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Commercial newspaper and public shame pole: Exposure of individuals in the Copenhagen gazette *Adresseavisen* 1759–73

Jesper Jakobsen

The introduction of the commercial newspaper *Kiøbenhavnns alene privilegerede Adresse Contours Efterretninger* (*Adresseavisen*) in 1759 had a profound impact on how individuals interacted with the public.¹ It was initially intended as a medium for commercial interaction in Copenhagen, but the advertisements and announcements it contained delved ever deeper into the intimate sphere of common Copenhageners, and the paper soon included the deliberate public exposure of individuals, in return for a fixed, modest charge. The eighteenth century was a period of increased local and global commerce, and urban commercial newspapers with a mixed content of advertisements, short essays, sales advertisements, lost and found reports, and local news stories were introduced all over Europe. In Britain and France they were known as *Gazettes*, and in Germany as *Intelligenzblätter*. A variant of this genre, the *Adresseavisen* offered to publish advertisements and announcements to anyone willing to pay. It was not the first newspaper to present sales advertisements and private announcements before the Copenhagen public's eyes. Established newspapers published by the prominent publishing families of Høpfner and Berling also contained advertisement sections. However, the main content of these so-called *politiske tidender* (political newspapers) was foreign news that had mainly been translated from foreign newspapers and printed letters.² What was new about the *Adresseavisen* was that it introduced commercial sales advertisements and announcements to the Copenhagen public on an unprecedented scale.

The absolutist kingdom of Denmark-Norway was among the most authoritarian states of eighteenth-century Europe, and control of the flow of information was a cornerstone in its maintenance of political and religious order. For most of the eighteenth century, texts printed in Denmark-Norway were subject to censorship prior to publication by Copenhagen University, the dioceses and other appointed authorities. However, on 14 September 1770, Denmark-Norway introduced a legally guaranteed and wholly unrestricted freedom of print, which resulted in fierce and untamed public debate, until regulation was gradually reintroduced with the Press Laws of 7 October

1771 and 20 October 1773.³ Scholars of eighteenth-century print culture have widely conceived of the public and the private spheres as functionally divided, drawing heavily on Jürgen Habermas's concepts of the emergence of private (bourgeois) spheres within a representative public sphere.⁴ The Norwegian historian Jakob Maliks has stressed that censorship before publication was the state's primary tool for regulating public communication in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway: 'Within the absolutist body of politics, censorship had the system-specific function of preventing what was private or closed from seeping into the open representative public sphere.'⁵ Within this field of research, scholars have viewed books, learned journals and other periodicals as pivotal in shaping an enlightened public, while *Gazettes*, *Intelligenzblätter* and commercial newspapers, in general, have been neglected because of their often-strictly unpolitical content. Based on a study of late-eighteenth-century North German *Intelligenzblätter*, Ian F. McNeely has stressed that 'censors constrained intelligence gazettes to develop in a circumscribed, ostensibly depoliticised space by distinguishing them from political and deliberative – *räsonnierende* – newspapers in the classic Habermasian mold.'⁶ However, in recent years the field of research has expanded to include a broader range of texts and genres.⁷

The *Adresseavisen* was inextricably linked to the urban commercial space of Copenhagen and *Kiøbenhavn's Adresse-Contoir* (Copenhagen Intelligence Office), which, from 1759, was run by two Copenhagen-based merchants, Hans Holck (1726–83) and Johan Andersen. In the following years, Holck emerged as the driving force behind *Kiøbenhavn's Adresse-Contoir*, *Adresseavisen* and a wide range of associated initiatives.⁸ Intelligence Offices were a common feature in commercial hubs all across eighteenth-century Europe. They first appeared in France during the seventeenth century, and quickly spread throughout the rest of Europe. Their primary function was to support trade finance activities in urban commercial centres by facilitating the public's awareness of vacancies, luxury goods, and information about ship arrivals and departures. In this sense, they were a product of the ever-increasing commercial activities and globalizing trade of eighteenth-century Europe.⁹ It was, therefore, no coincidence that the successful introduction of *Kiøbenhavn's Adresse-Contoir* coincided with Copenhagen's rise to become a significant northern European centre of international commerce during the 'flourishing period' of the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁰

Established political newspapers constantly risked exposing sensitive information, but it was a threat well known to the government and one that it regularly dealt with through established regulatory procedures.¹¹ In a classic legal article, Samuel D. Warren and Louis Brandeis defined privacy as the right to be left alone, and this right included the individual's protection from exposure in public newspapers.¹² In the political newspapers, the question of exposure was chiefly a matter of private information that had slipped out into the public sphere. In this case, the private entails sensitive information in general, especially concerning the courts and royal heads-of-state.¹³ However, during the 1750s, the political newspapers were well established, and a well-proven set of procedures dealt effectively with these kinds of slips; in contrast, the *Adresseavisen* posed a hitherto unseen threat whereby everyday people risked public exposure in print.

As a commercial enterprise funded primarily through advertisements, the *Adresseavisen* served as a catalyst for the expanding literary market and the growth of a larger printed public in the mid-eighteenth century. In this article, I aim to show how the introduction of the *Adresseavisen* gave common Copenhageners the opportunity to pay for access to this printed public, and thereby also introduced a conduit through which they could publicly expose and shame others. The period covered in this article starts with the introduction of the newspaper in 1759, and terminates with the passing of the Press Law of 20 October 1773. Like all other printed media in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway, the paper was subject to constant surveillance and regulation by the authorities. The publishers thus continually negotiated with the authorities over what could be published and how to present information to the public. The *Adresseavisen* had to work primarily with local authorities, such as the Copenhagen chief-of-police and the *Københavns Magistrat*, an assembly of prominent citizens responsible for the administration of the city of Copenhagen, but also, on occasion, the paper had to negotiate with the royal administration, represented by the *Danske Kancelli* (Danish Chancellery).¹⁴

Private announcements in a public commercial newspaper

Holck and Andersen's initial intentions with *Adresseavisen* were to collate information gathered from both individuals and public sources. This included information about people travelling to and from Copenhagen; recorded deaths, births and marriages; exchange rates; ships arriving; goods for sale; lost and found property; vacancies and travel opportunities.¹⁵ Hans Holck himself summarized the benefit of collating this type of commercial information:

Skippers may be sought out by merchants who would like to ship goods or by passengers who would travel with them, and the Intelligence Office would guide them to know where the skipper is located. A gentleman can always find a comfortable person for his service, and a servant could find a gentleman who easily could obtain knowledge of previous service, salary and whatever else is required on both sides.¹⁶

In 1759, the cost for placing advertisements and announcements was calculated by the number of lines, with prices ranging from 6 *skilling* for one to two lines, to 4 *mark* for fifty-one to sixty lines.¹⁷ This means that for a relatively low cost, individuals could buy access to the rapidly expanding printed public of the mid-eighteenth century, and, of course, an essential part of Holck's strategy was to reach out to as many people as possible.¹⁸

Besides the advertisements and announcements, the *Adresseavisen* included additional content meant to catch the public's attention. The front page often featured essays, treatises and other short texts, which generally satisfied popular demand within the market for printed texts. These items ranged from accounts of the organization of police in China on the one hand, to a printed letter from Provost Lüders to Pastor

Oest about the improvement of agricultural techniques on the other.¹⁹ They were often translated from periodicals, such as the *Schleswig-Holsteinische Anzeigen*, *Göttingschen gelehrte Anzeigen* or other German journals, which reflects the strong influence of German culture as well as Copenhagen's close connections to the northern German book markets. The short texts featured on the front page were subject to censorship by the university.

Another recurring section that aimed to attract the attention of the Copenhagen public was the news section, *Adskilligt Nyt* (Various News). The *Adresseavisen* was strictly excluded from printing anything about foreign courts, alliances or similar political news, since such content was the privilege of the Høpfner and the Berling families.²⁰ Instead, the news section presented a mixed bag, ranging from descriptions of the queen and the prince rowing on a lake, to tragic and shocking stories of accidents and murders. It could be tragic reports from Copenhagen, such as that of a three-year-old child who died after falling into a boiling pot of soup, or short foreign notifications, such as that describing a German student who killed his mother and sister with an axe. A shocking description was published in April 1772, recounting how some pigs were seen at the graveyard near Copenhagen Cathedral devouring the corpse of a dead girl that lay hidden beneath the snow.²¹ Descriptions such as these mirror the intense public interest in murder ballads and similar depictions of death and execution that formed a substantial part of early modern popular print culture all over Europe.²² On 3 April 1761, the front page even featured a one-page description of the alleged cruelties of Native Americans towards their prisoners of war:

Then they knock his toes and fingers between two stones, cut the straps of the skin around the joints, remove the entire strip of meat, and burn it in turn. So they tear the broken and half-fried flesh into pieces and eat it up with greed, and just as they are out of rage by themselves, they smear their whole face with the blood that flows from it.²³

Of course, this description says more about eighteenth-century Europeans' perception of Native Americans than it does about actual events. But besides being a reminder that death was ever-present in the early modern city, such stories also reflect the broad public interest in these matters, an interest that a commercial enterprise like the *Adresseavisen* could capitalize on. In this respect, a symbiotic commercial correlation existed between the essays, treatises, news and announcements.

The popular texts featured on the front page and in the news section made the paper more attractive for people who wanted to pay for advertisements and announcements. This business plan seems to have been successful because, over the following years, the number of weekly editions increased significantly. The paid-for advertisements and announcements were commercially vital to the business plan and success of the *Adresseavisen*. They appeared in a variety of regular sections, such as those sharing the information of people who were renting out rooms, people who sold goods, public debt claims and calls for runaway servants. Page after page was packed with people selling all sorts of goods, from Chinese soy and Spanish olives, to coaches and surgical instruments, all of which could be bought and retrieved

from both shops and private houses. Severin Ferslev announced that he had a small porcelain shop where he sold coffee, 'very good Dutch cheese', Dutch frying pans, sausages from Brunswick and much more.²⁴ The sales advertisements are great examples of the paper's close connections to urban space, as they served as printed representations of the commercial culture and the spatial characteristics of the city's squares, streets and alleys. The textual representation of the cityscape enabled people to navigate their way to traders' shops or private houses.²⁵ One citizen announced that he sold tea, Norwegian anchovies and newly arrived English spirits at 'Vorregade, the eighth house on the left hand from Helsingørsgade, next to the butcher'.²⁶ The sales advertisement enabled common Copenhageners to interact with each other through a printed medium, and thereby gave them a voice in the printed public.

As a medium intended for the exchange of goods and information between individuals, anonymity made no sense in *Adresseavisen*. This differed from the public debates, both before and after the introduction of the Freedom of Print Act on 14 September 1770, where books and pamphlets often were published anonymously or under cover of a pseudonym.²⁷ The absence of anonymity, within a commercial context, had a profound influence on the connection between individuals and the printed public, and the contents that served as intermediaries in this regard soon progressed beyond the trivial practicalities of the goods-for-sale advertisements.

Public exposure of scandalous rumours

On 10 April 1761, the *Adresseavisen* published a short notification about a woman who gave birth to two children at the Vartov Hospital (a Copenhagen home for the poor): 'At the Vartov Hospital, one of the paupers has given birth to two children, namely one girl and one boy'.²⁸ As stressed above, the essays and treatises were already subject to the censorship of the university, but following this specific notification, the practice of pre-emptive censorship was extended to all of the paper's contents. Notifications about children born in Copenhagen had frequently appeared in the news section, but birth notifications were presented in completely different ways depending on the status and social class of the parents.

The birth of a child within wealthy and noble families was presented as a joyful event, which offers glimpses of the domestic life of influential Copenhagen families. Often they were just presented as short notifications akin to 'Countess Raben has had a son'.²⁹ But other times, such notifications were written in a more elaborate manner, as in the following example: 'On the night between the fourth and fifth this month, Chamberlain Count Holstein's wife delivered a perfect young son, to the great joy of the noble family. Yesterday, the wife of legal Councillor Fabricii likewise delivered a young son'.³⁰ Such statements came out of a long tradition among the royalty, nobility and, increasingly, the bourgeoisie of the public display of their status through their family and domestic life, and it is easily recognized as a popularized reflection of the Habermassian concept of the representational sphere. These notifications of birth are related to other contemporary genres, such as printed memoirs and funeral sermons, which also publicized information that we today consider to be intimate and private.³¹

Of course, the *Adresseavisen* was not as prestigious a marker of status as were expensive and lavish printed books, but the paper undoubtedly reached a much larger public. This suggests that the concept of the public, and how individuals interacted with it, was changing during the 1760s.

Children born into the lower social classes were referred to in the paper in quite a different manner because they were not considered to be of interest in their own right to the Copenhagen public. They only found their way into the *Adresseavisen* when they were the victims of criminal activity, or when they were somehow associated with tragic, sensational or scandalous events. Tragic notifications about dead newborns found around the city recurred throughout the paper's issues, and such stories appeared alongside other sensational news items, such as accounts of artisans falling to their deaths from scaffolding. One specific example from 1760 referred to the finding of a body of a child who had possibly been born out of wedlock, a condition associated with severe social shame: 'This Morning in Lille Kongensgade a newly born baby girl was found completely naked and dead, with the head turned to one side, and whoever put her there has not yet been found.'³² The births and deaths of poor children were thus negatively charged, and the reporting of such births makes them out to be examples of irresponsibility or of accidents, with clear undertones of horror and scandal. Presumably these stories also sought to arouse readers' curiosity. In 1773, for instance, a sensational bulletin reported that 'a poor woman in this city gave birth to a dead baby girl with two heads, the other limbs were as usual.'³³ The socially stratified notifications about childbirths point towards a duality in how individuals interacted with the Copenhagen public through the commercial context of the *Adresseavisen*: either as a display of status or as a sensational and tragic news item.

The notification published in the *Adresseavisen* on 10 April 1761 about the pauper who gave birth to two children was scandalous, because it insinuated that the children were born out of wedlock. The Vartov Hospital was an institution under the aegis of *Københavns Fattigvæsen* (the Copenhagen Poor Service), which was reserved for worthy citizens from respectable families, and is best described as a combination of nursing home and hospital, primarily for older people. According to a charter of 1607, the Vartov Hospital could only admit 'such persons, who, in truth, by their prosperous times, have made an honest living', and, in particular, those who have contributed to society by paying taxes in Copenhagen.³⁴ The *Adresseavisen* therefore had not only implied that indecent and scandalous behaviour had taken place at the Vartov Hospital, but also exposed the alleged scandal to the Copenhagen public. The *Københavns Fattigvæsen* reacted promptly by sending a formal complaint directly to Johan Ludvig Holstein (1694–1763), the General Secretary of the *Danske Kancelli*, and a closer examination soon concluded that the woman was in fact a housemaid working at Vartov Hospital, who was lawfully married to a butcher. She had earlier asked the chief of the hospital that she be allowed to deliver her children at the Vartov Hospital; she was allowed this because of the poor condition of her rented apartment.³⁵ The *Adresseavisen* had publicly exposed the Vartov Hospital by implying indecent and scandalous activities on an entirely false and undocumented basis.

This was not the first time that the *Adresseavisen* had courted troubles with the authorities, but this time it had severe consequences. According to a former associate of the Copenhagen Intelligence Office, Niels Prahll (1724–92), the publishers were repeatedly called ‘either to the *Københavns Magistrat* or the chamber of police, following some announcement in the paper, and almost every article that he along the way added to the paper found new opposition.’³⁶ However, the incidents that Prahll describes were considered to be trivial matters, while the notification about the Vartov Hospital not only involved the royal administration, but also led to the *Adresseavisen* becoming subject to censorship.³⁷ The notification was recalled on 20 April in the hope that ‘the mistake would not offend the simple-minded.’³⁸

Nevertheless, the damage had already been done, and the stated reason for subjecting the paper to censorship before publication was that it should no longer be filled with tainted and improper notifications, which were deemed to be offensive to Christians and served no other purpose than to incite public outrage.³⁹ This was the same rationale that lay behind all of the comprehensive censorship provisions within Denmark-Norway, but the censorship procedures that were henceforth to be applied to the *Adresseavisen* differed substantially from those applied to the publication of books and political newspapers, which tended to be censored by the university and royal administration, respectively. Instead, the responsibility for censoring the *Adresseavisen* was given to the *Københavns Magistrat*, which was an assembly of burgomasters and councillors, comprising merchants, master artisans and other prominent citizens appointed by the king. The newly established censorship in advance of publication was thus placed in the hands of people who themselves were integrated into the commercial space and culture of Copenhagen. This decision reflects a general trend in the years leading up to 1770, whereby the censorship and regulation of printed texts gradually moved away from the jurisdiction of the university and clergy. Instead, trade and economic interests became increasingly important, and the shift away from university and the clergy reflects the growing prominence of economic activity. This trend mirrors ideas found in the German tradition of *Kameralwissenschaft*.⁴⁰

From the spring of 1761, the *Københavns Magistrat* kept a surveillant eye on what was published in the *Adresseavisen*. This proved to be quite the workload for the *Københavns Magistrat* which, in addition to its censoring obligations, still had to perform all its other duties. Six years later, therefore, the magistrate appealed to the king, asking for an exemption from this responsibility. In the supplication to the king, dated 30 September 1767, the *Københavns Magistrat* argued that it had grown to be an impossible task ‘to censor all that without the neglect of more important things.’⁴¹ Instead, they pledged that Andersen and Holck should be permitted to publish whatever they found relevant to publish in the *Adresseavisen*, so that Andersen and Holck would be liable for whatever they published. The magistrate was referring to the fact that the owners ‘Andersen and Holck claim that they cannot withstand the delays caused by censoring the newspapers.’⁴² The *Københavns Magistrat*’s request expresses a profound understanding of the business realities of publishing a commercial newspaper, but the *Danske Kancelli* rejected the magistrate’s inquiry on 24 November, stating that the *Adresseavisen* had to be censored and reviewed before being printed

and published.⁴³ This decision is important because it underlines the fact that the *Københavns Magistrat* approved the advertisements and notifications from 1761 until the general abolition of pre-publication censorship on 14 September 1770.

Exposing personal information

In the years between 1759 and 1773, the *Adresseavisen* published numerous announcements that increasingly exposed individuals, and which today would be viewed as defamatory violations of individual privacy. The regular section *Undvigte* (Runaways) requested information about people who had run away from jobs, apprenticeships and other obligations; the people behind these announcements were both authorities and individuals, such as estate owners, burghers, master artisans and officers, each of whom exercised authority over the person who had run away.⁴⁴ Besides having their names and physical features described and exposed in the *Adresseavisen*, these people were also publicly accused of running away from their respectable jobs and positions, an accusation that would potentially have had devastating consequences for their lives and honour. In Denmark-Norway, as well as other places in eighteenth-century Europe, individual honour was crucial to the cultural and social status of individuals, so this kind of public exposure potentially had severe consequences for those exposed.⁴⁵

A few examples will illustrate what was made public in the announcements. In 1767, a councillor named Peter Johansen Neergaard (1702–72) published the name and physical features of Jens Mogensen, a peasant enlisted in the local military reserve, who had run away from *Svenstrup Gods* (Svenstrup Estate) near the Zealand town of Ringsted. He was described as well grown with strong limbs and a reddish face, with long, yellowish hair. When Jens ran away, he had been dressed in an old white woollen sweater, a woollen undershirt, canvas trousers, a blue hat and white woollen socks with shoes. He was rumoured to dwell close to Copenhagen, on the island of Amager, and Councillor Neergaard promised a substantial reward of 10 *rigsdaler* (rix dollars, hereafter rdl.) for anyone who provided information that could lead to Jens's seizure.⁴⁶ However, Jens Mogensen was just one of hundreds – or perhaps thousands – of individuals who had their names and physical features publicly described and printed in the *Adresseavisen* in its regular section *Undvigte*. A similar announcement was published in 1761, when Christian Fischer, a young apprentice shoemaker, was described as a boy of moderate height with a large head and broad face, wearing a white-grey shirt and a pair of short leather trousers and short socks. The announcement read: 'If anyone should see this boy, then he is asked tenaciously to take him to or let him be taken to Dybensgade up in the corner of the shoemaker Mr Jens Fischer, who offers to pay everyone at his apprehension for the expense.'⁴⁷

The *Undvigte* section also contained numerous appeals for information about soldiers who had deserted. Albrecht Kurz, a musketeer presumed to have deserted from the King's Regiment, was twenty-seven years old and born in Bamberg. He was described as small of stature with blue eyes, a pale face and short curly hair. He had broad shoulders, strong legs and was dressed in a vest, an old green shirt, short leather pants, boots and a hat. It was assumed that he was staying with a Copenhagen

shoemaker, since he was a shoemaker himself by profession, and the announcement strictly emphasized that it was punishable to employ him.⁴⁸ Today, similar public announcements about people not showing up to their jobs would be unthinkable, but in the mid-eighteenth century, the authorities had no problems with this public naming and shaming of individuals. As demonstrated in the previous section, all content was approved by the *Københavns Magistrat*, and thereby sanctioned by the authorities.

Through the years, people paid for countless similar announcements in the *Adresseavisen*, where individuals' names and physical features were published. The same social stratification that we saw concerning the announcement of childbirths in Copenhagen was also reflected in the announcements in the *Undvigte* section. Again, this mirrors the extreme social hierarchization of eighteenth-century absolutist Denmark-Norway.⁴⁹ Until 1788, male peasants up to the age of forty were obligated to stay at the estate where they were born, in order to ensure the recruitment of young men from the peasantry to military service. These peasants were under the jurisdiction of estate owners, and thus Councillor Neergaard exercised authority over Jens Mogensen.⁵⁰ Of course, musketeers were subject to harsh military discipline and jurisdiction, but other people behind these announcements, such as master craftsmen, had no direct relationship with the official authorities, so their authority was exercised through their position as the heads of a household.

The people who placed such advertisements generally presented peasants, servants and apprentices almost as objects, with little right to the protection of their privacy. The section *Undvigte* was usually found on the same pages as the section *Bortkomne og bortstiaalne Sager* (Lost and Stolen Property), where calls for information about everything from gold rings to stray dogs were published. It is worth noting how the description of the physical features of runaways from the lower social classes resembles the descriptions of stray dogs. One example comes from Chamberlain Krogh, who on 5 May 1760 described his lost dog as follows: 'A white hunting bitch of medium and thin waist, with short and brown cheeks, which extends over the ears, which are otherwise somewhat speckled, and she has a black spot on the back, all very evenly drawn, and tends to be fearful of strangers.'⁵¹ People of the lower classes were at the greatest risk of public exposure by a mixture of official and unofficial people behind these announcements, which demonstrates the significant reach of the *Adresseavisen* and the influence it had on the Copenhagen public. This is also confirmed by the fact that the royal administration only intervened if the notifications were somehow perceived of as critical of the authorities. The above-mentioned notification published by Councillor Neergaard caused the *General Krigsdirektionen* (War Directorate) to complain to the *Danske Kancelli* because Neergaard had speculated that Mogensen had run away because he was frightened to be included amongst those peasants who 'were to depart for the armed regiments following a most gracious royal decree'.⁵² Neergaard's speculation over why Mogensen had absconded spurred the *General Krigsdirektionen* to action, since they considered the speculation to be a public critique of the royal decree. Thus, the *Danske Kancelli* reprimanded the *Københavns Magistrat*, stating that they needed to exercise more caution and ensure that these kinds of 'inappropriate and irrelevant remarks to the public'⁵³ were henceforth no longer published in the *Adresseavisen*.⁵⁴

Private debt and public shaming

Indeed, the *Adresseavisen* pushed the boundaries concerning what could be communicated in public, and the exposure of individuals became even more pronounced towards the end of the 1760s when announcements of private debt began to appear regularly in the section *Gjelds fordringer* (Debt Claims). While the authors behind notices in the *Undvigte* section often had a semi-official character, debt claims were entirely a matter between individuals, and here the paper served as an easy and inexpensive means to access the printed public.

The most serious threat to the public exposure of an individual's privacy came in the public debt claims published in the *Adresseavisen*. On 4 October 1771, a creditor announced that he required his debtor to repay 19 rdl., which the debtor had owed since the summer of 1770. The announcement contained an unmistakable threat of public exposure, since the creditor stated that 'the person in question knows himself whom I mean, and so I spare him from publicly announcing his name.'⁵⁵ To be exposed in public as untrustworthy – or perhaps unable or unwilling to repay debts – was most probably devastating to an individual's honour and subsequently their business credibility. Again, it was generally people of lower social classes and other marginalized social groups, such as Jewish people, who were at the most significant risk of public exposure in this way.⁵⁶

Public debt claims began to appear in the late 1760s; from the early 1770s, these claims increasingly identified debtors by name, which made them function almost like a printed shame pole. Initially, debt claims generally provided just enough personal details and contextual information for debtors to recognize themselves, without fully exposing their identities to the public. One example is a debt claim announced by J. C. Juncker in the winter of 1770: 'Because a person by the Name of J ** H ** has pledged some clothes at the last Easter's rent, therefore he is warned for the third time.'⁵⁷ Indeed, the threat of having one's name and character exposed in print could in itself be a powerful form of pressure. A good demonstration of this comes from 1769, when Friderich Jürgensen, a resident of Store Kongensgade, announced that 'Christian Seyersen Sommer from Jutland is now for the third time summoned to redeem his debt of 35 rdl. that he issued to me four years ago.'⁵⁸ This was followed with a threat of exposing his supposedly dubious character and untrustworthiness, 'as the public otherwise shall come to know his true character.'⁵⁹ Many claims were published because of unpaid rent for vacated rooms, and the creditors publicly warned that the rent needed to be repaid within a specific time limit, otherwise leftover or mortgaged items would be sold at auction.

During the winter of 1771 to 1772, people increasingly used the *Adresseavisen* as an instrument to expose and shame others publicly and deliberately, and it became normal for creditors to announce both the full names and the professions of their debtors. On 1 February 1772, an announcement was published by a wheelwright named Jens Holgreen, which stated:

Because sculptor Jens Møller has lived with me and did not appear last Michaelmas Day [29 September] with his rent ... This is thus the third time that Mr Jens Møller or another legally entitled person is warned to, within 6 weeks from today's date,

pay me my rent and other expenses; in the event of an absence, the effects will be sold at the expense of the debtor or the person concerned.⁶⁰

Debt claims that publicly exposed and shamed debtors were subject to the exact same publication costs as all other content in the *Adresseavisen*. Sometimes this inspired creative solutions by people. On 1 April 1772, for instance, Jens Sørensen Lystrup published an announcement to all his debtors, reminding them to redeem their pledges within fourteen days, otherwise, he would sell the goods at auction.⁶¹ He also informed them that they could pay him at his address at Teilgaardstrædet, and then added that 'at the same place, grey peas are for sale at a low price.'⁶² Lystrup's announcement took up seven lines in *Adresseavisen*, which, according to the applicable price rates, cost him 16 *skilling*, which was equivalent to 1 *mark*. By merging the two announcements, he only had to pay for a single announcement instead of two separate ones. In the spring of 1772, a man named Antonii Børs had fled from a year's rent that amounted to 48 rdl., and this was in addition to other unpaid taxes and costs. Forty-eight rdl. was a significant amount, so in this case, it makes good sense that the creditor paid for a public announcement. However, people were also publicly exposed for much smaller amounts. When the brandy maker Lars Hansen publicly announced that Johan Gotfried Bas owed him money, the announcement took up eight lines, so he was charged one *mark* to demand repayment for money equal to 6 rdl. It seems that for these creditors, debt claims not only concerned the recovery of money, but also presented them with an accessible and affordable way to expose and shame their debtors.

Modest publication fees offered an affordable way to gain access to the world of print, and thereby to Copenhagen's printed public, which in the second half of the eighteenth century saw a rapid expansion in terms of texts, genres and readers.⁶³ In Copenhagen, this process was also stimulated by the introduction of an unrestricted freedom of print. Following the Freedom of Print Act of 14 September 1770, all censorship prior to publication was abolished, including censorship of the *Adresseavisen* and of the political newspapers. A direct consequence of freedom of print was the remarkable rise of an intense public debate on all kinds of matters, characterized by a previously unseen straightforward, critical and often defamatory quality.⁶⁴ In 1772, an author of numerous pamphlets and cheap prints became insultingly exposed by his landlord, a master shoemaker named J. D. Jansen, because of unpaid rent:

Due to the fact that a person named Rosenlund, or the so-called Junior Philopatreias, secretly has removed most of his contents of my house, which he has ascribed to me as security for a year's rent equivalent to 34 rdl. 1 *mark* and 8 *skilling*, and now before the day of the move on 8 May, has sneaked away from the rooms in a deceitful manner, and not even talked to me about it, and has not even handed over to me the little wretched leftover *skramlerie* [small things of little value], which is not insignificant concerning the sums as mentioned earlier, nor has he indicated where he resides, as well as the snatched goods, which I have picked up where they are found and have become known to me, that no host thereby henceforth shall be deceived by him.⁶⁵

As we have seen, debt calls and public exposure because of unpaid rent were not unusual, but this one stands out for being explicitly long, defamatory and confrontational. Søren Rosenlund, who published under the pseudonym Junior Philopatreas, made a name for himself by his harsh critiques of public life, driven by a constant xenophobic tendency to ascribe to foreigners – especially Jewish people – all the calamities falling upon Copenhagen and the rest of the kingdom.⁶⁶

The hardening of direct public exposure and shaming of individuals because of private debt that came to be regularly published in the *Adresseavisen* from the late 1760s was clearly spurred on by the Freedom of Print Act. However, as we have seen, the public exposure and shaming of both runaways and debtors started before the introduction of freedom of print. Regulatory measures were gradually reintroduced from 1771, and the law of 20 October 1773 strictly forbade printing slanderous attacks on individuals, including all kinds of ‘fictional narratives containing something insulting, or obscene or similar’.⁶⁷ The responsibility to enforce the new regulatory act fell to the chiefs-of-police, who were authorized to impose unappealable fines ranging from 50 to 250 rdl. As we shall see, the new law was enacted a few days after a particular debt claim was published in the *Adresseavisen*.

Unnecessary public exposure

In a written statement of 22 November 1773, chief-of-police in Copenhagen Christian Fædder (1712–93) problematized the basic connection between paid access to the printed public, exposure and public shaming, which had become ever more apparent in the pages of the *Adresseavisen* from its establishment in 1759 up to and including late 1773. The statement was written following a debt claim published only two days after the introduction of the new press law. On 22 October 1773, one Mr H. R. Lange had published yet another debt claim in which the names of the creditors were fully exposed:

Paul Jørgensen, Forrester, is now warned to redeem the clothes produced by me within 14 days from the date when it will otherwise be sold for money ... [dated] Copenhagen, 21 October 1773. Former whipmaker Danholm, now living in Fredensborg, is hereby warned to redeem the goods mortgaged with me, within four weeks from today, or it will be sold at auction ... [dated] Friderichssund on 16 October 1773. H.R. Lange.⁶⁸

The debt claim caught the attention of Fædder who considered this specific public debt claim to be unnecessarily defamatory and in breach of the newly issued law of 20 October 1773. Thus, he took the initiative to warn the publishers not to publish similar notifications in the future, i.e. those in which the names of debtors would be exposed. As we have seen, it had become common practice to expose the names of debtors, so the leading board of the Intelligence Office asked the *Danske Kancelli* how they should respond to Fædder’s warning.⁶⁹ The arguments in favour of and against exposing the names of debtors represent the culmination of developments that had

taken place since the *Adresseavisen's* establishment in 1759, and therefore provide us with an excellent closing case-study.

The board of the Intelligence Office wrote a letter to the *Danske Kancelli*, on 2 November 1773, claiming to be astonished in the wake of the warning they had received. In their opinion, the new law was not in any way compromised, because the *Adresseavisen* never published anything 'against the common good or the private benefits of decent citizens'.⁷⁰ Thus, they intended to continue to publish anything which, in their eyes, could in some way contribute to the improvement of people or to the improved production of goods. This included the right 'to announce whatever some private man legally desired to announce',⁷¹ such as and including the debt claim published by Mr Lange. However, the warning by the chief-of-police had made them worry lest this kind of public announcement be considered illegal and thus punishable by fine. So they asked the *Danske Kancelli* whether they correctly understood that the new law merely forbade the printing and publishing of things contrary to religion, good morals and governance, 'or what could separate a private man by his hitherto held honour?'⁷² As shown in the previous section, the practice of exposing the full names of debtors was a relatively new one, but even still, the publishers argued that they were merely following established business practice; they had never had evil intentions, because all they wanted was to publish whatever might 'interest or please the Public'.⁷³

Before making their decision, the *Danske Kancelli* asked Christian Fædder to explain why he told the *Adresseavisen* to cease publishing debtors' names. Fædder's response was that he considered it entirely unnecessary for Lange to expose the names of Jørgensen and Danholm publicly. On the contrary, he argued that this served the purpose of 'prostituting one's debtor by publicly announcing the name in the papers, rather than to serve to one's advantage'.⁷⁴ Thus, according to Fædder, public debt claims had become an easily accessible forum for unnecessary public humiliation, and this was the reason why he had warned the *Adresseavisen* not to expose the names of debtors. He deemed it to be particularly problematic in the case of Jørgensen and Danholm, because the first of these men was a royal official and the second was a creditor and debtor, and both of them resided outside of Copenhagen. As we have seen in the previous sections, neither the *Adresseavisen*, the *Danske Kancelli* nor the chief-of-police expressed any compunction when it came to the deliberate exposure of apprentices, peasants and musketeers in the *Undvigte* section. However, the exposure of the royal official Pael Jørgensen crossed a line. Finally, Fædder directly addressed the business model of the *Adresseavisen* by stating that 'such warnings may well even with less cost and greater discretion be published in newspapers, which are not acquired and read by everyone'.⁷⁵ He therefore concluded that, unless the *Danske Kancelli* provided him with new instructions, he would proceed to hand out fines every time a debt warning was published 'in which the debtors' names are mentioned'.⁷⁶

On this basis, the *Danske Kancelli* authorized Fædder to act the way he had following the Press Law of 20 October 1773. Christian Fædder's warning had an immediate effect on the form and frequency of debt announcements published in the *Adresseavisen*. After his warning, all subsequent announcements concerning debtors either did not

mention their names at all, or the debtors were anonymized insofar as only their profession and initials were published. The public announcement of debt henceforth proceeded in this anonymized form.

Concluding remarks

As a printed medium for communication between individuals – mainly artisans, tradespeople and merchants – the *Adresseavisen* became the perfect forum for bringing private matters into the public. The business plan was simple but highly successful. People paid a modest, fixed charge for placing sales advertisements and announcements in the paper, which were printed in combination with local news, essays and other intriguing content. As the number of weekly readers increased, so too did the incentive to place more advertisements. Consequently, the paper soon exercised a significant influence on how individuals interacted with the general public in Copenhagen. This coincided with a general decay of the traditionally strict censorship regulations in the wake of an increasing prioritization of economic and commercial activities. In this respect, the paper reflected the rising market for commercial and popular literature of the mid-eighteenth century, and it became a catalyst for further developments whereby the paper introduced the private into the public amidst the context of print culture and Copenhagen's urban space. The paper offered common Copenhageners access to the printed public, partly as private advertisers and partly as the subjects of news, sensational stories and public exposure.

The exposure of the privacy of the lower social classes, to various degrees, was from early-on established as a recurring feature of the paper, along with sales advertisements and sensational news. This points to a darker side of the interaction between individuals and the printed public, as the paper became a forerunner of the freedom of print debate in terms of public exposure and defamation. During the 1760s, the combination of private commercial interests, sensationalism and the rise of the printed public increasingly led to the exposure and public shaming of named and identifiable persons, as people realized that the comprehensive public outreach of the *Adresseavisen* made it a perfect medium for shaming others for private debt and unpaid goods or rent. Today, the debt enquiries and the searches for runaway peasants would most certainly be considered a violation of individual privacy; but in eighteenth-century Copenhagen, this was generally not perceived to be a problem by the authorities, so long as the public exposure only concerned people of the lower social classes. When the exposure of urban rumours related to the Vartov Hospital in 1761 or a royal official in 1773, then this was deemed problematic, and the publication of such reports had consequences for the *Adresseavisen*. Indeed, the authorities did offer some protection against public exposure, but it was a protection conditioned by honour and social status. This points to a socially stratified protection of privacy: the privacy of prominent people enjoyed greater protection by the authorities than did that of other, lower-status individuals. An individual's exposure in public could have devastating social and financial consequences, and it

is striking that at the same time as the Copenhagen courts increasingly dealt with cases of defamation,⁷⁷ people could pay a few *skilling* to expose individuals in the *Adresseavisen*.

Notes

- 1 Research funded by the Danish National Research Foundation (DNRF 138).
- 2 See Jørgen Mührmann-Lund's chapter in this volume.
- 3 There is a vast amount of research concerning censorship and the regulation of print culture in eighteenth-century Denmark-Norway that has been written in Danish and Norwegian. Some recent publications are Jakobsen 2011; Rian 2014; Maliks 2014; Jakobsen 2016. A classic study of the Danish freedom-of-print period from 1770 to 1773 is Holm 1885, and recently published in-depth analysis can be found in Horstbøll et al. 2020. A limited number of articles have been published in English; see, for example, Laursen 2002; Maliks 2015; Israel 2015. For a more detailed discussion of censorship in eighteenth-century Denmark, see Jakobsen 2017.
- 4 For critical discussions of Habermas's theory, see la Vopa 1992; Rospocher 2012, 9–28.
- 5 Maliks 2015, 135.
- 6 McNeely 2000, 136. See also McNeely 2003, 225.
- 7 Both Cowan 2001 and Rospocher 2012 have argued for a more pluralistic approach to eighteenth-century publics. Ian McNeely has shown how German *Intelligenzblätter* gradually developed into a *räsonnierende* genre between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. See McNeely 2003.
- 8 Recent accounts of the Copenhagen Intelligence Office are Nøding 2013; Horstbøll et al. 2020, 79–89. Some older depictions are also useful, see Davidsen and Gamberg 1884, 180–211; von Westen 1780, 7–80.
- 9 On Intelligence Offices and *Intelligenzblätter* in German-speaking Europe, see McNeely 2000; McNeely 2003; Blome 2002; Tantner 2016.
- 10 On the increased global trade and financial activities of eighteenth-century Europe, see Trentmann 2016, 78–118.
- 11 The political newspapers of Copenhagen were subject to immense regulation, both in terms of who was permitted to print newspapers and in terms of what kind of information that was allowed to be published. A classic study of the history of early modern Danish newspapers is Stolpe 1878–82.
- 12 Warren and Brandeis 1890.
- 13 Numerous examples are discussed in Stolpe 1878–82.
- 14 The unpublished sources are kept at The Danish National Archive (DNA), where they are filed under *Danske Kancelli* (DK). A digitized collection of *Adresseavisen* is now available at <http://www2.statsbiblioteket.dk/mediestream/>
- 15 von Westen 1780, 7–27; Søllinge and Thomsen 1989, 108, 110. This specific type of content was also archetypal for German *Intelligenzblätter*, see McNeely 2000, 136–8; Blome 2002, 196; McNeely 2003, 220–1, 224.
- 16 'Skippere kan blive opsøgte af Kiøbmænd, som ville have Forsendings-Gods bort, eller som Passagerer, der ville med dem, og disse faae omsonst paa Adresse-Contoirtet at viide, hvor Skipperen ligger; at en Herre kan altid finde en beqvem Person til sin

- Tieneste, og en Tiener en Herre, samt faae fornøden Kundskab om Fordeelagtighed, Attester, Løn og hvad der paa begge Sider maatte spørges efter', von Westen 1780, 26.
- 17 Ibid., 28.
 - 18 On the expansion of the eighteenth-century printed public, see Melton 2001, 81–122.
 - 19 *Adresseavisen*, 3 September 1759 and 4 February 1760.
 - 20 On the Copenhagen printing houses and their privileges, see Ilsøe 1992.
 - 21 *Adresseavisen*, 3 July 1761, 1 July 1763 and 1 April 1772.
 - 22 On printed accounts of crime and depictions of executions in early modern Germany, see Wiltenburg 2012, 65–87. On Danish murder ballads and cheap prints about death and executions, see Krogh 2000, 301–18.
 - 23 'Derpaa banker de hans Tæer og Fingre imellem to Stene, skierer Remmer af Huden rundt omkring Ledemødene, borttager hele Strimler Kiød med, og brænder det vexelviis. De river det saaledes sønderknusede og halvstege Kiød i Stykker af, og spiser det op med Graadighed, og ligesom at de ere uden for sig selv af Raserie, besmører de sig over hele Ansigtet med det Blod, som løber deraf', *Adresseavisen*, 3 April 1761.
 - 24 'Meget god hollandsk ost', *Adresseavisen*, 1 April 1760.
 - 25 Specific places in early modern urban spaces were often infused with symbolic meanings. A study of contemporary Scandinavia is found in Sennefelt 2008, 145–63. Ian McNeely has argued that Gazettes and Intelligenzblätter were outgrowths of the marketplaces in large urban trading centres. See McNeely 2000, 137–8.
 - 26 'I Vorregaden det 8de Huus paa venstre Haand fra Heilsingoersgaden næst ved Slagterens', *Adresseavisen*, 6 June 1760, 304.
 - 27 Horstbøll 2010.
 - 28 'I Wartows Hospital er en af Lemmerne kommet i Barselsseng og faaet 2 Børn, nemlig 1 Pige og 1 Dreng', *Adresseavisen*, 10 April 1761.
 - 29 'Grevinde Raben har faaet en søn', *Adresseavisen*, 3 January 1763.
 - 30 'Natten imellem den 4 og 5 hujus nedkom Hr. Kammerherre Græv Holsteins Frue med en velskabt Søn, til den høye Families store Glæde. Ligeledes blev i Gaar Hr. Justitsraad Fabricii Frue forløst med en ung Søn', *Adresseavisen*, 7 March 1760.
 - 31 On the private and public life of the eighteenth-century home and family, see Farge 1986, 571–607. On printed funeral sermons as representation of individual lives, see Moore 2006.
 - 32 'I Morges blev her i Staden i Lille Kongensgade fundet et nyfødt Pigebarn, gandske nøgen og dødt, samt Hovedet omdreyet til den eene Side, men den, som samme haver henlagt, er endnu ikke opdaget', *Adresseavisen*, 1 February 1760.
 - 33 'I Begyndelsen af denne Uge har en fattig Kone her i Staden født et dødt Pigebarn, som havde tvende hoveder, de øvrige Lemmer vare som sædvanlig', *Adresseavisen*, 2 July 1773.
 - 34 For a general introduction to *Københavns Fattigvæsen*, see Henningsen 2005, 18–56. The quotation from the 1607 charter is translated from p. 41: 'sådanne personer, som man i sandhed ved at have udi deres velmagt ført et ærligt levned'.
 - 35 DNA, DK, Sjællandske Tegnelser 1760–1 (D20-33), no. 335.
 - 36 'Enten for Magistraten eller paa Politiekammeret, i Anledning af en eller anden Indrykkelse i Bladene, og næsten enhver Artikel, som han efterhaanden forøgede Bladet med, fandt en ny Modstand', Prahll 1783, 10.
 - 37 Most of the materials of Copenhagen police were lost to fires in the eighteenth century. Sadly, this includes the protocols of the police court up to 1776.
 - 38 'At Feyltagelsen ikke skulde blive nogen Eenfoldig til Anstød', *Adresseavisen*, 20 April 1761.

- 39 DNA, DK, Sjællandske Tegnelse 1760–1 (D20–33), no. 335.
- 40 McNeely 2003, 220–7; Munck 2007; Jakobsen 2017.
- 41 ‘At kunde revidere det alt, uden vigtigere tings forsømmelse’, DNA, DK, Koncepter og indlæg til Oversekretærens Brevbøger 1767 (D101–80), no. 551, Letter from the *Københavns Magistrat* to the king, 30 September 1767.
- 42 ‘Andersen og Agent Holck, foregaver at det ikke kand taale ophold med at lade disse tidender forud revidere’, *ibid.*
- 43 *Ibid.* Apparently no records are preserved that shed light on the censorship practice of the Copenhagen Magistrate, but a few incidents concerning censorship reached the *Danske Kancelli*. Without going into too much detail about these episodes, it is clear that the authorities kept a close eye on what was published in the *Adresseavisen*. Jakobsen 2017, 135–143.
- 44 A general feature of German *Intelligenzblätter* was, that the lines between private and public were rarely clear-cut, as they were often sponsored by the states and used as media for ‘policylicher kommunikation’ (police communication). See Schilling 2000; McNeely, 2003, 221. However, as articulated by Astrid Blome, this did not apply to the same extent to the commercial newspapers produced in the state of Hamburg and the German-speaking Danish-Norwegian city of Altona. See Blome 2002, 206.
- 45 On social hierarchy and honour in eighteenth-century Denmark, see Henningsen 2001.
- 46 *Adresseavisen*, 11 November 1767.
- 47 ‘Dersom nogen skulde antreffe denne Dreng, da ombedes tjenstlig at levere eller lade ham levere i Dybensgade oppe i krogen til Skoemageren Sr. Jens Fischer, som tilbyder sig at betale alle paa hans Paagribelse paagaende Bekostninger’, *Adresseavisen*, 3 July 1761.
- 48 *Adresseavisen*, 4 January 1768.
- 49 Henningsen 2001.
- 50 Bregnsbo 1997, 51–8. This also draws attention to the fact that the lines between public and private communication in the *Adresseavisen* were sometimes mixed, not least because the paper was often used as a medium for the proclamation of laws and decrees. There is as yet no comprehensive study of the laws, decrees and official announcements published in Danish eighteenth-century commercial newspapers, but for a study of the German gazettes as a medium for official communication, see Schilling 2000.
- 51 ‘En hvid jagt-tæve af middels og spæd Taille, med korte og brune Kind, hvilket for endeel strækker sig over Ørene, som ellers ere noget spættede, og haver hun en sort Plæt bag paa Ryggen, i alt meget jevnt tegnet, og pleyer at være noget frygtsom for Fremmede’, *Adresseavisen*, 5 May 1760.
- 52 ‘Der af Godset efter Kongel. Allernaadigst Befaling skulde afgaae til de geworbene Regimenter’, *Adresseavisen*, 11 November 1767.
- 53 ‘Utidige og Publico uvedkommende Anmærkninger’, DNA, DK, Oversekretærens Brevbøger 1767 (D99–19), no. 640.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 ‘Den Vedkommende ved det med sig selv hvem jeg meener, og altsaa forskaaner jeg ham for offentlig at tilkendegive hans Navn’, *Adresseavisen*, 4 October 1771.
- 56 On the significance of honour when thinking of urban life, oral rumours, *Adresseavisen* and pamphleteering in late-eighteenth-century Copenhagen, see

- Langen 2014. Examples of individuals explicitly identified as Jewish people can be found in *Adresseavisen*, 4 January 1771 and 18 September 1771.
- 57 'Da en Person ved Navn J** H** har for sidste Paaske Huusleye sat noget Tøy I Pant, saa advares han derved 3de Gange', *Adresseavisen*, 10 December 1770.
- 58 'Herved inkaldes 3de Gange i disse Aviser Christian Seyersens Sommer fra Jylland, at indfri hans til mig for 4 Aar siden udstædte Beviis paa 35 Rdlr', *Adresseavisen*, 1 February 1769.
- 59 'Da offentligheden hans egentlige Character skal blive bekendtgjort', *Adresseavisen*, 1 February 1769.
- 60 'Da Bildthugger Jens Møller har boet hos mig og nu afvigte Michaeli Flyttedag ... Saa advares hermed 3de Gange at bemelte Hr. Jens Møller eller hvem anden dertil lovlig findes berettiget, inden 6 Uger fra Dato at betale mig min Leye og øvrig hafte Omkostninger; I udeblivende Tilfælde bliver Effecterne for Debtors eller Vedkommendes Regning', *Adresseavisen*, 1 February 1772.
- 61 'Inden 14ten Dage at indløse deres Pant, eller setter jeg samme til Auction og gjør mig betalt', *Adresseavisen*, 1 April 1772.
- 62 'Sammesteds er og graae Ærter til kiøbs for billig Priis', *Adresseavisen*, 1 April 1772.
- 63 Nyrup 1870; Horstbøll 1999; Dahl 2011.
- 64 Horstbøll et al. 2020. Sweden introduced a more restricted Freedom of Print Act in 1766, which also led to increased production of printed texts and increased political debate. See Nordin 2020. For a comparison between the Danish and Swedish approaches to freedom-of-press, see Nordin and Laursen 2020.
- 65 'Da en Person navnlig Rosenlund, eller den saakaldede Junior Philopatreas, af mit Huus hemmelig haver bortpracticeret det meste af sit Boehave, som han mig alt tilskrevet haver til min Securitet for et Aars Huusleye den Summa 34 Rdlr. 1 Mk. 8 S., og nu for Flyttedagen den 8 May paa en bedragerisk Maade bortsneget sig af Værelserne, og ikke engang talt med mig derom, langt mindre overleveret mig det lidet usle efterlatte Skramlerie, som er ikke af nogen Betydenhed imod ermelte Summa, ey heller givet mig tilkiende hvor han sig opholder, tillige med det bortsnegede Gods, som jeg lader afhente hvor det findes og mig bekendt bliver, paa det ingen Vært derigennem meere skal blive bedraget af ham', *Adresseavisen*, 12 May 1772.
- 66 Horstbøll et al. 2020, 113–27.
- 67 'Andre opdigtede Fortællinger, som indeholde noget fornærmeligt, eller uanstændigt, med videre deslige', DNA, DK, Sjællandske Tegnelser 1773–5 (F11-1), no. 559.
- 68 'Pauel Jørgensen, Skourider, advares herved at indløse det hos mig forfærdigede Tøy inden 14 Dage fra Dato, da ellers samme bliver solgt og gjort til Penge ... Kiøbenhavn den 21 October 1773. Forrige Piskemester Danholm, nu boende paa Fredensborg, advares herved at indløse det hos mig pantsatte Gods, inden fire uger fra Dato, da ellers samme bliver bortsolgt ved Auction ... Friderichssund den 16 October 1773. H.R. Lange', *Adresseavisen*, 22 October 1773.
- 69 The sources are located at DNA, DK, Indlæg til Brevbøger 1773 (F42-8), no. 1258 (hereafter DNA, DK [F42-8], no. 1258).
- 70 'Som kunde være stridende imod det almindelige Beste, eller enhver god Borgers private fordeel', *ibid.*, 2 November 1773.
- 71 'At lade bekendtgjøre det, som én eller anden privat Mand til hans lovlige fordeel, maatte begjære at faae bekendtgjort', *ibid.*
- 72 'Eller hvad som kune skille en Privat Mand ved hans hidtil havte Ære?' *Ibid.*
- 73 'Interessere eller fornøye Publikum', *ibid.*

- 74 'Prostituere sin Debitor ved bekiendtgjørelse i aviserne end derved at fremme sin Tarv', DNA, DK (F42-8), no. 1258, 22 November 1773.
- 75 'Slige advarsler vel endog med mindre bekostninger og tilforladeligere kune skee end udi Aviserne som ikke holdes eller læses af alle', *ibid.*
- 76 'Hvorudi Debitorernes Navne nævnes', *ibid.* For a discussion of this and other episodes in relation to the Danish freedom-of-press, see Jakobsen 2017, 179–194.
- 77 See Camilla Schjerning's chapter in this volume.