

●PSF

Report on the British Press - Report on B.B.C. (Operation)

Miss Cowles

REPORT ON THE BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION

The war-time machinery of the British Broadcasting Corporation runs as follows:

There are five main divisions which cover all broadcasting activity. Each of these divisions is headed by a chief who is responsible to the B.B.C.'s Joint Director-Generals, Sir Cecil Graves and Mr. Robert Foot. The divisions and their executives are as follows: Home Division, Sir Richard Maconachie; Programme Division, B.E. Nicolls; News Division, A.P. Ryan; Overseas Division, J.B. Clark; and European Division, I.A. Kirkpatrick.

HOME DIVISION

This department edits the B.B.C.'s newspaper and magazine "The Radio Times" and "The Listener." It handles all school broadcasts, lectures and "talks" by eminent personalities. For example, the Sunday night postscripts come under this category. Sir Richard Maconachie, the Division chief, works closely with Mr. Cyril Radcliffe, Director-General of the Ministry of Information, on all matters in which National policy may be involved.

PROGRAMME DIVISION

Under this department comes all B.B.C. "feature" programmes, music of all descriptions from Symphony Orchestras to dance music, concerts, variety shows, religious broadcasts, and the children's hour.

NEWS DIVISION

This section, headed by Mr. A.P. Ryan, deals with news at home and in the North American and Empire Services. Service communiques are issued by the Army, Navy and Air Force, and the news generally is subject to the same censorship by the Ministry of Information as is the Press. The B.B.C.'s news observers and war correspondents come under Mr. Ryan's direction.

OVERSEAS

OVERSEAS DIVISION

The Overseas Division handles all broadcasts abroad except for those to Europe. They arrange programmes to the Empire, North and South America, the African continent and the Near East. Mr. J.B. Clark, the head of this department, keeps closely in touch with many Government departments, such as the India Office, the Colonial, Dominion and Foreign Office. This division also handles the B.B.C.'s "Monitoring" service - the listening-in posts which pick up, transcribe and condense foreign broadcasts and news. The United States makes use of this valuable service.

EUROPEAN DIVISION

This division, under the leadership of I.A. Kirkpatrick of the Foreign Office, comes more under the direction of Political Warfare than the B.B.C., although it is administered by the latter for all purposes. All broadcasts to Europe, which includes neutral countries, occupied territory and enemy territory, are controlled by this department. Kirkpatrick is responsible on all policy matters to the Political Warfare Executive, working closely with the Foreign Office.

With the exception of Kirkpatrick, the heads of the above divisions are responsible on all matters of policy to the B.B.C.'s Joint Director-Generals, Mr. Robert Foot and Sir Cecil Graves. The latter are appointed by the Board of Governors, which is in its turn appointed by the King in Council. Mr. Brendan Bracken, head of the Ministry of Information, answers for the B.B.C. in the House of Commons.

As well as directing B.B.C. policy, the Director-Generals also control the management of the organization, conferring regularly with the engineering, financial and administrative chiefs.

The Board

The Board of Governors, which meets weekly with the Directors-General, is responsible under the Charter for the broad policy of the B.B.C. - the Directors-General having full executive responsibility and power for putting it into effect in all fields of broadcasting. The Board is composed of: Sir Allan Powell, Chairman; C.H.G. Millis, Vice-Chairman; Lady Violet Bonham Carter; Captain Sir Ian Fraser; Mr. J.J. Mallon; Mr. Arthur Mann; and the Hon. Harold Nicolson.

The B.B.C. also has six Regional Directors who are stationed in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, the Midlands, Western England and Northern England. Their job is to prevent the B.B.C. from becoming too centralized and to keep the various departments interested in the provincial and sectional angle of broadcasting. They also are responsible to the Directors-General.

The B.B.C. has a number of outposts overseas, the most important of which is its New York Office under Mr. Wellington, the North American Director, who has the status of the Head of one of the Divisions described in the first paragraph, and reports direct to the Directors-General.

[1942 or 43]

REPORT ON THE BRITISH PRESS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

SECTION I: The London Press

General Outline -----	Page 1
"The Times" -----	" 7
"The Telegraph" -----	" 15
"The Daily Express" ----- ("The Evening Standard & Sunday Express")	" 19
"The Daily Mail" ----- (The Evening News & The Sunday Dispatch")	" 24
"The News Chronicle" ----- ("The Evening Star")	" 29
"The Daily Herald" ----- ("The People")	" 33
"The Daily Sketch" ----- ("The Sunday Graphic, The Sunday Chronicle & The Sunday Times")	" 36
"The Daily Mirror" ----- ("The Sunday Pictorial")	" 43
"News of the World" -----	" 47
"Reynolds News" -----	" 47
"The Observer" -----	" 48
"The Manchester Guardian" -----	" 52
Summary -----	" 54

SECTION II: The Provincial Press

General Outline -----	" 55-58
Allied Newspapers -----	" 59
Westminster Group -----	" 61
Northcliffe Group -----	" 63
Harmsworth Group -----	" 64
Provincial Papers Ltd -----	" 65

Southern Newspapers Ltd -----	Page 66
Storey Group -----	" 67
D.C. Thomas & Co., Ltd. -----	" 68
George Outram & Co. -----	" 69
"The Glasgow Herald" -----	" 69
"The Yorkshire Post" -----	" 71
"The Birmingham Post" -----	" 73
"The Scotsman" -----	" 74
"The Liverpool Daily Post" -----	" 75
"The Belfast News-Letter" -----	" 76
"Northern Whig & Belfast Post" --	" 76
"Irish Daily Telegraph" -----	" 77
("Belfast Telegraph")	
"Irish News & Belfast Northern News" -----	" 78
"Sussex Daily News" -----	" 78
("Evening Argus")	
"Western Daily Mail & Bristol Mirror" -----	" 79
"East Anglian Daily Times" -----	" 79
("Evening Star & Daily Herald")	
"Leamington Spa Morning News" ---	" 80
"Eastern Daily Press" -----	" 80
("Eastern Evening News")	
"Nottingham Guardian" -----	" 80
("Nottingham Evening Post")	
Provincial Evening papers -----	" 82-83

*SECTION 1: THE LONDON PRESS.

A study of the British Press is primarily a study of the London press. To evaluate the latter's power and influence it is essential to understand that London papers, unlike newspapers published in key cities in the United States, are not local in circulation but are distributed and read throughout the nation.

Excluding purely commercial, financial and sporting journals, there are twenty-one general newspapers published in London consisting of eight morning papers, three evening papers and ten Sunday papers. Their combined circulation reaches nearly thirty million, which comprises seventy-five percent of the total circulation of all general papers published throughout the British Isles.

The remaining twenty-five percent is provided by the provincial press with a combined circulation of approximately nine million, nearly half of which is made up of papers controlled by Lord Kemsley and Lord Rothermere, both of whom are directors of London papers. With a few exceptions, such as 'The Manchester Guardian' the provincial press is entirely local in character. For example, there are thirty-seven general morning papers published outside of London in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland; the combined circulation of all of them does not exceed the two and a half million circulation of London's 'Daily Express'.

The London press, therefore, is in reality the national press. This means that the average London paper has a circulation far in excess of the average American paper. An interesting result

*The provincial press is dealt with in Section 2, which starts on page 55.

has been that monthly or weekly periodicals have never been able to gain the same foothold in Britain as they have in the United States; in America magazines supply advertisers with their only national vehicle, whereas here the daily press provides an unsurpassable medium. For this reason the British newspaper field has remained clear of outside political competition on a national scale, which has added to the already considerable stature of the press proprietors.

These proprietors are few in number. Most of them own two or three papers; some of them, as many as ten or fifteen. The entire London or national press with its thirty million circulation and over half the provincial press with its nine million circulation are controlled by less than a dozen men. These men are known in England as the press lords. They are: Lord Camrose, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Rothermere, Lord Southwood, Lord Kemsley, Lord Astor, Major Astor, M.P., Mr. Laurence Cadbury, and the sons of the late Sir Emsley Carr.

Some of these men own their papers outright, others are chief shareholders, still others are directors of companies with controlling interests. All have acquired their holdings within the last thirty-five years. Camrose, Beaverbrook, Southwood, and Kemsley are self-made men. Rothermere, Cadbury and the Carr sons inherited their interests from their fathers, who were self-made men. The Astors were born rich.

All of these men live and work in London where they are in close touch with the politics of the day. This is an essential factor in understanding the British Press for not only do the majority take an active interest in current affairs but play a part as well. All but three are Members of Parliament or in the House of Lords. Under the British system men who have distinguished themselves in any field of endeavor from business to science are raised to the peerage;

in this way, the nation benefits from the experience of its most able citizens, and men of widely different interests have the opportunity of expressing their views and bringing an influence to bear on the events of the day. As members of this group, therefore, the press lords are part of the machinery instrumental in running the country.

It is important to understand these facts as no comparable situation exists in the United States. It is as though eighty per cent of the owners of the American newspapers lived in Washington, were members of Congress, and were on intimate terms with Cabinet officials and members of the opposition.

It is perhaps for this reason that the British proprietors exercise a more direct control over their newspapers than the average American proprietor. Most American papers employ 'political columnists' such as Dorothy Thompson, Westbrook Pegler, Walter Lippman or Raymond Clapper to interpret political events for them. Here in England the 'political columnist' is unknown. The proprietors jealously guard that privilege and for the most part expressions of opinion on government policy are limited to the editorial columns.

On the whole the press lords are far better informed on the government's inside workings than either American proprietors or American columnists. Due to the enormous circulations they control they hold positions of great esteem. They meet cabinet ministers on equal terms and have the advantage of being friendly with the opposition as well. Members of the Government find it expedient to keep the newspaper owners well informed and often take them into their confidence in the hope of gaining their support. For this reason the British press has sometimes been accused of being censored.

There is no official censorship but the fact that the majority of proprietors, by membership in the House of Lords, are part of the Government machinery engages them with a feeling of responsibility. If, on occasion they are convinced certain publicity is detrimental to the national interest they will 'play news down'. It is extremely rare that news is entirely suppressed, the Simpson-Windsor case being a unique example. Even in war time expression of opinion is still free, the Government being open to severe criticism.

In spite of the fact that official persuasion is used on the proprietors, in peace time it has never yet resulted in keeping the various papers uniform in their opinion. What one proprietor might consider harmful to public opinion another proprietor often feels highly beneficial. For example, on examining the past record of four newspapers - two "class" papers and two "popular papers", all classified as "Conservative", you will find that when "The Times" praised Chamberlain for the Munich Agreement, the "Telegraph" bitterly attacked him; when the "Daily Mail" supported Francó's rebellion the "Daily Express" extolled the defenders of Madrid; when the "Telegraph" called for Collective Security at the time of the Abyssinian crisis the "Express" favored 'splendid isolation'.

In analysing the London papers they fall into eleven ownerships. The owners of the eight morning papers also own the three evening papers and seven of the Sunday papers. They reach widely assorted audiences and are of varying political creeds. I have not listed "The Daily Worker", the Communist Party paper with a circulation of 100,000, as it is so largely propaganda it cannot be described as a general newspaper in the accurate meaning of the word.

CLASS PAPERS

The Times: Conservative

The Daily Telegraph: Conservative

POPULAR DAILIES

The Daily Express: Conservative Associate Papers: The Evening Standard and the Sunday Express

The Daily Mail: Conservative Associate Papers: The Evening News and The Sunday Dispatch

The Daily Herald: Socialist Paper published by same company: The People (a Sunday paper)

The News Chronicle: Liberal Associate Papers: The Evening Star

TABLOID OR PICTURE PAPERS

The Daily Mirror: Radical Associate Papers: The Sunday Pictorial

The Daily Sketch: Conservative Associate Papers: The Sunday Graphic, The Sunday Chronicle and the Sunday Times.

SUNDAY PAPERS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH ANY OTHER PAPERS

News of the World: Non-Political

Reynold's News : Socialist

The Observer : Conservative

In classifying the various papers as Conservative, Liberal, and Socialist, it is important to point out that these terms would not convey an accurate meaning to the average American. The only two strong parties in England are the Conservatives, favoring private enterprise, and the Socialists, favoring State ownership. There is nothing in-between. The Liberals, who wielded great influence in the 19th century as a force in favor of economic freedom, have been swallowed up to a great extent by both parties, and today have no clear-cut platform. Therefore on the whole if English papers do not fit into a socialist category they fall inevitably into a conservative one. But these papers represent varying degrees of conservatism.

Some have moved sharply leftwards since the war began. For example strange things have happened to "The Times". Today it is far more a "New Deal" paper than a Tory one. "The Daily Express" is also flirting with "New Deal" principles and if Captain David Astor's plans for the "Observer" are carried out another Conservative paper will be brought into the Leftist Camp. "The Daily Mail" although still Right Wing is by no means die-hard in its views and the radical "Daily Mirror" will undoubtedly line up behind Left leadership.

Instead of the above listing therefore, you will find that of the two class papers one is Leftist and one Right; of the four popular dailies with their associates tagging along one is Left, two Leftist; of the two pictorial papers one is Leftist and one Right; of the three remaining Sunday papers one is non-political, one Left and one gazing wistfully after. These changes are startling ones and if the press has the influence it is reputed to have many sweeping changes will take place after the war.

In the following review the eight morning papers and their associates have been listed under the heading "Ownership", "Influence", "Pre-War Policy" and "Present and Future Policy". The remaining three Sunday papers are dealt with separately.

Altogether eleven individual controls are discussed, which covers the whole of the national press.

For more details see the notes on the back of the book. The whole of the voting rights are * * * * * Ordinaries, except in the event of the sale of the paper or the liquidation of the company owning it. The 2 shares then have nine votes each which gives them equal voting rights with the others.

All circulation figures unless otherwise specified, are given for the first six months of 1939 (the last pre-war figures) and for the first six months of 1942 (the last war figures). The '42 figures are uncontrolled, due to the rationing of paper and therefore should not be judged as indicating the normal public demand.

"THE TIMES"

CIRCULATION 1939: 204,491
CIRCULATION 1942: 158,656

OWNERSHIP

"The Times" is controlled by The Times Publishing Company Ltd., of which the chief stock-holder is Major the Hon. John J. Astor. Major Astor is a brother-in-law of Lady Astor, whose husband, Lord Astor owns the "Sunday Observer".

Major Astor purchased his shares in "The Times" from Lord Northcliffe's estate upon the latter's death in 1919. Lord Northcliffe had been the chief proprietor since 1908. He had bought his shares from the famous Walter family whose ancestors had founded "The Times" in 1785, and the only other large shareholder besides himself had been Sir John Ellerman.

When Major Astor bought up Lord Northcliffe's holdings, however, members of the Walter family re-acquired an interest by purchasing Ellerman's shares.

The Times Holding Company Ltd., was subsequently formed for the purpose of establishing joint ownership of the Astor and Walter holdings. It has a capital of £580,000 divided into 10,000 Ordinary A and B shares and 570,000 Preference shares. Major Astor owns the 9,000 B Ordinary Shares and 513,000 Preference shares. The 1,000 A Ordinary shares and 57,000 Preference shares are in the name of Mr. John Walter. The whole of the voting rights are vested in the B Ordinaries, except in the event of the sale of the paper or the liquidation of the company owning it. The A shares then have nine votes each which gives them equal voting rights with the others.

*All circulation figures unless otherwise specified, are given for the first six months of 1939 (the last pre-war figures) and for the first six months of 1942 (the last war figures). The '42 figures are controlled, due to the rationing of paper and therefore should not be judged as indicating the normal public demand.

However there are strict restrictions on the sale of the Ordinary shares. "The Times" cannot be bought for cash alone. With a view to preserving the high standing of the paper, a trust agreement has been drawn up by which the ordinary shares cannot be transferred unless the purchaser is approved by a committee consisting of the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Governor of the Bank of England, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice and the Headmaster of Eton College. These trustees have absolute discretion in saying whether any proposed transferee is a proper person to hold shares and "are expected to have regard to the importance of (a) maintaining the best conditions and political independence of "The Times" newspaper, and (b) eliminating as far as reasonably possible questions of personal ambition or personal profit".

INFLUENCE.

"The Times" costs ^{three pence} ~~two pence~~ instead of a penny. It has less circulation and more influence than any other national paper. To appreciate this influence one must understand something of the history and tradition which lies behind it. "The Times" has existed for over a hundred and fifty years and during that time has had only six owners (four of whom were in the same family) and eight editors.

The paper was founded by John Walter on January 1st, 1785. The French revolution was brewing and a new wave of democratic thought was spreading over Europe. Walter was a man of quick intelligence and robust spirit who enjoyed the somewhat precarious sport of attacking the authorities of the day. He paid for his criticisms not only by costly fines but by several sojourns to Newgate prison. One of these offences consisted of an attack on the Prince of Wales of the time and other royal princes who, he claimed, had by their misconduct incurred the just disapprobation of George the III.

This first Walter set the independent spirit of "The Times" During the following hundred and twenty-five years it has been handed down from Walter father to Walter son. Under two great editors in the nineteenth century, Thomas Barnes (1817 - 1841) and John Delaine (1841-1877) the paper established itself almost as a fourth estate of the realm. On one occasion it even dictated to the Duke of Wellington on what terms it would support a ministry he was trying to form. It was during this same period that it won for itself the nickname "The Thunderer". This was due to Barne's assistant, a young man named Captain Edward Stirling, who seized the opportunity of writing the leaders during his chief's illness. His explosive style caused Thomas Carlyle to say: "..... he more than any other man was "The Times", and thundered through it to the shaking of the spheres." From then on "The Thunderer" stuck.

By 1850 "The Times" reigned unchallenged over all its competitors. All other London dailies combined had less than half its circulation. This had risen from 5,000 in the year of Waterloo to around 40,000, and the brilliant reporting of the Crimean War by Russell, added a further 10,000 readers within three years.

Much of "The Times" ascendancy was due to its excellent intelligence service. In the nineteenth century "communications" were not easy; information could not be got by telephone or radio but had to be gathered from personal conversations. Connections with influential people were of paramount importance. "The Times" staff excelled at both securing and interpreting news and the public was often better informed of the Government's activities than members of parliament. In 1878 one of its foreign correspondents, a man named de Blowitz, secured a scoop by publishing the text of the Berling Treaty on the very day it was signed.

It was not only in political matters that "The Times" excelled. It took great pains with all other departments as well. Its

financial news was done by experts and it was the only paper whose law reports were recognised by the Courts as authentic being prepared by skilled barrister reporters. Letters to "The Times" became such an important institution, many men of influence considered this method of airing their views as satisfactory as pronouncing them in Parliament.

On the business side, financial changes which helped "The Times" reach its pinnacle in the nineteenth century, was the Reform Act of 1832 which, until that date, had deliberately kept up the price of newspapers to prevent "radical propaganda". Four years later a reduction of taxation enabled "The Times" to reduce its price from 7d to 5d; in 1855 the abolition of the hated newspaper duty brought it down to 4d. In 1861 "The Times" could be bought for 3d; in 1908 Northcliffe reduced it to 2d. at which price it remained until 1941, when due to war conditions it was again raised to 3d.

.....
"The Times" still maintains its great prestige. On a census taken a few years ago it was found that subscriptions to the paper were taken almost exclusively by people of the upper and middle classes: in more than half the families the chief earner had an income of over 5000 dollars a year.

Its influence is based largely on the fact that it stands first in the reliability and thoroughness of its news coverage. The staff is not as highly paid as those of the popular papers because the privilege of working for "The Times" is considered important enough to outweigh financial considerations. Most "Times" correspondents are university graduates, many of whom have obtained the highest scholastic honours. The editorials are of a high literary standard and articles on military matters and special political problems are written by experts.

Foreign news is treated with the utmost care. In peace time, "Times" dispatches are more informative and lengthy than

those of any other paper. When messages are received from abroad they are sent to the foreign news editor where they are multiplied and circulated to all who have an interest in the particular subject such as leader writers and foreign sub-editors. Every fact and place name is carefully checked, and great attention is paid to keeping reports fair and impartial. Sometimes the messages have to be shortened but as few changes as possible are made. Headlines are designed to suggest as accurately as possible the pith of the message and maps are prepared whenever they can make the meaning clearer.

This thoroughness and scrupulous care has been paramount in maintaining "The Times" high reputation. For government officials and people seriously interested in domestic and foreign affairs the reading of it has become a necessary part of keeping well informed. But not only is it an essential part of British political life; it is read regularly by foreign offices and chanceries all over Europe. For instance, a complete file is always kept in this Embassy.

The very fact that "The Times" is studied by such an important audience gives it greater influence and authority than any other one paper in the world.

PRE-WAR POLICY.

"The Times" is the only one of the eight morning papers whose policy is dictated by its editor rather than its financial controller. For the past twenty years its proprietor, Major Astor, has been satisfied with the prestige of ownership, and asks little more than to cut an important figure at press luncheons. The policy of the paper was left to Geoffrey Dawson until he resigned the editorship in 1941; at present it is held by the succeeding editor, Barrington Ward.

The pre-war policy of "The Times" was therefore Geoffrey Dawson's personal policy. Under his directorship "The Times"

continued as an Independent Conservative paper which it had been for many years, and until 1936 was fully in favor of the League of Nations. It supported the National Government in the General Election of '35, in which adherence to collective security was a major issue. That same year relations between Italy and Abyssinia reached a crisis. After several trips to Paris, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Foreign Secretary, submitted to a startled House of Commons the famous Hoare-Laval plan which proposed the carving up of Abyssinia in direct contradiction to the League principals which the Government had proclaimed only a few months later. "The Times" rose up in great moral indignation and the Telegraph followed suit. The proposals were abandoned, Hoare resigned, Eden succeeded him and sanctions were declared against Italy. This is, all sanctions except oil sanctions.

It is important to point out that the General Election had supported collective security as a method of avoiding war; when it was realised that oil sanctions would, on the contrary, provoke a conflict for which Britain was not prepared, many League supporters turned against collective security in favor of the old system of power politics; that is, of abandoning set rules of international behaviour in favor of playing one nation off against another with separate alliances and treaties.

Neville Chamberlain was one of these men. With such powerful European nations as Germany and Italy outside the League he did not believe the latter was an instrument capable of securing peace. To prevent war he was convinced it was both necessary and possible to establish a four-power pact between Britain, France, Italy and Germany, as the dominant forces in Europe. He tried to placate the aggressors one of the first steps toward which was recognition of Franco's Government. He sincerely believed that a mutual understand could be reached which would result in a lasting peace. His policy became known as a policy of appeasement.

Geoffrey Dawson shared Chamberlain's views. He was

influenced to some extent by the late Lord Lothian, a staunch Chamberlain supporter, and through Lothian's friendship with Lady Astor, often spent weekends at the Astor Estate, Clivenden. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax were also frequent guests and thus the catch-phrase "the Clivenden set" became a national catchword. It is essential to point out, however, that it was not Lady Astor's influence through her brother-in-law, Major Astor, that controlled "The Times" policy, but Geoffrey Dawson's own personal views.

During the 1937-1939 period "The Times" was in favour of recognizing Franco-Spain; of trying to detach Italy from the Axis; of sending emissaries to Berlin to flirt with Hitler. During the Nazi Parteitag in Nuremberg, a few weeks before Munich, "The Times" suggested that Czecho-Slovakia be partitioned and that Germany expand its borders to include Sudetenland. Whether this actually emanated from Chamberlain is doubtful, but Dawson revealed a fairly clear picture of what was in the latter's mind for Munich resulted in just such a division.

The policy of appeasement ended in March, six months after Munich, when Germany violated her agreement and occupied Prague. Lord Lothian publicly apologised for his mistaken policy and Neville Chamberlain slapped down guarantees on Poland, Greece and Rumania. This marked the end of conciliation. Germany was ringed in; her next act of aggression meant war.

It is essential to stress that "The Times" political views were confined for the most part to its editorial columns. During the two years before the war, the main "appeasement period", its news columns were unbiased and unrestricted. The dispatches from "The Times" Berlin correspondents, James Hoburn and Euan Butler (son of Harold Butler) were brilliant, informative and bellicose; in fact in complete contradiction to any form of appeasement. This in itself prevented many Churchillian supporters from cancelling their subscriptions.

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

Under the directorship of Geoffrey Dawson, "The Times" was an Independent Conservative paper which supported the Conservative or National Government of the day. This classification is no longer correct. Under the editorship of Barrington Ward (formerly assistant editor to Dawson) "The Times" has moved to the Left and if it were published in the United States it would be classified as a "New Deal" paper.

The present policy has been due chiefly to the influence of Professor Edward Carr, formerly professor of international politics in the University College in Wales, and now a member of the Times editorial staff. Carr is a close friend of Barrington Ward. He has impressed the latter with his opinions, and now holds the position of chief editorial writer.

His views which are outlined in his book "Conditions of Peace", have now become the views of "The Times"; they are in brief as follows: First, all possible help to Russia; Second, the necessity of close cooperation not only with America but with Russia after the war; Third, the post-war socialization of Great Britain through planned economy; Fourth, the impossibility of divorcing international politics from economics which leads therefore to the necessity for a European Planning Authority with representatives of Great Britain, Russia and the United States in key positions to organize the whole of Europe on a controlled planned-economy system.

"The Times" supports the present Government, but is known to be critical of Churchill's administrative ability; if a severe Government crisis occurred its support of the Prime Minister could not be relied upon one hundred percent. What candidate it would select is doubtful, as Anthony Eden, the selected "runner-up", is also a "Times" non-favorite.

"THE DAILY TELEGRAPH"

CIRCULATION 1939: 755,131
CIRCULATION 1942: 648,773

OWNERSHIP

No possible questions exist about the ownership of "The Daily Telegraph". The owner is Lord Camrose. He has dictatorial powers in what is essentially a family concern.

In conjunction with his brother, Lord Kemsley, and with Lord Iliffe, Lord Camrose bought "The Daily Telegraph" in 1927 from the late Lord Burnham. At that time it had a circulation of only 80,000 and was definitely a "losing proposition". Camrose reduced the price of the paper from twopence to one penny, and entirely revised the layout and set-up. Under his brilliant management the circulation rose with amazing rapidity. Only ten years later, in 1937, "The Telegraph" was strong enough to absorb its rival paper "The Morning Post" which raised its circulation another hundred thousand, bringing it close to the three quarters of a million mark.

The partnership between Lord Camrose, Lord Kemsley and Lord Iliffe had been dissolved a few months before this event when Camrose became the sole owner of the paper. The Daily Telegraph Limited, is a private company in which the whole of the Ordinary capital and a large proportion of the Preference shares belonged to Camrose and to members of his immediate family. By a resolution passed in January 1939 Camrose became entitled to hold the offices of Director of the Company, Chairman of the Board, the Editor-in-Chief of the Company's publications

as long as he lives. His sons, John Seymour Berry and William Michael Berry, were also made directors for life. Besides this, Camrose has powers to appoint his successors in any of his three offices "for life or any less period".

INFLUENCE

The main bulk of "Daily Telegraph" readers, like those of "The Times", are members of the upper and middle classes. These two papers are the only morning "class" papers published in London. They correspond roughly to the ~~with~~ "The New York Times" and "The New York Herald Tribune". Although "The Daily Telegraph" costs a penny less than "The Times" and has a circulation three times as great, it has never been able to establish the same prestige. It has, however, created a record for great reliability and next to "The Times" wields more influence than any ~~other~~ paper in England.

PRE-WAR POLICY

"The Telegraph" is a conservative paper which supports the conservative or national government of the day. It supported Baldwin and Chamberlain and it now supports Churchill. It has a political reputation of "sitting on the fence". This is due to the fact that it seldom attempts to lead opinion contrary to the policy laid down by the Government and its editorial columns are mostly devoted to praising, explaining or condoning government policy to its readers. Even when its tone is critical, its

its arguments are presented mildly and both sides of the situation are well reviewed.

During the last seven or eight years "The Telegraph" has allowed itself only two short bursts of rebellion against the government both on matters of high principal. One was over the Hoare-Laval proposal to partition Abyssinia; the other was on Munich which the paper condemned as disgraceful and dishonourable. The last was somewhat illogical in view of the fact that in the months preceding Munich it had failed to back Churchill's plea that Britain must join France in guaranteeing Czechoslovakia against Nazi aggression; and after Munich in spite of its disapproval, it took the attitude that "what was done was done" and returned to support the government. The reason for this was not inspired by any desire on Camrose's part to "appease" Germany, but by the belief that England needed time to rearm. There was a sharp divergence of opinion between Camrose and his brother Kemsley on the issue as a whole, the latter being a genuine and enthusiastic Chamberlain follower.

"The Telegraph's" most constructive attempts to open the eyes of the people to the dangers they were facing were first by printing a fortnightly article by Winston Churchill from the spring of 1938 to the spring of 1939, in which the latter had an opportunity to put forward his views; and second, by insisting that Churchill be included in Chamberlain's government after the German occupation of Prague in March 1939.

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

Lord Camrose actively and directly controls the policy of the Telegraph. He is the best-liked of all the press lords. He is a self-made man who through his own ability and endeavor built up a great chain of newspapers in conjunction with his two brothers Lord Kemsley and Lord Buckland. He is a man of sound judgement and thorough integrity. He believes in the democratic system and would fight to maintain his beliefs through all vicissitudes.

On internal matters, his views are conservative. He does not favor planned economy or state control of industry. He believes that a country cannot be prosperous and maintain a high standard of living unless it allows the capitalist system to flourish and respects the natural laws of supply and demand. If this becomes one of the great issues after the war, he will defend private enterprise far more vigorously than the Times.

Camrose is one of the most "pro-American" of the press lords. Some years ago he lived and worked in New York and has always had a keen admiration for American principles. He favors the closest ties between the two democracies and in the post-war world would support a United Nations scheme for organizing and protecting all countries.

Although at one time before the war Camrose, like many others in England, was doubtful as to whether Churchill had the stability or judgement for the premiership, he has given the latter full support ever since he assumed office. His loyalty is more certain than that of any other newspaper proprietor and he may be relied upon to defend Churchill through any storm.

over 10 percent are held by Lord Beaverbrook directly and indirectly. The remainder is in the hands of other shareholders, but some of the chief holders are Express employees such as Christianson the editor, and John Gordon the colverist.

Allied with the Daily Express and owned by the same company are the Sunday Express founded by Lord Beaverbrook in 1918, and the "Evening Standard" acquired by him in 1923 from Sir Edward Druce. Lord Rothermere and the Daily Mail Trust purchased a considerable interest in the Standard at the same time, but these shares have since passed wholly Beaverbrook's.

MEMORANDUM

The Daily Express with a circulation of over two and a half million, has the largest circulation of any of the "morning papers"

THE DAILY EXPRESS

CIRCULATION 1939: 2,543,274
CIRCULATION 1942: 1,496,379

ASSOCIATE PAPERS:

THE SUNDAY EXPRESS

CIRCULATION 1939: 1,496,379
1942: 1,636,556

THE EVENING STANDARD

CIRCULATION 1939: 385,370
1942: 478,130

OWNERSHIP

"The Daily Express" has the largest daily circulation of any newspaper in the world. It is controlled and actively directed by Lord Beaverbrook. The latter acquired his first holding in the Express in 1913. At that time the Daily Mail Trust, headed by Lord Rothermere also had holdings in the paper, but during the following twenty years Lord Beaverbrook bought up the latter's interest.

The owning Company is a public one in which nearly 1,500,000 seven per cent Preference shares were issued to public subscription. But out of the 408,000 Ordinary shares, which control the paper, over 75 percent are held by Lord Beaverbrook directly and indirectly. The remainder is in the hands of the public, but some of the chief holders are Express employees such as Christianson the editor, and John Gordon the columnist.

Allied with the Daily Express and owned by the same Company are the Sunday Express founded by Lord Beaverbrook in 1918, and the "Evening Standard" acquired by him in 1923 from Sir Edward Hulton. Lord Rothermere and the Daily Mail Trust purchased a considerable interest in the Standard at the same time, but these shares have since become wholly Beaverbrook's.

INFLUENCE

The Daily Express with a circulation of over two and a half million, has the largest circulation of any of the "popular dailies

published in England, or indeed of any daily paper in the world. Curiously unique in its presentation of news, the whole tone of the "Express" reflects the capricious personality of its proprietor, Lord Beaverbrook; from news captions and feature articles to editorials and reviews and it is amusing, provocative and mischievous. Its lightness of touch has given it a universal appeal; although the greater bulk of its circulation is among the lower middle class, it has a large following in influential and serious circles, where you find it read side by side with "The Times".

The paper's established policy of "cheerfulness" is one which has been laid down and dictated by Lord Beaverbrook who personally dislikes a heavy or pompous method of dealing with news. During the pre-war period when Europe was reverberating to one crisis after another, Beaverbrook ran headlines: "WHY ALL THE GLOOM?". He went on to assert there would be no war, a statement which he ran on the front page of the paper each morning. When he was once asked why he took so firm a stand on so shaky a limb he replied: "People who expect a war every other month can be wrong a dozen times. I can be wrong only once."

The actual influence of the Express on government policy is negligible. Identified as it is with Beaverbrook's personal fetishes it lacks the reputation for both reliability and judgment necessary to lead opinion on matters of policy. Where it wields power, however, is in its ability to discredit through ridicule. It is never afraid to launch "personal attacks" on leading officials. Unfortunately these attacks are less often instigated by moral principal than personal animosity. A feud of long standing between Beaverbrook and Duff Cooper was chiefly responsible for unseating the latter as Minister of Information. The Express carried out a long and persistent attack on the Ministry seizing every opportunity of discrediting its chief. When the Ministry sent representatives throughout the country to canvas housewives and compile a survey on domestic problems the Express ran headlines: "COOPER'S SNOOPERS."

Slogans such as these caught fire, and the Ministry of Information finally became such a laughing stock, Duff Cooper was forced to resign.

This form of ridicule has been applied to many officials and as a result few important people wish to cross swords with Beaverbrook. He consequently wields more power "behind the scenes" than any other press Lord.

PREWAR POLICY.

One man and one man alone directs the policy of "The Daily Express". That man is Lord Beaverbrook. The pre-war policy of the paper was clear-cut and emphatic. Its keynote was "splendid isolation". From the early nineteen-twenties to the present war Beaverbrook opposed collective security, favoring a strong Empire policy in which Britain would be a complete and self-sufficient unit in herself, disassociated from all conflicts and disagreements on the European continent. He favored "Empire Free Trade" which meant high tariffs for all foreign goods and low tariffs for all British Colonial and Dominion goods. He occasionally preached that the only possible and workable alliance Britain could ever have, (which at that time was a remote possibility) was with the United States.

With these isolationist views, the Express supported Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. It did not support it, however, with Chamberlain's object of establishing a four power pact between Britain, France, Germany and Italy, but with the conviction that isolation could be upheld and war prevented only by giving the aggressor nations a free hand on the continent. Indeed Beaverbrook carried on the policy of appeasement long after Chamberlain had abandoned it. Chamberlain's government ceased to be appeasers in March 1939, when Germany broke her agreement and marched into Prague, and retaliated by slapping guarantees onto Poland, Greece and Rumania. Beaverbrook opposed these guarantees, and although he called for a strong armed Britain, advised the nation to mind its own business and stay out of Europe. Even after war

was declared, he privately expressed himself in favor of making a peace.

In spite of Beaverbrook's "isolationist" policy, he never championed the cause of the aggressor nations as Lord Rothermere did. His news columns were free and impartial and on the whole "anti-fascist". This was due to the fact that the majority of his staff (the most highly paid of any newspaper staff in London) had Left Wing sympathies which he made no effort to curb. Although the editorial policy of the Express supported Non-intervention in Spain, the feature articles and news items were always favorable to the Loyalists. This sympathy was later apparent to all countries who opposed Italy and Germany. In the Evening Standard, the brilliant artist Low, was allowed to produce the boldest of anti-dictator and anti-appeasement cartoons.

Through all this period Winston Churchill remained a close personal friend of Beaverbrook. During 1937 the latter printed a fortnightly article by Churchill in "The Evening Standard" but in the summer of 1938 discontinued the series due to a growing disagreement on foreign policy. It is curious to think that although Beaverbrook was one of Churchill's strongest political adversaries, the Prime Minister has always had a great admiration for him. Many people think his influence harmful and his advice unsound; he is greatly resented in more than one quarter.

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

Although Beaverbrook professes to support the Government and Mr. Churchill's leadership, many people believe that his agitation for a second front in Europe in 1942 was chiefly designed to embarrass the Government. This may be doing him an injustice. He argues that unless Russia is upheld this year by a diversion in the west, the Soviet armies will collapse, the main bulk of the German army will move back to France and an invasion will not be possible for many years. He considers the situation so critical that an attempt should be made

this year no matter how precarious the chances of success.

His motives, however, are regarded with suspicion by those who believe his chief aim is to provoke a Government crisis and assume power himself. The chances of his succeeding Churchill are slim but not to be entirely discounted. In such an event one would have no guarantee that appeasement would not again figure in foreign relations.

The fact that Churchill's friendship with Beaverbrook remains unimpaired has caused much misgiving. The latter is the most distrusted man in the public eye. He is known to be an arch mischief-maker and although endowed with an aggressive nature and a perverse charm, is not one whose integrity can be relied upon. The Daily Express Centre of Public Opinion, an organization started by Beaverbrook a few months ago which sends speakers to all parts of the country, is suspected by some to bear the seeds of a future independent party.

Whatever post-war policy Beaverbrook adopts it is bound to be influenced less by principal than by publicity value. He is said to have swung greatly to the Left and there are reports that he is now drawing up a "manifesto" which will shortly be published in the Express. It will attack class and monied interests, favor increased control over industry, and will call for the general socialisation of the country.

On foreign affairs his isolationist views are shelved and he will support a United Nations program led by Britain, Russia and the United States. His opinions, of course, are always subject to change.

.....

the Trust; and the Sunday Pictorial, which is under the control of the Mirror, holds 148,500 shares. Their combined holding is 316,645 £1 ordinary shares out of a total of 2,494,000. Thus the Daily Mirror, while having an important voice in the Trust, has not got control.

However, Lord Rothermere, as chairman of the board of directors of both Associated Newspapers and The Daily Mail and General Trust, was able to control the political policy of the three papers; his son, Hamond Harmsworth, who succeeded to the Rothermere estate upon his father's death a year ago, now holds the same positions.

Besides controlling "The Daily Mail", "The Sunday Dispatch" and "The Evening News" (which has the largest circulation of any London evening paper), Association Newspapers owns 10 evening provincial papers, with a circulation of approximately 400,000. Except for Lord Kemsley, Lord Rothermere is the only London proprietor who controls provincial papers as well, which adds considerably to his influence.

INFLUENCE.

"The Daily Mail" is the only one of the four popular dailies which is read predominantly by England's prosperous upper and middle classes. Under Lord Northcliffe, a brother of the late Lord Rothermere, it had the largest circulation in England but today is in arrears of both "The Express" and "The Herald". Its advertising rates are still the highest, however, as the bulk of its readers have more "buying power" than those of its rivals. Due both to the calibre of its followers and the fact that its tone is more serious than "The Express", it can be said to wield more influence than any of the popular dailies. "Daily Mail" readers are

important/

important people in their local communities. They sit on the local conservative committees, they run the women's clubs, they are town clerks, aldermen and magistrates. They are the people who bring pressure on their M.P.'s. They don't bring it often, for they are neither imaginative nor rebellious; they are complacent and correct, but in peace time a challenge to the established order of things will always provoke an indignant outcry from them.

PRE-WAR POLICY.

The late Lord Rothermere directed the pre-war policy of The Daily Mail. He was the only press lord who, from the early thirties to the outbreak of war, came out violently and doggedly for rearmament. He was also the only press lord who foretold the tremendous power of aviation as a destructive weapon and advocated that Britain should build the largest air armada in the world.

Rothermere believed that it was only by strength on sea, land, and in the air that Britain would avoid a war. He was therefore anti-collective security which at that time was coupled with disarmament in the fallacy that the League as an instrument in itself was powerful enough to prevent a conflict. Having lost two sons in 1914-1918, he had a bitter hatred for war and wished to prevent it at all costs. When France went into the Ruhr in 19²³, The Daily Mail ran headlines "HATS OFF TO FRANCE". Soon after that, however, it became apparent that both Germany and Italy were building up more powerful weapons than France, and Rothermere's policy from then on fell clearly into two categories: first, tremendous rearmament for Britain, second, friendly relations with Germany and Italy.

Rothermere/

Rothermere did his best to paint a palpable picture of Nazism and Fascism. His chief correspondent, Ward Price, became on intimate terms with Hitler and Mussolini, and any surprise action on the part of the aggressor nations was usually a Daily Mail "scoop". Part of this condonance of Fascism sprang from Rothermere's hatred of Bolshevism. All during the Spanish civil war, the Mail supported Franco's cause and even in the news columns the Loyalists were never referred to as anything but "the Reds".

Although Rothermere upheld Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, he did not share the latter's optimism that peace could be maintained without strength, and continued to warn the people of Britain what to expect if war came. While Beaverbrook was asserting cheerfully that there would be no war, Rothermere was predicting the end of civilization. A study of these two popular papers, both classified as "conservative" gives a fair idea of the variance of opinion in the British press.

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

The present policy of the Daily Mail is directed by the second Lord Rothermere, who succeeded to his father's estates upon the latter's death a year and a half ago. As he is a man of no firm convictions, the policy of the paper is unstable and difficult to define.

Its most decisive feature is its critical attitude toward the present administration. Although the Mail is a conservative paper, it could not be relied upon to support the government in a crisis. This is due to Rothermere's lack of faith in Churchill and his advisors. He believes the latter has failed as Prime Minister and if any other man showed signs of gaining the public confidence would give him his backing. After the Singapore debacle, the Daily Mail

publicized/

publicized Cripps more fully than any other paper.

Lord Rothermere lacks his father's initiative and drive. This is partly due to uncertain health and partly due to lack of ambition. He is well educated and widely read but his interest in the affairs of the day is that of an onlooker rather than a participant. Although he shares neither his father's admiration for Fascism, nor his antipathy for Bolshevism, he has no deep convictions. If the war should reach a point where both sides appeared to be dead-locked and peace terms were offered, the chances are he would favour them rather than fighting on to a blind end.

As he is not a man of strong character, however, he could be influenced to various ways of thinking without great difficulty. The problem would be to sustain his interest, as his enthusiasms die easily. Although the late Lord Rothermere was a close friend of Churchill, the present one is seldom invited to Downing Street since his criticism of the government became marked a year ago.

On post-war external matters, Rothermere will undoubtedly favor a United Nations plan for organizing and policing the world, based on a close Anglo-American cooperation. He will favor co-operation with Russia, so long as the latter does not benefit at Britain's expense.

On internal matters, his own views are still undefined. It is safe to prophecy he will not lead opinion. If the post-war tide swings left he will probably follow the procession, as he is by no means die-hard in his conservative views. If, on the other hand, the Tory party presents a sound reconstruction plan which gains initial approval, he is even more apt to give his backing to them. It will depend upon his mood at the time.

THE NEWS CHRONICLE

CIRCULATION 1939: 1,298,757
CIRCULATION 1942: 1,195,085

ASSOCIATE PAPER: THE EVENING STAR.

CIRCULATION 1939: 502,639
CIRCULATION 1942: 535,000

OWNERSHIP

Control of "The News Chronicle" is in the hands of the great Quaker family of Cadbury, who made their fortune in chocolate and cocoa. "The News Chronicle" is an amalgam of the "Daily News" and the "Daily Chronicle". This last paper once belonged to Mr. Lloyd George and his party fund, and had a circulation of nearly a quarter of a million. It was unable to compete with the "popular papers", however, who increased their circulations by tremendous leaps through a complicated system of gift and insurance schemes, and in 1930 finally merged with the "Daily News".

The "Daily News" had previously swallowed two other Liberal papers, the "Morning Leader" and the "Westminster Gazette". Lord Camrose in his pamphlet "London papers" writes that the Gazette was "transformed into a morning paper by the first Lord Cowdray after an existence of 28 years as an evening journal. During the whole of that period it is said to have made a profit in only one year.

"Famous for the cartoons of F. Carruthers Gould and the able front page leaders of Mr. J. A. Spender, it was anything but efficient in other respects. As a morning paper it achieved a sale of something like 300,000 a day, based almost entirely on an insurance scheme. Lord Cowdray and his heirs are said to have lost nearly three quarters of a million sterling before refuge was found in the arms of the "Daily News".

The "News Chronicle" is owned by the Daily News Limited through its 100% subsidiary - News Chronicle, Limited. The Daily News, Limited has a capital of £563,185 (of which £1,935,500 is in Ordinary shares of 2s each) but the money engaged in this

enterprise/

enterprise is obviously much more than this amount. Of the 1,935,000 shares, 990,000 are owned by the Cadbury Trust, and a further 680,000 are the private property of members of the Cadbury family and their Trustees. Other holders are Mr. B. F. Crosfield (Working Director) with 50,000. Sir Walter Layton (Chief Director) 75,000 and Mr. Ernest Parke 50,000. All the Preference shares are held by the owners of the Ordinary shares.

The member of the Cadbury family believed to own the greatest bulk of shares, and therefore the real owner of "The News Chronicle", is George Cadbury, the second son of the late George Cadbury who laid the foundations of the family fortune as chairman of Cadbury Brothers, Limited, and who died in 1922. The present George Cadbury studied chemistry at University College, London, and travelled in Germany and Austria before he joined his father's firm. He is a man of about fifty, heavily moustached and severe looking and for some years now has lead the life of a recluse. Few people know him and he has the distinction of being the only newspaper proprietor whose name does not appear in WHO'S WHO.

His half-brother, Laurence Cadbury, as Chairman of the Daily News, Limited, holds the reins of the paper, but the active management and working control have always been left to Sir Walter Layton, the Chief Director.

INFLUENCE.

The majority of "News Chronicle" readers are neither so prosperous as those of "The Mail", nor so limited as those of "The Herald". Its circulation is more evenly distributed among the population than any other morning paper. Politically, it is read by a vast army of "in-betweens" whose views are neither Conservative nor Socialist. It is usually described as a Liberal paper, due to the fact that the Cadburys are members

of/

of the Liberal Party; a more accurate classification would be "New Deal". It has a broader and more "idealistic" point of view than either the Express or Mail and does not attempt to express the personality of its owners in the same flamboyant manner. It therefore raises less controversy in Government circles.

PRE-WAR POLICY.

The pre-war policy of "The News Chronicle" was controlled by its chief director, Sir Walter Layton, who, until a year before the war, also edited the weekly paper, "The Economist".

This policy was one of the strongest and most consistent supporters of collective security; it was anti-fascist from the earliest days. It championed Abyssinia and the Spanish Loyalists; it opposed relations with renegade Italy and Mr. Chamberlain's attempts to appease Germany; it favored the guaranteeing of Czechoslovakia against Nazi aggression and the inclusion of Russia in the European scheme; it was always highly critical of Chamberlain and was one of the first papers to call for Churchill as Prime Minister, when war broke out.

The weakness of the paper's policy lay in the fact that it failed to urge for rearmament. It did not oppose the issue as the Labour Party did, but merely ignored it, devoting its energies somewhat incongruously to louder demands for forceful action.

"The News Chronicle" has always been strongly pro-Roosevelt. It has shown a keen interest in "The New Deal", publishing more information on American internal affairs than any other paper in England.

Its foreign correspondents are of a high caliber. Its news is carefully edited and it is a paper that can usually be relied upon to champion a principal for the sake of that principal no matter how inconvenient the moment.

PRESENT

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY

Although Sir Walter Layton is now serving as Director-General of the Ministry of Production, and therefore is unable to actively control the paper, it is generally thought that he still has a finger in the pie. If you ask who has taken his place you are told Mr. Laurence Cadbury, Chairman of the Controlling Company and part owner.

The paper's present policy backs the Government. It is pro-Churchill and can be counted upon to continue its support.

Its post-war policy is still in the embryo. Although the Cadburys are a "Liberal" family, Liberalism has not yet found its place in the twentieth century. Throughout the nineteenth century and up to the last war it served a great cause by championing freedom, which meant freedom for manufacturers and traders as well as for thinkers and orators. Logically, a planned economy is the antithesis of Liberalism; however, Fascism is also its antithesis. This last has thrown the Party definitely leftwards, although it is not yet clear how it will eventually define itself.

In the post-war world Sir Walter Layton will favor increased state control of industry. Mr. Laurence Cadbury, a director of the Bank of England, will probably balk at this, in which case the policy of "The News Chronicle" will be a compromise between the two. It will definitely be more to the Left than to the Right, however, and will champion many schemes for the general socialization of the nation.

It will, of course, support a United Nations League favoring close cooperation with both Russia and the United States. It is perhaps worth mentioning that at the present moment the Editor of "The News Chronicle", Gerald Barry, is firmly in Beaverbrook's pocket.

THE DAILY HERALD

*CIRCULATION: Over 2,000,000

Sunday paper, "The People" (circulation over 3,000,000), published by same firm, Odhams Limited, but unlike "The Daily Herald" entirely non-political in character.

OWNERSHIP

"The Daily Herald", second in circulation to "The Daily Express", is a Socialist paper, the political control of which is in the hands of the Trades Unions.

"The Daily Herald" first appeared in 1912 and had an uncertain existence, financed by collections amongst Socialist supporters and later by Party money, until it was taken over in 1930 by Odhams, Limited, a printing and periodical firm, which publishes "The People", a non-political Sunday paper with a circulation of over 3,000,000.

An arrangement was made by which Odhams took 51% of the shares, the remaining 49% being retained in the name of the thirty-two Trades Union officials as trustees for the Union. Of the nine directors five are nominated by Odhams and four by the Labor Party. The present representatives of the latter are Sir Walter Citrine, Mr. Andrew Conley, Mr. William Kean and Mr. Charles Dukes.

The extreme members of the Labor Party and the Communists objected violently to the fact that the Socialist "Herald" had turned to a capitalist organization in order to continue its existence. In fact, "The Daily Worker" was founded as a protest against the "betrayal" of "The Herald".

In truth, there was no betrayal. Although Odhams, of which Lord Southwood is the chairman, has financial control of the paper and through its excellent management has raised the circulation from a million to over two million, it has no power to direct the political policy of the paper. An arrangement was made by which only the directors selected by the Trades Unions

*Pre-war figure and only one available; approximately the same today.

could vote on political matters; in the case of a dispute arising between Odhams and the Trades Unions it was agreed that Lord Sankey was to act as a referee with Sir William Jowitt as a deputy referee. Both these men were expelled from the Labor Party in 1931 but have since been restored to favor. So far no disagreement has ever arisen.

INFLUENCE

"The Daily Herald" is second in circulation to "The Daily Express". The great bulk of its 2,000,000 readers are working-class people; it has less sale among the middle and upper classes than any other morning paper, including the tabloids. The majority of its followers are members of the Socialist Party and Left Wing sympathizers. It cannot be said, therefore, that it has any great influence in "leading" opinion as it preaches to the already converted. It is the official Labor paper and its true function is to keep its party members instructed on the correct Socialist point of view.

PRE-WAR POLICY

The paper's pre-war policy was the Labor Party's policy. That policy was support of the League of Nations, and verbal opposition to Fascism and aggression. The incongruity of the situation was that it took a firm and persistent stand against re-armament, voting against conscription even five months before the outbreak of war.

The explanation for this inconsistent point of view had its roots in the fact that many leaders of the Socialist party were pacifists in the last war. As a Party, the Socialists upheld the belief that armaments manufacturers with their desire for profit were responsible for war and had therefore pledged themselves to oppose rearmament to the

bitter end. They also had a childish faith that the League of Nations as an instrument in itself was powerful enough to prevent a war, even though unbacked by guns.

Of all policies advocated in the pre-war period, the Labor Party's was the most illogical, which has greatly hampered its cause. It is untrue, however, to claim that their opposition "prevented" the Tory party from re-arming as the Socialist percentage in the House of Commons has always been greatly out-numbered.

"The Daily Herald's" treatment of news is ^{fair} ~~impartial~~ and impartial. Its point of view is confined to editorials and feature articles; its news coverage is no different from that of its more plutocratic contemporaries.

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY

The present policy of "The Daily Herald" is to support the National Government, which includes several members of the Labor Party. Although it revolted a few weeks ago on the question of Old Age pensions and was highly critical of the general situation after the fall of Tobruk (as was almost every other paper), its policy is dictated by the Labor Party and it will continue to support the Government as long as the Socialists remain in harmony with the present Administration.

The Labor Party's post-war policy will certainly favor (a) a United Nations World League with close cooperation between Britain, Russia and the United States, (b) a planned economy and state control of industry for Britain.

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THE DAILY SKETCH

*CIRCULATION 1939: 712,548
CIRCULATION 1941: 750,396

ASSOCIATE PAPERS:

*THE SUNDAY TIMES	<u>CIRCULATION 1941: 382,734</u>
THE SUNDAY GRAPHIC	<u>CIRCULATION 1941: 855,218</u>
THE SUNDAY CHRONICLE	<u>CIRCULATION 1941: 976,178</u>

OWNERSHIP

The above papers are owned by Allied Newspapers, Limited, which is controlled by Lord Kemsley who, as the largest shareholder, holds 25% of the shares, the rest being widely distributed among the public. Allied Newspapers also own a large string of Provincial papers, sixteen in all, which makes Kemsley one of the most powerful proprietors in England.

This company was formed in 1924 by Kemsley and his brother, Camrose, then known as the "Berry brothers". It became not only the largest newspaper proprietary in Britain, but in the world. The Berrys' rise in the newspaper business was as romantic as their success phenomenal. Their vast interests were the creation of little more than ten years' activities. The story is told in the Encyclopaedia Britannica as follows:

"The founder of the business, William E. Berry (now Lord Camrose), like Alfred Harmsworth before him, served an apprenticeship in the humble spheres of journalism, beginning on the MERTHYR TIMES. He went to London in 1898 as sub-editor on the INVESTORS' GUARDIAN, and though he quickly showed a special penchant for financial journalism, he worked on the staffs of several papers before launching out as a newspaper proprietor. In 1901 he

*Circulations based on full years; 1941 are latest available figures.

"started the ADVERTISING WORLD, the first production of the kind in the United Kingdom, and in the same year was joined by his brother Gomer (now Lord Kemsley). Together they started and owned various weekly and monthly papers, and when in 1915 they acquired the "SUNDAY TIMES" and introduced a new vitality into that old established newspaper they were already recognized as important newcomers to the press industry. In quick succession they acquired the GRAPHIC, the DAILY GRAPHIC, the BYSTANDER, the FINANCIER, the FINANCIAL TIMES, the old established house of Cassells, with its periodicals and big publishing business, and Weldon's Fashion Journals. In 1923 they bought KELLY'S DIRECTORIES, including the famous LONDON POST OFFICE DIRECTORY. Later an alliance was formed between the company owning Kelly's directories and Iliffe and Sons who own a leading group of trade and technical journals. Large printing works went with these two concerns. While the foregoing were big transactions from the financial point of view, the Berry's were not firmly established in the newspaper world until 1924 when they bought most of the publications of Edward Hulton Limited, which had been acquired by Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook, and formed the Allied Newspapers Limited, which included the SUNDAY TIMES. The group contained widely circulated and popular newspapers, including the MANCHESTER DAILY DISPATCH, the MANCHESTER EVENING CHRONICLE, the SUNDAY CHRONICLE, the EMPIRE NEWS, the SPORTING CHRONICLE, and sundry other publications. About the same time they took over the control of another important newspaper property, the SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH and EVENING TELEGRAPH, with a number of popular periodicals. Another

"big milestone in their progress was reached in the following year when they bought all the newspapers in Newcastle except one, namely the NORTH MAIL, the NEWCASTLE EVENING CHRONICLE, the SUNDAY SUN, etc., and simultaneously acquired the GLASGOW DAILY RECORD, the GLASGOW EVENING NEWS, and SUNDAY MAIL. To this group was added in 1926 the NORTH EASTERN DAILY GAZETTE of Middlesbrough, and the Allied Northern Newspapers Company, Limited, formed with a capital, including debentures, of four million pounds. Very soon afterwards the Berry's purchased from Lord Rothermere the two papers which he had retained from the Hulton group, namely, the DAILY SKETCH and the SUNDAY GRAPHIC, which were formed into a separate company. Towards the end of 1927 Sir William and Sir Gomer Berry - both having been made baronets in recognition of their public services, Sir William in 1922 and Sir Gomer in 1927 - started the newspaper world by acquiring the DAILY TELEGRAPH from Lord Burnham and his family. Sir Edward Iliffe was a partner in this transaction. The new owners immediately began to put new life into this sound and sedate organ of the English commercial and middle classes. Important paper-making works went with the newspaper. The capital involved in this transaction has not been made public.

"It is probable that the Berry's would have been content to have consolidated their properties but in 1928 a new newspaper war was started and they took up the challenge. They bought the DERBY EXPRESS, the BRISTOL TIMES AND MIRROR, the BRISTOL EVENING TIMES, the ABERDEEN PRESS AND JOURNAL and the ABERDEEN EVENING EXPRESS.

"For several years the Berry family have had control of the WESTERN MAIL and EVENING EXPRESS, Cardiff, and in August 1928 bought the SOUTHWALES DAILY NEWS and SOUTH WALES ECHO - the other papers in Cardiff.

"While the foregoing list of newspaper properties controlled by the Berry companies are a formidable combination they do not by any means complete the wide range of their interests in the publishing business. In 1927 they bought the Amalgamated Press Limited, the business founded by the late Lord Northcliffe and his brother, Lord Rothermere. It was largely in the hands of the trustees of the Northcliffe estate and the Berrys were the successful bidders. It is the largest periodical business in the world and published over 120 weekly and monthly publications. Its capital was £3,000,000. The Berrys paid £9,000,000 and have paid dividends on the increased capital.

"Like all big combinations the Berrys proceeded to safeguard themselves regarding the supply of raw material. They acquired with the Amalgamated Press the Imperial Paper Mills and in 1927 bought the famous Edward Lloyd Paper Mills, the biggest single concern of the kind in the world, so that they became the biggest paper manufacturers in Great Britain as well as the largest newspaper and periodical owners."

Until a year ago the Berry brothers acted as a unit, but in January 1937 there was a shuffle of the Directorates and shareholdings. Lord Camrose kept the DAILY TELEGRAPH, the FINANCIAL TIMES and the AMALGAMATED PRESS, while Lord Kemsley retained control of the bulk of the group's newspaper interests.

INFLUENCE.

"The Daily Sketch" is a Conservative tabloid picture paper whose readers are drawn from all walks of life with the largest percentage from the working classes. It devotes little space to politics, and beside from occasional articles of a serious nature by Beverley Baxter, specializes in women's news and family features and human interest stories.

Its owner, Lord Kemsley, however, owns the largest chain of provincial papers in England. There are sixteen of them in all - six morning papers, seven evening papers and three Sunday papers, with a combined circulation of close to four million, which is nearly half of the total combined circulations of the entire provincial press - "The Sunday Graphic", a tabloid, "The Sunday Chronicle", mainly circulated among the lower income group, and "The Sunday Times", a class paper of great influence. Rather than discuss the policy of "The Sketch" individually, therefore, Kemsley's policy for Allied Newspapers as a whole will be dealt with. The combined circulation for the entire group is approximately six-and-a-half millions, and is larger than that controlled by any other single man in England.

PRE-WAR POLICY.

The policy of all papers under the control of Allied Newspapers is personally directed by Lord Kemsley. They are conservative, and support the Conservative or National Government of the day. Lord Kemsley, like his brother, Lord Camrose, has a reputation for integrity in business. In both popularity and ability, however, he has always been overshadowed by the latter and therefore has never held the same influence in political affairs. Some of the reason for this is due to the

fact/

fact that when the two brothers were in partnership Camrose controlled matters of policy while Kemsley specialized in the financial and business side of the papers. It was not until the partnership was dissolved in 1937, therefore, that the latter took an active interest in the political side of journalism.

Lord Kemsley had travelled little and his qualifications to judge foreign affairs were not extensive. In 1931 he married Madame Dresselhuys of Mauritius, formerly the wife of the Liberian Minister in London. Through Lady Kemsley's connection with diplomatic life she had great pretensions to knowledge of world affairs and was influential in coloring many of Kemsley's views.

Lady Kemsley's sister was married to Pierre Flandin's brother-in-law which brought her into touch with France's rich industrial class, most of whom turned out to be the country's Fifth Column. They impressed Lady Kemsley with their talk of "Bolshevism" which she came to regard as a far greater danger than Nazism.

Kemsley became pro-Chamberlain and pro-appeasement. Although his wife's influence was apparent and her motive may well be doubted, he himself was not an unpatriotic man (he now has five sons in the armed forces) but became convinced that peace could be maintained by reasonable negotiation. He was received by Hitler the summer before war broke out and shared Chamberlain's naive conviction that Hitler had no quarrel with England and only needed to be "handled" tactfully. He opposed the Eden School as being "pro-French" and fought against Churchill's inclusion in the Cabinet to the end.

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

Allied Newspapers support the Government, but Kemsley has never revised his opinion of Churchill and if there were anyone else to take his place would undoubtedly give him his backing. He believes the Prime Minister should relinquish his role of Minister of Defense, and will continue to attack him on this score.

With his wife giving him full encouragement, Kemsley's post-war policy on internal matters will favor a return to pre-war standards as rapidly as possible. He will oppose government control of industry and defend the profits system vigorously. He will do so with conviction; being a self-made man he will argue that a system cannot be said to discriminate which allows a man to rise from obscurity to power as he has. His point of view, in fact, will represent Republicanism versus the New Deal.

On foreign matters, he will favor an international police force and a United Nations world policy dominated by proposals from Washington and London. He will oppose giving Russia an equal voice.

There are in all
in the Daily Mirror Company. The largest holdings are in the
shares of Decca's French business and G. O. ...
held with 248,000 and 228,142 shares respectively. The next
largest is that of F. G. Hart and Sir John Ellerman with
154,725. Mrs. Evelyn ...
28,078 and also owns 24,407 shares in the Sunday ...
Company. Mr. John ...
24,142 standing in his own name.

The Sunday Pictorial Company has 1,000,000 ordinary
shares, of which roughly a quarter are owned by the company's
company. There is, as stated above, one holder of 24,142

THE DAILY MIRROR

CIRCULATION 1939: 1,600,000
CIRCULATION 1942: 1,700,000

ASSOCIATE PAPERS: THE SUNDAY PICTORIAL

PRESENT CIRCULATION: About 1,750,000

OWNERSHIP

"The Daily Mirror" and "The Sunday Pictorial" are owned by separate companies but their boards of directors are almost identical and the chairman of both is Mr. John Cowley.

During the last few years there has been a good deal of speculation about the ownership of these companies. At one time they belonged to the late Lord Rothermere but in 1931 he publicly announced that he had severed his connection with them and no longer owned shares in either one.

The fact is that as the result of sales on the market of Lord Rothermere's holdings and those of other large owners, the shares of both companies are so widely distributed among the public that there is no control in any possible combination of large holders.

There are in all 5,600,000 five shilling Ordinary shares in the Daily Mirror Company. The largest holdings are in the names of Drummonds Branch nominees and C. O. nominees (Lloyds Bank) with 250,000 and 228,180 shares respectively. The next largest is that of F. G. Burt and Sir John Ellerman with 153,725. Mrs. Evelyn Staines, c/o Coutts nominees, has 92,672 and also owns 56,403 shares in the Sunday Pictorial Company. Mr. John Cowley has 34,142 standing in his own name.

The Sunday Pictorial Company has 1,050,000 £ Ordinary shares, of which roughly a quarter are owned by its companion company. There is, as stated above, one holder of 56,403

shares and the remainder, with the exception of the comparatively small holdings of the directors, are held by the public.

The working control of the two papers, however, is in the hands of three men: Cecil King (Rothermere's nephew), Harry Bartholomew (formerly Editor of "The Mirror"), and John Cowley, the chairman. King and Bartholomew, both members of the board of directors, are also "editorial directors". King acts for Pictorial and Bartholomew for the Mirror. They are given a free hand but in the last instance are responsible to Cowley.

Bartholomew is considered ^{one of} the greatest pictorial journalist in the world and is himself an expert photographer; most of the photographs in "The Daily Mirror" War Exhibition were taken by him. Cowley was one of the original directors of Northcliffe's great company, Associated Newspapers.

INFLUENCE

The tabloid paper, "The Daily Mirror", has a definite upper and middle class appeal. After "The Times", "The Telegraph" and "The Mail", it has the largest circulation in the higher income brackets of any other morning paper. It is interesting to note that in spite of its efforts at sensationalism it has a smaller circulation among the lowest class than any other paper except "The Times" and "The Telegraph".

At one time the rival "Daily Sketch" exceeded it in popularity, but today "The Mirror" has not only outstripped ~~but~~ ~~it~~ ~~but~~ ~~it~~ doubled the latter's sale.

Both tabloids are described in Mitchell's advertising journal as "family" papers. This has caused "The Sketch" much annoyance for it claims that "The Mirror's" appeal is due to a very un-family-like emphasis on sex. There is no doubt but what "Jane", a figure who appears in a daily strip cartoon and invariably finds herself stranded on a desert

island with only a sarong at hand, has become a national celebrity.

"The Mirror" devotes comparatively little space to politics but its jibes are often sharp enough to create more stir than the long and pontifical articles of serious papers. The very fact of its large and well-to-do audience gives it an influence not to be discounted.

PRE-WAR POLICY.

The policy was designed first and foremost to make money.

It was strongly anti-Fascist and pro-Collective Security. It opposed Mr. Chamberlain from 1937 on, and was one of Churchill's earliest and strongest champions.

Its columns were sensational and often unreliable but seldom failed to provoke a response. Its greatest delight was setting its machine-gun sites on the 'Old School Tie'. Its light-hearted and derisive tone found its closest counterpart in "The Daily Express". Unlike the latter, however, "The Mirror" had the advantage of being dis-associated with a dominating personality; although Left in its views, it also had the advantage of being independent of Party politics. Both of these factors appealed to its readers who regarded it with less suspicion than papers with an "axe to grind".

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

"The Daily Mirror's" financial interests remain its chief consideration.

After Chamberlain resigned it supported Churchill and the Government; a year later it was still supporting Churchill but attacking the Government.

It revived its diatribes against the 'Old School Tie' and its leading columnist, "Cassandra", an Irishman by the

name/

name of Connor, became more outspoken than ever in his stinging criticism of the "class" system. The Editor was warned by the Government that its policy was undermining morale and therefore not in the national interest. Such hints were unheeded until last spring when there was a threat to close the paper altogether. The question was debated in Parliament, which evidently was sufficient to frighten the money-minded directors, for over-night the tone changed. Talk of suspension was dropped and "Cassandra" suddenly found himself called up for service in the army.

At present "The Mirror" is lying low. It still supports Churchill and still rebukes the Government but its criticisms are only pale shadows of former days. Championing the Left has always provided more facility for creating a stir than adhering to the Right, but, in the post-war era how loudly the directors will allow the paper to call for a Government-controlled planned economy remains to be seen.

It will stay in the Radical camp insomuch as it will continue to stick pins into the Existing Order, no matter what it is. If its former views on foreign affairs are any indication of the future, it will advocate a United Nations World League dominated by Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States.

* * * * *

The eight morning papers and their associates have covered the whole of the national press with their morning, evening and Sunday papers, except for the following three Sunday papers: "The News of the World", "Reynold's Weekly", and "The Observer".

NEWS OF THE WORLD.

CIRCULATION: Over 4,000,000

The "News of the World" has the largest circulation in the world. It is owned by two families; the sons of the late Sir Emsely Carr and the sons of the late Charles Jackson, all of whom are now serving in the armed forces. The paper supports the Government and the war effort but otherwise is completely non-political. It specializes in home features, sporting news, comics and is famous for its serial stories. It is edited by Major Davies, a middle-aged Scot, who is given a free hand in running the paper. Its great appeal is in its human interest and almost the entire bulk of its circulation is among the working classes.

REYNOLD'S NEWS.

CIRCULATION About 500,000

"Reynold's News" is owned by the Co-operative Movement, an affiliation of the Labor Party, headed by Mr. A.V. Alexander, Socialist member of Parliament and First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. A. Barnes M.P., is chairman of the board of directors. The paper is published by the Co-operative Press Limited and edited by Sidney Elliott. Its policy is dictated by the Movement; at present it supports the Government and, like the "Daily Herald", will continue to do so as long as Labor remains in harmony with the administration. Its readers are chiefly among the working classes; its small circulation has not expanded, as was

hoped/

hoped, and it is extremely doubtful that the funds of the Movement have been increased by its entry into journalism. As it is registered under the Friendly Societies particulars are not available.

THE OBSERVER

CIRCULATION 1939: 224,815
CIRCULATION 1942: 243,767

OWNERSHIP

"The Observer" is owned by Lord Astor who inherited the paper upon his father's death in 1917. The latter had originally purchased it from Lord Northcliffe a few years previously.

The circumstances that provoked Northcliffe to sell are curious ones. Soon after he acquired the paper, he appointed J. L. Garvin, a close friend, to the editorship. Both men were vigorous personalities with decided opinions of their own. It was not long before they disagreed on policy and neither one would give way to the other. Northcliffe saw the hopelessness of attempting to control Garvin and, in order to preserve their friendship, told the latter that if he could find a purchaser for the paper who was willing to give him (Garvin) a free hand he would agree to sell. Garvin found the Astors.

INFLUENCE

"The Observer" and "The Sunday Times" are the only national Sunday papers with a "class" circulation and therefore have considerable influence. "The Observer" was at one time alone in the Sunday field and unrivalled in prestige. It was established not long after the French Revolution in 1791, and was ultra-conservative in its layout and presentation. It reported the Battle of Trafalgar

in 1805 without headlines and a year later ran Wellington's despatch on the Battle of Waterloo as if it were the heading of a Parliamentary Blue Book. It maintained its somber aspect until the late Lord Astor bought it from Lord Northcliffe in 1909. Under the editorship of J. L. Garvin, one of the outstanding figures in English journalism, its tone was greatly enlivened and it became one of the most discussed and quoted papers in London. It was famous not only for its editorials and articles on foreign affairs but for its literary reviews, and its musical and theatrical notes. Although its circulation has decreased in the last few years, it still has an influential and well-informed audience.

PRE-WAR POLICY

"The Observer" is a conservative paper which usually supports the Conservative or National Government of the day. Due to the original agreement between the Astors and Garvin, the latter was allowed to direct the policy until the last year or so when differences of opinion became so acute he was forced to resign the editorship. Garvin was a prolific writer on international affairs and a man of wide interests and knowledge. In his spare time he edited the 1929 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. His opinions on foreign affairs were always pronounced, and he reserved for himself the privilege of writing a weekly article in which he expounded them; often these articles were so long they took up nearly the whole editorial page.

His views coincided with those of his proprietor's wife, Lady Astor. Although he backed the Conservative Party in the 1935 general election on an issue upholding

the League of Nations, two years later he was a Chamberlain supporter favoring non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War; promoting the appeasement of Italy and Germany's claims to the right of a free hand in Central Europe.

However, all this changed when the Germans broke their word six months after the Munich Agreement and occupied Prague. He turned bitterly against appeasement and became one of Churchill's most belligerent supporters. Here he ran into trouble with his proprietors. Lady Astor stubbornly maintained her enmity to Churchill, which was based on a personal feud of long standing, and accentuated by the fact that he had been more often right than not, and continued to fight against the latter's inclusion in the Chamberlain cabinet.

Garvin began to have sharp encounters with his proprietors. He was a forceful enough personality, however, to keep his flags flying and continued to urge that Churchill's abilities be made use of; this advice was not accepted until war broke out and he was at last taken into the government as First Lord of the Admiralty.

The Astor antipathy continued even when Churchill became Prime Minister. In the spring of this year Garvin wrote an article counter to the Astor's wishes, upholding Beaverbrook as Minister of Production and defending Churchill's dual role of Prime Minister and Minister for Defense. The Astors were so indignant that they demanded his resignation. He is now writing for the "Sunday Express".

PRESENT/

PRESENT AND FUTURE POLICY.

"The Observer" is now edited by Ivor Brown, the music and theater critic, but the policy is run by the Astors.

It professes to support the Government but is decidedly anti-Churchill. It attacks the latter for holding the dual role of Prime Minister and Minister of Defense. If another man showed signs of gaining the public confidence there is little doubt but what the paper would back him against Churchill.

It is likely that after the war "The Observer" will be run by the Astors' second son, Captain David Astor who already is interesting himself in the direction of the paper. If this is the case and the latter is allowed to control the policy without family interference, it may show as marked a change as that of "The Times". Captain Astor is 33 years old and is a close friend of Michael Foot, the Left Wing, 29-year-old editor of Beaverbrook's "Evening Standard".

Although his views are not yet solidified, he is more sympathetic to the Left than the Right; if he continues on his present line "The Observer" may one day favor state control of industry and a system of planned economy. In any case, it will emphasize the need for improvements in housing, education and recreational facilities for the working classes. It will, in fact, support a "New Deal".

On Foreign affairs it will approve full cooperation between the United Nations, dominated by Anglo-American ideas. This, of course, will meet with the elder Astors' approval, but close relations with Russia may be a matter of controversy between the two.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

This report would not be complete without a few words about the Liberal paper, "The Manchester Guardian". Although it has a small circulation of only forty thousand and, published in Manchester belongs, strictly speaking, in the provincial category, its high prestige has lent it a national influence.

It was first founded in 1821 as a weekly organ, being transformed into a daily paper some thirty years later when it became recognized as the chief exponent of Liberalism outside of London. During the greater part of this period it was edited by the distinguished scholar, C. P. Scott, and gained a world-wide reputation for general excellence.

Today it is not a money-making proposition. Owned by Mr. John Scott, whose family have controlled it for many years, it is supported financially by its associate evening paper, "The Evening News" which sells over a hundred and sixty thousand copies daily. It has maintained an unsurpassed literary standard, however, and the high quality of its correspondents and the excellence of its foreign news is rivalled only by "The Times". Although it has a limited audience it is a select one and the paper's editorial opinions are carefully noted by the London press.

Its pre-war policy, like that of the liberal "News Chronicle", was anti-fascist and pro-collective security. It failed, however, to emphasize the necessity for re-armament, assuming (again like the "Chronicle") that the enemy could be routed with threats.

CONCLUSIONS.

Its present policy backs the Government. Its post-war policy will be left in its pressure for social reform. How far it will go in support of a state-controlled planned economy depends upon how the Liberal Party eventually defines itself.

First, the majority supports Mr. Churchill. Out of the twenty-one papers only five are opposed to him, and these not openly. They are: "The Times," "The Observer", and "The Daily Mail" and its associate "The Morning News" and "The Sunday Dispatch".

Second, legislation is permanently dead. All papers will favor a United Nations world plan.

Third, Internal policy indicates a definite swing to

CONCLUSIONS.

Conclusions which may be drawn from analyzing the London, or national, press with its eight morning and ten associate papers, and the remaining three independent Sunday papers, are as follows:

First, the majority support Mr. Churchill. Out of the twenty-one papers only five are opposed to him, and these not openly. They are: "The Times," "The Observer", and "The Daily Mail" and its associates "The Evening News" and "The Sunday Dispatch".

Second, Isolationism is permanently dead. All papers will favor a United Nations world plan.

Third, Internal policy indicates a definite swing to the Left. "The Times", once the bulwark of Conservatism, has moved toward planned economy. "The Express" gives indication of following in the latter's footsteps, and if Captain Astor is given full control of "The Observer" he, too, may follow suit. The Liberal "News Chronicle" and the radical "Daily Mirror" have always been Left Wing sympathizers, while "The Daily Herald" and "Reynolds News" are straight Labor papers. This means that out of nineteen politically minded papers ("The People" and "The News of the World" are non-political) only eight are clinging firmly to the Conservative camp. They are: "The Daily Telegraph" (Camrose); "The Sketch", "Chronicle", "Graphic", "Sunday Times" (Kemsley); "The Daily Mail", "Evening News" and "Sunday Dispatch" (Rothermere).

If the press is influential in the post-war world, These facts indicate that Great Britain will undergo many interesting and revolutionary changes.

SECTION 2: THE BRITISH PROVINCIAL PRESS

The British "provincial press" is a term applied to all general morning, evening and Sunday newspapers published outside London. In England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland there are one hundred and six newspapers which have a total combined circulation of over nine and a half millions, about one third of the combined circulation of the London press.

Before assessing the influence of these papers, it must be emphasized that little parallel can be drawn between the provincial papers of Britain and America. The reason for this lies chiefly in the fact that British provincial papers are largely overshadowed by the great London dailies which, due to the small area composing the British Isles, circulate nationally.

In America this situation does not exist. Vast distances prevent any one daily paper from becoming a national organ. Even if these distances were overcome, however, it is doubtful whether New York papers would interest people in San Francisco, or Chicago papers those in Boston. Varying conditions, problems, and climates, as well as the multitude of important commercial metropolises, have made American cities more or less independent communities; in peace time no one center can be said to dominate the interests of the country as a whole.

Here it is different. London is not only the capital city with an ascendancy as a political and international hub but a great commercial and financial focal point as well. This fact, coupled again with the relatively small area composing the British Isles, has given London papers and London news a universal appeal for people in all parts of the country.

The provincial/

The provincial press, therefore, has carved out a role of its own. Rather than compete with the wealthy and highly controversial London dailies, it has chosen not to attempt a thorough coverage of national events but to concentrate for the most part on sporting, agricultural, and financial features, local news and advertising. This has proved a profitable market for no matter how satisfying the London papers may be for news of world events, a local paper is always indispensable for announcements of births, marriages, cricket matches, cinema programs, and monthly sales at the local grocers.

There are, of course, exceptions to the general non-political character of the London press. Lord Kemsley runs a political policy in his large provincial string. The most outstanding provincial political papers are, however, six morning papers, all of which, except for the 'Glasgow Daily Herald', are independently owned. They are: The 'Manchester Guardian', the 'Yorkshire Post', the 'Birmingham Post', the 'Glasgow Daily Herald', 'The Scotsman', and the 'Liverpool Daily Post'.

Although these papers have great prestige, none of them maintains its own foreign service, with the exception of the 'Manchester Guardian', which has a few "special correspondents" who contribute articles; neither do they circulate to any great extent outside their own community. Although the 'Manchester Guardian' has a national reputation, and for that reason has been included in Section 1 of this review, it is estimated that out of a circulation of 40,000, less than 2,000 copies a day are circulated in London.

None/

None of the provincial evening papers are political with the exception of the 'Belfast Evening Telegraph', which is dealt with later on. The fact that the evening papers are far more numerous and have larger circulations than the morning papers is chiefly due to the fact that the London evening papers cannot circulate nationally because of the time element involved. Out of the 106 provincial papers 7 are Sunday papers, 29 morning papers, and 70 evening papers.

The ownership of ^{the provincial} these papers falls into two groups: (a) those controlled by combines and (b) those controlled by private individuals or companies. There are nine combines, and the great bulk of the provincial press falls under them; they control sixty-one of the 106 papers, with a total circulation of 7,487,000 out of the grand total of 9,095,000. Out of the nine combines all except two are controlled by London companies and directors; the exceptions are D.C. Thomson & Co. and George Outram & Co., both Scottish firms.

On the following page a list of the provincial newspapers is given under the headings "GROUP OWNERSHIPS" and "INDEPENDENT OWNERSHIPS" in order that the reader may gain a quick estimate of control and circulation. It is well worth noting that the combined circulation of Lord Kemsley's papers totals 4,707,000, over half the circulation of the grand total.

INDEPENDENT OWNERSHIPS		
11 independent morning papers	516,000	
27 independent evening papers	7,127,000	
1 independent Sunday paper	50,000	
Total circulation		7,693,000
Group total		7,487,000
Independent total		2,046,000
Grand total		9,533,000

THE PROVINCIAL PRESS

GROUP OWNERSHIP

ALLIED NEWSPAPERS

Total Circulation

6 morning papers	1,081,000
7 evening "	877,000
4 Sunday "	2,935,000

WESTMINSTER GROUP

4 morning papers	185,000
9 evening "	435,000
1 Sunday paper	150,000

NORTHCLIFFE GROUP

10 evening papers	385,000
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PROVINCIAL PAPERS

4 evening papers	310,000
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SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS LTD.

3 evening papers	122,000
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HARMSWORTH GROUP

1 morning paper	46,000
3 evening papers	84,000

STOREY GROUP

3 evening papers	118,000
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D.C. THOMSON & CO., LTD.

1 morning paper	70,000
1 evening "	55,000
1 Sunday "	250,000

GEORGE OUTRAM & CO.

2 morning papers	184,000
1 evening paper	200,000

Total circulation: 7,487,000

INDEPENDENT OWNERSHIPS

15 independent morning papers	516,000
29 independent evening papers	1,042,000
1 independent Sunday paper	50,000

Total circulation: 1,608,000

Group total: 7,487,000
Independent total: 1,608,000

Grand total: 9,095,000

ALLIED NEWSPAPERS. (Controlled by Lord Kemsley; see page 40)

<u>Aberdeen</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
Press & Journal	(morning)	40,000
Evening Express	(evening)	60,000
<u>Cardiff</u>		
Western Mail	(morning)	120,000
South Wales Echo	(evening)	180,000
<u>Glasgow</u>		
Daily Record	(morning)	275,000
Evening News	(evening)	100,000
Sunday Mail		340,000
<u>Manchester</u>		
Daily Dispatch	(morning)	416,000
Evening Chronicle	(evening)	180,000
Sunday Chronicle & Referee		975,000
Empire News (Sunday)		1,500,000
<u>Middlesbrough</u>		
Eastern Gazette	(evening)	60,000
<u>Newcastle</u>		
Newcastle Journal & North Mail	(morning)	130,000
Evening Chronicle	(evening)	170,000
Sunday Sun		120,000
<u>Sheffield</u>		
Telegraph & Independent	(morning)	100,000
The Star	(evening)	127,000

The political editorials printed each day in all of these papers are written in London at the direction of Lord Kemsley. The editors have no authority of their own aside from handling news and events of a local nature.

The most important feature of the group is the fact that it holds a monopoly in three cities - Cardiff, Newcastle, and Sheffield. With the field clear of rival newspapers Kemsley's political/

political views naturally predominate.

Kemsley's most important provincial daily paper and the one which he himself is most interested in with a view of publishing it in London one day, is the 'Manchester Daily Dispatch' which has a circulation of 400,000. He is attempting to build it into a prestige paper along the lines of the 'Manchester Guardian' and the 'Yorkshire Post'.

Although Kemsley owns no "class papers", his readers being drawn mainly from the middle and lower-middle classes, his enterprises are all highly successful financial ventures. With the number of papers and the enormous circulations he controls, he ranks as one of the most powerful newspaper proprietors in the world. His provincial group is more politically minded than any other provincial chain in Britain, he himself being keenly interested in influencing events of national importance.

In any efforts to launch American views in Britain the Kemsley Press should not be overlooked; it would not be unwise to contact Kemsley personally in securing his cooperation. For his policy and views please see page 40.

Editor

North Western * * * * *

The above group is the second largest string of provincial papers in England. Some of the control lies with the Cowdrey family, but the bulk of shares is believed to be held by the Cowdrey Trust which was founded by the late Lord Cowdrey, a one-time oil magnate. Cowdrey started his newspaper ventures by acquiring the 'Westminster Gazette', a famous London liberal morning paper which was swallowed up some years ago by 'The Daily/

THE WESTMINSTER GROUP.

		<u>Circulation</u>
<u>Birmingham</u>		
Birmingham Gazette	(morning)	70,000
Evening Dispatch	(evening)	120,000
Sunday Mercury		150,000
<u>Nottingham</u>		
Nottingham Journal	(morning)	35,000
Notts. Evening News	(evening)	100,000
<u>Darlington</u>		
Northern Echo	(morning)	50,000
Northern Evening Dispatch	(evening)	20,000
<u>Bradford</u>		
Yorkshire Observer	(morning)	30,000
Evening Telegraph & Argus	(evening)	50,000
<u>Oxford</u>		
Mail	(evening)	30,000
<u>Swindon</u>		
Evening Advertiser	(evening)	20,000
<u>Shields</u>		
Daily Gazette	(evening)	25,000
Evening News	(evening)	40,000
<u>Barrow</u>		
North Western Evening Mail	(evening)	30,000

The above group is the second largest string of provincial papers in England. Some of the control lies with the Rowntree family, but the bulk of shares is believed to be held by the Cowdray Trust which was founded by the late Lord Cowdray, a one-time oil magnate. Cowdray started his newspaper ventures by acquiring the 'Westminster Gazette', a famous London liberal morning paper which was swallowed up some years ago by 'The

Daily/

Daily News', which in turn eventually became amalgamated with the 'News Chronicle'.

^{Among} The present Directors of the Cowdray Trust are Cowdray's daughter-in-law, Lady Cowdray, Lady Denman, and Lord Rosebery. The man who controls and directs the papers, however, is the Managing Director, a Mr. W.T. Bailey, president of the Newspaper Society.

Although the general policy of the Westminster Group is Liberal, during the last ten years it has gradually become more commercial than politically-minded. All the papers are good business ventures but none has ever acquired outstanding prestige. In each city they have taken their place as "second best".

The two most successful and important papers in the group are the 'Birmingham Gazette' and the 'Nottingham Journal'. In both cases they are over-shadowed by the 'Birmingham Post' and the 'Nottingham Guardian'.

Midland

Bham * * * * *

Wales

South Wales Evening Post (evening) 30,000

Lord Rothermere's provincial papers consist only of evening papers which carry little political news. As an enterprise they are mainly commercial. When views are occasionally expressed, however, on important national issues they are dictated from the 'Daily Mail' office in London, and usually follow conservative lines.

This group is the third largest chain of provincial papers in England but being non-political carries little influence. For information as to Lord Rothermere's policy please see page 22.

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NORTHCLIFFE GROUP. (Controlled by Lord Rothermere; see page 24)

<u>Bristol</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
	Evening World (evening)	75,000
<u>Cheltenham</u>		
	Gloucestershire Echo (evening)	25,000
<u>Derby</u>		
	Evening Telegraph (evening)	20,000
<u>Gloucester</u>		
	Evening Citizen (evening)	20,000
<u>Grimsby</u>		
	Evening Telegraph (evening)	25,000
<u>Hanley (Stoke-on-Trent)</u>		
	Staffordshire Sentinel (evening)	60,000
<u>Hull</u>		
	Daily Mail (evening)	60,000
<u>Leicester</u>		
	Evening Mail (evening)	50,000
<u>Lincoln</u>		
	Echo (evening)	20,000
<u>Swansea</u>		
	South Wales Evening Post (evening)	30,000

Lord Rothermere's provincial papers consist only of evening papers which carry little political news. As an enterprise they are mainly commercial. When views are occasionally expressed, however, on important national issues they are dictated from the 'Daily Mail' office in London, and usually follow conservative lines.

This group is the third largest chain of provincial papers in England but being non-political carries little influence. For information as to Lord Rothermere's policy please see page 24.

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THE HARMSWORTH GROUP.

<u>Plymouth</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
Western Morning News	(morning)	46,000
Western Evening Herald & Western Evening News	(evening)	46,000
<u>Exeter</u>		
Express & Echo	(evening)	25,000
<u>Torquay</u>		
Torbay Herald & Express	(evening)	13,000

The above papers are owned by Sir Harold Harmsworth who inherited them from his father, the late Sir Leicester Harmsworth, a brother of Lord Northcliffe.

Sir Harold is a member of the Liberal party and keenly interested in the political policy of his papers. He writes and supervises many of the leaders, exercising a direct control over the editorial as well as the business management.

As evening papers deal very little with national affairs, the 'Western Morning News' is the most important of his group. It was anti-Fascist and anti-Chamberlain before the war and is now a staunch supporter of the Government.

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PROVINCIAL PAPERS LTD.

<u>Preston</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
	Lancs. Daily Post (evening)	70,000
<u>Leeds</u>		
	Yorkshire Evening News (evening)	100,000
<u>Northampton</u>		
	Chronicle & Echo (evening)	40,000
<u>Edinburgh</u>		
	Evening News (evening)	100,000

The Provincial Newspaper Group is owned by Provincial Newspapers Ltd., a company the largest shareholders of which is United Newspapers Ltd., once publishers of Lloyd George's aggressive Liberal paper, 'The Daily Chronicle'.

Sir Herbert Grotian, K.C. (at one time a Conservative M.P.) is the present Chairman of both Provincial and United. The direction of the papers, however, is left to Mr. J.C. Akerman, formerly manager of 'The Times'. The above papers are all successful commercial ventures but devote practically no space to politics.

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SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS LTD.

<u>Bournemouth</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
Daily Echo	(evening)	42,000
<u>Southampton</u>		
Southern Daily Echo	(evening)	60,000
<u>Weymouth</u>		
Dorset Daily Echo & Weymouth Dispatch	(evening)	20,000

These papers are owned by a local Southampton family by the name of Perkins. A nephew of the present Chairman was a Conservative M.P. for Strouder. The papers are all sound business ventures and almost entirely non-political.

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THE STOREY GROUP.

<u>Portsmouth</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
Evening News & Southern Daily Mail	(evening)	62,000
<u>The Hartlepoons</u>		
Northern Daily Mail	(evening)	16,000
<u>Sunderland</u>		
Sunderland Echo	(evening)	40,000

These papers are owned and directed by Mr. Samuel Storey, a Conservative M.P. and formerly a chairman of Reuters. Being evening papers they are non-political, dealing almost entirely with local news and events.

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These papers are widely read but neither devote much space to national political events; in the case of the 'Daily Mail', Thomson would support the Conservative party. People heavily interested in politics usually subscribe to the 'Glasgow Herald' or 'The Scotsman' as well as the Sunday papers.

The 'Glasgow Sunday Post' is another highly successful property, but is also non-political.

D.C. THOMSON & CO., LTD.

<u>Dundee</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
	The Courier & Advertiser (morning)	70,000
	The Evening Telegraph & Post (evening)	55,000
	Glasgow Evening Times (evening)	200,000
<u>Glasgow</u>		
	Glasgow <u>Sunday Post</u>	250,000

The firm of D.C. Thomson & Co., Ltd. of Dundee, Scotland, is chiefly a large periodical firm. It has acquired the ownership of the above papers during the last 20 years. The director is Mr. Thomson, a hard-working Scot with conservative political views. Although he controls the only morning and evening papers in Dundee, both of which are extremely profitable business ventures, he is more interested in the financial management than the editorial side of his properties.

Both papers are widely read but neither devotes much space to national political events; in the case of a big issue, however, Thomson would support the Conservative party. People keenly interested in politics usually subscribe to the 'Glasgow Herald' or 'The Scotsman' as well as the Dundee papers.

The 'Glasgow Sunday Post' is another highly successful property, but is also non-political.

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GEORGE OUTRAM & CO.

<u>Glasgow</u>		<u>Circulation</u>
Glasgow Herald	(morning)	61,000
Bulletin & Scots Pictorial	(morning)	123,000
Glasgow Evening Times	(evening)	200,000

George Outram & Co. is a Glasgow firm controlled by its chairman, Mr. James Gourley, a director of the Bank of Scotland, and its managing director, Mr. A.E. Ewing, a chairman of the Press Association and Reuters. Both men are over 70.

All three of these papers are valuable and successful financial properties. The 'Glasgow Herald' is one of the six most important provincial papers in Britain.

The 'Herald' was founded about 1870 which marked the end of the American Revolution and the beginning of the great Industrial Revolution in England. It has, therefore, been closely linked with the growth of Glasgow from a comparatively small seaport to a great manufacturing and shipping center.

INFLUENCE AND POLICY OF THE 'HERALD'.

Gourley, a cautious Scot, directs the policy of the 'Herald'. He is conservative and cautious in all matters. The paper was pro-Munich and tepid about conscription. At the present time it fully supports the Churchill government. It is a serious paper with great influence among upper and upper middle-class families but seldom takes an aggressive or independent line. It will undoubtedly oppose any radical changes in the post-war era.

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Besides the papers listed under group ownership there remain 15 morning papers, and 24 evening papers. The following report will deal with the morning papers and their associates; the 24 evening papers will merely be listed at the end as all of them are non-political in character.

From the point of view of prestige and influence the most important provincial papers in Britain are: The 'Manchester Guardian', the 'Yorkshire Post', the 'Birmingham Post', the 'Glasgow Herald', 'The Scotsman' and the 'Liverpool Daily Post'.

With the exception of the 'Glasgow Herald', which has been listed under George Outram & Co. on page 69, none of these papers is owned by combines, but they are private properties independently controlled. The 'Manchester Guardian', the most influential of all, has been listed under the national papers on page 52. The following, therefore, will include only the 'Yorkshire Post', the 'Birmingham Post', 'The Scotsman' and the 'Liverpool Daily Post'. The remaining 10 morning papers with their associate evening papers will then be listed alphabetically according to locality. The one independent provincial Sunday paper, the Plymouth 'Western Independent' is owned and controlled by Lord Astor. For his views and policy see page 48 of Section 1.

It was the only provincial paper in the country, aside from the 'Manchester Guardian' and the Chamberlain Government. Many of its leaders were reprinted in London papers and debated in the House of Commons.

This vigorous and independent line was not due, as most people suppose, to Rupert Beckett's connection with the Anthony Blunt, but to the editor, Mr. Arthur Hays. Beckett's interests were confined to the business management and Hays was allowed to direct the political policy. He did his job fearlessly, among

other/

other things the 'Yorkshire Post' was the first paper to "break" the story of Edward the VIII's threatened abdication. Mann's attack against Munich was so strong that the elderly Mr. Beckett grew frightened and tried to persuade the former to adopt a more compromising tone. Mann's answer was his resignation. He was succeeded by Mr. W.L. Andrews, formerly editor of the 'Leeds Mercury'.

The policy of the 'Yorkshire Post' is conservative and, as has been shown, is more than capable of an independent line. It is now a whole-hearted supporter of the Churchill government.

1857. It started with a circulation of about 4,000 copies and in 12 months had reached the 10,000 mark. From then on it was firmly established, the circulation increasing through the years; no other paper in the Midlands has been able to rival its prestige and standing.

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INFLUENCE AND POLICY.

The 'Midland Post' is a paper read by upper and middle class families, and has a wide influence in the Midlands. Its policy is directed by Sir Charles Hyde and supports the Conservative party. In the years before the war it was pro-Chamberlain and pro-Munich; it now supports Churchill's government. Sir Charles Hyde is not a clever man, reputed on the whole to prefer horse-racing to newspapers. As he has never taken an independent line, it is safe to assume that after the war he will continue to back the Conservative party in whatever stand the latter seems fit to adopt.

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THE BIRMINGHAM POST

Circulation: 46,000

Associate paper: THE BIRMINGHAM MAIL

" 160,000

OWNERSHIP.

Sir Charles Hyde Bt. is the sole proprietor of the 'Birmingham Post'. He lives in Birmingham and is a nephew of the late Mr. John Feeney, a son of the original founder.

In the middle of the last century the first Mr. Feeney went into partnership with a man called John Jaffray who for some years had printed a paper called the 'Birmingham Journal'. After several enterprises they launched the 'Birmingham Post' in 1857. It started with a circulation of about 4,000 copies and in 12 months had reached the 10,000 mark. From then on it was firmly established, the circulation increasing through the years; no other paper in the Midlands has been able to rival its prestige and standing.

INFLUENCE AND POLICY.

The 'Birmingham Post' is a paper read by upper and middle class families, and has a wide influence in the Midlands. Its policy is directed by Sir Charles Hyde and supports the Conservative party. In the years before the war it was pro-Chamberlain and pro-Munich; it now supports Churchill's government. Sir Charles Hyde is not a clever man, reputed on the whole to prefer horse-racing to newspapers. As he has never taken an independent line, it is safe to assume that after the war he will continue to back the Conservative party in whatever stand the latter seems fit to adopt.

<u>THE SCOTSMAN.</u>	Circulation: 50,000
Associate paper: EVENING DISPATCH	" 90,000

OWNERSHIP.

'The Scotsman' is owned by a private company, the chief directors and shareholders of which are Sir Edmund Finlay Bt., Peter Finlay, and George Law. The paper was first founded in 1817 by members of the Finlay and Law families, and at that time was a 100% family concern. From a financial point of view it has gone downhill a good deal in the last 20 years and now, although still held by the family, is a limited liability concern with a capital of £300,000.

Sir Edmund Finlay holds the great bulk of the shares but due to his tendency toward alcohol and the fact that his brother, Peter, is tubercular, the management of the business is left almost entirely to 70 year old George Law. After Law's death it is doubtful whether the paper will remain in the Finlay family; already such proprietors as Lord Rothermere and Lord Kemsley are putting out feelers with a view to purchasing it.

INFLUENCE AND POLICY.

The prestige of the paper is greater than any paper printed in Scotland, and is ranked as one of the six leading provincial papers in Britain. A great deal of space is devoted to national politics, and a high literary standard in special articles and features has always been maintained. Although Law has the last word as to policy much is left to the judgment of its editor, Mr. Waters. Its view is staunchly conservative. It supported Munich and the Chamberlain Government and is now firmly behind Churchill. It is not a paper renowned for taking an independent line.

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<u>THE LIVERPOOL DAILY POST</u>	Circulation:	48,000
Associate papers: EVENING EXPRESS	"	71,000
LIVERPOOL ECHO	"	200,000

OWNERSHIP.

These papers are controlled by a private company, the chief director of which is Mr. Allan Jeans of Liverpool.

The 'Daily Post' was inaugurated in the middle of the 19th century by half a dozen leading Liberals of Liverpool. The present Board of Directors still represent the original families.

INFLUENCE AND POLICY.

The 'Daily Post' is a class paper with wide influence and prestige. It carries a good deal of political news and usually supports the Conservative government of the day. However it is not wedded to any party line and in the pre-war days was vigorously anti-Fascist, although it did not go so far as to call for Chamberlain's resignation. The 'Liverpool Echo' is one of the best known evening papers in the country but carries little political news.

THE LIVERPOOL DAILY POST

Circulation: 47,000

This paper is controlled by a private company and is the 'Conservative's' chief rival. It was first established in 1835 by Thomas Paine of County Down, who, in 1850 and 1851, followed

BELFAST.

The five papers listed below, printed in Belfast, are the only general newspapers published in the North of Ireland. They are in a forceful and unique position due to the fact that the London or national papers arrive late and the inhabitants therefore are more dependent on the "local" press for their views than people in any other part of the British Isles. Four of the five papers are Unionist and pro-British; the fifth is Nationalist and pro-De Valera.

BELFAST NEWS-LETTER.

Circulation: 40,000

The 'Belfast News-Letter' was founded two hundred and five years ago, and has had a single family of proprietors, the Henderson family, for 145 years.

Its present managing director and owner is James Henderson, who was President of the Newspaper Society and is a director of the Press Association and Reuters.

The paper has a "class circulation, is conservative in policy and pro-British. Although it does not maintain its own staff of foreign correspondents, relying on other established services, it devotes a good deal of space to parliamentary reports. It has a good deal of influence as a prestige paper, and has a long reputation for thoroughness and accuracy. It supports the Conservative government of the day and rarely adopts an independent line.

NORTHERN WHIG AND BELFAST POST.

Circulation: 37,000

This paper is controlled by a private company and is the 'News-Letter's' chief rival. It was first established in 1824 by Francis Finlay of County Down, who, in his own words, believed
that/

that "the North of Ireland should have a free and unpurchasable press, a press that no man should ever call servant, and that would acknowledge no master but the law."

During the Gladstonian era the paper was profoundly Liberal. Today with Liberalism difficult to define it fits more accurately into the Conservative category. Like its rival paper, it is Unionist, pro-British, and usually gives its support to the Conservative government of the day. It devotes less space to politics, however, than the 'News-Letter'.

IRISH DAILY TELEGRAPH

Circulation: 9,000

Associate paper: BELFAST TELEGRAPH " 77,000

This is a unique case where the morning paper has far less prestige and influence than its evening associate. The 'Irish Daily Telegraph' is a small non-political paper, but the 'Belfast Telegraph', known from one end of Northern Ireland to the other as the 'Tele', is one of the most popular evening papers in the country.

It is published by Messrs. W. & G. Baird Limited. This firm was founded in the last century by Mr. William S. and Mr. George Baird, commercial printers. The present managing director is Major William Baird, D.L., a son of the eldest co-founder.

Politically, these papers are undeviatingly Unionist with their policy firmly loyal to the King and their British connections. The 'Belfast Telegraph' has adopted a far more vigorous and independent line than any of its rivals. In the pre-war years it warned the British Government repeatedly that one of the gravest risks of endowing the sister isle with an all-Ireland Parliament was that in the event of a world war the retention of Northern Ireland as a bridgehead for Britain was a

vital/

vital consideration.

The 'Belfast Telegraph' has been whole-heartedly pro-Churchill. Early in the war it organized a Spitfire fund, and in a few weeks time raised nearly £100,000 from its readers to provide almost a score of fighters for the Royal Air Force.

IRISH NEWS AND BELFAST NORTHERN NEWS. Circulation: 29,000

This paper is the only daily Nationalist newspaper published in Ulster. It was founded about the middle of the last century by two brothers, Robert and Daniel Read. It has gone through various ownerships, and is now controlled by three directors: Dr. Daniel McSparren, Mr. Michael McHugh, and Mr. James Fitzpatrick.

This paper has an entirely Catholic circulation and calls for a Nationalist Ireland united under De Valera's leadership. It support De Valera's views on the war, and upholds Eire's wish to remain neutral. It may be depended upon to follow the Dublin "party line".

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BRIGHTON.

SUSSEX DAILY NEWS Circulation: 12,000

Associate paper: EVENING ARGUS " 32,000

The 'Sussex Daily News' was established in 1868 by a local family named Infield; its evening associate was founded eleven years later. Both papers are still controlled by the original family, the present chairman being Mr. E. Infield Willis.

These papers are conservative in policy, but aside from the "London Letter", a feature printed in the morning paper, summarizing political events from the capital, little space is devoted to national issues. The 'Daily News' concentrates for the most part on local news, and runs a good many feature articles on art and literature. It has established a local

prestige/

LEAMINGTON SPA.

LEAMINGTON SPA MORNING NEWS.

Circulation: 3,000

This tiny paper is non-political. It was founded in 1896 by the late Mr. Sydney Churches, a local inhabitant of Leamington Spa, who acted as editor until his death in 1937. It is now mainly directed by Churches' widow and his eldest son, the present editor. It is read in the Leamington and Warwick districts for local news and events.

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NORWICH.

EASTERN DAILY PRESS.

Circulation: 30,000

Associate paper: EASTERN EVENING NEWS " 40,000

The Eastern Daily Press was founded in 1870. The names of Colman, Tillet, and Copeman, which appeared on the first committee, are all represented on the board of directors today. It is the only morning daily paper printed in Norfolk. Both this paper and its evening associate carry all the latest news, and politically support a liberal policy. On national issues, however, they rarely take an independent line, preferring to follow the leadership of the national government of the day.

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NOTTINGHAM.

NOTTINGHAM GUARDIAN.

Circulation: 25,000

Associate paper: NOTTINGHAM EVENING POST " 80,000

The 'Nottingham Guardian' is the leading paper of Nottingham. It was founded in the middle of the last century by a printer named Thomas Forman. It has remained in the same family for four generations, its present proprietor being T. Bailey Forman.

It has/

It has a large and influential circulation, and although politically conservative, does not fail to take an independent line when it disagrees with party policy. It attacked the Government on unilateral disarmament and its India policy. Although it does not enjoy the same prestige as such a paper as the 'Yorkshire Post', it is influential and widely read. The 'Nottingham Evening Post' is a valuable property but gives little space to national issues.

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REMAINING PROVINCIAL EVENING PAPERS.
(All of these papers are non-political)

	<u>Ownership</u>	<u>Est. Circulation</u>
<u>BARROW-IN-FURNESS</u> North Western Daily Mail	Local family	30,000
<u>BLACKBURN</u> Northern Daily Telegraph	Ritzema family	70,000
<u>BLACKPOOL</u> West Lancashire Evening Gazette	Local company	30,000
<u>BOLTON</u> Bolton Evening News	Tillotson family	53,000
<u>BURTON-ON-TRENT</u> Burton Daily Mail	Local company	20,000
<u>CAMBRIDGE</u> Cambridge Daily News	Control owned by Kelly's Directories Ltd.	17,000
<u>CARLISLE</u> Cumberland Evening News	Local family	13,000
<u>HALIFAX</u> Halifax Daily Courier & Guardian	Local company	27,000
<u>HASTINGS & ST. LEONARDS</u> Evening Argus	Local family	15,000
<u>HUDDERSFIELD</u> Huddersfield Daily Examiner	Woodhead family	25,000
<u>KETTERING</u> Northamptonshire Evening Telegraph	Local company	25,000
<u>LEICESTER</u> Leicester Mercury	Local company	85,000
<u>LUTON</u> Beds. & Herts. Pictorial & Evening Telegraph	Home Counties Newspapers Ltd. (Local company)	11,000
<u>NEWPORT</u> South Wales Daily Argus	Local family	40,000
<u>NUNEATON</u> Midland Daily Tribune	Leamington Spa Courier Ltd.	18,000
<u>OLDHAM</u> Oldham Evening Chronicle	Local company	35,000

PAISLEY/

<u>PAISLEY</u>			
Paisley Daily Express	Local company		20,000
<u>PENZANCE</u>			
Evening Tidings	Local company		5,000
<u>SCARBOROUGH</u>			
Scarborough Evening News & Daily Post	Local company		15,000
<u>STOCKPORT</u>			
Cheshire Daily Echo	Local company		15,000
<u>WOLVERHAMPTON</u>			
Express & Star	Graham family		116,000
<u>WORCESTER</u>			
Evening News and Times	Local company		25,000
<u>YORK</u>			
Yorkshire Evening Press	Local		43,000

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