
- Museums and newspapers
- Class Politics

1. News in the Middle Ages

What is news?

What is news?

OED

The report or account of recent (esp. important or interesting) events or occurrences, brought or coming to one as new information; new occurrences as a subject of report or talk; tidings.

- 1417 in H. Ellis *Orig. Lett. Eng. Hist.* (1827) 2nd Ser. I. 55 (*MED*) The gracious prosperitie..of your renowned person..[is] soe gracious and joyous newes..to the principall comforte and especiall consolation of us and all your faythfull subjectes.
- 1489 KING HENRY VII in *Paston Lett. & Papers* (2004) I. 657 This day aftre High Masse comyth vnto vs from oute of Bretayne..oon of oure pursiuantes, that ratifieth the newes of the seid Lord Malpertuis, which ben these.

Tidings

OED

A. Something that happens; an event, incident, occurrence.

B. The announcement of an event or occurrence; a piece of news (now obsolete or archaic); usually in plural tidings, reports, news, intelligence, information.

- 1069–1125 *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* ann. 995 (MS. F.) Ða wearþ se cing swyþe bliðe þissere tidunge.
- *c*1290 *Beket* 1493 in *S. Eng. Leg.* I. 149 Þo þeos tiþinges to þe kingue..cam.

What is news?

At its most basic, news is the communication of new, time-sensitive information, which alerts others to significant changes in their immediate or wider environment. It combines both the content of the information conveyed with the act of conveying it.

- Helen Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188,' *Viator* 49:3 (2018), p. 24

Novelty, Significance, Immediacy

Stripped back to its essential components, news combines distinct elements of content with a temporal dimension: it is comprised of new information concerning a change in circumstances, which is transmitted to its audience as quickly as possible. These features can be translated into three news values: novelty, significance, and immediacy.

- Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages, p. 29

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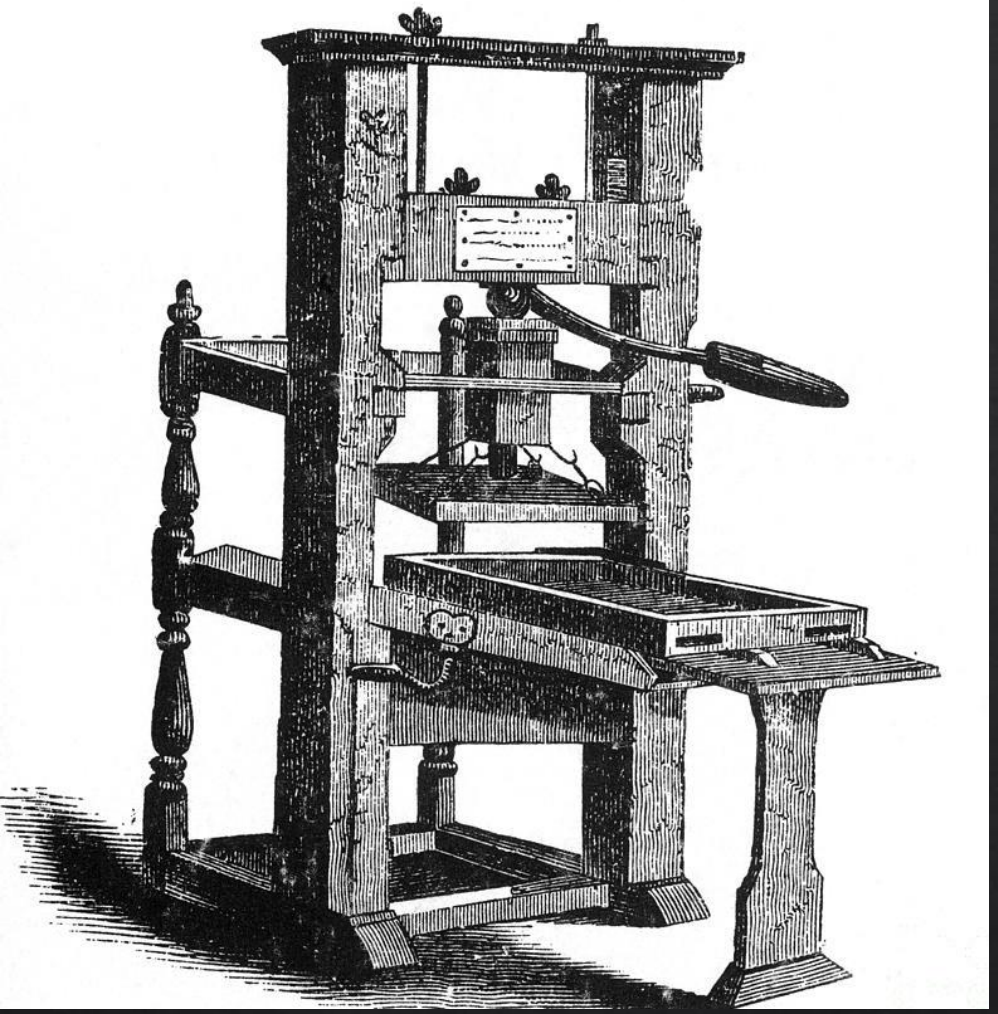
What sources of news are there, and which do you use?

What sources of news are there, and which do you use?

- Newspapers
- Word of mouth
- Rumour
- Magazines
- Radio
- Television
- Email
- Newsletters
- Social media
- Letters

Was there news in the Middle Ages?

How might medieval news differ than in later periods?



Gutenberg Bible; printing press ‘invented,’ c. 1440s





Was there news in the Middle Ages?

Historiography has tended to regard:

- ‘Instantaneous’ character of ‘news’ associated with modernity and ‘accelerated’ experience of time/space
- Emergence of news as an early modern phenomenon

Early Modern Newspapers



Was there news in the Middle Ages?

Historiography has tended to regard:

- 'Instantaneous' character of 'news' associated with modernity and 'accelerated' experience of time/space
- Emergence of news as an early modern phenomenon

BUT …

- Handwritten, scribal news persisted (and dominated into 18th century)

WHICH SUGGESTS …

- Continuities with earlier news-dissemination practices, rather than regarding modern/early modern news as fundamentally novel

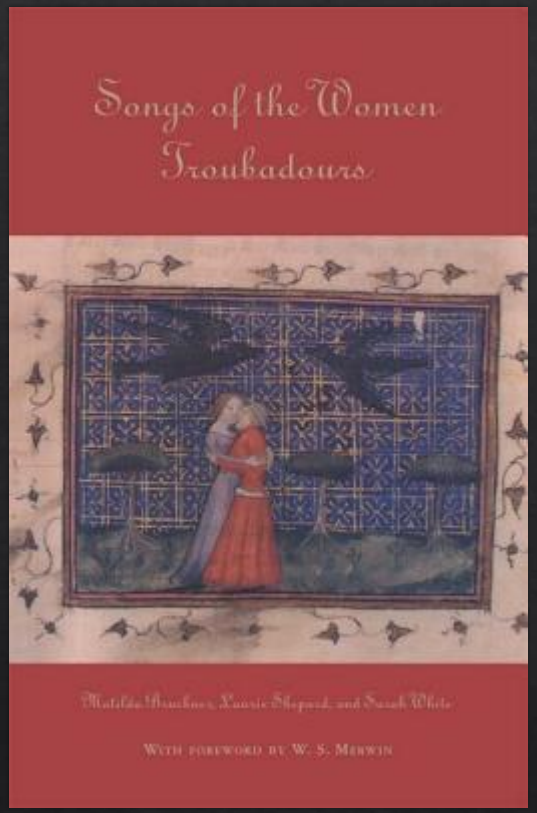
What sources of news existed in the Middle Ages?

What sources of news existed in the Middle Ages?

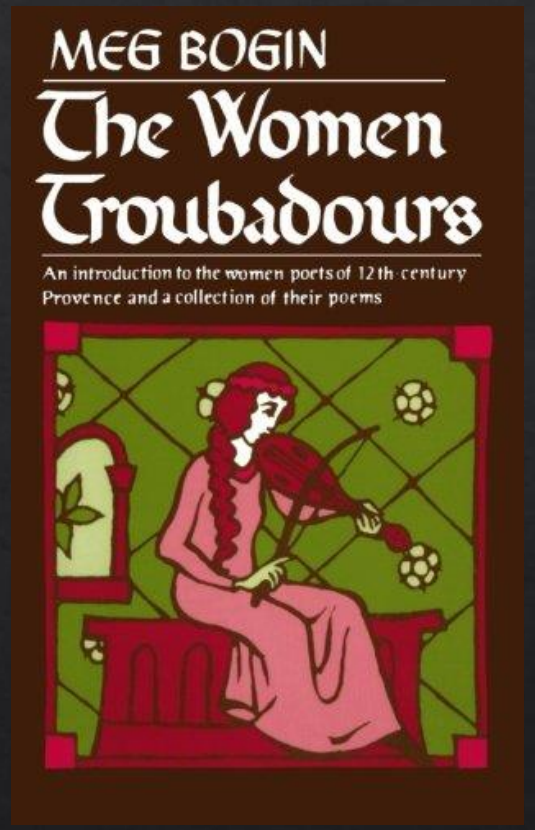
- Letters
- Messengers
- Pigeon post
- Word of mouth
- Annals and Chronicles?
- Bible ('the good news')
- *Jongleurs*, troubadours, sirventes
- Papal encyclicals

- LIMITED TETXUAL SURVIVAL
- THOSE TEXTS THAT DO SURVIVE WERE PROBABLY MEANT TO BE READ ALOUD

Troubadours







An online collection: http://www.trobar.org/troubadours/

Jongleurs/Minstrels



Jongleurs and troubadours entertain Holy Roman Emperor, from Manessa Codex, c. 1300



Images from the *Luttrell Psalter*, 1325-1340

Sirventes: service song (propaganda?)



Raimbaut de Vaqueiras (c.1180 – 1207)



Peire Cardenal (13th century)



Guilhem de Berguedan (12th century)

Papal Encyclicals

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Pope Honorius III (August 31, 1216 – March 18, 1227)

Pope Honorius III (1150 – 18 March 1227), born as Cencio Savelli, was Pope from 18 July 1216 to his death in 1227.

Wikipedia

Solet Annuere (On the Rules of the Friars Minor)
- November 29, 1226

Ereader Files: English [MOBI - EPUB]

EXTANT NEWS TEXTS RELATING TO HATTIN, JERUSALEM, AND THE LAUNCH OF THE THIRD CRUSADE FROM 1187–1188

(The asterisk (*) indicates letters of questionable authenticity.)

NO.	SENDER	ADDRESSEE	DATE	SENT FROM	RELEVANT NEWS CONTENT	TYPE OF LETTER
1		Barbarossa and Urban III	Early/mid-July 1187		Hattin	*Hilferuf*
2	Terricus	Urban III	Late July/early August 1187	Tyre	Hattin	*Hilferuf*
3	Terricus	Templars	Late July/early August 1187	Tyre	Hattin	*Hilferuf*
4	Terricus	Philip of Flanders	Late July/early August 1187	Tyre	Hattin	*Hilferuf*
5	Hospitallers?	Hospitallers of Italy	Early September 1187	Latakia?	Hattin	*Actio*
6	Eraclius	Urban III	Mid-September 1187	Jerusalem	Hattin, threat to Jerusalem	*Hilferuf*
7	Eraclius	Rulers in west	Mid-September 1187	Jerusalem	Hattin, threat to Jerusalem	*Hilferuf*
8	Bohemond III	William II	Late September 1187	Antioch	Hattin, Jerusalem under siege	*Hilferuf*
9	Genoese consuls	Urban III	Late September/early October 1187	Genoa	Hattin	*Hilferuf*
10	Aimeric	Henry II	Early/mid-October 1187	Antioch	Hattin, Jerusalem under siege	*Hilferuf*
11	Aimeric	General	Early/mid-October 1187	Antioch	Hattin, Jerusalem under siege	*Hilferuf*
12	Peter of Blois	Henry II	Mid-/late October 1187	Ferrara	Hattin, threat to Jerusalem, crusade	*Actio*
13	Gregory VIII	General	29 October, 30 October, 3 November 1187	Ferrara	Hattin, crusade	Encyclical
14	Bohemond III	General	Post-early October 1187	Antioch	Capture of Jerusalem	*Hilferuf*
15	*Gregory VIII	General	Late October/1 November 1187		Hattin, capture of Jerusalem, crusade	Encyclical
16	Henry of Albano	Barbarossa	Early/mid-November 1187	Ferrara?	Crusade	Advance notice of visit
17	*Gregory VIII	General	Late 1187		Capture of Jerusalem	Encyclical
18	Conrad of Montferrat *et al.*	Béla III	January 1188	Tyre	Hattin, capture of Jerusalem	*Hilferuf*
19	Terricus	Henry II	January 1188	Tyre	Capture of Jerusalem	*Actio*
20	Templars	General	Early 1188	England?	Hattin	*Actio*

- *actiones* = letters that conveyed news and nothing more.
- *hilferufe* = requests for assistance
- encyclicals = circular letters sent out by the papacy

News and the Third Crusade

News and the Third Crusade

KEY EVENTS

- 4 July 1187 – Crusaders surrender to Saladin's forces at the Battle of Hattin
- 20 September–2 October 1187 – Siege of Jerusalem
- 2 October 1187 – Surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin's forces
- 29 October 1197 – *Audita tremendi* Pope Gregory VIII (Pope Urban having died 20 October) initiated Third Crusade

… We promise full remission of their sins and eternal life to those who take up the labour of this journey with a contrite heart and a humble spirit and depart in penitence of their sins and with true faith

News and the Third Crusade

KEY EVENTS NEWS REACHES 'WEST' (according to Birkett)

- 4 July 1187 – Crusaders surrender to Saladin's forces at the Battle of Hattin

  News reached western Mediterranean late September;

  reached Papal Curia mid-October;

  known in parts of Germany and northern France by November

- 20 September–2 October 1187 – Siege of Jerusalem

  News reached Europe in winter

- 2 October 1187 – Surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin's forces

  News reached Europe in spring

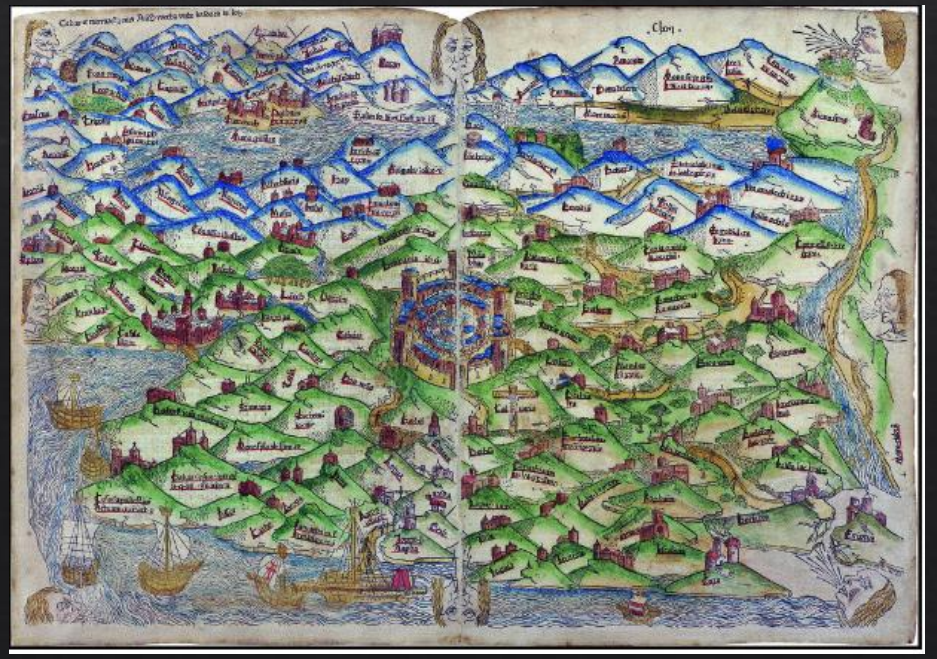
- 29 October 1197 – *Audita tremendi*

  In response to Battle of Hattin and ensuing crisis

News from the Holy Land

- Transmission depended on maritime travel speeds – variable by season
- Overland transmission more dependable – but took longer

Map of Holy Land by Lucas Brandis, 1475



Spreading News of the Third Crusade

'Audita tremendi transformed the nature of the news story that had come from the east. Prior to this, information concerning the battle of Hattin and the Muslim advance remained restricted to groups with specific interests in the Holy Land: ecclesiastical and secular rulers active in international politics; the military orders based in the east; and the merchants and traders of the Italian city states who were part of the wider Mediterranean economy. The issuing of *Audita tremendi* changed this. The call for crusade and the accompanying instructions for the fast added new features to the story, which required the mass dissemination of this news and ensured that it would penetrate deeply into society. As an encyclical, this was then distributed to prelates across Europe via the Church's extensive, transnational communications network.'

- Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages,' p. 43

Spreading News of the Third Crusade

'Efforts to disseminate the news in England and France intensified following the decision of Kings Henry and Philip to join the crusade. The rulers agreed to lead a joint expedition, following the preaching of Archbishop Joscius at Gisors in late January 1188. This agreement included the levying of a special "Saladin tithe" to fund the venture, which was intended, at least in England, to subsidise the participation of poorer pilgrims. With the exception of those going on crusade and some religious orders, all subjects of both kingdoms were expected to contribute. This required the mass communication of both the call for crusade and instructions for the tithe payment.'

- Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages,' p. 47

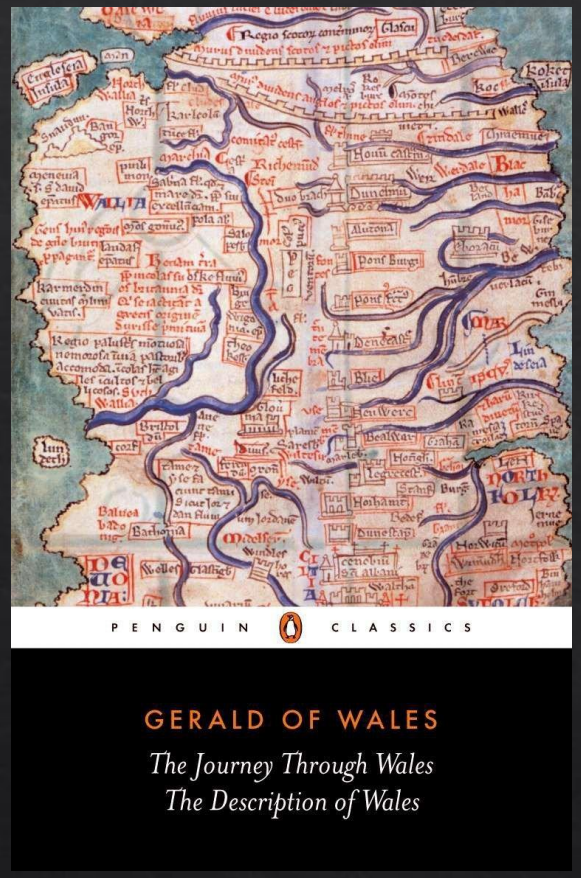
News of the Third Crusade in Wales

'Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury was dispatched to preach the crusade to the Welsh during March and April 1188—where news of events preceded him. This is certainly the case in Powys, where Baldwin found that Reiner, bishop of St Asaph, had already recruited volunteers. This slight ecclesiastical *faux pas* indicates that Reiner had received news of the crusade before he received word of the archbishop's visit.'

- Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages,' p. 47



News of the Third Crusade in Wales



'The account of Archbishop Baldwin's preaching tour, written by Gerald of Wales implies that news circulated in advance of the archbishop's arrival … That crowds subsequently greeted the archbishop at the borders of Ceredigion, Môn (Anglesey), and Powys indicates they had advance notice of his arrival and, presumably, his purpose. Likewise, it seems that Gerald of Wales preached to an informed audience at Haverfordwest. Gerald casts himself as a second St Bernard in his ability to persuade the Welsh to join the crusade despite speaking to them only in Latin and French—languages they did not understand. However, the most plausible explanation for Gerald's success lies less with his rhetorical skills and more with the intentions of his audience. They had probably already made the decision to take the cross and were simply waiting for the signal to do so.'

- Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages,' pp. 48-49

News ‘Penetration’ and ‘Saturation’

‘The dissemination of news relating to Hattin, Jerusalem, and the Third Crusade demonstrates that international news was not simply the preserve of the elite in this period. Partly this reflects the nature of the case study. In the eyes of the Church, every Christian was both affected by and implicated in the loss of the True Cross and the fall of Jerusalem. To avert further spiritual disaster, mass penitence in the form of individual prayers, fasting, and contributions to a new crusade was required. This was a message that needed to be disseminated from the highest to the lowest levels of society, from the papal curia to provinces, dioceses, and parishes. News of events was also broadcast by secular rulers as part of the mobilization of men and resources for the crusade. The many thousands who responded by either taking the cross or contributing, mostly in England, to the Saladin Tithe provides evidence of the mass communication of this news.’

- Birkett, ‘News in the Middle Ages,’ p. 59—60.

News and Rumour in 14th-Century England

Christopher Fletcher, 'News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics in Late Medieval English Provincial Towns,' *Journal of British Studies* 56 (April 2017), pp. 250–272.



Discusses unilateral gathering of troops by mayor of Leicester, Richard Gamston, on receipt of news that residence of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in London was targeted during 1381 Peasants' Revolt.



News and Rumour in 14th-Century England

Christopher Fletcher, 'News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics in Late Medieval English Provincial Towns,' *Journal of British Studies* 56 (April 2017), pp. 250–272.



- What are some of the sources (or types) of news discussed by Fletcher?
- What are some of the spaces in which news was disseminated in medieval Leicester?
- What light might Fletcher's article shed on wider historical phenomena? What insights does it provide about C14 society in England?



News and Rumour in 14th-Century England

'Leicester's reaction to the events of 1381 took place within a political culture in which news shaped the reaction of the townspeople to external events, both in the short and long terms. We know from the mayor's accounts that survive in volume from the mid-1330s to the mid-1350s that the citizens of Leicester had long appreciated the value of good information. The need to harvest useful *rumores* is a constant concern and a recurrent justification for the expenditure of common funds …

- Christopher Fletcher, 'News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics in Late Medieval English Provincial Towns,' *Journal of British Studies* 56 (April 2017), p. 257.

News and Rumour in 14th-Century England

‘ … on 11 November 1335, 22½d. was expended to entertain the coroner William Walden and two of his companions, who came from the king’s court “narrating rumours (*rumores*) of the king and of Scotland.” In the same year, 20d. was expended for wine for the reception by the mayor “and others of the town of Leicester” of two butlers of the king and queen, “coming from Scot land with rumours (*cum rumoribus*).’

- Fletcher, 'News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics,’ p. 257.

News and Rumour in 14th-Century England

'Information was not the monopoly of Leicester's urban elite but spread out through networks that included both ordinary town dwellers and those living in the neighbouring countryside. Most simply, [there was] wining and dining, [whch] although it sometimes occurred in the mayor's house, also took place in the tavern, from which information was bound to leak out. Moreover, Leicester was the county town. This meant that it was an important venue for the publication of royal proclamations, which could vary from recent statutes and mundane administrative decisions to proclamations made at moments of particular political tension. Finally, Leicester was the market centre for its locality, with a Saturday market occupying a large space in the southeast of the town. Here, men and women came to buy and sell corn and beans, sheep and cattle, to visit the shops of artisans and, of course, to talk.'

- Fletcher, 'News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics,' p. 258.

News and Rumour in 14th-Century England

- Dissemination of news and rumour part of increasingly *public* political culture: 'after the Peasants' Revolt, the deposition of Richard II in 1399, and the collapse of Lancastrian kingship in the 1440s and 1450s, political actors at the centre came to ascribe new importance to public opinion, both as a threat and as a resource.' (Fletcher, 'News, Noise,' p. 271).

- National and civic elites' power 'subject to negotiation with the multivocal and contradictory public opinion that characterized urban society' (p. 266).

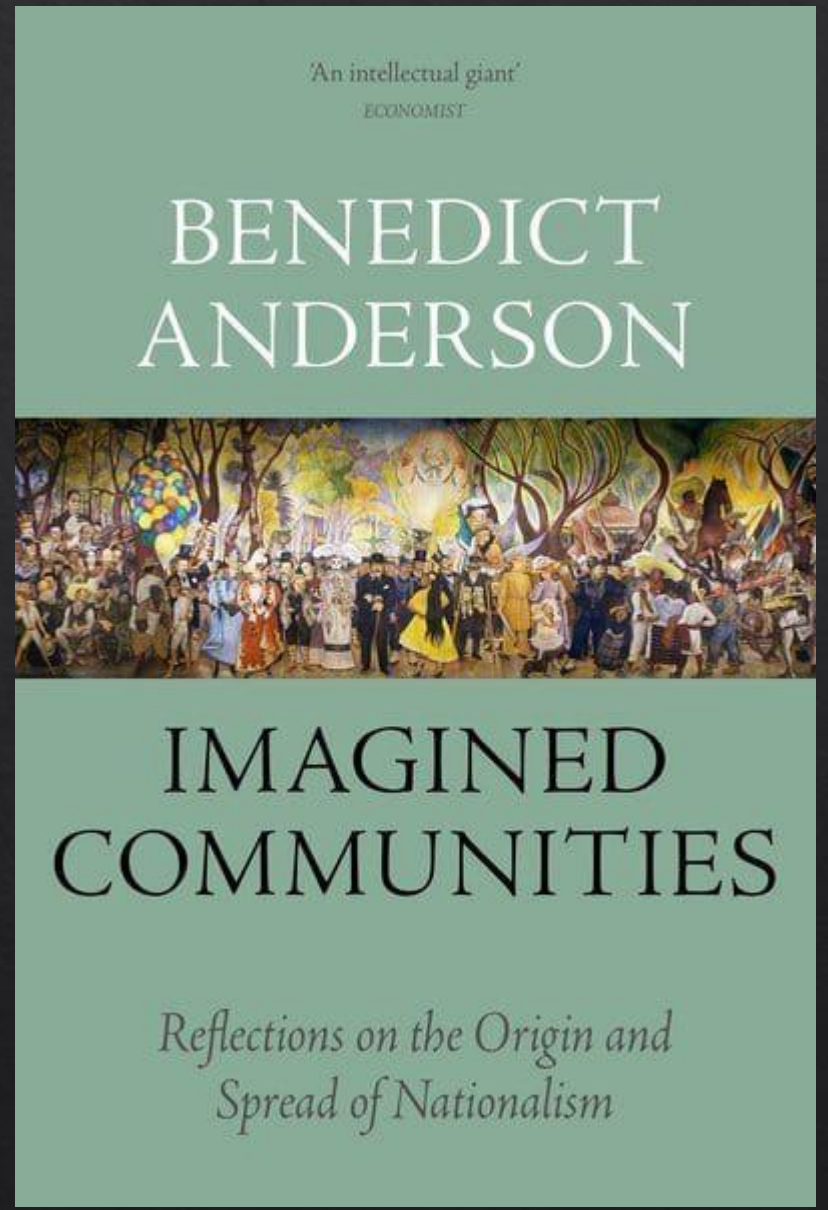
- Changing political culture 'provided a new context in which long-established practices of news circulation and communal mobilisation were expressed.' (p. 272)

2. Newspapers in Victorian Britain

Newspapers and Nationalism

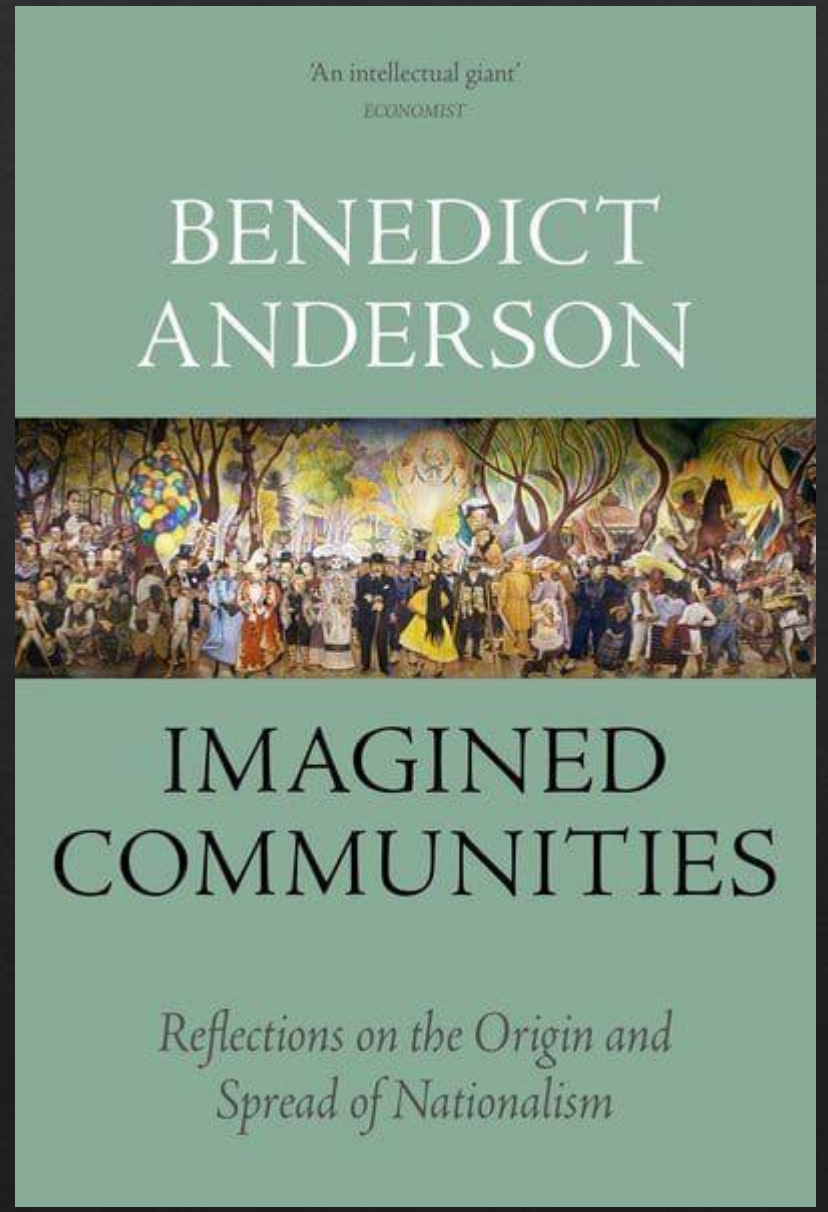
“ …. two forms of imagining which first flowered in Europe in the eighteenth century … the novel and the newspaper. …. provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation.”

- Benedict Anderson, ‘Census, Map, Museum,’ in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991 2nd ed. [first edition 1983]).



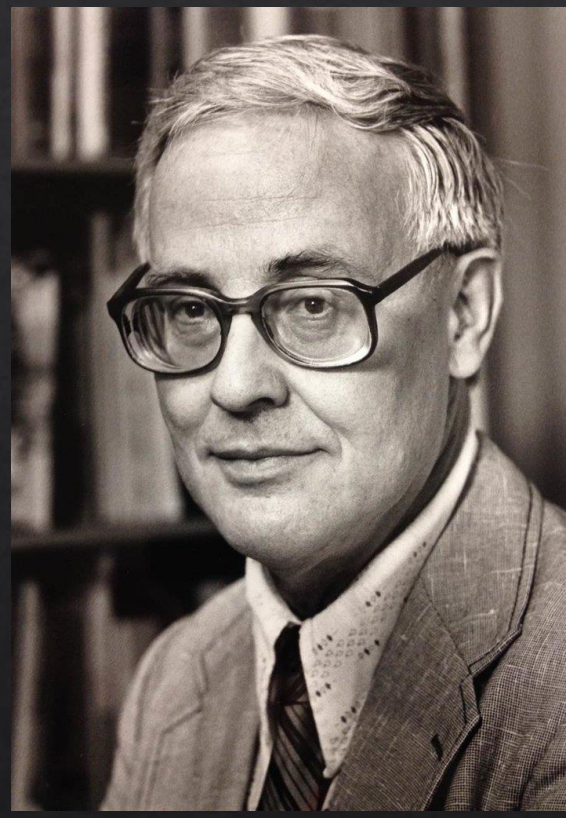
Newspapers and Nationalism

- *What might be meant by the concept of 'imagined community'?*
- *What role might newspapers play a part in the 'imagining' of nations?*
- *What type of communities did 18th / 19th-century newspapers imagine?*



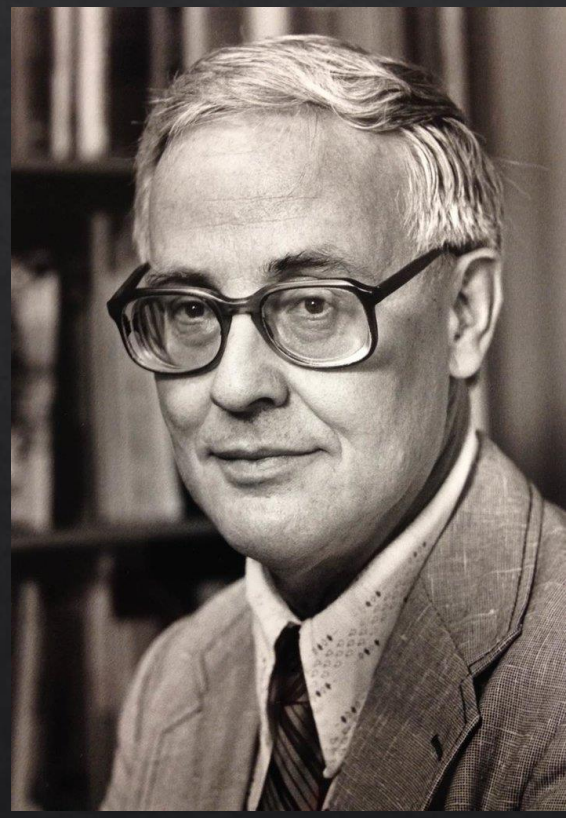
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*

"My point of departure is that nationality, or nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are **cultural artefacts** of a particular kind. To understand them properly we need to consider carefully how they have come into **historical** being, in what ways their meanings have changed over time, and why, today, they command such profound emotional legitimacy."



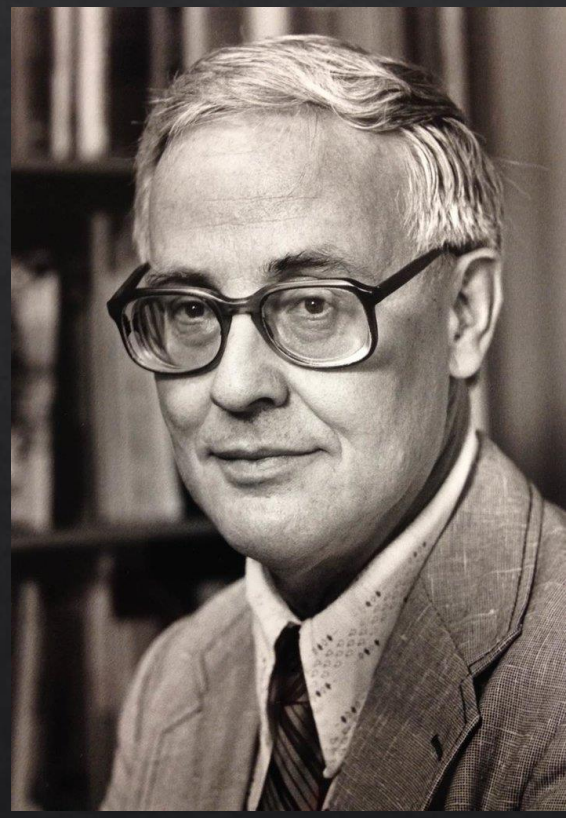
Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*

Because “ … the fellow members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of the communion.”



Newspapers and *Imagined Communities*

"the newspaper [can be interpreted as] an 'extreme form' of the book, a book sold on a colossal scale, but of ephemeral popularity. The obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing - *curious that one of the earlier mass-produced commodities should so prefigure the inbuilt obsolescence of modern durables* - nonetheless, for just this reason, creates this extraordinary mass ceremony: the almost precisely simultaneous consumption ('imagining') of the newspaper."



Newspapers and *Imagined Communities*

"Particular morning and evening editions will overwhelmingly be consumed between this hour and that, only on this day, not that. … The significance of this mass ceremony - *Hegel observed that newspapers serve modern man as a substitute for morning prayers* - is paradoxical. It is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion. Furthermore, this ceremony is incessantly repeated at daily or half-daily intervals throughout the calendar."



Fig. 1.6. Most local papers were aimed at middle-class readers in the first half of the century: 'The Addison Family at Breakfast', monochrome cabinet card reproduction of painting by Alexander Masses, Liverpool, 1822. By permission of Harris Museum, Preston, all rights reserved.

Newspapers and *Imagined Communities*

"What more vivid figure for the secular, historically clocked, imagined community can be envisioned? At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life. [Newspapers help] creat[e] that remarkable confidence of community in anonymity which is the hallmark of modern nations."

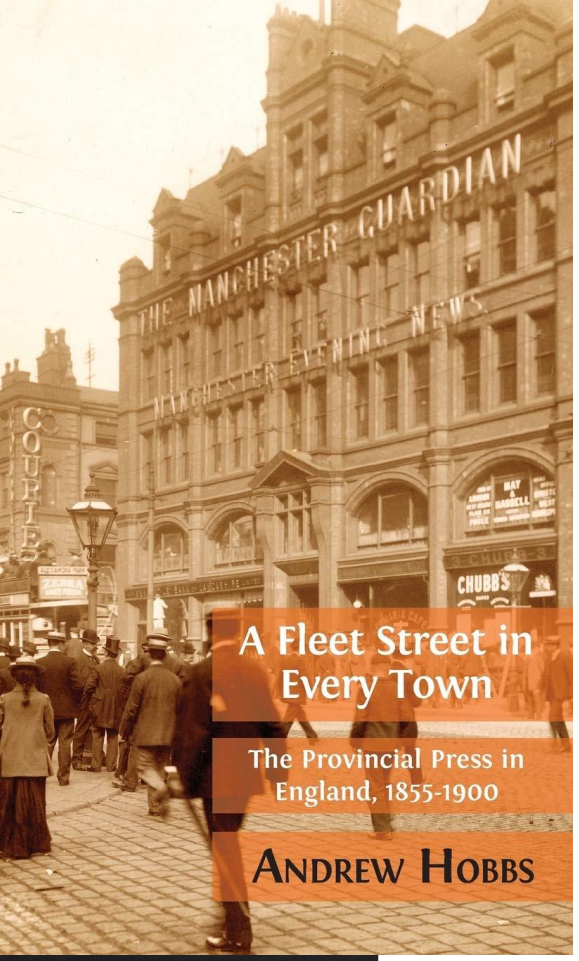




Fig. 1.6. Most local papers were aimed at middle-class readers in the first half of the century: 'The Addison Family at Breakfast', monochrome cabinet card reproduction of painting by Alexander Masses, Liverpool, 1822. By permission of Harris Museum, Preston, all rights reserved.

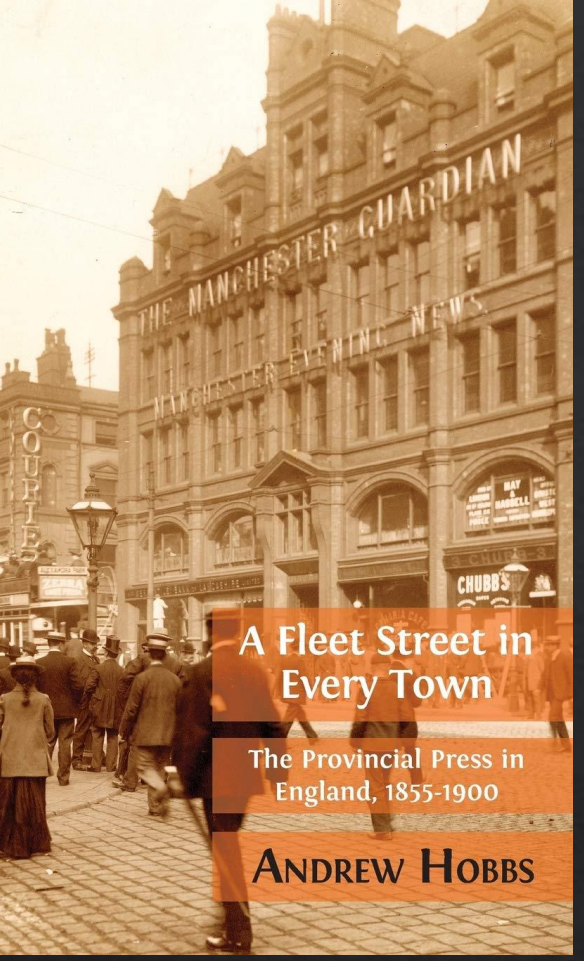
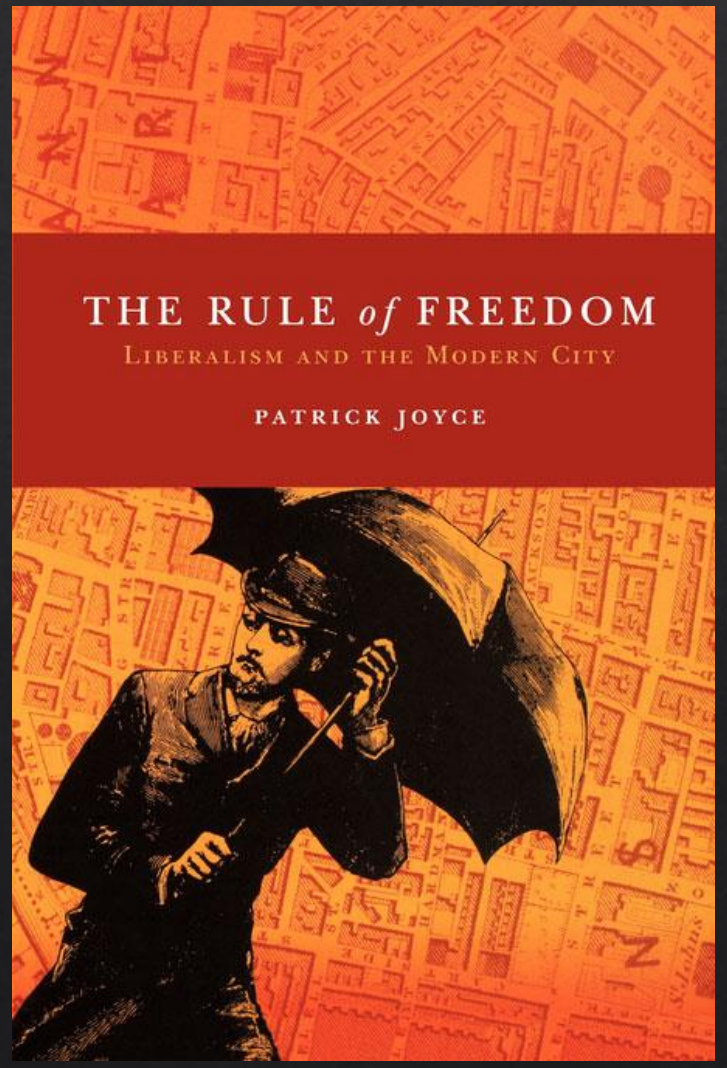


Table 0.1. Numbers of English newspapers by place of publication, 1846–96.[10]

Newspapers	1846	1856	1866	1875	1886	1896
London						
Mornings	8	8	11	13	13	18
Evenings	4	7	10	5	8	12
Weekly / bi-weekly	119	137	172	244	273	268
London local			33	52	140	201
London total	131	152	226	314	434	499
Provincial						
Mornings		7	23	55	53	42
Evenings			2	25	70	82
Weekly / bi-weekly	224	363	698	807	1139	1216
Provincial total	224	370	723	887	1262	1340
All newspapers	**355**	**522**	**949**	**1201**	**1696**	**1839**

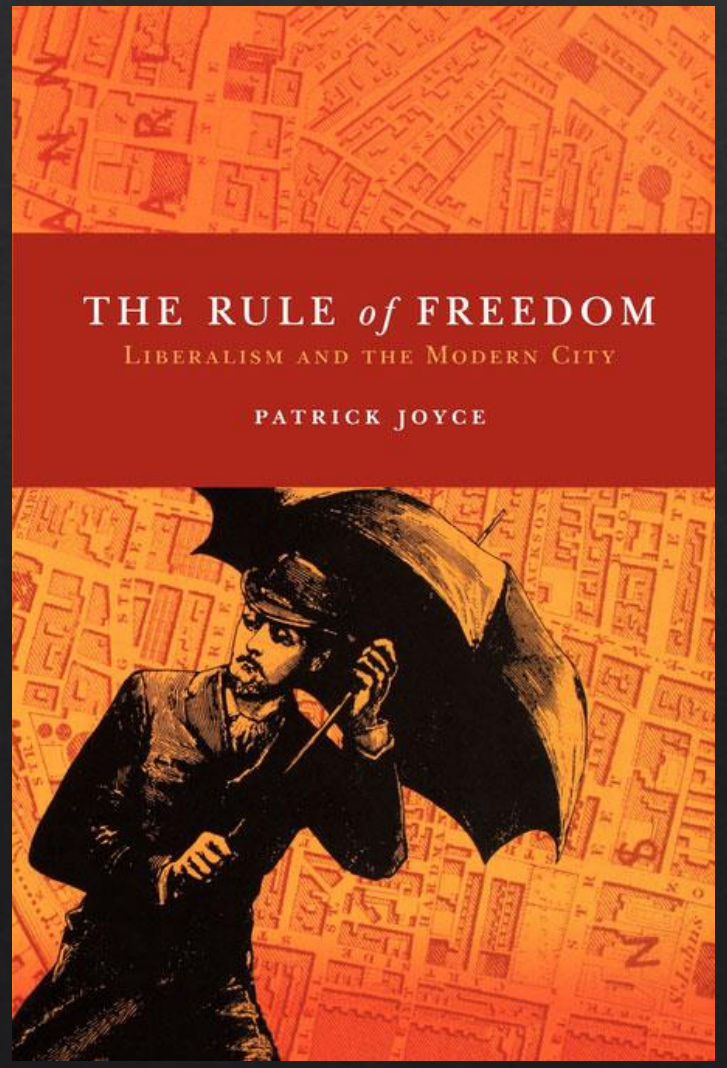
Newspapers and Urban Imaginaries

Newspapers part of process of making cities a ‘knowable community’ for their inhabitants



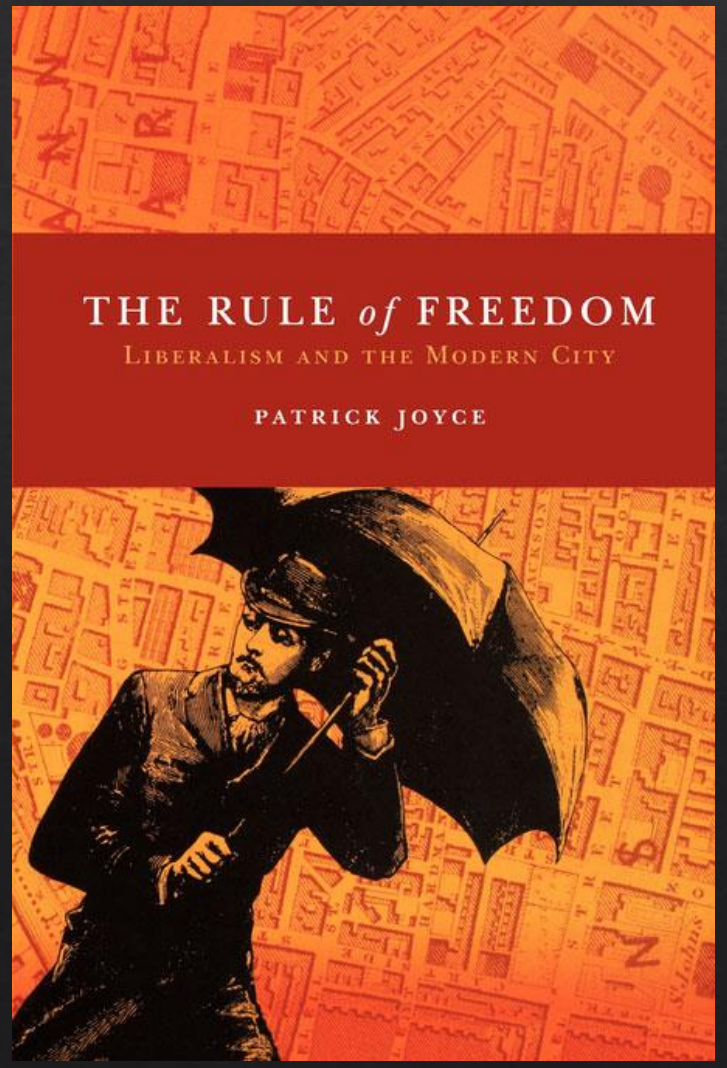
Newspapers and Urban Imaginaries

"The local press was extraordinarily important in reconstituting the town and the city as a community which both politics and governance could work upon … presenting the town as a universe of voluntary and religious associations in all the range of their many local activities. These it reported on as elements in the life of a single entity. This entity was, through its representation in the newspaper, constituted as one and transparent."



Newspapers and Urban Imaginaries

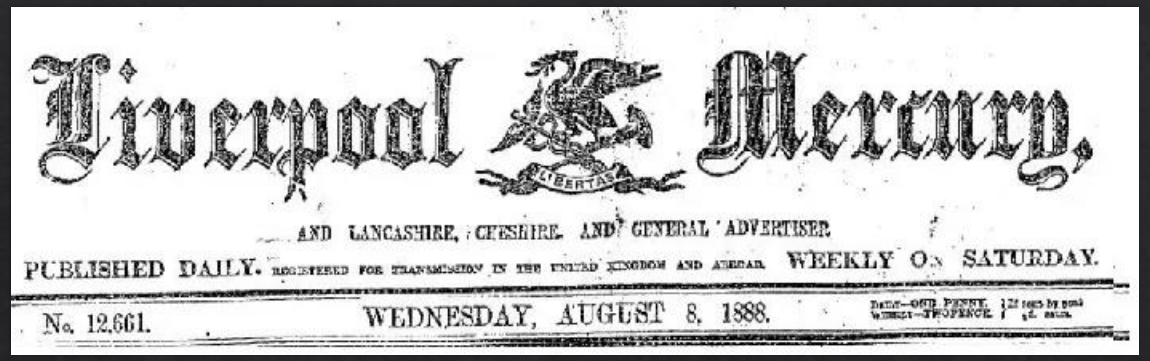
“ … transparency was *performed* by means of the content of the news: reports were exhaustive, detailed and relied heavily on supposedly verbatim accounts of what was said, especially accounts of 'eyewitnesses'.”



Museums and Newspapers

‘[Public] museums and art galleries [of the Victorian era were a ‘media event,’ new, vibrant and challenging … Museums became increasingly central to the debate about all things cultural and a public record of this role is to be found in the press … Museums were actively participating in this means of communication, supplying up-to-date information for publication. Regular museum going by the general public was a relatively new pastime and the facilities and their visitor numbers were of great interest. Statistics featured large in the press and with astounding speed.’

-Rosemary Flanders, ‘Early Museums and Nineteenth-Century Media,’ in *Museum, Media, Message*, ed. by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (London: Routledge, 1995): 72–81.



Liverpool Mercury,

AND LANCASHIRE, CHESHIRE, AND GENERAL ADVERTISER.

PUBLISHED DAILY. WEEKLY ON SATURDAY.

No. 12,661. WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1888.

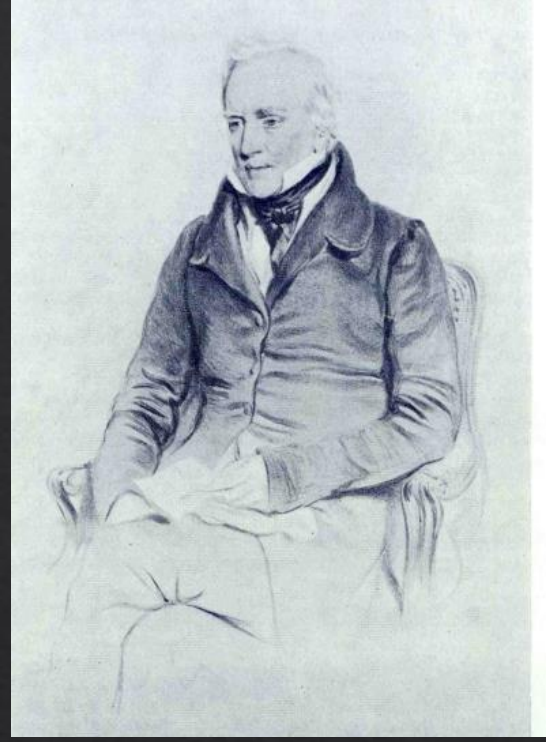
-'Opening of the Free Public Museum,' *Liverpool Mercury*, October 18 1860, p. 2

OPENING
OF THE
FREE LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.

The events of this day will connect the name of William Brown with the history of the town and port of Liverpool by as firm, as honourable, and as lasting a tie as that by which the name of George Heriot is connected with the city of Edinburgh; that of Humphrey Cheetham with the neighbouring city of Manchester; and that of Benjamin Franklin with the city of Philadelphia. From this time forth one of the noblest literary institutions, in the first commercial city of Europe, will be connected with that name. The act which thus connects it is a noble one, worthy to crown a public life marked throughout by intelligence and public spirit. We hope, and do not doubt, that the princely spirit shown by Mr. William Brown in erecting the Free Library of Liverpool will induce other merchants and men of fortune in this and other communities to devote the fruits of their industry and enterprise, in the same generous spirit, to objects equally calculated to furnish those whose energies are in danger of being depressed by poverty with the means of developing and improving the noblest

- Paper was "established [in 1811] so that the Liberal Party, then without an organ in this town, might have some means of communicating its principles and extending its views."
- Emphasis on poor: "on all those social questions that relate to the poor, this journal will take an advanced position. It will call attention to their physical wants; advocate an improvement of their habitations and Sanitary Regulations: for cleanliness is first step to self-respect, that great safeguard of crime."
- Emphasis on education: "we shall advocate a system of Education irrespective of religious differences"
- Emphasis on Free Trade Liberalism "We shall assert the impolicy of interfering with the natural course of commerce. We shall steadfastly uphold Free Trade, not only entertaining, with Sir Robert Peel … believing that unrestricted commerce, after Christianity is the best Apostle of Peace."

- Editorial, *Liverpool Mercury*, January 1 1850, p. 8

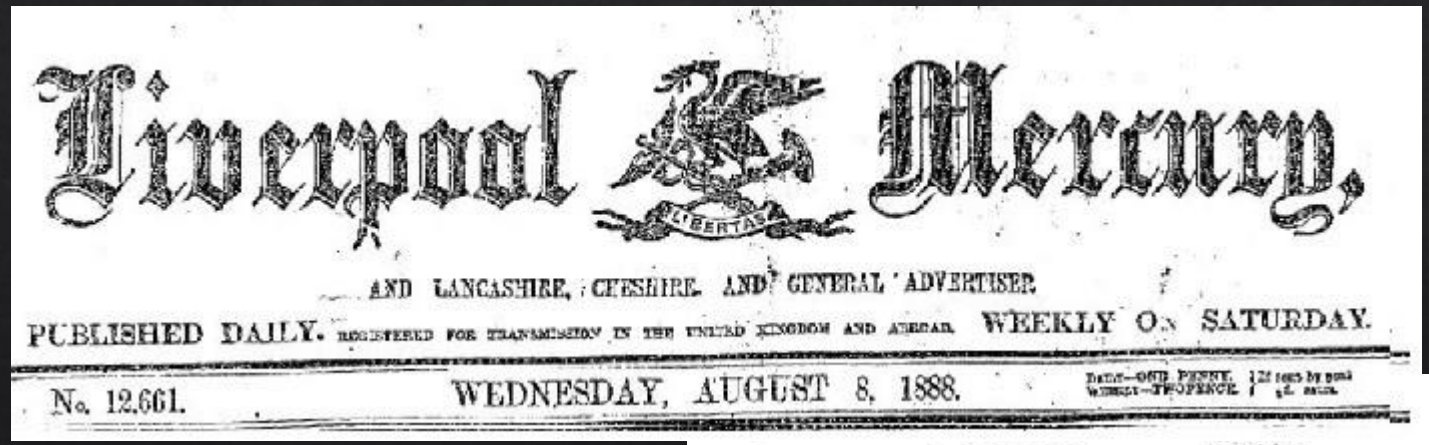


Egerton Smith (1774–1841), founder of the *Liverpool Mercury* – businessman: navigational instruments manufacture

"We have heard from *The Manchester Guardian* … let us hear from another organ of the middle class – I delight in the testimony of my opponents – let us hear from *The Liverpool Mercury* …"

- Friedrich Engels, *Condition of the Working Class*, p. 105





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No. 12,661. WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 8, 1888.



The Manchester Guardian.

Manchester: Printed and Published by J. GARNETT, No. 29, Market-street.

No. 1. SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1821. PRICE SEVEN-PENCE.

Exercise

Go to the either :

- British Library Newspapers via UWTSD
- Welsh Newspapers online via National Library of Wales

Select a local newspaper to research. Choose a date (either random or one that might be significant). Browse the pages and scan read the stories. Compile notes and see if you can compose a short response to these questions (max. 500 words):

- How are local and national ‘identities’ imagined in the edition of the newspaper you looked at?
- What events are recorded? Which institutions are mentioned? How are different social demographics reported on?
- In what ways does the paper render their location as a ‘knowable’ entity?