

*Dr. Abshagen is intimately familiar with the inside working of the British press, having spent many years of his journalistic career in England.*

## THE BRITISH PRESS

By K. H. ABSHAGEN

THE British press, as we see it today, differs in many ways from the press of the countries of the European continent, the principal difference being that in Great Britain the press as a whole has lost its character of an organ of national politics. This does not mean that there are no political newspapers in the British Isles or that the majority of the papers do not represent political views of a kind. But the main source of the forces moving the British press is to be found nowadays not in the political intentions of the owners or controlling interests of most of the newspapers, but in the openly admitted intention of earning money by means of newspaper publishing. The press in Great Britain has become primarily a business proposition, it is regarded as an "industry."

Ways of making money by newspaper publishing can in the final analysis be reduced to two factors: circulation and advertisements. It is the latter which really bring in the money, as the low retail price of one penny cannot even cover the cost of paper and printing, let alone editorial and overhead expenses. But the attraction of a journal to potential advertisers depends on the quantity and quality of its readers, and in the case of mass-production goods it is chiefly the number of the readers that counts. Circulation is therefore an essential premise of gaining advertisements. The everlasting battle for circulation dominates the newspaper life of Great Britain. It has led to the elimination of many once famous newspapers and to the rise of journals with circulations which would have been regarded as fantastic less than a generation ago. In 1939—since the outbreak of World War II no exact circulation figures have been made available

—there were in London two daily papers with circulations of over 2 millions, four others with roughly 1½ millions each, and one approaching the 1 million mark.

### "NATIONAL" NEWSPAPERS

Notwithstanding its seven or eight million inhabitants, London can naturally not absorb these enormous circulations. This leads us to an interesting phenomenon, viz., that the big London dailies cater for the news demands not only of the metropolis but of the whole of the United Kingdom. The London morning papers are called "national newspapers," a name which does not by any means imply a national or nationalist policy on the part of these papers but only stresses their nation-wide distribution. This distribution requires a highly developed transport system by rail, road, and ship. This system has been organized on a collective basis by the Newspaper Proprietors' Association, which runs special newspaper trains and motor trucks, engages distribution agents in big and small localities, etc., the members of the Association sharing in the cost of the organization according to the number of copies of their journals handled by the services of the Association.

In spite of the fact that all the members compete with each other, friction has occurred very rarely. Among the exceptions may be mentioned the case of the *Sunday Referee* a few years before the outbreak of the present war. The paper was at that time owned by the film magnate Isidore Ostrer, who tried to advertise his journal by means of an extensive broadcasting program, on the American model, in English from Radio Luxemburg, rented by him for this purpose. This combination of radio and

newspaper was regarded by the majority of the newspaper proprietors as a threat to the interests of the press in general and, as Ostrer refused to yield, the Association excluded the *Sunday Referee* from its transport and distribution services. The circulation of the paper—never very important—dwindled rapidly, and in the end Ostrer sold the paper, which was then amalgamated with the *Sunday Chronicle* belonging to the Allied Newspapers group.

As another instance of the power of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association it may be mentioned that, up to the time of the Anglo-Soviet alliance in 1941, it consistently refused to admit the only Communist daily, the *Daily Worker*, to its membership and services, thus making the distribution of the Communist paper extremely difficult and expensive.

So the newspaper reader in all of Great Britain from Land's End to John O'Groats, and in the bigger cities of Northern Ireland, finds his London paper on his breakfast table; and the price is the same everywhere, one penny in the case of the popular daily papers, twopence for the voluminous Sunday papers with 16 to 32 pages of text.

#### PROVINCIAL AND EVENING JOURNALS

Only comparatively few provincial morning papers of any importance have succeeded in surviving the competition of the "national" morning papers centered in London. This is understandable, as the enormous circulations allow the latter to engage the services of first-class editorial staffs and news services against which provincial papers of moderate circulation and means cannot hope to compete successfully. Those morning papers in the provinces which did survive owe their further existence with few exceptions to the fact that they were taken over by big newspaper combines which are able to supply them with articles and reports comparable in quality to those of the London press.

The British press does not have the institution of papers published in more

than one edition every day. Although a morning paper and an evening paper may very often be published by the same firm, both papers will have their separate identities, usually not only in name but also in character and in editorial staff (although it happens that some of the collaborators do work for several papers published by the same firm). Generally speaking, the morning papers carry the weightier stuff. Foreign and imperial news as well as the more important items of internal politics will, as a rule, be dealt with in their columns. The evening papers, although they, too, contain "hot" political news, if and as far as such is available, specialize in reports on sports events, local affairs, and social gossip. Many of them also cater for the entertainment of various classes of readers by publishing short stories, serialized novels, book reviews, etc. The evening papers published in London serve the metropolis and its surroundings only, thus leaving the field in the provinces, in the evening, to local journals. Compared with seven popular morning papers with an aggregate daily circulation (in 1939) of about 11 millions, we find only three evening papers in the metropolis with a circulation of together some 1½ millions.

Newspaper publishing of such scope and size requires enormous capital. In an article published in the *Daily Telegraph* in May 1939, Lord Camrose, the controlling shareholder of the paper, estimated the value of the land, buildings, and plant belonging to the Daily Telegraph Company—all of which he describes as necessary for the actual production of the paper—at £1,300,000, adding that the capital assets of the four so-called "popular" newspapers (those with circulations of 1½ to over 2 millions) are probably very much more. The majority of the big London papers are published by public companies whose preference shares are widely distributed in the public, while a controlling interest in the ordinary stock is usually in the hands of one or a few persons who direct the editorial policy of the paper or papers concerned.

## NEWSPAPERS AND POLITICS

The business character of most of the British newspapers and particularly of the "popular" dailies makes it extremely difficult if not impossible for the men at the helm to follow a consistent political line. On the whole, experience seems to show that the publishers of British newspapers, rather than try to influence their readers politically, keep their ears very close to the ground in order to guess the likes and dislikes of the general public so as not to offend any important section, because that would be tantamount to losing corresponding numbers of subscribers, or rather buyers. It is a peculiar British feature that the majority of newspaper readers obtain their papers from newsagents, who are independent shopkeepers selling all papers without preference for any particular organ, and as a rule on a weekly account, a fact which contributes to the great fluctuations in the circulation of the "popular" papers from one week to another.

Besides watching the reader, the British newspaper proprietor must try not to offend the advertiser, or the potential advertiser—the real source of his income—by excursions into the political arena. Experience has taught that such political excursions of the popular press have never been successful and, moreover, usually endangered either the circulation or the income from advertisements. In 1933, the *Evening Standard*, owned by Lord Beaverbrook, in connection with a series of London arson cases in which a number of Jews were prominently involved, published information which a correspondent of the paper had received from insurance circles, purporting that the leading fire insurance companies were charging higher premiums to Jewish than to Gentile customers. Although this information was undoubtedly correct and although it had been printed without any comment, on the pressure of the owners of big department and chain stores led by Moses Israel Sieff of the firm of Marks & Spencer the *Evening Standard* revoked its contents a few days later. For years the very same adver-

tisers' circles enforced an embargo on all reports about the activities of the British Union of Fascists led by Sir Oswald Mosley and secured a complete victory over Lord Rothermere when in 1934 the latter came out openly with his *Daily Mail* in support of Sir Oswald Mosley. By threatening to withdraw all their advertising contracts from the *Daily Mail* and its "stable companions," the *Sunday Dispatch* and the *Evening News*, they brought Lord Rothermere to heel within a few weeks, the *Daily Mail* giving up its support of the B.U.F. as suddenly as it had taken up the Fascist cause. The importance of this threat may be gauged from the fact alone that the first page of the *Daily Mail*, which at that time used to be taken up every day of the week by one of the leading department stores, brought the paper a fee of £3,000 a day.

If we have said that newspaper proprietors in Britain as a rule avoid excursions into high politics, this does not mean that the newspapers are devoid of all politics; but, compared to the press of other countries, the part of politics—domestic as well as foreign—in the popular papers in Great Britain is by tradition rather unimportant. The majority of the big London dailies in a general way support the Conservative Party and the National Government. The Liberal and Labor Parties have only one big morning paper each, the *News Chronicle* and *Daily Herald* respectively. But it is the best proof of the limited political influence of the popular newspapers that, although many more people of the labor class have for years been reading newspapers with a distinct Conservative bias than have been reading Labor papers, the percentage of the people voting Labor is steadily increasing.

## BRILLIANT "ATTORNEYS"

The enormous income accruing to the popular newspapers enables them to engage the services of a highly qualified staff of journalists and writers of all kinds. But here again we witness a particular feature of the British press which will appear paradoxical to foreign observers. The majority of the men

who write for the Conservative papers, even many of those who write the pro-Conservative editorials and leading articles, are in private life Radicals or Socialists. Most of them will admit this quite frankly and without any qualms. To them their journalistic profession is comparable to a barrister's brief. "By supporting the policy of Mr. Baldwin in the leading article of the *Daily So-and-So*, I identify myself just as little with Baldwin as for instance Sir William J. . . . [a famous barrister] identifies himself personally with the murderer he has been defending at the Old Bailey last week," said one leading British journalist some years ago when asked about this puzzling state of affairs.

If politics hold second or third rank among the subjects dealt with by the popular press of Great Britain, what then are the determining factors of its editorial policy? In the first place, the modern British newspapers, following United States models, offer their readers a very quick and "snappy" news service. Society gossip, too, plays an important part, because the Englishman of all classes takes an interest, difficult for outsiders to understand, in the activities, the ways of life, and amusements of his "social betters." Thirdly, scandal—particularly scandal with a "sexy" undertone—and crime take up a very large space in the popular newspapers. The proceedings of the criminal and divorce courts are reported extensively.

#### STUNTS

Finally, in order to captivate the readers and thereby secure the circulation for some longer period than just the current week, the editor of a popular paper must again and again wrack his brain to find some new "stunt" which his journal can run for some time—until the subject is completely exhausted and a new "stunt" must be thought up. Pseudoscientific subjects which can be presented so as to capture the imagination of simple minds are favorite "stunts." From Einstein's theory of relativity to the latest developments in the experi-

ments to split the atom and to Sir Oliver Lodge's opinions on spiritualism or a new theory of numerology, everything has been written up by one newspaper or another in a more or less sensationalizing way as a "stunt." Usually some men of science with great names can be found who, for fees running easily into thousands of pounds, will set the ball rolling by an article or two. In a nation where everybody is constantly worrying about his or her digestion (the troubles being mainly due to antiquated cooking methods) questions of better and healthier nourishment can be successfully used as "stunts." Not many years ago, one of the leading London papers was able to sustain its editorial policy for about two months by a campaign in favor of wholemeal bread of a particular kind, with the additional benefit of securing thereby very considerable advertising contracts from the milling and baking combines producing the wholemeal and the bread thus boosted.

Politics, as we have said above, occupy a back seat among the subjects determining the editorial policy of the popular press in Great Britain. The fact that, during the years leading up to the present war, foreign politics were featured more and more in British newspapers seems to give the lie to this statement. But we can safely say that such is not the case. Whoever takes the trouble to look up the old files of such papers as the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express* of the years 1935 to 1939, will find there very few attempts at a serious discussion of the problems of foreign policy. The anti-Fascist and later the anti-Hitler campaigns were run as stunts, one may say as "super-stunts," initiated by the papers after political parties and organizations all over the country had created the conditions under which these stunts could be run successfully for much longer periods than any stunts in the past, the more so because the hectic developments and changes of the political picture in Europe and the world at large created a new background almost every day on which the old story could easily be

written up again and again in a new sensational way.

#### THE CONSCIENCE OF THE NATION

All that has been said so far refers to what we have called the "popular press" of Great Britain. In a country like Great Britain, there must obviously be serious political organs, too, in which the discussion of political problems is carried on. They do exist, but they are few in number, at least as far as the daily press is concerned. Among the dailies of political importance, two are outstanding: *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. The former is beyond doubt the most influential journal in the English-speaking world. It is *not* the official organ of the Government or the Foreign Office, as foreigners often wrongly believe. On the contrary, *The Times*, by a tradition scarcely ever seriously disputed, regards itself as a kind of guardian and conscience of the British nation. Although in close touch with the governments of the day, it reserves full liberty to propound and advocate policies of its own, which very often run counter to governmental intentions. Although its circulation is small compared to those of the popular papers, it weighs heavily, because everybody of any importance in politics, the government, or administration reads *The Times*. In addition to its sometimes ponderous but always well-documented and balanced leading articles, it also offers high-class special articles and reports written by experts. Last but not least, it has an excellent, complete foreign-news service of its own, based on the reports of a great number of excellent correspondents in all parts of the world and presented without sensationalism, although not always without a certain bias in favor of the politics advocated by the paper. Though *The Times* is not strictly bound to any political party, its general tendency is conservative.

The traditional political independence of the editorial staff of *The Times* of outside influences was seriously impaired when, a few years before the Great War,

the Walter family, which had owned the paper for several generations, was forced by financial considerations to sell out to Lord Northcliffe. After the latter's death, powerful circles succeeded in preventing Northcliffe's brother Lord Rothermere from acquiring his late brother's holdings in The Times Publishing Company. Since then, the independent policy of the editor-in-chief has been guaranteed by the formation of a body of trustees in which, among others, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the Church of England, and the Government are represented. It is also this body of trustees, not the shareholders or the directors of the Company, who decide on the successor to a resigning editor of *The Times*.

#### LIBERAL VOICE

Second only to *The Times* in influence, especially in foreign affairs, is the *Manchester Guardian*, the only provincial paper in Britain which is really able to exert an influence on the policies of the country in general. (The recently much-quoted *Yorkshire Post* can in no way be compared to the *Manchester Guardian* either in quality of contents or in real influence. This Leeds paper owes its temporary importance to the fact that it is owned by the family of Anthony Eden's wife and is sometimes used by the Foreign Secretary as his political mouthpiece.) The *Manchester Guardian* is the organ of the Radical wing of British Liberalism. Although the Liberal Party in Parliament has dwindled, Liberal ideas continue to be very much alive, particularly in the industrial North and in the Southwest of England, and among the middle classes in general and the intellectuals, as far as the latter have not moved further toward the Left and joined the Labor or Communist ranks. Although the *Manchester Guardian*, with a circulation of probably less than 100,000, cannot afford as far-flung a net of its own foreign correspondents as *The Times*, its news reports as well as its editorials are usually very well written, but often impaired in their effect by a tone of self-righteous superiority and professorialism. The *Manchester Guardian* is regularly read

by every serious student of politics in England.

British daily newspapers are issued on weekdays only. For his Sunday reading, the Britisher has to fall back on special Sunday papers which, generally speaking, differ from the daily press more in size than otherwise, with 16 to 32 pages of text (in peace time; during the present war all papers with very few exceptions were cut down to 4 to 6 pages, including advertising) against the 8 to 10 of the ordinary morning paper. They are full of entertaining material, "true-life stories," short stories, women's pages, children's corners, etc., so as to give entertainment during the long lazy hours of Sunday to the whole family. Politics are even more in the background than is the case with most daily papers. There are, however, two exceptions, the *Sunday Times* and *The Observer*. In order to correct a widespread error, let us state at once that there is no connection whatsoever between the *Sunday Times* and *The Times*. All the rest of the Sunday papers have no particular political importance with the possible exception of *Reynold's News* which—being owned by the Co-Operative Society, a branch of the Labor movement—is, besides the *Daily Herald*, the only popular paper openly advocating Labor's policy.

The views of the City not only on financial but often on political issues as well are usually expressed by two financial dailies, the *Financial Times* and *Financial News*. The former is owned by Lord Camrose, while the latter does not belong to any of the big newspaper combines. Through the pen of the prolific Jewish economic writer Paul Einzig, the *Financial News* has for many years been particularly active as an advocate of international Jewish finance and protagonist in the fight against the Axis.

#### PERIODICALS

It would lead us too far if we undertook to extend the scope of this article beyond the world of newspapers properly speaking into the wider sphere of periodicals. However, an exception may be

admissible in the case of a few weekly publications, since their opinions are frequently quoted in the foreign press.

Although *The Economist*, as its name shows, deals primarily with economic matters, its weekly political comments deserve to be taken seriously, as they very often reflect the views of leading men of the city. The editorial policy of this journal is secured against interference by publishing interests or any other outside powers by a similar arrangement to the one mentioned in the case of *The Times*. The political attitude of *The Economist* is generally Liberal. *The Spectator* represents the viewpoint of the more Conservative element among the British intellectuals; while the Radical element within British Liberalism, which has much stronger leanings toward Communism than organized Labor, finds a weekly platform in *The New Statesman*. *Time and Tide* is representative of the views of what is usually called the Labor intelligentsia. The *Tribune*, edited by the Labor M. P. Aneurin Bevan, has recently gained in popularity as an organ of the Labor "Pep Group," which is strongly critical of Churchill's foreign as well as domestic policies.

During the last few years before the present war, there appeared in London a number of weekly journals modeled after American news magazines like *Time*. The ones which survived were *News Review* and *Cavalcade*, the latter, however, only after it had been converted into a rather cheap news and scandal sheet. Both never equaled their transatlantic model.

Shortly before the present war a new illustrated weekly called *Picture Post* was started by a group which obviously had very ample financial means at its disposal. While up till that time there had been a gap between the cheap illustrated newspapers of the *Daily Sketch* and *Daily Mirror* type and the expensive illustrated weekly magazines such as *The Tatler*, *The Illustrated London News*, and *The Graphic*, the new weekly paper, selling at the low price of twopence, offered excellent photographs and photo-

graphic series combined with well-written political comments and entertaining articles and stories. The character of the paper, which within a few weeks reached a circulation of more than 1½ millions, rapidly became more and more anti-Fascist and anti-Hitler. It was one of the foremost propaganda organs against the idea of "appeasement" between Britain and Germany. Furthermore, the paper had from the outset a very definite Left-wing bias in internal politics.

#### DISCREET MUZZLING

It may help to give a true appreciation of British press comments if an explanation is given of how the influence of the Government is being exerted—and how far it can be exerted—on the press of Great Britain in peace and war time. There is no newspaper in Great Britain which could be called the official or semi-official mouthpiece of either the British Cabinet, the Foreign Office, or any other Ministry. *Reuter's*, too, can be regarded as an official news agency only in a limited sense, as will be explained in more detail below. By means of press conferences in the Foreign Office, in the Prime Minister's office at No. 10, Downing Street and, since the present war, in the Ministry of Information, the Government has ample means of bringing its point of view before the public without prematurely taking any formal responsibility for the views thus expressed.

It should also be realized that the reports of the Diplomatic Correspondents of *The Times* and other big London papers, so often quoted in the foreign press, do not express editorial views of the paper in question, but are concoctions of news and views received by the correspondents in their daily contacts with the News Department of the Foreign Office. Summing up, one might say that the British Government has not got any one particular official organ among the newspapers, because it has ample opportunity of using either the whole of the press or whatever sections of the press at any given moment appear to be particularly suitable for the propagation of its views and intentions.

On the other hand, the powers of censorship wielded by the British Government even after almost five years of war are still relatively limited. It is true that, from the very outset of the war, the censorship of news, in particular any kind of news referring either directly or indirectly to the conduct of the war and the war effort of Great Britain and her allies, was extremely strict, so strict, indeed, that during the early stages of the war it seriously impeded the British war propaganda, all the more so in face of the much more elastic handling of news censorship on the German side. There was, however, during the first eighteen months of the war scarcely any direct attempt at governmental interference with the expression of views on the policy of the Government and the conduct of the war. (An exception to this rule was the ruthless suppression of all British Fascists' organs and the imprisonment of the leaders of the Fascist movement in Britain.)

#### FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Free expression of views and opinions through the press, even in war time, is one of the few things which lend a semblance of democracy to the British oligarchy, and the powers that be have hesitated for a long time before attempting to muzzle the press in this respect also. While thus keeping up the appearance of a completely unhampered expression of views by the press, the Government has, in fact, been able to exert a fairly effective control, in a quiet way, over the subjects discussed by the newspapers. This control has been exerted by means of and in collaboration with the Newspaper Proprietors' Association. Whenever the Government feels that any subject might seriously interfere with its war-time policy, it asks the Association to induce its members either not to touch on this theme at all, or to pass over it as lightly as possible. This practice already existed in exceptional cases during peace time, e.g., during the weeks preceding the abdication of Edward VIII, when British newspapers kept a complete silence about a subject which was supply-

ing headlines to the press of almost the whole world.

Since the beginning of the present war, what had hitherto been an exception became the rule: a special joint committee was formed in which representatives of the Government and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association settle day by day the question of "forbidden topics." However, this committee has no power to enforce the "advice" it gives to the newspapers. And it very soon became evident that some newspapers, in particular the *Daily Mirror*, had not the slightest intention of abiding by the decisions of the committee. It was then that early in 1942 Prime Minister Churchill moved his "Press Bills" which, however, got into the Statute Book only in a rather emasculated form. It still remains a fact that British papers—as far as the expression of views and criticism is concerned—have a considerable measure of liberty, and that their opinions are often not at all in accord with the policy and intentions of the Government.

It would, however, be wrong to overrate the practical importance of the criticisms thus leveled against the Government in the British press. Such free expression of heterodox views, whether from a soapbox in Hyde Park or through the

columns of a newspaper, is to the average Britisher synonymous with democracy, but he who expresses himself most violently in speech or writing against the Government will usually be the most obedient in his actions and would not dream of putting his rebellious words into practice.

In conclusion, a few words about British news agencies. We have said before that Reuter's cannot be regarded as an official agency in the full sense of the word as it is understood in other countries, although there is no doubt that it is heavily subsidized by the Government. Co-operation with the Government, as in the case of the newspapers, goes on in a personal and elastic form.

Of the remaining British news agencies only Exchange Telegraph and Central News deserve mention. The former is the more dynamic of the two. It has developed from a pure Stock Exchange news service to the rank of Britain's second most important general news agency. In a number of countries where it succeeded in overshadowing or even ousting Reuter's altogether (e.g., in Portugal), it enjoys considerable governmental subsidies. Its capital is largely in Jewish hands.

## The Leading Newspapers and Newspaper Combines in Great Britain

(All circulation figures refer to 1939)

*The Times*: owned by The Times Holding Company Limited. 90 per cent of the capital is held by Major the Hon. John J. Astor (a brother of Viscount Astor, q.v. below), the remaining 10 per cent by a member of the Walter family, which owned and managed *The Times* for three generations in the past. Today, full financial control is with Major Astor, while the freedom of the editorial staff in shaping the policy of the paper is secured by a special arrangement described above. General tendency: Independent Conservative; circulation 204,491.

*Manchester Guardian*: managed and edited for more than fifty years by one of England's ablest and most respected journalists, Charles Prestwich Scott. Since his death in 1932, the paper has been run by a board of trustees, its policy being unchanged as an organ of Radical Liberalism. Its circulation before the war was, according to expert estimates, somewhat under 100,000.

*Daily Telegraph*: owned by The Daily Telegraph Ltd., a private company under full financial

and editorial control of Lord Camrose. The *Daily Telegraph*, the leading Conservative paper, steers a middle course between the "political" and the "popular" papers. In order to increase its circulation, which in May 1939 had reached 763,000, certain concessions to the taste of the masses had to be made. However, up to the outbreak of the Greater East Asia War the political columns of the *Daily Telegraph* managed to maintain a fairly high level.

*The Observer*: a Sunday paper owned by Viscount Astor, who for many years left full freedom of expression to the editor, J. L. Garvin. When Garvin resigned his post, the paper lost much of its former political importance. No circulation data are available; probably not over 200,000.

### The Associated Newspapers Group

*Daily Mail*: the oldest of the "popular" morning papers, founded by Lord Northcliffe in 1896. From its founder it inherited a certain political



tradition which it still tries to keep up. Its reading public is of a slightly higher social level than that of the other "popular" papers, reaching well into the upper middle classes. The *Daily Mail* is popular in Army and Navy circles and is sometimes used by the War Office and Admiralty for the propaganda of their political plans. Political tendency: Conservative and Imperialistic; circulation around 1½ millions.

*Evening News*: the most widely circulated evening paper (about 650,000).

*Sunday Dispatch*: tendency and circulation similar to the *Daily Mail*.

The above three papers are the property of Associated Newspapers Ltd., a public company which in turn is controlled by the Daily Mail & General Trust, the latter firm owning 40 per cent of the ordinary shares of Associated Newspapers. Up till 1937 the late Lord Rothermere was chairman of both companies. Since his resignation his son, the Hon. Esmond Harmsworth, now the second Lord Rothermere (who is also President of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association) has directed Associated Newspapers and the Daily Mail & General Trust. It is known, however, that the Harmsworth family no longer holds financial control in either of the companies. In view of Sir John Ellerman's control of the *Daily Mirror* (q.v. below), it is interesting to note that the Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. and its subsidiary, the Sunday Pictorial Newspapers Ltd., had by 1939 acquired about 12 per cent of the capital of Daily Mail & General Trust.

#### The Beaverbrook Group

*Daily Express*: has the biggest circulation of all British dailies, with well over 2½ millions.

*Sunday Express*: circulation between 1 and 1½ millions.

*Evening Standard*: the favorite evening paper of the upper strata of London's population. Special features: the cartoon by the most famous of contemporary cartoonists, David Low, and the "Londoner's Diary," a very well-written and usually well-informed political glossary. The latter feature makes the *Evening Standard* the only evening paper of some political importance. The "Diary" was edited in the past by Harold Nicolson, M.P. and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information, and Bruce Lockhart, now Director General of Political Warfare. Circulation over 400,000.

The three papers of this group very strongly reflect the forceful personality of Lord Beaverbrook, who holds an absolutely controlling position and influences the editorial policy day by day. In their editorial methods the papers are the most Americanized amongst all British journals. On the other hand, at their master's behest, they have consistently advocated close political as well as economic co-operation of the Empire (under the slogan "Empire Free Trade") and a kind of isolationism toward the events on the European Continent. During the present war, Beaverbrook, although in the Cabinet, has repeatedly tried to influence the policy of his colleagues from outside by attacks of his newspapers on certain measures of the Government or persons in the Cabinet. One of these attacks was said to have been the main reason for his temporary eclipse as a Minister.

#### The Cadbury (Liberal) Group

*News Chronicle*: the only Liberal morning paper published in London. It is more outspoken, politically, than the other "popular" dailies. For years before the war, the paper was very anti-Fascist and anti-Nazi and advocated Anglo-Soviet rapprochement. Circulation around 1.3 millions.

*The Star*: the second largest evening paper, following the same policy as *News Chronicle*, but more colorless. Circulation about 500,000.

The two papers are owned by the Cadbury Trust, founded by the late George Cadbury, chocolate magnate, prominent Quaker and Liberal. The Cadbury family still forms the majority of the trustees, but the active management and ultimate editorial control rests with Sir Walter Layton, the well-known economist.

#### The Odhams Group

*Daily Herald*: the only daily paper in Great Britain openly advocating the views of the Labor Party. And even this one paper is not unhampered in the presentation of Labor opinion. By an arrangement concluded in 1930, 51 per cent of the shares of the paper came into the hands of the purely capitalistic publishing firm of Odhams Ltd. which, among other periodicals, publishes *The People*, a moderate Conservative Sunday paper. The arrangement which leaves only 49 per cent of the shares of the *Daily Herald* in the hands of Trade Union nominees was forced upon the Labor movement by the fact that, without the endorsement of capitalist interests, the Socialist paper had been unable to win the favor of the big advertisers, and had for 18 years led a precarious existence.

Of the 9 directors of the Daily Herald Company, 5 are nominated by Odhams, the remaining 4 by the Trade Unions, among the latter being the present Minister of Labor, Ernest Bevin, and the Secretary-General of the Trade Union Council, Sir Walter Citrine. The Chairman of Odhams Ltd. is Lord Southwood (né Elias). In 1939 it became known that by then Sir John Ellerman had bought up about one tenth of the capital of Odhams.

*The People*: a "popular" Sunday paper without political importance. Circulation over 2 millions.

#### The Allied Newspapers Group

*Sunday Times*: important Conservative Sunday paper. Circulation: no data available.

*Daily Sketch*: a daily morning picture paper of the "tabloid" type. Circulation between 1 and 1½ millions.

*Sunday Graphic*: for all practical purposes the Sunday edition of the *Daily Sketch*.

*Sunday Chronicle & Referee*: a Sunday paper which is popular in Northern England. Printed in Manchester and recently also in London.

This group is financially and editorially controlled by Lord Kemsley, a brother of Lord Camrose. Another big shareholder is Lord Iliffe. Apart from the *Sunday Times*, the papers have no political aspirations.

#### The Daily Mirror Group

*Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Pictorial*: originally "tabloid" papers without political aims and

color belonging to the Northcliffe group; taken over after Northcliffe's death by Lord Rothermere. Since 1931 Rothermere owns no more shares in either of the papers. The two papers belong to separate companies; however, the directors and big shareholders are practically identical, the chairman of the board being in both cases John Cowley.

In recent years, Sir John Ellerman, the extremely rich shipping magnate, acquired a controlling interest in the *Daily Mirror*. In spite of his wealth, Sir John Ellerman, who is of Jewish descent, has extreme Left-wing sympathies. On his initiative, the *Daily Mirror* attacked the Chamberlain Government, as long as it was in existence, and criticized the generals, the admirals, the industrialists, the bankers, and the Civil Service, earning for itself the nickname of the "*Daily Terror*." It also attacked Churchill and his cabinet, and its rabid attitude was largely responsible for the Press Bills introduced and passed in 1942. Circulation of both papers: considerably over 1 million.

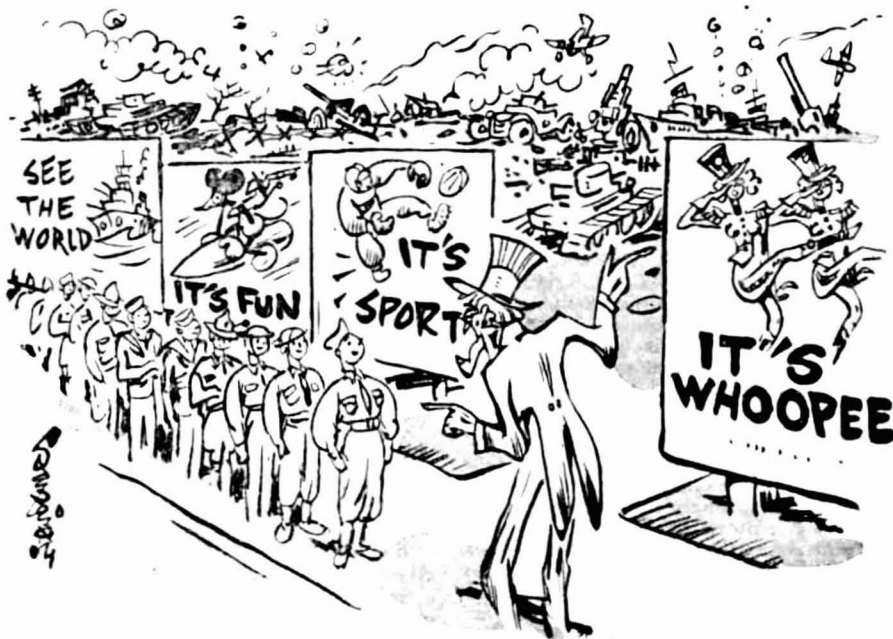
*The News of the World*: deserves to be mentioned only because it is the Sunday paper with the highest circulation in Great Britain (3½ to 4 millions). It caters for the week-end entertainment of the lower classes and has no political importance.

*Reynolds News*: a Sunday paper with Labor leanings owned by the Co-Operative Association. Editorially mediocre, but sometimes politically interesting, because in an outspoken way it ventilates the complaints of the dissatisfied Left wing of the Labor movement. Circulation around 500,000.

*Daily Worker*: published by the Communist Party of Great Britain. General Manager: the well-known Communist Harry Pollit. Editorial policy dictated by Moscow. Since outbreak of war repeatedly banned, but enjoying more liberty since Soviet Russia's war entry. Circulation around 75,000 in 1939. It has probably risen considerably since the conclusion of the Anglo-Soviet alliance.

## CARTOON OF THE MONTH

By SAJAPOU



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