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THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE STANDARD AND
FLEET STREET 1653-1900

by

Dennis Morgan Griffiths

Thesis submitted for
Doctor of Philosophy in Journalism

The City University
Graduate Centre for Journalism

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D.M.G.

March 1, 1989.

DECLARATION

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Dennis Morgan Griffiths

ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the political, social and economic development of Fleet Street 1653-1900, using The Standard (1827-1900) as its model. The opening chapter traces the early fortunes of the Baldwin Family, the founders of The Standard and the struggle which the Baldwins and their colleagues waged for the establishment of a free press.

Chapter Two deals with the launch of The Standard by Charles Baldwin in May 1827 in response to the urging of The Duke of Wellington and other High Tories. Under the editorship of Dr. Stanley Lees Giffard, the paper opposed Parliamentary Reform and the repeal of the Corn Laws and was strongly anti-Papist in outlook. The diverse personalities of two key figures in the paper's early days, Dr. William Maginn and Alaric Alexander Watts, are also discussed. Chapter Three is concerned with the involvement of governments and politicians with newspapers, with special emphasis on the relationship of Thomas Hamber and Disraeli and the estrangement of William Mudford and Robert Cecil, the Third Marquess of Salisbury.

Economic structure and labour relations and the establishment of The St. James's Chronicle are covered in the ensuing chapter. Chapter Five is concerned with the costs and methods of producing a "national" newspaper and the problem of labour from the early chapels to the highly-organized unions of the 20th Century. The final chapters discuss the role of the reporter and "The New Journalism". The early struggle for a free press -- with reference to John Wilkes and "Junius" -- is reviewed followed by a discussion on Edward Baldwin, proprietor of The Standard, and his conflict with The Times. The role of the Special Correspondent, using The Standard as a model, is also discussed. The leaders of the "New Journalism" are examined with particular reference to W. T. Stead and The Pall Mall Gazette; T. P. O'Connor's Star; and the rivalry between Alfred Harmsworth's Daily Mail and Arthur Pearson's Daily Express.

Throughout this dissertation, the history of The Standard is linked with the growth of Fleet Street. The study ends with the purchase of The Standard by Pearson, resulting from the inability of its editor/manager, Mudford, to adapt to the changes in the press during the 19th Century and especially to the "New Journalism".

The choice of a name then claimed our attention. The object was to make a stand against the inroad of principle; contrary to our Constitution in Church and State; a very appropriate motto was chosen by Dr. Giffard (the Editor):

*Signifer, statue signum,
Hic optime manebimus*

*Plant here The Standard.
Here we shall best remain.*

and on the 21st May, 1827, The Standard was reared, hauled as a rallying point and was speedily followed by the raising of Standards in the Provincial and Colonial Conservative Press. Even Foreign newspapers have adopted the name.

-- Charles Baldwin, Publisher

FOREWORD

It has been said that while historians using the Press are legion, historians of the Press are few. (1) For the newspaper historian, difficulties are encountered in using the archives of British newspapers. Indeed, even for someone looking at his own newspaper, there can be a distinct lack of material, especially if the journal has experienced several office moves. Unfortunately, these moves have invariably involved a "weeding out" because in Fleet Street space has always been at a premium.

The Problem

As newly-appointed Archivist of Express Newspapers, my initial reaction in commencing this research was to examine the material in The Evening Standard library. The result was most disappointing - only two brown envelopes with a half dozen faded news cuttings and memoranda. No correspondence had been retained for the pre-1960 decades and the in-house files of the paper existed only for the past few years with an obsolete microfilm unit. During this "research", I was also involved in trying to find a home for the millions of Evening Standard press cuttings surplus to requirements, for in the early 1980s The Evening Standard offices were at long last moved into those of The Daily Express in Fleet Street, some 300 yards away. The result was that there was now a spare press cuttings library.

Gordon Phillips, formerly The Times Archivist, wrote at the time of his concern that these news cuttings could be lost and suggested that they should form part of a National Press Archives. I agreed completely with his

suggestion and for twelve months these cuttings were stored at considerable expense in a West London warehouse. The size of a football pitch, it held more than 600 cabinets in storage. During this period I contacted the British Newspaper Library and every English university offering them the files of cuttings gratis. The Newspaper Library and two universities specializing in media studies would have been delighted to have accepted the cuttings, but when they realized the size of the operation, and the probable cost of re-classification and storage, they reluctantly declined the offer. The news cuttings files were then, unfortunately, destroyed, but not before key files -- including those concerning the Abdication of Edward VIII -- were rescued.

I was, however, more successful with The Evening Standard picture library. Here were some six million photographs from the 1920s to 1981 -- a collection especially strong in pre-war London material. With the efforts of Richard Hewlett, Head of BBC Data, and David Lee, Chief Librarian of the BBC-Hulton Picture Library, we were able to amalgamate the collection to provide a new base of more than twelve million photographs with the possibility of their being updated from The Express files. Tests were also undertaken with Datasolve, so that on four computer co-ordinates almost any category could be easily located. Thus, the keying-in of CHARLES - HORSE - FALL - POLO would yield two captions referring to Prince Charles's mishaps on the polo field. Here, then, was the keystone of a far-reaching photographic archive, which could be accessed via satellite on a world-wide basis, and the first step towards a possible National Press Archive.

For much too long, national newspapers -- with the notable exception of The Times -- have steadfastly guarded and restricted their indexes. They have seldom been willing

to share their "secrets" with research students, the general public and national organizations. Thus, in recent years, the news cuttings libraries of The Daily Sketch and The Sunday Citizen have disappeared without trace and when last heard of The Daily Herald news cuttings were gathering dust in a garage near Kings Cross Station.

It was, perhaps, most unfortunate that there was no Centre for the Study of the Press when I began my researches and work as an Archivist. Fortunately, this could well change during the next few years, for the basic requirements of such a Centre have now been included in the new Building Plan for the British Newspaper Library and envisages such functions as lecture programmes to exploit the Newspaper Library's collections and expertise and to promote general interest in press history; publication of bibliographic aids; serving as a focus for research on the newspaper press; exhibitions; developing the present collection of reference books into an authoritative collection on press history; and acquiring some of the archives of the British press and some non-conventional types of material for which at present there is no appropriate repository. (2)

The Research

Without the benefit of such a Centre or of any material in The Evening Standard archives, I began my research on the early days of printing and the press in Great Britain at the Stationers' Company, near St. Paul's, and the St. Bride Printing Library. To work with the actual Apprentices' Register Book (1666 to 1727) at Stationers' Hall brings into proper perspective the long history of printing in this nation. Secondary works covering this period include those of Ian Maxwell, Henry Plomer, John Dunton, R. Rosenberg, and Richard and Marjorie Bond's researches into the Minutes Books of The St. James's Chronicle. Discovered only twenty-five years ago, they were sold to the

Manuscripts Department of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill) Library. Contained in three volumes, the Minutes Books record more than 550 meetings held between May 15, 1761, and August 9, 1815, and are certainly the most complete record of late eighteenth century publishing. It is sad that these Minutes Books were allowed to leave Britain; they really should constitute a key sector in a National Press Archive.

The Writing

Having gathered the information from a variety of sources, I faced the task of narrating the story of The Standard. Here I was, perhaps, subconsciously influenced by Lord Beaverbrook, who once advised the historian Robert Blake: "Never wait till you have accumulated all the evidence before you set pen to paper. You can get bored by research and the subject becomes dead. Tell the tale in proper chronological order and begin at the period which interests you." (3)

My first thoughts were purely journalistic: to write a straight narrative but without the benefit of hindsight. If possible, there should be a certain aura of suspense, especially at the end of each chapter and no "jumping out" of the current time span. However, I chose a more modular approach with each chapter covering a specific theme -- but in a chronological sequence. In this respect, I was much influenced by the late Barbara Tuchman, who in her work, Practising History, wrote:

One of the difficulties in writing history is the problem of how to keep up the suspense in a narrative whose outcome is known. I worried about this a good deal at the beginning, but after a while the actual process of writing, as so often happens, produced the solution. I found that if one writes as of the time, without using the benefit of hindsight, resisting the temptation to refer to events still ahead, the suspense will build itself up naturally. (4)

Similarly, Professor G. R. Elton avers that "There are two main technical pitfalls on which it is worth offering advice: the use of jargon in place of real words, and incompetence in the use of real words themselves. A strange conviction dictates that a pattern becomes the more intellectually respectable the more it is expressed in abstract language." (5)

On the basis of the examples of such craftsmen in history as Tuchman and Elton, I have endeavoured to assemble and analyse the information, select the essential, discard the irrelevant, and narrate in a simple and lucid style, and, above all, adhere to the axiom that "Narrative . . . is the lifeblood of history." Wherever possible, primary sources have been used and more than one point of view considered. Events occur, but to become history they must be communicated and understood. Indeed, as Theodore Roosevelt, speaking as President of the American Historical Association in 1912, succinctly declared: "Writings are useless unless they are read, and they cannot be read unless they are readable." (6)

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

In researching the history of The Standard, I assumed that its origins lay in the early nineteenth century. This was soon to be proved wrong, for there emerged a story of a dedicated Protestant family of printers and publishers which stretched back to the time of Oliver Cromwell, as it was then that the founder of the dynasty, Richard Baldwin, was born, on June 12, 1663, at High Wycombe, Bucks. His father, Thomas Baldwin, a hemp dresser, was a well-known figure in the district, and is mentioned in the First Wycombe Ledger Book, as on June 17, 1663, at the Guildhall along with seventeen aldermen and others he took the Oath of Allegiance to the King. The following year, on March 23:

according to Charter Mr Thomas Bauldwin was elected Bayleiff and then sworne and at the same tyme took oath mentioned in a late Act for Regulacion of Corporacions and alsoe the Oath of Alleagiance and Supremacy. (1)

From the moment that Richard was apprenticed at the age of fourteen in August 1688, for seven years, to George Evesden, a printer, in St. John's Lane, in the City of London, (2) the Baldwin Family was to be a major force in the publishing of newspapers in this country; and from humble origins near St. Paul's Cathedral the business was to move to Fleet Street; New Bridge Street, where The Standard was launched; and, finally, to St. Bride Street, the site of the present offices.

For young Richard it was a difficult period in English history to be a printer and publisher, for during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell there was, in effect,

a state monopoly of news under the supervision of a government censor, with the licensed press being suppressed from October 1649 to June 1650 and again from 1655. At the Restoration, five years later, the system was transferred to the Royalists, and under the comprehensive Printing Act of 1662 the press was placed formally under tight parliamentary control.(3)

Because of these strictures, publishing was a precarious business, any titles that offended Parliament were immediately suppressed, and a great number of authors and printers were fined and imprisoned. As for the hawkers and mercuries, many of whom were women, who sold the publications in the street, they were often treated as common rogues and whipped or sent to gaol. Despite these risks, a large number of newsbooks appeared during this period, some, it is true, often short-lived, but the desire was there for a free press. Samuel Sheppard, a clergyman/publisher, who had himself been imprisoned, could write at the time: "What a pannique fear possesses the souls of the Universe when the hawkers come roaring along the streets like the religious singers of Bartholomew Fayre."(4)

Discussing the growth of these new publications, he declared in Mercurius Mastix that his purpose was that of "Faithfully Lashing all Scouts, Mercuries, Posts, Spyles, and others". Continuing, Sheppard wrote:

No rest day nor night with these cursed Catterpillars, Perfect Passages, Weekly Occurrences, Scout, Spye, Politcus Diurnal, the devil and his dam . . . These fellows come flurting in, and style themselves by new names; they flie up and down a week or two, and then in a moment vanish. Seriously, I wish it were exacted that whatsoever did betake

himself to this lying trade should be bound at least seven years to it. (5)

With the press still under parliamentary control, there emerged a series of licensers, of whom Sir Roger L'Estrange was foremost. He has been described as the most distinguished writer of the reigns of Charles II and James II and the journalist of the Restoration. He was the first English journalist to sit in the House of Commons, the first to be distinguished by the favour of the Crown, and the first to make journalism a profession. On the obverse side, for his work as Surveyor of the Press, L'Estrange was paid £200 a year and carried out his duties with a conscientiousness bordering on the obscene. In 1663 he published Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press in which he recognized the connection between the poverty of printers and the incentive to seditious printing. Thus he averred that "One great evil is the multiplicity of printers, who for want of publish and warrantable employment, are forced to play the knaves in corners, or want bread." (6)

L'Estrange let it be known that informers would be rewarded at his office in Ivy Lane. He did not have long to wait, for within months of publishing his Regulations of the Press the premises of John Twyn, of Cloth Fair, were raided in October 1663. Twyn was to be the most unfortunate of all the victims, for he was found guilty of printing sheets which expounded that "If the magistrates prevent judgment, the people are bound by the law of God to execute judgment without them and upon them." For this, the unhappy Twyn was hanged, disembowelled and quartered. (7)

But, despite all the fears of Parliament, the printing and publishing industry in London remained small. By decree

of The Star Chamber in 1616 a limit had been placed on the number of presses. Indeed, a survey in 1668 showed that there were just 198 men employed on 65 presses; and of these the King's Printer employed 18 printers on six presses.

The Stationers' Company still retained its role as arbiter of the printing trade, but its power had been slowly in decline for more than 20 years. When Charles II restored the monarchy in 1660, the master printers were in dispute with the merchant members of the Company, and had suggested that they should be given the authority to regulate the industry. L'Estrange, in his role as Surveyor of the Press, was quick to dismiss their claim.

It were a hard matter [he wrote] to pick out twenty master printers who are both free of the trade, of ability to manage it, and of integrity to be trusted with it: most of the honest sort being impoverished by the late times, and the great business of the Press being engrossed by Oliver's creatures.(8)

He was convinced that the only way to control the industry securely was to employ officers who were not financially dependent upon it. As a result the powers of the Stationers' Company were now severely curtailed; and this was made clear in the following response of L'Estrange to their claims:

It seems a little too much to reward the abusers of the Press with the credit of superintending it; upon a confidence that they who destroyed the last King for their benefit will now make it their business to preserve this to their loss.(9)

1.1: Richard Baldwin 1653-1698

It was against this background that young Richard Baldwin, having served his apprenticeship with George Evesden, was admitted to the freedom of the Stationers' Company on August 25, 1675. Within 12 months, Baldwin had taken on his first

apprentice, Joseph Rydale, of Great Hampden in Buckinghamshire, and four years later he was joined by John Bowen, of the parish of Loughalhin in Carmarthenshire. (10) Baldwin set up his shop at Ball Court in the Old Bailey, and, although there is no record of his imprint before 1681, he had been engaged four years earlier in the sale of books.

In 1679, Parliament allowed the Printing Act to lapse, and as a direct consequence there was an immediate increase in the number of new publications, but many of these were suppressed by use of royal proclamations and the law of seditious libel. Among the new publishers the name of Richard Baldwin was to stand out as a champion of English political freedom and continued to be so until his early death in 1698. His support of the Protestant cause was then carried on by his widow, Anne, until 1713. The Baldwins rank among the foremost of the Fourth Estate, being forthright in their denunciation of the Stuarts and bitterly opposed to the imperialistic machinations of King Louis XIV and the intrigues of the Papacy. For almost 30 years a succession of books, tracts and news-sheets flowed from their premises. From the beginning, Baldwin deemed himself a political person, and in 1681 there appeared the first imprint bearing his name The Certain Way to Save England . . . By a Prudent Choice of Members to serve in the Next Ensuing Parliament.

Baldwin did not have long to wait before he fell foul of the Establishment, and, in the October of that year, in the company of several other Protestant publishers, he was summoned before the Privy Council accused of "publishing severall scandalous and seditious pamphlets against the government." The specific charge against Baldwin was of "Printing and publishing a Book Intituled The Protestant

Plot". Pleading ignorance of the work and its political nature, Baldwin declared that the manuscript had been sent to him in a letter "from an unknown Hand, and that if there was anything in it of dangerous Consequences, it was more than he knew, having never read the said Book." Assuring His Majesty's Court that he had published it for no other reason "than to get money in the way of trade", he was, nevertheless, obliged to provide bail and to appear later at the Term Court. Despite his first brush with His Majesty's Court, Baldwin was in no way to be deterred from expressing his point of view and on Monday, October 10, 1681, he launched Mercurius Anglicus, a single folio sheet printed every Monday and Thursday. He immediately made a plea begging the indulgence of the readers for any errors and misreports which "are the common fate of Discourses relating to Publick Affairs. Care shall be taken in collecting the contents of the said papers . . . nothing shall be inserted which be false."(11)

The Mercurius Anglicus carried few advertisements, the majority of its space being devoted to current local and foreign news with strong attacks upon the Bourbons and the Papists. Thus, in the first issue, Baldwin savagely criticised the Papists, accusing them of hiring

certain Hawkers and other indigent persons to disperse about this city and suburbs several scandalous Libels and Pamphlets, tending to create in People a disbelief of the Plot, and to shift it from their Party to the Presbyterians. They hire Ballad-Singers to sing about the Streets, and to disperse certain Songs and Ballads of the same tendency. The said Papists do send these villainous Papers into several parts of the kingdom by Posts, Carriers and Private Conveyances.(12)

Unfortunately, the paper was not the hoped-for success and was discontinued after only three issues. Six months later, in April 1682, Baldwin launched The London Mercury,

which was printed for him by Thomas Vile, an equally-enthusiastic anti-Bourbon colleague. The London Mercury followed the same style and format as the official state organ, The London Gazette, but differed essentially in its political stance. This, however, was to be another short-lived bi-weekly, and The Mercury lasted only until the October. (13) For Baldwin, still a young man at 27, the year 1682 had marked the beginnings of his publishing awareness. During the next six years, until the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the downfall of James II, he was to issue more than 40 books of which twenty-seven had a distinct political bias: anti-Stuart, anti-French and anti-Tory. Still violently anti-Papist, Baldwin, on April 24, 1682, launched yet another newspaper, The Protestant Courant, Imparting News Foreign and Domestick. A two-sided sheet with but four columns, it did, however, carry about twenty-five per cent of advertising matter, including those for purging and purifying the blood.

From the first issue, Baldwin was determined that The Protestant Courant should live up to its name and prove a worthy competitor to the loyalist papers, the Observer and the Heraclitus Ridens. However, publication of the Courant was not without its difficulties as he so sublimely stated in the issue of May 1-6:

Whereas this paper (according to our Promise) have come out on Thursday last, These are to give Notice that some of the Popish Crew . . . despairing of totall suppressing it, were resolved to try an experiment on the Printer, which they did and detained him so long in Merry Company, that he wanted time to finish the Paper by the day appointed, so that now we have changed our Printer and our Days, and hereafter these Papers will be published every Wednesday and Saturday. (14)

Unfortunately, The Protestant Courant was not a success and closed after a few weeks, but, despite this short-lived venture into newspapers, Baldwin was now a successful publisher, and from his new premises near the Black Bull in Old Bailey there continued to pour forth a succession of anti-Stuart pamphlets and books, which were again to land him in trouble. His next adversary was the dreaded L'Estrange, who, in January 1683, wrote to Sir Leoline Jenkins:

Had my importunities to have had the sifting of Baldwin prevailed, he should have either delivered up some persons more considerable than himself or not have been in a condition this day to do more mischief. Today is published by him a libel entitled a Defence of the Charter and Municipal Rights of the City of London written by Hunt of venomous malice against the King and the Duke, so far as I can judge by dipping into it.(15)

It was to be six months, however, before the case was settled, with the Attorney General asserting that "the books in Baldwin's hands may be seized by warrant from any judge of the king's bench and detained until the matter be determined." Bearing in mind the unfortunate experience of fellow-printer John Twyn in his encounter with L'Estrange and the law, Baldwin must be considered a lucky individual.

In November 1688 came the moment that Baldwin and his colleagues had long been waiting for -- The Glorious Revolution and the landing of William of Orange at Torbay, followed by the flight within days of James II, his wife and baby son to the court of Louis XIV. The glory of the revolution was that it was bloodless: there were neither civil wars nor massacres as the Tories and Whigs concluded the compromise resulting in the Revolution Settlement. With a Protestant monarch now on the throne, there was an air of freedom hitherto unknown in the country and this was soon reflected in the newspapers of the day. From the Revolution of 1688 until his death ten years later, Baldwin

was to publish almost 250 books, of which 150 had a political slant, and of these seventy-five were anti-French in content. One of the best-known of these works was printed at Cologne in 1689 with the rubric, The Great Bastard Louis XIV. Protector of the Little One (James Edward Francis Stuart); Done out of French; and for which a Proclamation with a Reward of 5,000 Louis d'or to Discover the Author.(16)

In March of that year, Baldwin, championing the cause of William III, launched yet another newspaper, with the quaint title, An Account of the Proceedings of the Meetings of the Estates of Scotland. This paper contained news and advertisements pertinent to the revolution in Scotland, but with the acceptance by the Scots of the new monarch its publication soon ceased. Always eager for new outlets, within the following three years Baldwin sponsored The Dublin Intelligence, a newspaper for Irish Protestants living in London, and followed it with The Scottish Mercury, which was designed to provide "a true account of the daily proceedings and most remarkable Publick Occurrences In Scotland."(17)

With the increase in his publishing business, Baldwin and his wife, Anne, were now forced to move into larger premises, and by 1691 they were producing from "near the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane", and here they were to remain in the shadow of Wren's rebuilt masterpiece, St. Paul's. Three years later, on August 11, 1694, Baldwin launched his most successful and enduring newspaper, The Postman, a publication that was to survive him by more than 30 years. It began as the oddly-titled Account of the Publick Transactions in Christendom, and then was briefly called The Holland Paquet Boat.

For the first time the Press was about to be set free, for in 1695 censorship was allowed to lapse, and Milton's

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
P U B L I C K T R A N S A C T I O N S i n C h r i s t e n d o m .

In a Letter to a Friend in the Country.

Saturday, August 11. 1694. L I C E N S ' D .

S I R,
TH E Gazette and News-Letters being so common in your Country, I was not a little surprized to find that you should desire me to write to you once a Week what I hear concerning the Publick Transactions of the World, and what Reflections our Friends make on them. This, I am sure, is a harder Task than you imagined for me at first, and I think the Reasons I gave you in my last, in order to obtain your excuse, were very pertinent and sufficient; but seeing nothing can satisfy you, and that you are resolved to have a Letter of mine, I shall write to you as often as I shall have any Subject Matters; but as you must not always expect from me extraordinary things, so neither must you expect that I should take notice of all little Trifles; This is the Province of the most Common News-Letters, with whom I do not design in the least to interfere.

We have been this Week in great impatience for want of News, and the *Holland Mail* we had on *Thursday*, has not yet quenched our thirst; for what we heard was not very material. The Letters from *Vienna* of the 31st of *July*, say, That the Imperial Forces were arrived at their

zette says were arrived at *Belgrade*, it proves to be one of its ordinary wilful mistakes. Tho' the Summer is so far spent, yet by these Preparations of the Imperialists, it seems that they design to do something; and if we may believe these Letters, the *Turks* are hardly in a Condition to oppose them. This backwardness of both Parties shews how much a Peace is necessary for them, and that they lie under a kind of impossibility to continue the War. I know that the *Turks* are sullen, as generally all Loosers are, and loth to quit the Play; but amongst other Reasons, if the *Arabian's* Insurrection continues, I am sure they will be glad to accept of Terms. Of these Commotions you have already an Account in one of our *Gazette's*, which is confirmed by the last Letters from *Transylvania* and *Venice*, with some other particulars. They write in short, That the *Czeriff* of *Arabia* having got a considerable Army together, had march'd towards *Mecca*, and defeated the *Bassa* of *Asia*, who intended to oppose him; that he possessed himself afterwards of that place, as well as of *Medina*, causing himself to be proclaimed Emperor; and that having seized on the Treasures of those Towns, he was marching into the *Up-*

dream of "liberty of unlicensed printing" was finally realized. Since 1680, Charles II's proclamation "For Restraining the Printing of New Books and Pamphlets of News without leave" had held fast, and even under the new reign of William III conditions at first improved very little.

1.2: The Great Charter

But as Macaulay was to write: "While the Abbey was hanging with black for the funeral of the Queen (Mary II) the Commons came to a vote . . . which has done more for liberty and for civilisation than the Great Charter of the Bill of Rights." (18) The question was put

that the House do agree with the (Select) Committee in the Resolution that the Act entitled an Act for preventing Abuses in printing seditious, treasonable and unlicensed pamphlets, and for regulating all Printing and Printing Presses be continued. The Speaker pronounced that the Noes had it; and the Ayes did not think fit to divide. (19)

From that moment the freedom of the press was legally established in England, and within a few weeks there appeared a small flurry of new titles. Among them was The Postman on October 22 -- following an abortive amalgamation with The Rival Post Boy of Abel Roper. Other papers to be launched at this time were The Flying Post, The English Courant and The Weekly Messenger. Throughout Europe, the sudden liberation of England's newspapers from censorship was regarded with envy by Continental authors. In London there now emerged a new breed of scribes, among whom was Jean de Fonvive, a Huguenot exile, who edited The Postman. As one of the capital's leading newspapers, The Postman appeared each Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and retained correspondents in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Flanders and Holland. Its renown was such that The Duke of Marlborough demanded that it alone carry his front line despatches.

Fonvive, reputed to be earning £600 per year, laid out his paper's policy in one of the early issues by declaring:

I shall write to you as often as I shall have any subject matters, but you must not always expect from me extraordinary things; so neither must you expect that I should take notice of all little trifles. This is the Province of the most Common News-Writers, with whom I do not deign in the least to interfere.

One of the chief sources of information for these News-Writers was the coffee-house which also provided the basis for the newspaper's circulation. At the time of the freeing of the press there were almost 500 such premises in London and each had its own intimate clientele. Describing the role of the News-Writer, Macaulay wrote that he

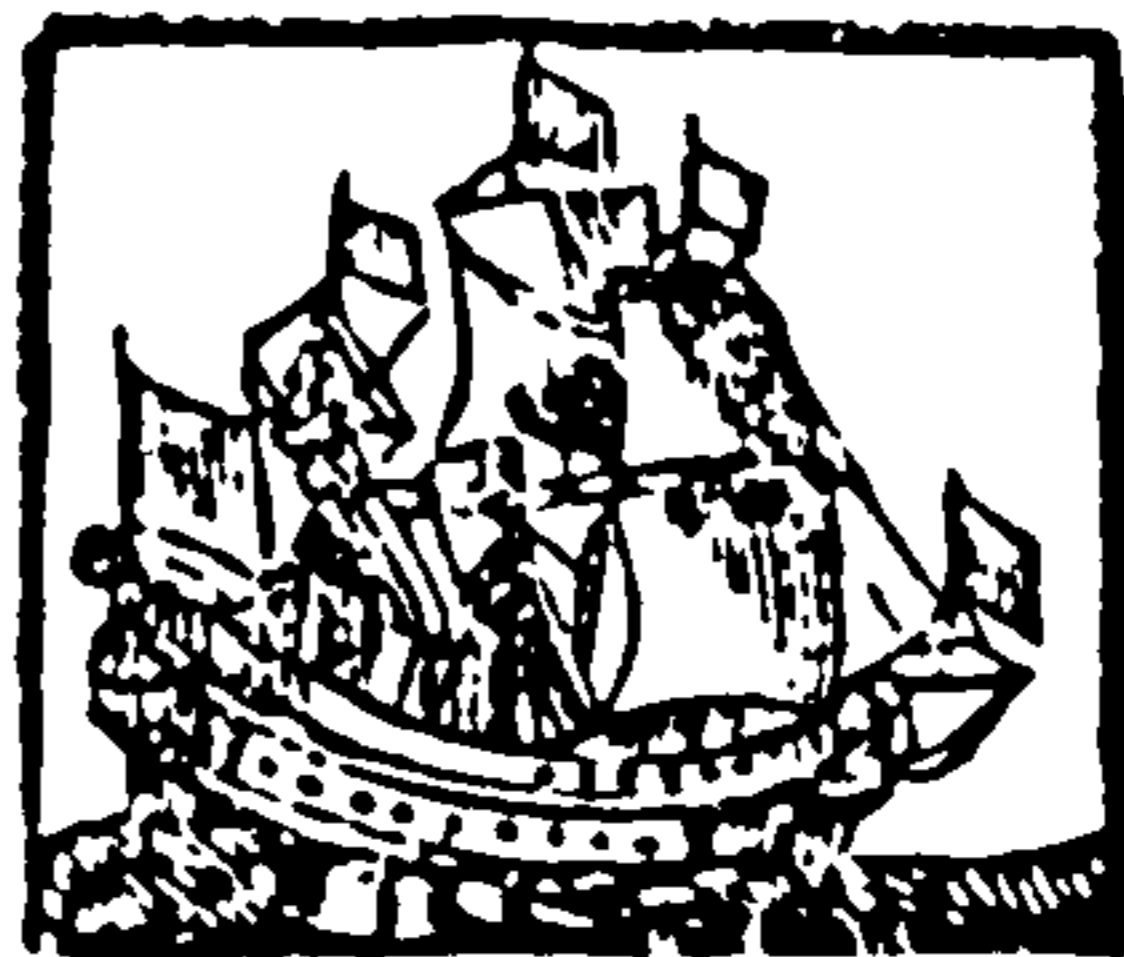
rambled from coffee-house to coffee-house collecting reports, squeezed himself into the Sessions Houses at the Old Bailey if there was an interesting trial, nay, perhaps obtained permission to the gallery in Whitehall and noticed how King and Duke looked. In this way he gathered materials for weekly epistles destined to enlighten some country town or some bench of rustic magistrates. Such were the sources from which the inhabitants of the largest provincial cities, and the great body of the gentry and clergy learned almost all they knew of the history of their own time. (20)

A major feature of the period was the "Postscript", and in the issue of The Post Man dated February 4-6, 1696, Baldwin announced that

This Paper having found a General acceptance, the Publisher has thought fit to add a Postscript on the 3d (third) side of the whole sheet which shall be done upon good Paper, and shall contain all the most Remarkable occurrences of any Gentleman or News Writer shall think fit to make use of them, etc.



A
Postscript
TO THE
POST-MAN.



London, *August 11. 1710.*

This Day came in an Express, with the welcome News of a Victory obtain'd by the King of Spain, over the Forces of the Duke of Anjou. Which is in Substance as follows.

THE Duke of Anjou being inform'd, That 5000 Palatines were on their March from Gironne, to join the King of Spain near Baguer, resolv'd to decamp the 26th of July from Ivars, and repass the Segra. Whereupon King Charles order'd General Stanhope with 14 Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, and a Detachment of Grenadiers, to march, and endeavour to fall on their Rear.

Accordingly General Stanhope advanc'd, though he had an Ague upon him, and attack'd the 27th their Rear, consisting of Twenty Six Squadrons, which were put into Disorder; Whereupon the Duke of Anjou sent all the Cavalry of his Army to support them; and King Charles doing the like, the Engagement became general between the Horse of both Armies. The Action lasted some Hours, but at last the Troops of the Duke of Anjou gave way. The General who commanded them, with several other Persons of Note were taken Prisoners. The Slaughter was very great, both on the Field of Battel, and in the Pursuit. The Duke of Anjou retir'd with his Foot to Lerida. The Allies lost some considerable Officers, and General Stanhope received a Contusion in his Right Shoulder.

The Express who brought this News to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, went through Ghent in his way to the Army; and they have Printed there the following Account: Which perhaps in some Particulars is somewhat exaggerated.

Ghent, Aug. 18. Last Night an Express arriv'd here from Milan, (from whence he set out the 8th Instant) in his way to the Army, with Dispatches from the King of Spain for the Princes of Savoy and Marlborough. He reports, That the Army of his Catholick Majesty has entirely defeated in Catalonia the Forces of King Philip. That on the Side of the Enemy, Two Lieutenants-General were killed, with Six Majors-General, Six Brigadiers, 20 Colonels, 24 Lieutenant-Colonels, and 7000 Private Men, besides a great Number of Prisoners, amongst whom are 700 Officers. They took from them 30 Pieces of Cannon, and several Standards and Colours. The Queen of Spain writ this News with her own Hand to her Father, the Duke of Wolfembuttel. The King of Spain was still pursuing his Enemies, when the Express came away.

The paper would be printed off a full rather than a half sheet, leaving pages three and four blank, and any late news could then be written on these blank sides. Baldwin announced with some pride that

They may have them at a very reasonable rate at the Publisher at Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane, and there will be space left, for business or what other means they shall think proper to insert, they are designed to be published at 4 in the afternoon every Post day and will begin next week.(21)

It is clear from this statement that the main edition was published in the morning, and that provision was made for an afternoon print, depending on the importance of the news. But the success of the paper brought a horde of imitations and forgeries which so concerned the publishers of The Post Man that they were forced to list the booksellers and news hawkers from whom the newspaper was available. Thus, in the issue of April 23-25, 1706, it was reported:

There being a Sham Postscript published last night, with an Advertisement, intending to impose the same upon People as a Postscript to the Postman. We think fit to desire our Readers to buy no Postscripts to the Postman but from Hawkers they know, as the only means to stop that Villainous practice; and when there is any material News, we shall take care to publish a Postscript, provided it be a Post-day and not too late.(22)

Apart from two short-lived newspaper ventures -- The Pacquet of Advice from France which appeared for six issues in April 1691 and Mercurius Reformatus of The New Observator which ran from April to November 1691 -- Baldwin's touch had been sure. A string of publications had issued from his press, and among these were The Gentleman's Journal or The Monthly Miscellany which numbered contributions from Dryden and songs from Purcell. Another was Miscellaneous Letters, a literary journal which included selections on "English Books printed in London" and a digest of foreign books.

Now a prosperous businessman, Baldwin was in December 1692 admitted to the livery of the Stationers' Company(22) and, from his premises at the Oxford Arms, Warwick Lane, he continued to be a guardian of the press, remaining ever scornful of the Bourbons and Papists. However, he had been unwell for some time, and the stresses and pressures of the past 20 years were finally about to take their toll. After much suffering from consumption, he died in the Oxford Arms and was buried in his native High Wycombe on March 24, 1698. Baldwin's long-standing friend and customer, John Dunton, summed up the man in the following fulsome and worthy tribute:

Mr Richard Baldwin. He printed a great deal, but got as little by it as John Dunton. He bound for me and others when he lived in the Old Bailey; but, removing to Warwick Lane, his fame for publishing spread so fast, he grew too big to handle his small tools. He was a true lover of King William; and, after he came on the Livery, always voted on the right side. His wife, Mrs. A. Baldwin, in a literal sense was a help-mate, and eased him of all his publishing work; and since she has been a Widow, might vie with all the women in Europe for accuracy and justice in keeping accompts: and the same I hear of her beautiful daughter, Mrs. Mary Baldwin, of whom her Father was very fond. He was, as it were, flattered into his grave by a long consumption; and now lies buried in Wickam parish, his native place.(23)

(The involvement of Mrs Baldwin with the early eighteenth century press, leading to the next generation of the Baldwin dynasty, Henry, and his founding of The St. James's Chronicle is discussed in Chapter Four).

1.3: The Freedom of the Press

For almost two centuries, the Baldwin family was to be involved in every major issue in the struggle for freedom of the press. From the early days of Richard and Anne, innovators in newspaper publication, to Henry, founder

Persons Buried Anno 1697

The wife of Samuel Swan	16.
Francis Wilder	17.
Thomas Overstaff	19.
A Child of John Amos	21.
Jane Davie	22.
The wife of Timothy Pryor	26.
John Gray	30.
A Child of James Powell	Jan. 31.
Josiah Prange	7.
A Child of Thomas Joand	22.
Anne Spurling wid	27.
Anne Buztrall	29.
Anne Sopton	30.
Bridgett Evans	Feb. 6.
Sarah Thomas	2.
Ely Carter wid	3.
A Child of Gutterd Allen	6.
Ely wife of Isaac Carter	7.
John Dwyfeild	12.
Ely Milibourne wid	15.
Margaret Grimsdell	16.
Edward Gibbons	19.
A Child of John Burton	20.
Samuel Poffey	24.
A Child of Mary Lucas base born	27.
Gutterd Bandwin London	March 11.
Susanna Lyze wid	16.
John Whitman	24.
Thomas Dwyffers Child	28.
William Evans	Apr. 2.
Thomas Davie	2.
A Child of John Hask	17.
Dorothy Swain wid	18.
Gutterd Boddy	20.
Jonathan Hinder	27.
A Child of John Craswell	14.
Elizabeth Sh...	15.
	22.

1698 *

of The St. James's Chronicle, to his son, Charles, who started The Standard, and, finally, to Edward, of The Morning Herald, there was the utmost dedication. Their newspapers were certainly anti-Papist and Tory in outlook and did not support Reform and opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. Nevertheless, they played a crucial role in public life and, for the most part, feared no one. Throughout those years the Baldwins attracted the best writers: Defoe, Dryden and Purcell in the early eighteenth century; Addison and Steele with Mrs Baldwin on The Tatler and The Spectator; the "phalanx of first-class wits" on The St. James's Chronicle -- Boswell, Burke, Colman, Cowper, Garrick, Goldsmith, Sheridan and Thornton; and the acerbic Maginn in the first issues of The Standard.

Politically, the newspapers were always in the forefront. Thus, on The Standard, from the first editorship of Giffard to that of Mudford at the close of the nineteenth century, there was a constant involvement with such Tory leaders as Wellington, Peel, Disraeli and Salisbury -- all of whom endeavoured to influence The Standard's editorial columns. Gradually, though, the paper changed until, under Mudford, its Conservative independence was admired by most. Indeed, Salisbury, a one-time leader writer on the paper, informed Queen Victoria, when he was Prime Minister:

We have no influence with the paper by which we could keep it from any line of writing or tone of policy that we disapproved. Occasionally it will put in what it is asked to put in: but that is very rare. The paper is quite independent: but we have to bear the blame of its proceedings. (24)

And for much of that time, through the influence of its new owner, James Johnstone, The Standard was extremely successful and became the chief rival to The Times.

Chapter Two

PROPRIETORS, EDITORS AND JOURNALISTS

At 2 p.m. on Monday, May 21, 1827, the hopes of Arbuthnot, Wellington and Peel were realised when the first edition of the new daily, The Standard, appeared. That Charles Baldwin, however, had no intention of exposing his successful thrice-weekly, The St. James's Chronicle, was revealed when he later recalled,

I was not willing to risk the continuance of my old and valued journal; I preferred the heavier risk of establishing at my own expense and hazard, a Daily Evening Paper to be conducted on the same principles and by the same editor. I also engaged the assistance of Dr. Maggin and other celebrated writers.

The choice of a name then claimed our attention. The object was to make a stand against the inroad of principle; contrary to our Constitution in Church and State; a very appropriate motto was chosen by Dr. Giffard, 'Signifer, statue signum, hic optime manebimus' (Plant here the Standard. Here we shall best remain) and on the 21st May, 1827, The Standard was reared, hauled as a rallying point, and was speedily followed by the raising of Standards in the Provincial and Colonial Conservative Press. Even foreign newspapers have adopted the name.(1)

The man selected by Baldwin to be the first editor of the new paper was Dr. Stanley Lees Giffard, who had faithfully served the proprietor as editor of The St. James's Chronicle since 1819. Born in Dublin on August 4, 1788, Giffard had studied at Trinity College, where he had achieved the B.A. degree in 1807 and the M.A. four years later. He was afterwards awarded the LL.D. degree, entered at the Middle Temple and was called to the bar by that society in 1811. Making no progress as a barrister, he turned his attention to literature and was quickly recognised as the most

Published 4 1/2 1/2 1/2

The Standard

Signifer statue Signum:
Hic OPTIME MANEBIMUS.

Plant here THE STANDARD:
Here we shall best remain.

MONDAY, May 21, 1827.

Valuable Reversionary Freehold Estates, at Kingston, in Surrey, Stratford, Hford, and Chingford, in Essex, Kent-road, Southwark, Smithfield, Aldgate, Bethnal-green, &c., on the death of a Gentleman, in his 70th year.—By WINSTANLEY and SONS, at the Mart, on Friday, June 29, in 12 lots.

VERY valuable Reversionary Freehold Estates, on the death of a Gentleman, now in his 70th year; consisting of the well known and old established inn and goring house, called the Castle, situate in the market-place at Kingston, in Surrey. The old established inn and post-horse house, the Angel, at Hford, Essex. The Crown Public House, in West Smithfield. A genteel and compact Residence, at Chingford, with 10 acres of land. Six houses, Nos. 1, 2, and 3, New-street, near the Turnpike, at Stratford, and Nos. 26, 27, and 28, in Two Brothers-row. A piece of Ground, with building thereon, forming part of the Roebuck Brewery, in the Kent-road, Southwark. An extensive range of sheep and cattle sheds and pens, with arched vaults, in Harrow-alley, Aldgate. Range of stabling, coach houses, sheds, and small tenement, in Black Horse-yard, Aldgate. A large piece of vacant ground, and 18 brick built tenements, in Seven Step-alley, Houndsditch. Two Houses, Nos. 48 and 49, Petticoat-lane, and four tenements behind, and a brick built house, No. 24, Patriot-square, Bethnal-green. Principally let on leases; the present rents and annual value amounting to near 1000*l.* per annum. The land tax is redeemed on a large portion of the property. To be viewed by permission of the respective tenants: printed particulars will be ready for delivery 21 days prior to the sale, and may then be had of Mr. Arthur Clarke, solicitor, Bishopsgate church-yard; at the Castle, Kingston; the Yorkshire Cray, Stratford; the Angel, Hford; the Old White Woodford; the Crown, West Smithfield; at the Mart; and of Winstanley and Sons, Paternoster-row.

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but all their efforts proving unavailing against the increasing rush of the water, they were forced to retreat towards the shaft. The instant the accident occurred, a general consternation prevailed amongst the workmen, and they simultaneously rushed towards the shaft—*since qui pent* was the universal sentiment, and in their hurry several ludicrous accidents took place. It is with pleasure we announce, that no life was lost on the occasion, though the engineers, and particularly Tallatt, narrowly escaped drowning. It appears that at a quarter before seven o'clock, the 12 shields, or frame-works, were in the act of being propelled forward at the end of the tunnel, to enable the workmen to excavate more securely; and at that time the tunnel extended 580 feet under the Thames. The workmen employed in propelling No. 11 and 12 shields, observed the soil to give way between these shields, and in a few seconds afterwards the water poured in through an aperture about six inches in diameter. Tallatt, the engineer, screwed up three door-ways as he retreated towards the shaft, and he was obliged to swim a considerable distance. A workman named Gatis was also in the water for some time. Tallatt being a good swimmer, remained at the top of the water, about ten feet below the top of the shaft, till Messrs. Brunel, junior, and Gravatt, came to his assistance. Mr. Brunel, junior, plunged into the water, and affixed a rope round Tallatt, and he was drawn up in a state of exhaustion to the top of the shaft. From the time the water first broke in, till the tunnel and shaft were filled to the level of the river, twelve minutes elapsed. The engineers are quite confident that they shall be able to repair the injury, and that the only consequence which will arise from it, will be the retarding of the work for about a fortnight. This day Mr. Brunel will descend in a diving bell, to ascertain the extent of the injury, and to adopt means of stopping the aperture caused by the influx of the water. Should the means proposed to be used be successful, the water in the tunnel will be drawn up, by means of steam engines in a few days.

The following is a letter, from the principal engineer, on the above subject:—

“Mr. Editor—I feel it a duty incumbent on me to make known to the public an accident which occurred this evening to the tunnel, by the water from the Thames overpowering the exertions which, at the time, could be opposed to it. Although this circumstance will not

A section of the first issue

distinguished and powerful writer of the day.

After six years of continuing success as a journalist on The St. James's Chronicle he was rewarded with the editorship.(2)

As an editor, Giffard was in the true Baldwin tradition: violently anti-Catholic and bitterly opposed to Catholic emancipation. It was said that "he looked upon the Roman Church as simply a political conspiracy carried on under the name of religion."(3) His first wife was Sarah Mears Moran, and his third son by her, Hardinge Stanley, was raised to the peerage as Lord Halsbury in 1885 becoming Lord Chancellor, and was promoted to an earldom in 1898, during his third tenure of the chancellorship, which he retained until 1905. He is best known as the author of Halsbury's Laws of England.

Within four years of assuming the editorship of The Standard, Giffard was a celebrity, and was described by Sir Denis Le Marchant as an "honest Orangeman, and as violent and fanatical as most of his faith." Giffard's honesty was well reflected in the paper's earliest days. One story circulating at the time -- and later confirmed to the writer by the present Earl of Halsbury -- concerned the editor and the Duke of Newcastle. According to James Grant and other historians of the British press, The Standard was but a few weeks old when early one morning a splendid carriage with a magnificently liveried coachman and servants stopped at the door of Dr. Giffard's house in Pentonville, where a small parcel was delivered. On opening it, Giffard found that it contained £1,200 from the Duke of Newcastle. In the accompanying note, the Duke requested Dr. Giffard's personal acceptance of the amount as a practical expression of his admiration of the masterly article which had appeared in The Standard of the previous evening in opposition to the Roman Catholic claims. It is said that "while accepting

the princely gift of the Duke of Newcastle he did not apply the sum to his own individual use, but shared it among his staff."(4)

The paper was published daily, except on Sunday. On Christmas Day, it was noted that as the main public buildings were closed for the holiday "there was not much news". From the first issue, stock market prices were featured, which bore a 2 p.m. time stamp and it was only a matter of weeks before the paper was accepted by the Government's Messenger of the Press. Costing 7d, the paper was published from 5, New Bridge Street, and for that the reader received a four-page broadsheet, five columns per page, measuring 21 inches x 14.75 inches.(5) Despite the increasing importance of The Standard and its editor, Giffard was always to remain very much a political animal, as is apparent in his dealings with Wellington and Peel, which are detailed in the following chapter. That he was not, however, without his critics was well reflected in the following remark from John Gibson Lockhart, Editor of The Quarterly Review, to J. W. Croker in 1835:

McGinnis's superior in The Standard is a man of a different cast and calibre and he is really worth thinking of. He too is poor -- often embarrassed, and thence, irritable, sulky and dangerous. He is however extravagantly vain and no man more seducible by the least show of courtesy from persons of high rank.(6)

No doubt this could be said of Giffard's Assistant Editors, the well-known literary figures, Dr. William Maginn and Alaric Alexander Watts.

2.1: Dr. William Maginn

"Bright, broken Maginn" -- immortalised by Thackeray as the Captain Shandon of Pendennis -- was born on July 10, 1794, at Cork, where his father maintained a private school

for boys. In this school, Maginn's brilliance in classical studies was so remarkable that he entered Trinity College, Dublin, at the age of eleven. On his return to Cork, after graduation, he taught classics at his father's school, achieved the LL.B. degree and in 1819 became a LL.D. of Trinity. A fluent linguist, it was said that he could speak and write in French, German, Italian, Portuguese and modern Greek besides having a knowledge of Hebrew, Sanskrit and Syrian before the age of twenty-five.(7) With this background, it is little wonder that Maginn's biographer, Edward Kenealy, could assert that "His memory was prodigious, the strongest in the world. It was a rich storehouse of all learnings so that it might with propriety be called, like the sublime Longinus, the living library."(8)

Maginn began his journalism by contributing to The Literary Gazette and Blackwood's Magazine. Despite the fact that in one of his earliest articles he had cost the magazine £100 in libel damages plus heavy costs, in William Blackwood Maginn had a real champion, a champion who urged John Gibson Lockhart, the magazine's editor, to "persuade him to give more of his mind and his bountiful scholarship"(9) to the journal. But by 1824, Maginn had joined the new journal, The Representative, as its Paris correspondent. In addition to John Murray and Lockart, the new paper was backed by a young Benjamin Disraeli. Despite initial set-backs (Disraeli through financial misfortune was unable to put up his share of the capital) the newspaper made its debut on January 25, 1826. However, it was a failure from the very beginning and, according to S. C. Hall, who had been recruited to the paper by Disraeli,

Dr. Maginn was better at borrowing money than at writing articles . . . Editor there was literally none, from the beginning to the end. The first number supplied conclusive evidence of the utter ignorance of the



William Maginn

"THE DOCTOR"

Dr. William Maginn

editorial tact on the part of the person entrusted with the duty . . . and the reputation of the new journal fell below zero in twenty-four hours.(10)

Recalled from Paris and, surprisingly, given an increase in salary to £700 per annum, Maginn directed his energies once more to Blackwood's and The Literary Gazette, before being approached by Theodore Hook to write for John Bull.

Now a well-known figure in Fleet Street, Maginn had many friends of influence, including Thomas Barnes, editor of The Times, but it was Charles Baldwin who Maginn joined for the start of The Standard in 1827 because of his desire to assist his fellow Irishman and Protestant Dr. Giffard. From the very first days at Shoe Lane, Maginn's brilliant prose and acerbic wit were major features of the paper, and, although he wrote anonymously, his style was easily identified and attracted him many admirers. Indeed, as one critic noted: "He could write a leader in The Standard one evening, answer it in The True Sun the following day and abuse both in John Bull on the ensuing Sunday."(11) And it was Maginn who is credited as being the first person to call The Times "The Thunderer". On February 15, 1830, in a paragraph in The Morning Herald, Maginn described The Times as "The Great Earwigger of the Nation, otherwise the Leading Journal of Europe, otherwise The Awful Monosyllable, otherwise The Thunderer -- but more commonly called The Blunderer."(12)

Despite his debauched and gauche manners, Maginn had many supporters, none more faithful than William Makepeace Thackeray, who later reminisced:

I remember being taken by by my friend William Maginn to The Standard in London one Wednesday night where he showed me the mysteries I have outlined above and quite fired my imagination to have a hand in it all. Maginn's familiarity with this process -- he was considerably older than I -- was part of the attraction for me.(13)

Thackeray also rendered a faithful description of The Standard offices in the 1830s in this passage from his novel Pendennis:

They were passing through the Strand as they talked, and by a newspaper office, which was all lighted up and bright. Reporters were coming out of the place or rushing up to it in cabs; there were lamps burning in the editor's room, and above, where the compositors were at work, the windows of the building were in a blaze of gas.

'Look at that, Pen' Warrington said. 'There she is -- the great engine -- she never sleeps. She has her ambassadors in every quarter of the world -- her couriers upon every road. Her officers march with armies and her envoys walk into statesmen's cabinets. They are ubiquitous. Yonder journal has an agent, at this minute, giving bribes at Madrid; and another inspecting the price of potatoes in Covent Garden. Look! here comes the Foreign Express galloping in. They will be able to give news to Downing Street tomorrow: funds will rise or fall, fortunes will be made or lost: Lord B will get up, and holding the paper in his hand, and seeing the noble Marquis in his place, will make a great speech; and -- and Mr. Doolan will be called away from his supper at the Back Kitchen; for he is foreign sub-editor, and sees the mail on the newspaper sheet before he goes to his own.'

And so talking, the friends turned into their chambers, as the dawn was beginning to peep.(14)

Maginn's involvement with Fraser's Magazine, for which he wrote the much discussed "Gallery of Illustrious Characters", led to a bitter libel action with his Standard colleague, Alaric Watts, and a duel with Grantley Berkeley which took place in a field just off the Harrow Road. Berkeley, a crack shot, fired first, hitting Maginn's pistol case on the ground, and part of the hinge went into his boot. When Maginn fired, his shot struck the ground close to his foot. Both missed at the second attempt and Maginn's third shot also went wild. Berkeley believed that his final shot drew blood. When Maginn asked if he

wanted the duel to continue, Berkeley agreed. "Blaze away, by God! A Barrel of Powder!" replied Maginn. However, his second, Hugh Fraser, insisted that the duel be broken off . . . and there the matter ended.

Apart from his publications in The Standard, Maginn contributed to The Age and the radical Sun, but the years of heavy drinking began to take their toll. His deterioration moved his friend, E. V. Kenealy, to lament: "He is a ruin, but a glorious ruin, nevertheless . . . Could he be induced to do so he would be the first man of the day in literature." (15) For a brief period, Maginn moved to the provinces where he edited The Lancashire Herald, a weekly published in Liverpool, but the lure of London and his friends was too much, and by 1841 he began his connection with Punch, and became a major contributor in its first Almanac. (16) Money, though, remained a constant problem for Maginn and his hopes of a pension from the Tories faded because of his associations with Radical journalism. Burdened by debts, his financial situation became desperate, and, despite aid from the Duke of Cumberland, Sir Robert Peel and Thackeray, in 1842 he was incarcerated in Fleet Prison for debt. This did not, however, prevent his contributing to The Standard and to Punch.

In 1842, Thackeray wrote to a friend: "You will have seen poor Maginn's death in the papers. I thought that he could not live a week longer when I saw him in prison before leaving town . . . he died of sheer drink, I fear." In another letter, to John Douglas Cook, on January 8, 1850, Thackeray recalled: "I have carried money, and from a noble brother of letters, to some



W. M. Thackeray and Standard - self caricature

one not unlike Shandon in prison, and have watched the beautiful devotion of his wife in that drear place."(17) On his release from prison, Maginn, broken in health and spirit, had moved to Walton-on-Thames, where, in an advanced state of consumption, he died on August 21, 1842.(18) Punch, in its first black-bordered obituary, noted sadly: "We have stepped aside to hang our humble imortelle above the grave of a genius"(19) Following his death, a subscription for his widow and children was raised through the efforts of Giffard and Lockhart in England and Wilson in Scotland. Many years later, in 1926, his grandchildren and others placed a memorial cross over his grave at Walton-on Thames with the inscription: "Sacred to the Memory of Dr. William Maginn, A Man of Letters. Born in Cork 10th July, 1794. Died at Cypress Lodge the 21st August 1842." However, he is perhaps best remembered in the following tribute from his friend, J. G. Lockhart: "Here, early to bed, lies kind William Maginn . . . Barring drink and the girls, I ne'er heard of a sin -- Many worse, better few, than bright, broken Maginn."

2.2: Alaric Alexander Watts

Far different in character and personality from Maginn was Alaric Alexander Watts, who, during his years on The Standard, was to prove a most loyal and valuable servant for Giffard.

I know of no man [averred Giffard] whose integrity is more pure; no man whose genius is of a higher order; whose conduct, in all the relations of life, is more deserving of administration; no man in whose friendship I feel more highly honoured.(20)

Watts more than repaid that trust when, as a result of Giffard's serious illness, he served as editor of The Standard for three months in the late summer of 1839. In a

warm acknowledgement of Watts' service Giffard told him: "You and I have known each other for fifteen or sixteen years, a very great part of the allotted life of a man, and we have never had a difference of political or private opinion."(21)

Born in London on March 16, 1797, Watts was educated at Wye College Grammar School, Kent, and Powers Academy, Ashford. He then had a varied life as usher, in a Fulham school; private tutor in the family of a Mr Ruspini, dentist to the Prince Regent; temporary clerk in the office of controller of army accounts (War Office); and then further tutorships in the North of England. In 1818 he returned to London as sub-editor of the New Monthly Magazine and soon became well-known as a contributor to the Literary Gazette. As a result, he accepted the editorship of The Leeds Intelligencer at a salary of £300 per annum. There he remained until 1825 when he left Manchester to edit The Courier. In addition to The Courier, Watts also edited the new arts magazine, The Literary Souvenir. It was this work which brought him increasingly into London life and, as a consequence, he resigned the editorship of The Manchester Courier in 1826.

Later, in 1832-3, Watts, with the backing of the Carlton Club, developed Conservative provincial newspapers. He arranged that their titles and leading articles should be set up and printed at No. 1, Crane Court, Fleet Street, "and that the local intelligence and local politics should be added in the country by the local bookseller and printer by whom the paper was published and who was, titularly, its proprietor."(22) As his son, Alaric Alfred Watts, was to write in his father's biography,

This was the origin of what, in the printing trade, is, I believe, designated 'Partly-printed newspapers. For the credit of having originated this method of newspaper issue there have been many claimants. For whatever it may be worth, it belongs to my father. (23)

In 1827, Watts' wide experience led Charles Baldwin to invite him to assist Giffard in launching The Standard, and, as such, from the first issue, he became their valued and esteemed colleague. Thus, James Grant, the newspaper historian, who worked on The Standard, noted: "I may observe that he never occupied on The Standard newspaper the position usually understood in newspaper parlance by the term sub-editor." (24) Like Watts, his friends Wordsworth, Southey and Coleridge were averse to concessions to the Catholics and were all strong supporters of the Tories. As Wordsworth told Watts on May 21, 1827: "Certainly any paper has my good wishes that promised to be judiciously conducted with a view to support the Protestant cause." (25) Similarly, Southey commented on June 21: "Your paper has started well . . ." and, three months later, noted that: "In opinion I have generally gone with The Standard, not always in temper; but it is ably conducted, and makes itself felt." (26) [Full details of this correspondence are contained in the appendices].

Although Maginn and Watts were colleagues on The Standard there was never any real bond between them, a fact well apparent in Maginn's criticism of Watts in Fraser's Magazine. Watts retaliated in verse, but, unfortunately, this was not the end of the affair, for in 1832 Watts had his portrait painted by a Mr. Howard and hung in the Royal Academy. This was too good an opportunity for Maginn to retaliate and in the next issue of Fraser's Magazine there appeared "a libellous but irresistably comical caricature portrait by Maclise representing Watts carrying off pictures with a decidely furtive expression. Maginn wrote the facing caption: "We are not particularly sure what our friend



THE EDITOR OF THE LITERARY CONVENTOR.

Alaric A. Watts - the libel picture

the etcher means by exhibiting Watts in this position in which he is on the opposite page."(27) A furious Watts, receiving no redress from Lockhart, now decided to sue the magazine and Maginn for libel which brought forth this warm response from Giffard:

Any office of friendship from me is a peremptory debt which you have a right to demand on private grounds; but a testimony to your worth and talents, you are entitled to demand from every man who knows us both as well as I do . . . I cannot forgive the unthinking fool who has created the difficulty for mere wantonness of malice . . .(28)

Despite his other activities, Watts' service on The Standard was about to reach its peak, for in the summer of 1839 Giffard was suddenly taken seriously ill. There was only one person who could assume the editorship, and Charles Baldwin approached Watts. Bearing in mind his deep friendship with Giffard and Baldwin, Watts immediately assented, and for three months from the July he took charge of the paper and proved himself a most worthy stand-in. Giffard was profuse in his gratitude when he told Watts on October 10:

. . . I resigned my place as principal editor of The Standard to you, with an expectation that my friends in Bridge Street would feel the advantage of securing your services as my permanent successor, and, had it not been for your very kind offer, I should have died in harness. I firmly believe this.(30)

With his earnings from The Standard and The United Services Gazette, Watts was receiving more than £1,000 per annum, but, despite the efforts of Charles Baldwin, he now involved in litigation with his partner over the Gazette. With debts of more than £3,000, Watts lost the court action and co-ownership of The Gazette. But his troubles were not yet over, for "he was arrested outside his beautiful home at the suit of a paper-maker." Unable to pay, Watts was declared a bankrupt in 1850. However, his fate was not to be the tragic ending of Maginn. In 1853 Watts accepted an appointment in the Inland Revenue Office, where his son held a high

position, and after pleas on his behalf he was awarded a Civil List pension of £100 a year by the Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, in January 1854. His later days were thus spent in some comfort, including editing the first issue of Men of the Time. He died on April 5, 1864, in Notting Hill, and was buried in Highgate Cemetery. In many ways, Watts was a complex character and the complete antithesis of Maginn, but, undeniably, the right man for the job when needed by The Standard.

2.3: The Giffards

Although Giffard's political hopes had been disappointed -- his campaigns against Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform had both been unsuccessful and now he had lost his final battle, the repeal of the Corn Laws -- events during the 1840s provided some consolation, for it was then that his son, Hardinge Stanley, joined him on The Standard and assisted him until being called to the bar in 1850. Born in 1823, Hardinge Stanley lived to the great age of 98, and died secure in the knowledge of having been one of England's greatest lawyers. For five years Hardinge acted as Assistant Editor and on many occasions wrote the leaders. There were very few horse-drawn buses running in London at that time, and each morning two strong thick-set figures -- the editor in his full-skirted frock coat, double folded stock, fob and high hat, and his son, probably less conventionally attired, would set out from their home in Myddleton Square, Pentonville, bound for The Standard offices in Shoe Lane.(31) But journalism was a temporary diversion in the career of Hardinge. As a lawyer, he sought a political career and, following defeats in the General Elections of 1868 and 1874, he was in November 1875 appointed Solicitor General by Disraeli and knighted. Ten years later, Lord Salisbury, in his first administration, appointed him Lord Chancellor. As earlier noted, Hardinge was promoted to an earldom in his third tenure as Lord Chancellor and held this position until 1905.

[It is indeed remarkable that through the present Earl of Halsbury there is a direct link of more than 160 years to the first days of The Standard].

While young Hardinge Giffard was being introduced to the mysteries of the press, the proprietor of The Standard had decided to call it a day. Having reached the age of seventy, Charles Baldwin decided to retire and after 1844 left the active management of his business to his son, Edward. He continued, however, to attend the Stationers' Hall of which Company he had twice been Master, in 1842 and 1843 (33) and the meetings of the Literary Fund Society. His name there was the last inscribed in the list of members by David Williams, the founder, in 1799. He was elected to the council of the Society in 1850, appointed one of three treasurers in 1852, and served in these offices until 1857, when he resigned in his 84th year. (34)

Apart from his charitable activities, Baldwin was also a Justice of the Peace, and held the unique record as being "the oldest volunteer in the Kingdom". He had joined the volunteer corps under Colonel Kensington (called the Silk-stocking Corps, from all its members being gentlemen) at the turn of the century, and served in it for a number of years. His most vivid memory was of being called out and kept under arms for three days to defend Fleet Prison from a threatened attack of the mob. Not only was he fortunate in living to the age of 95, but to the very end of his life he retained the full possession of his faculties. It was said "that his genial disposition, amiable manners and lively conversation endeared him to a large circle of younger friends with whom he was held in affectionate regard." (35) Unlike, Henry, his father, Charles Baldwin was fortunate in his relationship with the Establishment. On his retirement he reflected with pleasure on the great strides achieved

with The Standard as a political force and as a commercial proposition. From its early beginnings the circulation of some 700 or 800 copies each evening had risen within a matter of years to more than 3,500. Now, through the efforts of his hard work, there was established a highly-respected and successful newspaper group and he was confident that in his son, Edward, there was a worthy successor with the knowledge and ability to take The Standard to even greater heights.

2.4: Edward Baldwin

For the new proprietor it was a time to further expand the business, and his first act was to develop The Morning Herald, which he had recently purchased from the Thwaites family. In writing of the transaction, James Grant described Edward Baldwin as a thoroughly enterprising and enlightened trader in journalism, "who, two decades after Dudley's death, bought the Morning Herald from the little group of fifth-rate capitalists to which it had gone." (36)

At once he entered on a course of spirited rivalry with The Times, which set all its resources in motion to crush the new competitor. According to Grant, "So excellently did his continental intelligence service work that, very early in his proprietorship, the Herald won European reputation for the promptitude, the accuracy and the fulness of its despatches from beyond the seas."

Giffard, in addition to his editorship of The Standard, was given supreme control of The Morning Herald, and one of his first steps was to increase his editorial coverage. With Baldwin's main preoccupation now to recover the lost ground from The Times, Giffard was able to engage the best journalists and to raise the honorarium paid for leading articles from three guineas to five guineas.

For the first few months, the paper, with its highly-paid staff, experienced a loss, but then the circumstances changed dramatically. In 1845, Britain was swept with railway mania, which led to frenzied speculation usually alternated with periods of panic. There was a "perfect mania of railway companies" and so great was the influx of long advertisements of new companies that The Morning Herald had sometimes a sufficient number to require not only a second sheet, but a supplement of four pages. This made the paper on each day on which it occurred consist of twenty pages, or 120 columns. Not only did The Herald gain large sums from its advertisement columns but the sales also increased and during 1845 it achieved a daily average of 6,400 -- its highest since 1837, although in the panic year of 1848 it dropped to 4,800 and by 1854 had fallen to 3,700.

On November 17, 1845, The Times exposed the competing railway schemes, showing that there were more than 1,200 projected railways seeking to raise more than £500 million. The bubble burst immediately, although Baldwin, believing that the good times would return, continued to conduct his business in a most lavish manner, even increasing the pay of his Parliamentary reporters from five guineas to seven guineas per week -- and all the while his circulation continued to fall. For The Times, however, it was to be a different story; by 1852 its sales were to exceed 52,000 -- ten times that of The Morning Herald. Edward Baldwin's recklessness was now apparent to all, and by the end of the 1840s his fortunes were very much on the wane. The Standard had commenced the decade with an annual circulation of 1,040,000 or 3,320 copies per day; now, in 1850, its sales had fallen to 492,000 or 1,220 per day. The Morning Herald, as noted, was similarly affected; from a peak of 2,018,025 per annum in 1845 -- the railway mania -- it was down to 1,139,000 or 3,635 per day.

For Giffard it had been a decade when his fortunes were at a low ebb. In fact, for most of his life he was to be beset with money worries, and, with ten children from his two marriages to support and educate, life was difficult -- especially since his independence of spirit would not allow him to be beholden to any man. Throughout the period he had also suffered bouts of illness and depression, so well reflected in the following correspondence with his close friend, Dr. Bliss, editor of The Herald, in Oxford:

[1838] . . . I have had more than one warning that I shall not be alive at the end of 1840: I have therefore no time to lose . . .

[June 21, 1839] I find that overwork has completely exhausted me and that without a change in my health which I can scarcely dare to hope for I must forgo the gratification and advantage of my connexion with The Herald. It will make a few months difference, for as I have been declining for the past month or two, a few months more and it will be all over as far as I am concerned.

[October 23, 1840] What I foresaw when I last wrote to you has occurred. My utmost exertions have failed to meet the debts for which I am liable. I have deprived myself for six months of the society of my family. I have left them to live upon two or three pounds a week in France.(39)

As the 1840s closed, Giffard was still faced with demands. Thus, on July 29, 1850, he received the following communication:

Sir - I beg to enclose you an account for £22 10s due by you to this College. You are doubtless aware of my having been under the necessity of making many applications to you for payment of this account. It is my duty to inform you now that if not paid within the present week . . .

At the bottom of this demand, Giffard wrote:

I leave this as a warning to my children and to their descendeants never to expect gratitude or even decent behaviour from Parsons of the Church of England. I was one of the first promoters of Kings College and subscribed £25 to its creation . . .(40)

For Baldwin, Giffard -- and their Standard -- inexorable events were about to occur which would have a profound effect upon the paper's fortunes. While the sales of The Times were continuing to soar -- largely as a result of William Howard Russell's hard-hitting despatches from the Crimea -- to more than 40,000 copies daily, it was a very different tale at Shoe Lane, and by the mid-fifties The Standard was down to barely 700 copies. It was a state of affairs that could not last, and in Spring 1857 there appeared a short notice in The Times announcing the bankruptcy proceedings of Edward Baldwin -- and with it the end of almost 200 years of his family's involvement in the London newspaper world:

Edward Baldwin, Shoe-lane printer, to surrender March 5 at half-past 11 o'clock, April 2 at the bankrupt Court. Solicitors: Messrs. Barker, Bowler and Peach, Grays-inn square; official assignee, Mr Johnston, Basinghall Street.

Charles Baldwin, the founder, was to pass away on February 18, 1869, at the great age of 95; and no obituary appeared in The Standard. His son Edward Baldwin, moved to No. 1, Streatham Hill, where he lived until his death on January 31, 1890, aged 87. In his obituary it was noted that

his connexion with the Press belongs to a past generation, but in his time he played a prominent part in the newspaper world and was an ardent supporter of the early policy of Lord Derby and Mr Disraeli.(41)

2.5: The new owner, James Johnstone 1857-1878

The new owner was to be James Johnstone and he bought The Standard and The Morning Herald during the summer of 1857 for £16,500*. Discussing Johnstone's purchase of The Standard, James Grant later remarked:

But afterwards the latter journal fell into the hands of the son, and the latter having become bankrupt, both papers were ordered to be sold by the Court of Bankruptcy. Mr James Johnstone,

* See also Ch. 3 pp.92-3 and Ch. 4 p 144.

who had for many years held an official appointment of considerable pecuniary profit in that court, bought the newspaper property thus put up for sale. I believe I am making no disclosure to which Mr Johnstone would object when I mention that the price which he paid for The Morning Herald and The Standard together, including what is called 'the plant' -- that is presses, types, everything, indeed, necessary for working the papers was £16,500.(42)

James Johnstone, himself, was now 42 and a senior partner in the firm of Johnstone, Wintle, Cope and Evans, and for many years had held an official appointment in the Bankruptcy Court, which he now resigned on purchasing The Standard, Morning Herald and St. James's Chronicle. He was described as

a shrewd man of business, cheery, and fond of his job, who developed into an able, though not perhaps strikingly brilliant newspaper director. He was perhaps on more familiar terms with his staff than most modern proprietors, which the severe division of labour isolates in a measure from those in their employ(43).

Writing of Johnstone, almost half-a-century later, an old acquaintance recalled:

The first offices were three old Queen Anne houses in Shoe Lane, and there was no attempt at style either inside or out. I remember going to see Johnstone there; his room was approached by a flight of old-fashioned stairs, while the room itself was devoid of carpets, and the writing-table and few chairs were old and worn.(44)

For the first few weeks, the new proprietor continued to conduct The Standard and The Morning Herald in the same manner as the Baldwins, but, finding that he was producing at a loss, he decided that drastic measures were necessary. He therefore reduced the price of The Standard from four-pence to twopence, doubled the pagination to eight and converted it into a morning paper. The date of this change-over was Monday, June 29, 1857 -- issue no. 10,257 -- and in his leader Giffard announced that the paper "quits the ranks of the Evening Journals and today takes its place

besides The Times and its contemporaries, to compete with them in every excellence, to be less only in price."(45) The repeal of the Stamp Duty in 1855, which had brought about Johnstone's new venture, now meant that The Standard was preparing to challenge The Times and the recently-launched Daily Telegraph head-on. Although the result of the new-look Standard was a large increase in circulation, it was still not enough to make the paper profitable. In his management of The Herald and The Standard, Johnstone exercised great economies but basically followed the example of his predecessors: the news columns were similar although the leaders were different, and the papers, while voicing the same opinions, were supposed to be entirely independent. It was a case of "Oh! No! We never mention her," and The Standard became popularly known by the nickname of "Mrs Harris", while The Morning Herald was dubbed "Mrs Gamp". The first mention of "Mrs Harris" and "Mrs Gamp" had been, not unnaturally, in Punch as early as 1845, and for almost 50 years the magazine was to keep up the fun. Its most famous cartoon ridiculing the papers appeared in May 1862 and featured Disraeli and Lord Derby.(46)

To Johnstone, the papers were always his first consideration and he quickly acquired a knowledge of the mechanical and financial aspects of management. In the early days, though, he found it an uphill task and, even when he had succeeded in obtaining the assistance of the Conservative Party, there were occasions when he found it inconvenient to go to the offices in Shoe Lane owing to the presence of the Sheriff's officers in the vicinity. It was said at the time that he was a person who "swept" about the office with a quick, jerky step, almost a trot. In one respect, however, he was true to the traditions of the paper, he would not knowingly employ a Roman Catholic on the staff.(47)

The introduction of this new-style Standard now posed a direct threat to The Times, and its circulation dropped

A LITTLE BIT OF SCANDAL.



Mrs. Camp. "I tell you what it is, Mrs. ARRIS, the *Times* is a hinfamous fabricator."

Mrs. Harris. "So it is, my dear; and as for that nasty, hojus *Punch*, I'm disposed to scratch is ht's out a'most. What I ses, I ses; and what I ses, I sticks to."

SOME ACCOUNT OF MRS. HARRIS.

CONSIDERABLE doubts prevailing as to whether there is any such person as MRS. HARRIS, we deem it an act of justice to that lady to declare that she is a real individual, and not like the dragon, a fabulous creature, although possessed of many attributes which legends ascribe to the dragon. MRS. HARRIS is an aged female, and is the mistress of a concern called the *Standard*. Her habiliments, by no means either of the newest or the cleanest, are chiefly remarkable for their latitude; in which respect they are similar to her tongue. Like her friend, MRS. GAMP, the subject of our memoir always carries about with her an umbrella, and is constantly poking it in somebody's face. She wears pattens; a precaution which the nature of her walks renders very necessary; but which are constantly tripping her up: when she is apt to pull them off and fling them at the head of anybody who laughs at her, invariably, however, missing her aim. Hence it will be surmised, with truth, that the temper of MRS. HARRIS is hasty; indeed, but for the respect due to age, we should be justified in designating her a beldam.

MRS. HARRIS, when irritated, is by no means choice in her language; using, in fact, the simple Saxon of Billingsgate. Otherwise addicted to circumlocution, MRS. HARRIS is concise in abuse.—The perceptions of MRS. HARRIS are limited. Hence she is very apt to make ludicrous blunders. Her pertinacity is intense; wherefore, when she finds herself in the wrong she persists in it, telling nobody to talk to her, for she knows better, and won't hear a word. The old lady is very bigoted and intolerant, and eaten up with a fanaticism, which she mistakes for piety. The loyalty of this "Blessed woman" is of a piece with her devotion; apparently a kind of tipsy sentiment. In its paroxysms she becomes incoherent, and raves of nailing her flag to a mast, but has never been known to do more than tie her pocket-handkerchief to her umbrella.

2,000 copies a day within a matter of weeks. Although it slowly recovered its normal post-Crimea average of 54,000 copies, The Times was aware that The Standard was now to be its most serious challenge and a challenge that was to last into the 1880s. As The Times admitted in its official history:

The ability with which the twopenny Standard was conducted -- Robert Cecil, later Lord Salisbury, was one of its leader-writers -- constituted an undeniable threat to the supremacy of The Times. Even the Daily Telegraph considered the 2d. eight-page Standard to be a very desirable money's worth in comparison with its own four pages for 1d.(48)

But Johnstone was not finished, and on February 4, 1858, "the entire town and country trade was staggered by an announcement that the Standard was about to reduce its price to 1d without any reduction in size." Thus the editor noted in his leader column; "we this day publish the Standard at the price of ONE PENNY, which, we venture to predict, will yet become the current charge for newspapers throughout the kingdom."(49) At the time of introducing the eight-page Standard as a morning paper, Johnstone had also launched a new Conservative evening entitled The Evening Herald, in connection with the long-established Morning Herald. Priced at 2d, it was not a success -- even though much of the material was lifted from its sister paper -- and it expired on May 21, 1865. As for The St. James's Chronicle, which had for so many years been the bedrock of the Baldwin Family fortunes, there was no future for it in the Johnstone plans and he finally sold the paper to Charles Newdegate, Tory M.P. for North Warwickshire. Within a matter of weeks, Newdegate converted the Chronicle into a weekly.

Encouraged by the success of the new-style Standard, and the increased press capacity available, Johnstone now decided that the time had come to revive the evening edition, which had ceased publication three years earlier. The title was

easily agreed: The Evening Standard; and it was felt that, with the advent of the electric telegraph -- although still in its infancy -- there was an increasing demand for up-to-the-hour news. The first issue of the relaunched paper took place at 3.15 p.m. on Thursday, June 11, 1859, and the man selected as editor was Charles Williams, who had a most varied life in the newspaper world.

Williams was yet another Irish Protestant, having been born in Coleraine and educated at Belfast Academy. After emigrating to the United States he returned to England in 1859, whereupon he assumed charge of The Evening Standard. But his forte was really as a special foreign correspondent, and he was to cover the Franco-Prussian War, the Armenian Crisis in 1877 and the Second Afghanistan War in 1878-79.. He was then appointed editor of the pre-Harmsworth Evening News, before joining The Daily Chronicle, which he served as a special correspondent at the Battle of Omdurman in The Sudan in 1898. He died in Brixton on February 9, 1904. (50)

Succeeding Williams on The Evening Standard was John Moore Philp who was to remain in charge until 1864. He had begun his career in 1838, when he was indentured to J. A. Valpy, a printer, of Red Lion Court, and where he had the future Sir Sydney Waterlow as a fellow apprentice. After his apprenticeship, Moore Philp worked as a proofreader, first at Messrs. Spottiswood, the Queen's Printer, and later at Messrs. Bradby and Evans. He joined the sub-editors' table of The Standard in 1857, before replacing Williams on the evening edition. He then left the paper for The Daily Telegraph, but rejoined The Standard as a sub-editor in 1880, and remained there until his death in 1903.

2.6: Thomas Hamber - The Swiss Captain: 1857-1872

The man mainly responsible for the circulation problems at The Times had been the new editor of The Standard and its sister papers, Thomas Hamber, who was described by

contemporaries as "a thin, spare but manly figure" and known everywhere as the "Swiss Captain". Educated at Oriel College Oxford, Hamber was a contemporary of the future Tory Prime Minister, Lord Robert Cecil; of Lord Goschen; and of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, Ward Hunt. On leaving Oxford, Hamber subsequently joined the Swiss Legion in the Crimean War. Many years later, T. H. S. Escott, a long-time friend of Hamber and leader writer on The Standard, recalled that

Whatever his services in the field may or may not have been, they had given him [Hamber] the titular rank of captain, and invested him with a bluff genial manner, which he has, I think, never lost. Hamber in his best days united great intellectual quickness with many political opportunities, with wide social popularity, and with a certain magnetism which made him a leader of men. (51)

He had succeeded Stanley Lees Giffard as editor, who had been in ill-health for a number of years. In the Spring of 1855 Giffard was bed-ridden for three months. Two years later, in 1857, profoundly shocked by the death of his youngest daughter, Catharine, an 18-year-old, to whom he was devoted, he retired to Folkestone, where he died a year later, aged 70 of painful cancer which he endured with great courage to the end. However, Giffard was not to be forgotten by the paper which he had so lovingly served. On Tuesday, November 9, 1858, The Standard reported his death as its main news story by declaring that

In the obduracy of his sympathies and antipathies in politics he was a man after Dr. Johnson's own heart; and with him departed perhaps the last of the school of Georgian political writers, who brought so great a fund of learning to the pursuit of the press. (52)

But Hamber's style of editorship was far different from that of Giffard. A much-travelled man, Hamber, after Oxford, had studied in German universities, and as a result of living in Berlin and Paris was fluent in both German and

French. Under the Johnstone style of management and the enthusiasm of Hamber, The Standard now began to attract a much better calibre of writer, and one of these was Lord Robert Cecil. Educated at Christ Church, he had been a friend of Hamber at Oxford, and was one of his first appointments after assuming the editorship. Cecil quickly proved his worth as a leader writer, specialising on free trade and foreign policy. Lord Robert Cecil, who succeeded his father as the third Marquess of Salisbury and who was twice Prime Minister, later recalled that in his youth he had eked out a living by writing for newspapers and especially The Standard in Shoe Lane. (53)

Throughout much of the second half of the century, T. H. S. Escott was a key figure on The Standard staff. He had served two periods at Shoe Lane, and such was his renown as a writer that he was featured in an Ape cartoon in Vanity Fair in May 1885. (54) After leaving Oxford, Escott joined The Glow-worm, a short-lived satirical weekly which supported the Conservative cause, until in 1865 he moved from its office in The Strand to The Standard. Later, when describing his first meeting with The Standard management, Escott noted that

When, in his Shoe Lane sanctum, there took place my opening interview with The Standard's then editor, the first of several whom I have known, Tom Hamber, who was seated at his table with his friend and manager, D. Morier Evans, opposite him. The paper's evening edition announced the death of the ill-starred Marquis of Hastings. 'There,' said Hamber, 'is a good subject for a young Oxford man like you.' (55)

In addition to Escott, other leader writers included H. E. Watts, formerly editor of The Melbourne Argus, and Percy Gregg. All these young men "in their political slashers" consistently and emphatically advocated Colonial Trade Preference and an Imperial Tariff, long before Disraeli had spoken on the subject and before these concepts were officially recognized by the Conservative establishment.

Among the foreign correspondents employed by The Standard at this time was Joseph A. Scoville, based in New York. On the outbreak of the American Civil War, the British press as a whole supported the South, as British public opinion did. (see Lucy Brown's Victorian News and Newspapers, p 222). The Times, like The Standard, supported the Confederates; "but the main champion of the South was The Standard together with its sister paper The Morning Herald, both of which received information and perhaps money from the Confederates" (Brown, *ibid*) and Ch. 3 pp. 87-89. Scoville's despatches, rendered under the by-line "Manhattan", were fiercely anti-Federal. They were widely talked about and sent up the circulation of the paper by leaps and bounds. So incensed was President Lincoln's administration that Scoville was arrested and incarcerated in Ft. Lafayette Prison and only released in 1864, in time to die. The activities of the Confederacy were henceforth reported by Philip Day, who wrote his column from Atlanta.

The extensive and highly-acclaimed reportage of the American Civil War attracted an increased readership to The Standard and to satisfy the public demand for overseas news Hamber was determined that his correspondents should be second to none. He was fortunate to have on his staff a young man, George Alfred Henty, who was later to achieve fame as a war correspondent and as a writer of books for boys.

Henty was associated with The Standard for almost 50 years and was always regarded with great respect as a writer. Born at Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, in 1831, he was educated at Westminster School and Caius College, Cambridge, before leaving without achieving his degree to go out to the Crimean War in the Purveyor's Department of the army.

On his return he commenced to write for The Standard, and in 1859-61 served as a special correspondent during the war between Italy and Austria and throughout Garibaldi's campaign. He covered the Abyssinian Expedition in 1868, when he accompanied Sir Robert Napier's Brigade, and, after reporting the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869, he was with the Prussian Army during the Franco-Prussian War and in Paris for the Commune. In 1873-74, Henty served the paper in West Africa when he covered the Ashantee Expedition.

Fresh from his triumphs in Africa, Henty was despatched to Spain to report the outbreak of the Carlist Insurrection. Subsequently, he accompanied the Prince of Wales to India, and his last service for The Standard in the field was the Turko-Serbian War of 1876 when he was attached to the Turkish forces. Later, Henty journeyed to California to see life at close quarters in the mining camps, and from that time onwards he devoted himself chiefly to writing adventure stories for boys. Nevertheless, almost to the end of the century he remained a valued contributor to The Standard.

When in England, Henty worked from a small room at the top "of the Old Shoe Lane house". In describing a visit to Henty in Shoe Lane, J. C. Francis wrote:

He would do a hearty laugh when I called upon him, and said, 'I could not see him for the smoke.' He was never without a small briar pipe in his mouth, from which the smoke would issue in volumes, for he was not a quiet smoker. (56)

Similarly, "To those who knew him well," wrote one of his colleagues on The Standard staff, "his personality was indeed exceedingly attractive, honest and sincere, and he never made any secret of his very definite views." (57)

In the autumn of 1866, Hamber employed a young leader writer in the person of Alfred Austin, a future Poet Laureate. Austin wrote to Hamber (of whom he had no personal knowledge) inquiring if he could be of any use as a writer of leading articles. Unknown to Austin, the editor was already aware of his talents, and as early as April 1872 had instituted inquiries on Disraeli's behalf. These were reported to Disraeli:

From two sources, on which I can place implicit reliance, I learn that Mr Austin is a gentleman by birth and character, a law student, of independent means, addicted to literary pursuits. This is all I can glean, and I trust it will be satisfactory. (58)

In addition to his long services as the paper's chief leader writer, Austin, unexpectedly, found himself acting as war correspondent during the Franco-Prussian conflict -- and a great success he proved to be, including an exclusive interview with Bismarck. Covering the war from the French side for The Standard was Richard Hely Hutchinson Bowes, who had served as the paper's Paris correspondent since 1857 -- a post he was to retain for more than 40 years.

The doyen of English correspondents in Paris, Bowes died in November 1898 at the age of sixty-seven in Paris, and in his obituary The Standard could say "and his . . . [last] . . . contribution to The Standard telegraphed on the Monday night, had not been published when he breathed his last. "Another Standard correspondent at the front in the Franco-Prussian War was John Augustus O'Shea based in Metz, where he was sentenced to death as a spy by Marshal Bazaine. However, the other correspondents made a personal appeal to the Emperor Napoleon III and O'Shea was released, subsequently to report the Prussian siege of Paris.

Meanwhile, some of Hamber's staff were expressing uneasiness to the proprietor of their fears, long held secretly, that the paper's policy "chiefly consisted of charging a granite wall." (59) It was also being instilled into Johnstone's thoughts by Austin that while "Hamber won cheers by the constant raising of impracticable war cries, he also had his own axes to grind." A man of short temper -- he once knocked down a cabby from his driving seat outside The Standard offices for allegedly insulting Mrs Hamber -- Hamber, during his editorship had determined to bring forward his name to the Conservative Party hierarchy; and his special relationship with Disraeli is a good example. To Escott, who wrote leaders for the paper, the growing resentment between proprietor and editor was apparent, "Captain Hamber permitted his very noticeable personality to be felt and seen to a degree inexpedient for the newspaper under our anonymous system." To Johnstone, the solution was obvious; Hamber must be replaced; but he avoided a direct confrontation with the "Captain", by directing his solicitor to call at Hamber's Chiswick home one October morning in 1872 to inform him of his dismissal. It was said that "the dismissed editor carried off the crushing sentence with resigned and even cheery composure." (60)

Hamber, however, was not down for long. He quickly assumed the editorship of The Conservative Weekly Paper, described by Escott to Thomas Blackwood as "a wealthy man's organ . . . fairly progressive in its features." (61). After a little more than a month, Hamber left the weekly, and launched The Hour, a morning paper, on March 24, 1873. Assisting Hamber, the editor, to raise the capital was Morier Evans, who, as general manager, had also left The Standard. They were joined by the effervescent Escott who later recalled: "My own services seemed superfluous in Shoe Lane. When, therefore, preparati^ons for The Hour . . . were complete, I gladly accepted, and wrote the first leader which ever appeared in the new print, as well as probably the last, with several hundreds between." (62)

For James Johnstone this new paper was a serious threat and, following the dismissal of Hamber, he turned to his son, James Johnstone Junior, and John Eldon Gorst to supervise editorial matters. Although James junior was the titular editor, it was Gorst who possessed the real authority, Both were assisted by Burton Blyth and A. P. Sinnett, former editor of The Allahabad Pioneer, and, his "esoteric Buddhism notwithstanding, a first-rate newspaper hand." But James Johnstone Junior's tenure as editor was brief, lasting less than twelve months. Two years later he was living in Bideford Devon, far away from the strains of Shoe Lane. A Bachelor of Arts, he had been educated at Mansell's College, St. John's, in Cambridge, where it was said that "he had drunk deeply of Laudian orthodoxy alike in Church and State." He seems to have been a person of peripatetic pursuits, for from Bideford he moved to Stroud in 1887, Hove in 1899, Alton, Hants, in 1900, and Bexhill in 1900, where he died on July 9, 1903. For more than 40 years he remained a member of the Stationers' Company. (63)

The altercation between James Johnstone and son, which led to the latter's dismissal, is tantalisingly described in the following letter written four years later by Burton Blyth (who was an assistant editor at the time) to Montague Corry, private secretary to Disraeli:

I think it right to inform you as you have reasonably written to Mr Johnston and myself about how Mr Johnston junior has been 'dismissed'. I use the word he thinks should be used -- from The Standard and I have found it necessary . . . from my connexion with that paper on account of certain steps taken by the proprietor. My object in addressing you is solely to save you possible inconvenience but if the matter interests you at all I shall be glad to call upon you any day . . . and tell you and be in part the very curious but still painful story. (64)

2.7: John Eldon Gorst 1872-1874

The man who had been advising Johnstone Junior, and who had been making up for Johnstone's lack of political experience was John Eldon Gorst, the Tory party agent, and a person destined to play an important role in Conservative politics for the remainder of the century. On Johnstone's departure, Gorst assumed the editorial chair, although in somewhat less perilous circumstances than on a previous occasion. Born in Preston in 1835, he was educated at the local grammar school, and from there entered St. John's College, Cambridge. Within a matter of months after coming down from Cambridge he was off to Germany to learn the language. He then spent a period looking after his terminally ill father, before setting off for New Zealand in 1859. The voyage out, like much of Gorst's early life, was adventurous. Not only was he involved in quelling a ship's mutiny, but he also met a Miss Mary Elizabeth Moore, of Christchurch, New Zealand, whom he married in Sydney. Following his marriage, Gorst became involved in New Zealand politics and was appointed by the Governor, Sir George Grey, as civil commissioner for the Waikato District. He held this post for a year, and towards the end of his service edited a newspaper, The Pihoihoi Mokemoke (The Sparrow that sitteth alone upon the House Top). In its first issue, Gorst bitterly assailed the Maori King, declaring that he deserved punishment for his misdeeds. The locals were incensed and asked: "Why is not the press broken up and the Government driven away?" (65) While the fifth issue of the paper was being printed, a party of 80 armed Maoris surrounded the newspaper office, broke into the building, removed the cases of type and dragged out the press. It was even alleged that much of the type was melted down for the forthcoming Maori War.

Fortunately, Gorst was out of the district for the day and Edward John van Dadelszen, a young Englishman, and later Registrar-General of New Zealand, who was printing the paper, was unharmed. For almost a month an uneasy peace existed but then Gorst was approached by friendly Maori chiefs who urged him to leave at once. As Gorst later recalled, "They had come out of kindness, to urge us to go to Auckland at once. We had seen how Rewi treated us in time of peace; and we might judge what he would do in time of war." (66) The date was April 18, 1863, and more than 40 years later, Gorst, now a distinguished Tory elder statesman, paid an officical return visit to find that time had long healed the differences of the past.

His appetite for adventure satiated, Gorst returned to England and was called to the Bar in 1865. The following year he was returned as M.P. for Cambridge. After losing his seat in 1868 he was selected to undertake the reorganization of the Conservative Party on a popular basis. He devoted the next five years to this task, and the Conservative victory of 1874 was in part the result of his efforts. It was also during this period that Gorst was heavily involved with The Standard. But it was not a long reign, for Johnstone was now realising that Gorst was yet another editor who was, to a large degree, intent on ignoring his proprietor's wishes. During all the traumas of the changes of editorship, Alfred Austin had remained a key figure on the paper, and his leaders continued to be widely read and acclaimed. Many years later he recalled that

The Standard, when I first wrote for it in the autumn of 1866, and for some little time onward, was under the reign of King Log. It is not surprising, therefore, that the proprietor of the paper, as journalistic competition became keener and more strenuous, grew dissatisfied with such easy-going management; all the more so, because there were no signs of more

active direction taking place. This dissatisfaction ended by the editor receiving notice that his services were to be dispensed with, and by the proprietor's eldest son being appointed . . . Not from any neglect or incapacity on the part of the new editor, though probably his not having been familiar previously with journalistic experience was a grave disadvantage to him, but for the strict family reasons, the arrangement was of brief duration, the office being conferred for a time on a man, dead now for many years, who, though not without a practical capacity, was a pig-headed Tory - for there are always such persons -- of an extreme kind.(67)

While The Standard was undergoing its changes of editorship, sales of The Hour were dropping drastically, and on September 17, 1875, Hamber wrote to his long-time friend of Oxford days and on The Standard, Lord Salisbury, that ". . . The Hour has failed. It has not sufficient capital, it is in the wrong hands. Even if it survives occasional crises, it can never be of service to the party or a credit to London journalism under its present regime."(68) Despite Hamber's misgivings, the paper struggled on for almost twelve months, when, during the following August, Disraeli "heard with a pang that The Hour was no more."(69) It was not, however, the end of Hamber's adventures in Fleet Street, for in 1877 he replaced James Grant as editor of The Morning Advertiser, a post which he held for five years. But his financial position was now causing great concern and, like so many others who had been associated with The Standard, he was declared a bankrupt. Thus, on July 25, 1882, he wrote to Salisbury in great distress: ". . . today I have been arrested and am in custody." As a token of their long friendship, Salisbury forwarded £100. A broken man, Hamber disappeared and, as Stephen Koss has written: "In 1890, Mudford, his successor, at The Standard, was asked by Salisbury for information about the son of 'the late' Captain Hamber.(70) 'He was alive six weeks ago and I have not heard of his death,' Mudford replied. 'I do not know anything of the son . . . I knew a good deal of the father twenty years ago, but your enquiry does not refer to him. I will just add, I am glad it does not.'(71)

2.8: William Heseltine Mudford 1874-1899

Following the differences with his son, and Gorst's dismissal, James Johnstone now decided that the paper needed an experienced newspaperman. He first looked to W. D. Williams, who had for many years been Chief Reporter, but Johnstone upon discovering that Williams was a Roman Catholic dismissed him. After trying several others without success, he wrote to Mr. Alfred Mould, who headed the paper's Parliamentary staff of twelve and offered him the position of editor. An unambitious man of middle age, Mould was unwilling to take the risk, and recommended W. H. Mudford. He at once accepted and Johnstone appointed him as editor. William Heseltine Mudford -- a man of great courage, energy and firmness of purpose -- was undoubtedly one of the great editors of the nineteenth century, and was in every way well qualified to carry on the tradition of the paper. Over each department he exercised complete control and among his first moves were an increase in the foreign news and the use of headed articles and occasional leaders from writers not on the staff.

In some ways, the appointment of Mudford was a strange choice because, as a member of the Parliamentary staff, he was singularly reserved and spoke to very few people. It was alleged that he reached the House of Commons gallery just before his due, took his turn (generally half an hour in those days), invariably wrote his copy alone, inquired about his next turn, and left the gallery. (72) An expert and accurate writer of Gurney's shorthand system, his copy was more quickly produced than by another member of The Standard's parliamentary corps.

Mudford had begun his career in journalism on his father's newspaper in Kent, and it was while serving as a local correspondent for The Standard that he attracted the attention of the editor and brought to Shoe Lane. As a journalist it was said that he took a very keen interest in all phases of town life, and that no one at the time experienced enjoyment of society and a large circle of

friends. But, with his appointment as editor, there came a distinct change in his manner. It was the high-time of dining out, but while the editors of the rival papers were seen everywhere, Mudford remained aloof. Indeed, "He was not to be seen at a dinner party or a reception, or any other social entertainment; he refused all the invitations which at one time were freely offered." (73) Thus also The Times could say of him:

He carried out the same system in his office. Amid the turmoil of conducting the business of a great newspaper, he lived like a recluse. He was a kind of Chinese Emperor, Japanese Mikado in Shoe-lane -- the mysterious and awe-inspiring inhabitant of a Forbidden City, only accessible to a very few principal attendants and acolytes. (74)

Hardly anyone entered into Mudford's sanctum except the principal members of his staff; and this applied equally to the editorial and literary staff. Some leader-writers later claimed that they had worked for years at The Standard office without ever seeing his face. His instructions were conveyed either by one of his close associates or by letter. These memos in his own awful writing, based on Gurney's Shorthand, were characteristic and to decipher them was "like reading a corrupt Greek text." (75) It was even alleged that one old-established and much-tried correspondent used to cut Mudford's communication into pieces and set the members of his family to decipher the fragments. But Mudford was an excellent judge of men and from the beginning recruited a highly efficient staff. Byron Curtis and Venables were very capable and dependable assistant editors and S. H. Jeyes was not only an accomplished scholar, but a good critic and an excellent man of the world. On his appointment, Mudford was described as

. . . a young man, of medium height, broad-chested and sturdy in build, suggesting in his manner and conversation the 'calm grip' of English thought and character. His

hair is black, and he does not shave. Dark intelligent eyes, and a mouth and jaw indicating strength of will, he impresses you at first sight as a man of points. To a genial manner he adds the suavity of a travelled Englishman.(76)

Unfortunately, the good relationship between Mudford and the proprietor did not last. There was good trust between the two men, and a great admiration on Johnstone's part, but he became desperately ill and on Tuesday, October 22, 1878, the paper announced the death of its proprietor. In a fulsome tribute, Mudford wrote:

Through good and evil report, with many peculiarly harassing difficulties to overcome, and with the scantiest assistance from many quarters to which he might have fairly looked for support, Mr. Johnstone carried out the work which he had set himself to accomplish and, happily, he lived to see The Standard in the full tide of that success which it had been the aim of his life to secure for it.(77)

Within a matter of weeks, the future of the paper was revealed in Johnstone's will -- details of which are held by the Stationers' Company. The key clause stated that

By a codicil to the will the testator directs that Mr Mudford is to remain as editor of The Standard for his lifetime or until such time as he shall voluntarily resign the editorship; and further directs that the paper is to be carried on in every respect as it was at the time of his death.(78)

One of Mudford's first acts upon assuming control of the paper was to summon Austin, the chief leader writer, and offer him the editorship of The Standard. So keen was Mudford to secure Austin's services that he was prepared to give him double the salary of the editor of any other daily newspaper. Austin refused the offer and later recalled:

In order to preclude the possibility of the suggestion being entertained by him, I said, in the friendliest manner, that an offer of

ten times the sum suggested would never induce me to give up my country life, even for its own sake, but also because it secured for me freedom and leisure for the dedication of such capacity as I might have to Poetry.(79)

As editor, Mudford was very much his own man and beholden to no party, although he must have been pleased to learn of the following remark from Gladstone: "When I read a bad leader in The Standard, I say to myself, Mr Mudford must be taking a holiday."(80)

Apart from Austin, who continued for much of the time to lead a country existence and was seemingly above reproach, the other leader writers often felt the sting of Mudford's caustic comments. To Escott, who had recently rejoined the paper, Mudford wrote: "I think you had better rest a day or two. Your Friday's leader was hardly up to yr. mark & the one last night must fall under the same criticism."(81) T. E. Keibel, a long-serving writer, was another associate reproached by the editor, although he described Mudford as a "kind-hearted man -- nay a warm hearted man -- in reality, though his manner was often cold and a trifle constrained, arising, I thought, from nervousness rather than from any want of real sympathy."(82)

Austin and Keibel aside, Mudford had created a new journalistic team, for one of his initial moves had been to dismiss almost everyone in the editorial room. The results were soon apparent as the paper was praised for the accuracy of its City reports, largely through the work of a group of reporters led by A. J. Wilson, who had previously been associated with The Times. On the scientific side, The Standard had Dr. Robert Brown as its main contributor. Foreign correspondents included Hely Bowes, in Paris; Dr. W. Abel, in Berlin; J. Baddeley; F. J.

Scudamore and E. A. Bradford, of The New York Times, who was cable correspondent in New York. H. W. Massingham, who knew Mudford well, wrote at the time that ". . . There is no European capital where The Standard is not represented by its own correspondents, and no expense is spared in the transmission of news or opinions." (83) Mudford was, of course, a great advocate in being first with the news and no money was spared to achieve this end. Thus, he paid more than £1,000 to have the details of the bombardment of Alexandria telegraphed from Egypt, and earlier £800 for one cable dispatched during the Second Afghan War. His news during the First Boer War in The Transvaal was telegraphed regardless of the cost of eight shillings per word.

Among the distinguished war correspondents Mudford employed were Hector Macpherson, who covered the Afghan campaign in 1879; Charles L. Norris-Newman, first with the news of Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift, in the Zulu War; and John Cameron, who scooped Fleet Street with his account of the British defeat at Majuba Hill by the Boers on February 26, 1881. Cameron, sadly, was mortally wounded at the battle of Abu Kru on January 17, 1885, when covering the Sudan campaign for the paper.

As the century was drawing to its close and Britain was again embroiled in a war in South Africa, The Standard coverage continued to be powerful. But for Mudford it was a time for reflection: to look back -- as editor and manager -- on the paper which he had made his own. Now in his early sixties, he decided that the time had come to retire and hand over the direction of the paper to a younger man, Byron Curtis, latterly the Night Editor. Mudford decided to depart at the end of 1899 to permit the new editor to face the new century. He retired on December 31 and, strangely, there is no mention of his leaving in the final

issue of 1899. His retirement, however, was well noted in many provincial newspapers. Thus The Western Daily Press (Bristol) declared that "he had represented the very best traditions of British journalism." (84) Similarly, The Aberdeen Free Press remarked that "His high trust is discharged without fear or favour. Statesmen have sought his acquaintance in vain." (85) The Leicester Daily Post noted that

Mr Mudford retires with a pension of £5,000 a year. The late proprietor of The Standard made Mr Mudford editor for life at a salary of £5,000 with the proviso that, should he wish to retire at any time, the salary should continue intact. The editorship of The Standard has thus been the best paid and the safest post in journalism. Mr Mudford practically created the fortunes of the paper. (86)

Mudford was to live for another 16 years, dying from an accident at his home in Wimbledon on Wednesday, October 18, 1916. In a sharp but respectful obituary two days later The Times declared:

His ear was not attuned to the modern voice; he did not move with the times; and in his arrogant confidence in the unmistakable ability of his newspaper he failed to recognise the inroads which brasher rivals were making upon its prosperity. But he was one of the masters of older journalism; and as long as his hand was at the helm, The Standard was a real force. How largely this was due to his curious but capable individuality is shown by the rapid decline which set in after his retirement of the editorship. (87)

The Times obituary was correct: Mudford had been The Standard and his departure marked the beginning of a decline in the paper's power and influence.

Throughout these years, three salient factors mark the story of The Standard: (1) The strong anti-Catholic nature of the paper, so well reflected in the appointment of only Protestants to the key editorial and management positions;

(2) The complete dedication to the Conservative Party by proprietors and editors -- with the notable exception of Mudford; (3) That the proprietor was all important and the person who decided and dictated the editorial policy of the paper. If an editor disagreed, he was out: the fate of Hamber is a striking example of this factor. A century later, nothing had really changed.

Chapter Three

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

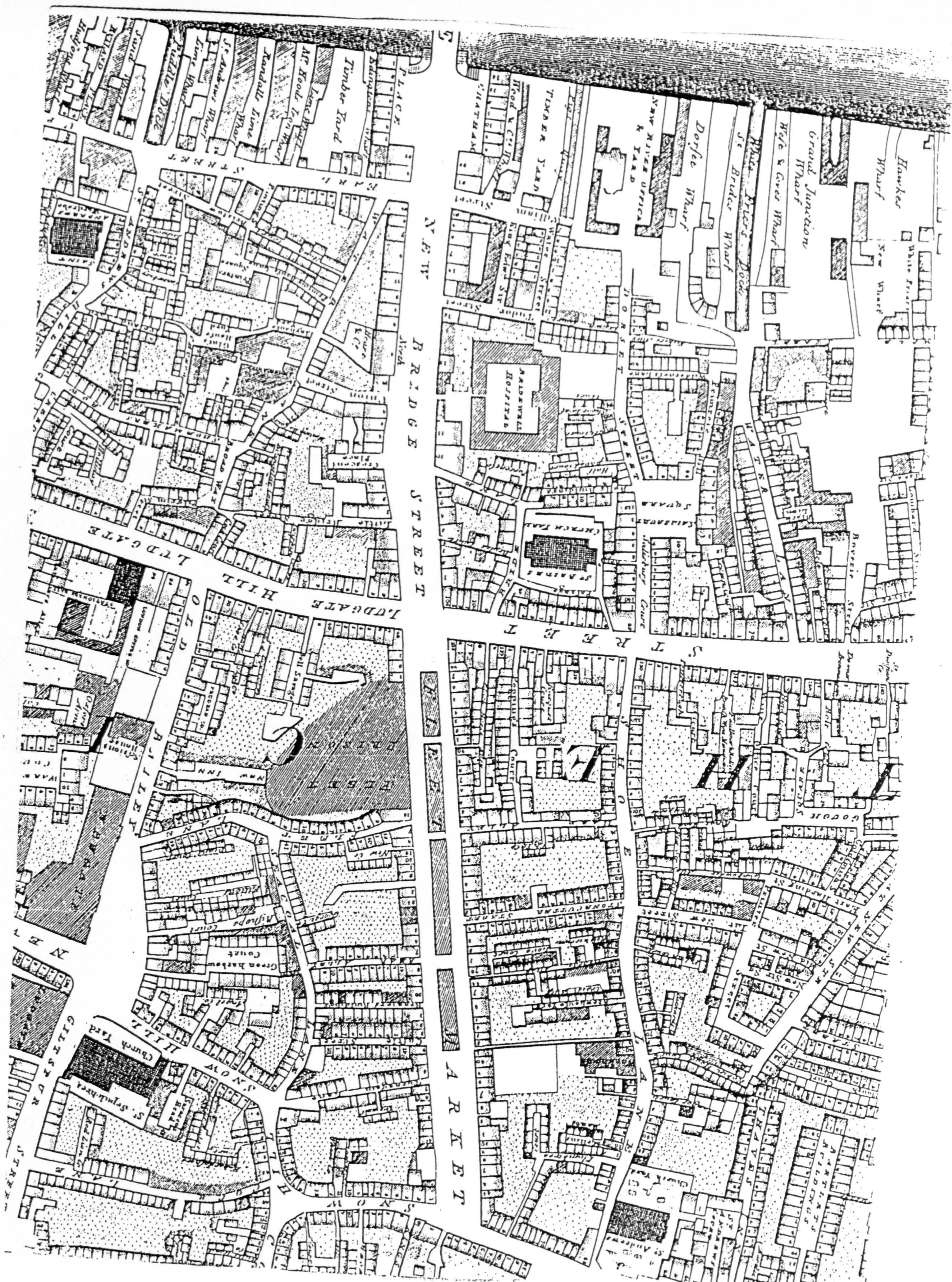
The close of the eighteenth century was an age of political corruption, and the Press well reflected the age. Even though the newspapers of this time were beginning to play an increasingly important role in politics, they were not independent and, for the most part, the majority of London newspapers were in the pay of the Government or the Opposition. Indeed, "There were Gatton and Old Sarum newspapers as well as Gatton and Old Sarum boroughs." (1) Even as early as 1742 the Committee of Secrecy had found Walpole guilty of having paid £50,000 of secret service money to pamphleteers and Treasury newspapers during the last ten years of his premiership. Forty years later, nothing had really changed, for in the period July 10, 1782, to April 5, 1783, the short-lived Shelburne Ministry spent £1,084 in bribing the Press. (2) The Coalition Ministry of Fox and Lord North was equally guilty of bribing newspapers of all political shades to secure public support for the unpopular India Bills.

During this period, London had eight morning and nine evening papers, but there was little integrity among the majority of the men who wrote for them. Dr. Samuel Johnson had declared that "They habitually sold their abilities, whether small or great, to one or other of the Parties that divide us; and without a Wish for Truth or Thought of Decency." (3) Politically, Johnson was correct, for the Press was being affected by important changes. The loss of the North American colonies and Cornwallis's ignominious surrender to Washington's troops at Yorktown had ensured the demise of the Government of Lord North. The Whigs, now in power, were determined to stop the war and restrict the interference of George III in the business of Parliament. William Pitt

the Younger was the new Prime Minister, and he led a party which for the first time since the Commonwealth was the result of a genuine ground swell of public feeling. With the Press free, parliamentary reports were of great importance for the newspapers and were considered sure circulation attractions. However, the triumph of Pitt heralded a critical change in the political control of the Press, for despite his efforts to secure newspaper support he was subjected to unprecedented abuse. Determined to overcome this, he began to use Secret Service funds to buy off the opposition and denied recalcitrant newspaper proprietors inside information and official advertisements.

During his first year in office, Pitt bought the support of five newspapers: three dailies, The Public Ledger, London Evening Post and Morning Herald, and two tri-weeklies, The St. James's Chronicle and The Whitehall Evening Post (4). In his research, Professor Aspinall found that, in an undated Secret Service account, government money to the newspapers was paid through third parties ("Mr Harris for Mr Longman to be divided between the editors of The Ledger, Saint James's and London Evening £300." (5) Thomas Harris was the proprietor of Covent Garden Theatre and Longman a bookseller and printer. Records show that The St. James's Chronicle received a government subsidy of £200 a year until 1793, and probably later.

In addition to these allowances, hundreds of pounds were paid annually to persons working for the newspapers. For example, during the period 1790-91, almost £900 was paid to writers, and in the year ending June 1793 the sum almost doubled to £1,637. During the early years of the French Revolution the Government was paying almost £5,000 a year to the newspapers and writers, and the following titles were in receipt of regular allowances: (6)



Fleet Street - circa 1780

<u>Diary</u>	£400
<u>London Evening Post</u>	200
<u>St. James's Chronicle</u>	200
<u>Public Ledger</u>	100
<u>Whitehall Evening Post</u>	200
<u>Morning Herald</u>	600
<u>World</u>	600
<u>Oracle</u>	200
<u>Times</u>	300

Total: £2800

But, even though he regularly bribed the editors, Pitt was no friend of the Press and during this decade several times raised the Stamp duty and increased the advertisement tax, even making it illegal for persons to hire out the newspapers. This direct attack upon the hawkers who let out the newspapers for small sums meant that "whereby the sale of newspapers is greatly obstructed" they would be liable to a penalty of £5 for each offence. In addition to the bribing of editors and proprietors, a large number of journalists were in the pay of the Treasury, receiving sums ranging from a few guineas for an article to as much as £500 per annum for special cases. As Francis Williams so aptly noted: "The age got the Press it deserved." (7) In 1797 the tax on newspapers was increased to 3½d, providing an estimated revenue of £114,000 a year. Pitt, however, did not believe that this 75 per cent increase of levies on the Press would bring about a decline in circulation, "as the desire to peruse them (the newspapers) was becoming every day more eager and universal." (8)

Although there was to be no positive decline, the rise in the combined circulations was certainly slow, for in 1811 the Stamp Duty was being paid on 24,422,000 newspaper copies, and ten years later it had only increased to 24,862,000. (9) In fact, after 1815, until the repeal of the 4d duty in 1835, the consumption of newspapers was stationary per head

of population. Indeed, this heavy tax was alleged, in 1830, to have been responsible for the closure of four titles: The British Press, Traveller, Representative and Morning Journal. In fact, during this period, The Times alone was paying the large sum of £70,000 to the Treasury. But the reduction in duty to 1d had a dramatic effect on the circulation of the newspapers. Sales of the stamped newspapers had risen by only 33 per cent in the 20 years ending 1836, but it increased by more than 70 per cent during the next six years. A list of the stamp and advertisement duties enforced since 1712 reveals the following information:

	<u>Newspaper</u>	<u>Advertisement</u>
	<u>Duty</u>	<u>Duty</u>
1712	½d half sheet 1d per sheet	1s each
1757	1d per sheet or half a sheet	2s each ↗
1776	1½d	
1780		2s 6d each
1789	2d	
1797	3½d	
1815	4d	3s 6d each

It was not until 1855 though that the penny stamp duty was abolished. The duty or "tax on knowledge" had "contained the mischief of the larger duty by prohibiting the existence of the cheap newspaper, and preventing the general spread of knowledge." (10)

3.1: A Time of Resurgence

Despite the attempts of the Government to control the Press through heavy duties and "buying" newspapers, the early years of the nineteenth century were marked by a resurgence in radical journalism, generally directed at the artisan

and the labourer. Peace in 1815 had brought with it a severe economic depression which, after the boom times of the wars of The French Revolution and Napoleon, was difficult for the working classes to appreciate. In the background there were also the fears of the unknown and the social and economic changes brought about by the coming of the Industrial Revolution. For many writers of this time, it was crusading journalism with a purpose: to influence and mould public opinion. Leading the fight was William Cobbett, whose Political Register, with its demand for Parliamentary reform, was attracting the support of the working classes, and, even though the price of The Register (more than one shilling for 16 quarto pages) was beyond the pocket of the average reader, workingmen clubbed together to buy it and read it aloud in public house. The Register was an immediate success, and Cobbett's example was quickly followed by such lesser imitations as The Black Dwarf, The Gorgon, The Reformists' Register, The Republican, Weekly Commentary, and Medusa.

The Home Secretary, Viscount Sidmouth, however, was convinced that there was no difference between the established and more radical newspapers and that the "Newspaper Press was a most malignant and formidable enemy to the Constitution to which it owed its freedom." (11) It was Sidmouth who, in July 1819, had instructed the Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire to take all measures necessary to preserve order, including the mobilization of the yeomanry, in an attempt to control the "Reformists". Within a month his instructions were carried out to the letter, especially to deal with a meeting scheduled to be held in St. Peter's Field, Manchester, which was to be addressed by the radical Henry Hunt calling for Parliamentary Reform.

A crowd of 50,000, claimed by the organizers as the largest meeting ever held in England, was met by 400 constables, while, out of sight, the Manchester Yeomanry and the 15th

Hussars were kept at the ready. After the reading of the Riot Act by the magistrates -- mostly unheard -- the Yeomanry arrested Hunt, and then lost control, charging the crowd with drawn sabres. The result was the so-called Peterloo Massacre in which more than a dozen demonstrators were killed and some 420 wounded: it was an event which has long lived in British social history. That Charles Baldwin and his new editor of The St. James's Chronicle, Dr. Stanley Lees Giffard, obviously shared the Government's strong feelings against the Reformists, was apparent in the following paragraph of their leader on The Peterloo affair:

What has long been desired by every friend of order has at length taken place. The strong arm of the law has been put forth to put, we trust, a final stop to the assemblage of the ignorant and the seditious, which can produce nothing but evil, and which cannot be permitted under any form of Government, nor, indeed, in any state of social existence. (12)

It was at this time that Baldwin purchased The London Chronicle, once edited by Dr. Samuel Johnson, for £300 from its owner Colonel Robert Torrens, and absorbed it into The St. James's Chronicle. Gradually, under the direction of Giffard, The St. James's Chronicle achieved great influence with the Tories and frequent suggestions were made that it should be changed from a thrice-weekly to a daily newspaper. When, on February 17, 1827, the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, suffered a stroke and was constrained to resign, three political figures qualified as his successor: The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel and George Canning. In the April, Canning was summoned by George IV to form a Government, but the majority of the Old Tories who had been his colleagues for almost five years went into opposition. Nevertheless, Canning's Coalition Government quickly won widespread approval from the public, which led Peel to remark that the Press was almost on one side. Charles

Arbuthnot, another leading Old Tory, was also annoyed with the Press and hoped something would be done to secure at least one paper for the opposition. He was particularly concerned that the reputation of the Duke of Wellington, who had recently resigned as commander-in-chief of the army, for which he had been bitterly criticised, should be restored. Arbuthnot, therefore, sought the aid of William Huskisson, head of the Board of Trade, and later to be the first railway fatality, en route to seek a reconciliation with the Duke. Huskisson, however, refused Arbuthnot's overture and informed him that

He had never had any connexion with the newspapers and was convinced that they had not been under any special influence since the formation of the new Government and they had not been encouraged to speak disparagingly of the Duke. (13)

As the attempts of Arbuthnot and his friends to turn The Watchman into a daily paper and to save The Courier failed, they looked more and more to Charles Baldwin. He did not let them down, and, as noted in the preceding chapter, The Standard was launched on Monday, May 21, 1827. In announcing the aims of the new paper, Giffard took the opportunity to sharply assail Canning, much to the delight of the Old Tories. Thus he wrote that

. . . When upon a late occasion that person who, has, with undesigned truth, been called 'the type of the order', the Premier Gentlemen of the Press, seized upon the reins of Government by means still incomprehensible to any human being but the party who employed them, means of which we only know that they were dishonest and dark; upon that critical occasion did the London Daily Journalists afford that field for free discussions, to afford which is the proper function of the engine at their command? It is notorious that they did not -- it is notorious that the new Minister, in faithful imitation of those who had subverted the liberties of Athens and Rome, occupied our British Pynx and Forum by his stipendaries and slaves.

That in invitation to other invaders, he extinguished the signals by which the country might be warned of its danger and its scattered defenders, apprised of their collective strength, and rallied to the contest. In that case, did not the voice of the country call for a more efficient vehicle of public opinion, than any which the daily press of London afforded? To that voice we have yielded. To the services of a country we have devoted a Daily Journal, which, if the opponents of Mr Canning's policy be not contemptible in talents and number, as he once described them, must afford a barrier to the further success of his pestilent ambition. With this offering, we devote also what more we have -- English and Protestant principles, and inflexible integrity and resolution in maintaining them -- qualifications that would seem humble were they not unfortunately rare . . .

Canning's premiership was to be a brief affair, for he died less than six months after taking office, on August 8, 1827, after having caught a cold at the funeral of the Duke of York. Instead of asking Wellington to form the next Government, the King sent for Lord Goderich.

By the end of its first year the circulation of The Standard had barely reached 700, but already it was being acknowledged as the leading daily devoted to the anti-Catholic cause. So pleased were the Tories with the stance of The Standard that Lord Ashley wrote to Mrs. Arbuthnot, the great confidante of the Duke of Wellington, on December 26, 1827: "How good The Standard has been of late!"(14) But, despite such praise, the paper was now proving too enterprising even for its patrons. This was apparent on the publication of an injudicious leading article which appeared in the first week of 1828.

On December 11, 1827, Goderich offered his resignation, and, with tears, retracted. Less than a month later, on January 8, 1828, Goderich dissolved the Government; and the King sent for Wellington. While out of office Wellington had freely expressed his thoughts on Catholic Emancipation; but, now on the eve of his assuming the premiership his attitude

changed, and he was not at all pleased with the ardent Tory persistency of The Standard. This was apparent in a letter by the Duke's close friend, John Wilson Croker, in which Croker declared:

I saw Herries (a former Chancellor of the Exchequer) and we talked about a paragraph of about ten days ago in The Standard which proclaimed that the Tories could not come in without stipulating for the dismissal of the Lord George Stewart Coynghan (husband of George IV's mistress). We agreed as to the mischievous effect of that paragraph as it was known that the Duke of Wellington and Peel countenanced that paper, and he told me that a certain person took care that it should go down to Windsor that very night it was published. The King is so displeased with Peel and so indignant at that paragraph in The Standard that he is, they say, resolved to continue what he calls a mixed government, but from which all Tories will recede. The Duke of Wellington lost his temper over this business. 'What can we do with these sort of fellows?' 'We have no power over them, and for my part I will have no communication with any of them.' (15)

Notwithstanding the harm which Wellington thought The Standard had wrought on him, Wellington was appointed Prime Minister on January 8, 1828, and he was to have many dealings with the paper in the years ahead. Although an Irish born and bred Protestant, Wellington was not opposed to Catholic Emancipation in principle, but he feared that it might weaken the Union. His principles and attitude were soon tested when Daniel O'Connell, who had founded the Catholic Association in 1823 to press for full emancipation, was elected to Parliament for County Clare in 1828 and was unable to take his seat in the Commons. Wellington and Peel now feared that the Irish unrest would lead to civil war unless the Test Act was repealed. As a result the Test Act was abrogated during the same year and within 12 months the Catholic Emancipation Bill passed through Parliament

despite strong opposition from the Tory Party. As a result, Roman Catholics were permitted to sit in Parliament and to hold any office (except Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) provided that they took an oath denying the Pope's right to interfere in British domestic affairs. However, The Emancipation Act was not without its bitter critics --both inside and outside the House -- as The Standard reported:

The Duke of Wellington was very roughly handled on leaving the House of Lords last night. Several hundred persons surrounded his grace, and assailed him with the most opprobrious epithets and every sort of discordant yelling. The noble duke endeavoured, by spurring his horse, to escape from his tormentors, but the effort was in vain, they followed him to his residence in Downing-street, and had it not been for the spirited exertions of the police, a large posse of whom had been placed in attendance, their dispersion would have been somewhat difficult. It is said that the noble Premier now begins to think that his measure is somewhat unsatisfactory.(16)

For Wellington it had been a matter of political expediency.

I am one of those [he explained] who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men . . . and I must say this: that if I could avail by any sacrifice whatever even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it.(17)

3.2: The Wellington-Winchilsea Duel

During these events, Wellington put his own life in some danger as a result of a remarkable letter published in The Standard on Monday, March 16, 1829, from Lord Winchilsea which announced that he had cancelled his subscription of £50 to King's College, London, because the Duke of Wellington was associated with its foundation. The Duke, as Prime Minister, had taken the chair at the opening of King's College in the previous summer, when, on June 21, surrounded by three archbishops and seven bishops, he reaffirmed the place of religious teaching in education. At the time, Winchilsea had also seen the need for a new college based

on the King's faith, but the prospect of Catholic Emancipation filled him with horror. So incensed was he that he wrote the following letter to Giffard for publication in The Standard:

. . . I considered that the noble Duke as the head of his Majesty's government had been inducted on this occasion to assume a new character, and to step forward himself as the public advocate of religion and morality. Late political events have convinced me that the whole transaction was intended as a blind to the Protestant and High Church party, that the noble Duke, who had for some time previous to that period determined upon 'breaking in upon the constitution of 1688', might the more effectually, under the cloak of some outward show of zeal' for the Protestant religion carry on in this insidious design, for the infringement of our liberties and the introduction of Popery into every department of the State.(18)

In reply to these assertions, the Duke wrote twice to Winchilsea requesting him to retract and apologize, but Winchilsea refused to comply unless Wellington stated publicly that he had not contemplated Catholic Emancipation when he had inaugurated King's College. Wellington was forced into the one dramatic step that he had never before taken in his long and illustrious career: "I now call upon your Lordship to give me that satisfaction for your conduct which a gentleman has a right to require, and which a gentleman never refuses to give." (19) In defence of his honour, he challenged Wellington to a duel.

The encounter took place at eight o'clock on Saturday, March 21, "about half a mile on the other side of the river" over Battersea Bridge. The seconds were Lord Falmouth and Sir Henry Hardinge; the weapons, pistols. John Hume, the Duke's doctor, woke early at 6.45 a.m. on the Saturday for the affair of honour between gentlemen, and was "overwhelmed with amazement and greatly agitated" when the Duke suddenly rode up to him saying "Well I dare say you little expected it was I who wanted you to be here." As Sir Henry

Hardinge had lost an arm at Waterloo, Dr. Hume loaded the pistols. The Duke fired and missed: Lord Winchilsea, in turn, solemnly and chivalrously fired into the air. His second then announced that he was ready to sign and to publish "an apology for the most extensive, or in every sense of the word." (20) With the apology accepted, the Duke bid: "Good morning, my Lord Winchilsea; good morning my Lord Falmouth"; touched the brim of his hat with two fingers, mounted his horse and, with his second, rode quickly off the field of honour. By lunch-time the news of the duel had spread throughout the capital, creating a public sensation. The King was delighted and remarked that "gentlemen must not stand upon the privileged," adding that he should have done the same thing had he been in the Duke's place.

Having carried the original Winchilsea letter, The Standard reported the duel as its main item in the leader column, with the apology from Winchilsea:

SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 21

MEETING BETWEEN HIS GRACE THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON AND THE
EARL OF WINCHILSEA

A meeting took place this morning between his Grace the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchilsea. After receiving the noble duke's fire, Lord Winchilsea discharged his pistol in the air. The Earl of Falmouth then, on the part of Lord Winchilsea, interposed and put into the hands of Sir Henry Hardinge the following acknowledgement, which was accepted on the part of his Grace by Sir Henry Hardinge.

March 21, 1829

Having given the Duke of Wellington the usual satisfaction for the affront he conceived himself to have received me through my public letter on Monday last, and having placed myself in a different situation

from that in which I stood, when his grace communicated with me through Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Falmouth on the subject of that letter, before the meeting took place, I do not now hesitate to declare, of my own accord, that in apologising I regret having unadvisably published an opinion which the noble duke states in his memorandum of yesterday to have charged him with 'disgraceful and criminal motives in certain transactions which took place nearly a year ago. I also declare that I shall cause this expression of regret to be inserted in The Standard newspaper, as the same channel through which the letter in question was given to the public.

(signed) WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM

In Monday's issue (March 23) of the paper there appeared the complete correspondence on the controversy - some 18 letters in all -- and there it rested, a remarkable incident in the history of The Standard. However, the final word on the matter came some months later from the Duke himself when he averred that "the duel with Lord Winchilsea was as much part of the Roman Catholic question, and it was necessary to undertake it. . . as was to do everything else that I could do to attain the object which I had in view." (21)

3.3: An Established Force

Although barely two years old, The Standard was now recognised as an established force in the London evening press, but its differences with Wellington and his administration were still much in evidence. At that time, one newspaper more than any other, The Courier, was close to the Government, although some ministers were far from satisfied with it as their acknowledged voice and were seriously considering purchasing another evening journal such as The Star. On August 22, The Standard and The Morning Journal published an article alleging that Eugenius Roche ("that miserable slave"), the editor of The Courier, had been expelled from the Foreign Office and was forced to seek his official information in the pot-houses and coffee-shops of The Strand. (22)

That the papers were very wide of the mark was apparent within a matter of days. Wellington's ministry, on learning of a change in the French government, passed on the news to The Courier several hours in advance of releasing it to other newspapers. Accompanying the news was an article by Lord Aberdeen presenting the Government's viewpoint, but, by one of those stange quirks that bedevil newspaper offices, The Courier printed the news but omitted the article. The editor, on being called to the Foreign Office for an explanation, pleaded that the omission was accidental. Refusing to accept this, a Foreign Office official told the editor:

I am aware of the whole transaction. You told Pearce, Pearce told Montefiore, Montefiore told Rothschild, and a very neat stock job was got up with the rapidity of lightning. But I am determined that from the Foreign Office at least you get no more information, so the sooner you take yourself off the better. (22)

[The allegation here by the Foreign Office is that Roche and his co-proprietors had, via Rothschild, the banker, made money on the stock market -- through privileged information concerning the British Government's attitude towards the new French Ministry. It was alleged that they had deliberately withheld Aberdeen's article, and thereby profited.]

The Standard published this story with a long and detailed attack on the proprietors, accusing them of shady Stock Exchange dealings. So incensed was The Courier's editor that he threatened to prosecute at once. Consulting the Foreign Office, Roche was told that the threat to prosecute would be sufficient, and on August 24, 1829, he published the following article, "Growth of a Lie", in The Courier in which he explained:

I have traced its progress through three papers, and then told the public that every particular was false, and told them to judge by this specimen of combined lying of the degree of credit to which the political fabrications of these papers were entitled. (24)

After more than 40 years in the newspaper world, Charles Baldwin was indeed a successful businessman: a highly respectable character and magistrate for Surrey, he was

"said to be worth upwards of £100,000." The circulation of his Standard had risen to more than 1,500 daily and it was asserted by a competent critic in The Westminster Review in January 1829 that it "owed its success to the fluctuating policies of The Courier at the period when the seeming liberalism of the Government led to a sort of coquetry with a better and higher policy." In his appraisal of the paper, the anonymous scribe wrote that:

The Standard was set up by the old Tories when they had not a decided organ in the whole of the London press, with the exception, perhaps, of The Morning Post, which has of late years been in the main a consistent Church and State advocate of high ultra policies. The Courier, under the direction of another editor than the gentleman who now obeys the mandates of the Treasury, had fluctuated between Canning and Eldon, Wellington and Huskisson, Tory principles and Liberal principles, until its old staunch Tory subscribers began to leave it in great numbers whilst its liberality was thought of such young growth that it had no accession in numbers from persons of the opposite party. In this state of things, The Standard was set up; and although for a time its success, notwithstanding the skill of its writers employed upon it, was doubtful, it may now be considered to have succeeded.

Meanwhile, Roche, the editor of The Courier, with Government assistance, was still intent on pursuing his libel case against Baldwin and Giffard. A timid man, who was now aged 55 and contemplating retirement, Baldwin was terrified of receiving a visit from Government officials, and declared that if they acted against the paper he would put an end to The Standard immediately, providing that by so doing he could avoid prosecution. Writing to Joseph Planta at the Foreign Office on August 24, Roche noted that "If Baldwin was so excessively eager to sacrifice the existence of his paper to his personal safety the Government might easily get rid of a troublesome and hostile journal merely by issuing an ex officio information for libel, which, in the absence of legal proofs of guilt, need not be followed



THE FIELD OF BATTERSEA

Contemporary cartoon of the duel

by an actual prosecution. (25) Within a matter of days, an article appeared in The Standard which James Scarlett, the Attorney-General, deemed libellous. Giffard admitted that he was the author and asserted that he alone should suffer for it. However, in his report to Wellington, the Attorney-General thought "that the proprietor who habitually derives emoluments from the trade of slander was more worthy of punishment than the agents he employed who probably enhance the merit of their services by their readiness to undergo fine and imprisonment for his sake." (26) Continuing his report to Wellington, Scarlett declared that "Whatever may be Mr Baldwin's directions to his editor, I think it is manifest that both his paper, The Standard, and The Morning Journal have been conducted since the meeting of Parliament upon principles of the basest personal feeling, and with a hostility unqualified by the least regard to honour or to truth." (27)

Before determining whether the Government should proceed against Giffard, the Attorney-General sought Wellington's advice on the issue. "At present," wrote Scarlett, "all that is wanting to make the fortune of a newspaper is a scapegoat who has no objection to earn moderate wages in prison, where he insures, moreover, a moderate compensation for other men's crimes. The fines and damages are often never paid." Fortunately, for Baldwin and The Standard, the Duke decided to do nothing.

Apart from The Standard, the Tories had very little other support in the press. One small comfort had been The Albion, but at the time of the decision not to proceed with a new daily (discussed in Chapter Four pp. 135-137), its sales had fallen to 1,100 copies. Thus, Lord Lowther informed his father that every means had been tried to increase the sales of The Albion amongst their friends:

but as it cannot go to extraordinary expense it will stop at Easter. It was nearly at an end last week. A subscription was raised for its continuance to keep the owners harmless till Easter. I subscribed, myself, and I ventured on your behalf to promise £25, which I hope you will excuse me, but it was a cause of urgency. (28)

Alas, it was to be of no avail, for The Albion, which had absorbed Lane's Star in 1831 and The British Traveller in May 1833 was itself soon to be absorbed by The Standard, making the latter the only important evening paper that the High Tories possessed. Faithful to the Party line, Giffard was fed a daily ration of paragraphs for the paper; and it was also rumoured that Lord Londonderry was providing the editor with confidential Court news for publication. Giffard, himself, was now something of a celebrity, but the power he possessed seemed too much for some Tories. Indeed, John Wilson Croker regretted that "the whole Conservative cause was in the hands of Giffard. He is too honest -- too honest because of over-zealous parrtism, but he is obstinate, wrong-headed and impracticable." (29)

Despite the fact that the Tories and The Standard management had not been successful in launching their new daily, throughout the remainder of the 1830s the paper continued to be true to the Tory Party's principles. Thus, in the autumn of 1834, Giffard wrote to the Duke of Wellington offering the services of the paper and stating that

Eight years ago The Standard was indeed established at the sole cost and risk of its proprietor, for the same services -- but deviating from the other course of communications which I now adopt at all hazards . . . The offer which I now make is wholly without reserve -- The newspapers shall be absolutely at your command -- and it will be necessary to

your Grace's interest that they take a line which I cannot approve of -- I shall be at any time ready to retire in favour of a successor of your appointment -- and I have no doubt of being able to prevail upon the proprietor to agree to such an arrangement. (30)

In his reply, The Duke declared (on November 18, 1834):

I received your letter last night upon my return home. I have never had any communication with a newspaper or with any gentleman connected with the Press; but nothing can be more open or fair than your proposition. It is perfectly well known that the arrangement of the Government at present made is only temporary. I think, therefore, that it is but fair towards you to urge you to pause before you decide upon taking so determined a course as you have proposed to take. You will see hereafter the advantage of that which I recommend to you. In the meantime I recommend to you candour and fairness the temporary arrangement of which I have the conduct. (31)

In this direction, it is interesting to note that the diarist, Charles Greville, recorded on the following day:

Lyndhurst has just been here -- he had seen the Duke who had already opened a negotiation with [Thomas] Barnes (Editor of The Times) through Scarlett. I offered to get any statement inserted of the causes of the late break up and he will again see the Duke and consider of inserting one. He said: 'Why Barnes is the most powerful man in the country.' The Standard has sent to offer its support -- The Duke said he should be very happy but they must understand that the Government has not yet formed, etc. (32)

While Giffard and Wellington exchanged correspondence, Melbourne, the Prime Minister, returned from Brighton where he had been asked to resign by William IV. To some it seemed he had done little to hold his post. During Melbourne's audience with William IV wrote Herbert Taylor in a letter to Melbourne on November 19:

Not a word fell from you . . . which could justify the assertion in The Standard that you had said to the King that the government must necessarily fall to pieces in consequence of its own difference between

parliament. The King has asked me to be thus explicit that your Lordship may possess a document of which you may make such use as your own good judgement and discretion shall presume. No man is more desirous than his Majesty that justice should be done to your conduct.

With the King having dismissed the Melbourne Government, Sir Robert Peel formed a Ministry on December 10, 1834, and, at the General Election which followed, issued the Tamworth Manifesto, which is usually taken as marking the foundation of the Conservative Party. In his address to his constituents, Peel accepted the fundamental reforms which had been legislated by the Whigs under Grey and Melbourne as "a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question."

The Standard was quick to offer its services to the new Government, and on December 8 Giffard wrote to Peel: "In offering The Standard to your service, no return of any kind, present or future, is expected." Two days later, Peel replied: "Such has been my admiration of the ability with which that newspaper has been conducted that I have uniformly read it . . . I am entirely free to give a full and fair consideration to the proposal you make, and I will give it that consideration at the earliest moment . . ."

(33) [Full details of the correspondence are provided in the appendices].

Although Giffard's offer was not taken up by the Prime Minister, for the remainder of the decade The Standard continued to be of great assistance to the Tories. Giffard was to repeat the offer in writing to Peel in 1841.

In 1837 William IV died, and the accession of his niece Victoria to the throne at the age of eighteen was to bring a

profound change in the character and relationships of the national leaders. Her standards were those of the growing middle classes and a new standard of morality was emerging. Wellington, however, had his doubts: "I have no small talk, and Peel has no manners" in dealing with the young monarch. The Standard greeted the news of her accession with a certain reservation in its issue on Tuesday, June 27, an issue which was printed with reverse column rules and the whole surrounded by six-point black borders. In a detailed account of the late King's life, Giffard did not hesitate to emphasize William's stand on Protestantism:

With the first serious attack upon the Church [wrote Giffard] the ingenuous mind of William IV was awakened to the awful danger impending. In his memorable address to the Bishops he made his stand upon the firm and immoveable footsteps of the other. The whole nation responded to his call; and the Aristocracy, aroused from their lethargy of fear, gathered around the King. From that day the plague has been stayed -- from that day the Protestant and constitutional feeling of the country has continued to gather strength and spirit. The struggle with the evil principle has been obstinate and painful, but it has been hitherto generally successful.

The sting in the tail was, naturally, in the final paragraph of the leader:

We cannot approach, at any imaginative distance, the eloquence of the sketch to which we refer; but we will supply one omission of fact. It was not a stamp act; it was not a tea bill; it was the establishment of Popery in Canada, as is proved by the declaration of 1777, that reft the American colonies from the British crown. How far that establishment improves the security of the tenure by which the Canadas themselves are now held all may see. (34)

For the first five years of her reign, the Queen relied heavily on her Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, who played a crucial role in placing his knowledge and experience as a polished and veteran statesman at her disposal. He was not, however, without his enemies, and his relationship with Mrs. Caroline Norton, one of the three lovely Sheridan sisters, was eagerly seized upon by the Press. But to the Queen, Melbourne could do no wrong, even though he had

miraculously emerged unscathed from two divorce suits in both of which he had been named as co-respondent. In Giffard and The Standard, Melbourne was somewhat fortunate because Giffard's moral code "never under any circumstances allowed his political hostility to betray him into an invasion of the sanctities of private life." As James Grant, one of his staff, later recalled:

It was well known at the time that the Tory Party confidently expected by means of the case to upset the Administration of Lord Melbourne, and that all the more servile and less honourable of their journals did all they could to make it the instrument of accomplishing that object, but Dr. Giffard, though alternately implored, reproached with unfaithfulness to his party, and even threatened with repudiation by them, resolutely resisted all attempts to induce him to convert the Melbourne-Norton case into an engine for the promotion of Tory purposes. (35)

Yet, despite Grant's insistence that Giffard did not interfere in Lord Melbourne's private life, The Standard did report at the time of the Norton case in 1834 that the Prime Minister must be in a bad way if "not to be convicted of adultery was deemed a triumph. We see nothing in his conduct except evidence of a passion most improper in anyone . . . and most preposterous in an old man . . ."

3.3: Repeal of the Corn Laws

Scandals apart, the great issues during the first decade of Victoria's reign were, in fact, The Corn Laws and Chartism: and the reportage on these issues was extensively covered in the press of the day. The first Corn Law was enacted in 1804, when the landowners who dominated Parliament sought to ensure their well-being by imposing a protective duty on the import of grain. Ten years later, a Government Committee recommended that foreign corn should be imported free of duty only when the price of wheat had reached 80s per quarter. In 1828, William Huskisson, President of the Board of Trade, sought to relieve the distress caused by the high price of bread by introducing

a sliding scale of duties. But the economic conditions in the thirties steadily worsened, with a major trade depression in 1839 followed by bad harvests and the beginning of a potato famine in Ireland. These and other factors led to the establishment of the Manchester-based Anti-Corn Law League which advocated Free Trade and, more specifically, the abolition of duties upon imported corn. Led by Richard Cobden and John Bright, it was the first great radical movement to employ all the methods of well-organized agitation -- mass meetings throughout Britain, intensive lobbying of M.P.s, the use of the growing railway system and the new penny postage to disseminate pamphlets and printed propaganda to almost every elector in the land.

The Standard, ever consistent, supported The Corn Laws, and on January 24, 1839, Charles Greville, long-time Clerk of The Privy Council, noted in his diary that

The question of absorbing interest is how the repeal or alteration of the corn laws and the declaration of war against them on the part of The Times has produced a great effect . . . The rest of the Conservative press, The Morning Herald, Post and Standard, support the corn laws, and the latter has engaged in single combat with The Times, conducted with a kind of chivalrous courtesy, owing to the concurrence of their general politics, very unusual in newspaper warfare, and with great ability on both sides. (36)

In the summer of 1841, Giffard's old adversary, Thomas Barnes, the editor of The Times, died, and John Walter II replaced him with the 23-year-old John Delane. Despite his youth and lack of experience, Delane was the proprietor's first and only choice, but Walter fully intended to keep a watchful eye on the young man and, if necessary, to assume control of the paper:

In consequence of my conversation with you this morning, wrote Walter to a Conservative party manager, I made an immediate visit to my young friend [Delane] at

Blackfriars, I there imparted to him, in a great degree, what had passed between us -- and I thought it ought to be satisfactory to him, as I am sure it would have been to me in early days, that the Government communications should be made impartially -- equally, fairly and impartially -- to all the Government Journals, without any reference to their several sales, or their presumed influence upon the ground . . . The Times and The Standard, The Post and The Herald should be upon the same footing. (37)

By summer 1841, Peel was again Prime Minister and was immediately confronted with the problem of the poor harvests throughout the realm. He was convinced that if free trade in manufactured goods had benefited the people, then the time had come to apply the same principles of free trade to agriculture and repeal The Corn Laws. In this view he reflected the opinion of the middle and working classes, but underestimated the strength of opposition to repeal among his own Conservative Party Members in Parliament, many of whom felt that he was betraying Tory political principles and the welfare of the landed gentry. For Giffard and The Standard it was yet another occasion to pledge their allegiance to the Tory Party. Thus he wrote to Peel: "I hope that in placing unreservedly at your command The Standard and the several other newspapers under my control, I shall be thought to have no personal object nor other object than the power of being useful to the country and of testifying my gratitude to you." (38) Peel replied within two days: "I will again communicate with you upon the subject of it when I am less harassed by business which presses for instant despatch." (39)

With the deplorable harvests continuing, increasing pressures for relief from the public and the growing importance of the Anti-Corn League, the subject of Repeal was constantly debated in Parliament during the wet summer of 1842. Thus, on August 11, Peel wrote to his wife, Julia:

Parliament will be prorogued tomorrow. We have unpleasant accounts from Manchester and that neighbourhood. Great rioting and confusion. The Anti-Corn Law League have excited the passions of the people and are the first victims of their own folly. Read the account of last night's debate in The Standard.
(40)

Meanwhile, under Delane's editorship, the policies of The Times were increasingly diverging from those of The Standard, with their differences over the Repeal of the Corn Laws and Roman Catholicism being debated in their columns in the most passionate terms. The row over Catholicism was particularly apparent in April 1845 concerning the Maynooth Grant, Peel's proposal to subsidise the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth out of public funds. On May 5, 1845, The Standard in a violent attack on the Papacy and its teaching methods declared:

To whatever motive our conduct may be ascribed we must warn all parents and teachers to keep The Times of this day from the eyes of young persons under their control. The journal to which we refer has thought it not indecent or criminal to publish a cento of the worst extracts from the filthiest part of the most filthy books by which Roman Catholic priests are made to prepare themselves for the duties of the Confessional, and these extracts are either in plain English or in such Latin that a school-boy or girl -- for Latin is now properly a part of female education -- can understand them.(41)

Three days later, The Standard charged that

Three years ago The Times was approaching the end of the only access of honourable and consistent conduct in its history; but we imagine that had been an access of some years' duration; we therefore thought well of The Times three years ago, and we wrote as we thought; but we imagine that no one will see anything more than civility due to an ally.(42)

Events reached a climax in the autumn of 1845 when the force of the Anti-Corn Law League, assisted by a serious blight among the Irish potatoes, evoked a powerful clamour against the Corn Laws and none was more vociferous in this protest than The Times. On October 29 it informed its readers, "Once we might not have declared a free trade in corn, now

we must." This statement was followed by a fierce attack on Peel and, on November 6, by a demand for his resignation. Meanwhile, Richard Cobden and John Bright, in leading the fight against The Corn Laws, were barn-storming throughout the nation, and on November 28 more than 8,000 of their supporters crowded into the Manchester Free Trade Hall to hear them demand the repeal of The Corn duties. Bright was in devastating form and The Standard was a major target for his invective when he told the mass meeting that

The Standard newspaper -- which alternates between an affection of superior piety (laughter) and the most unblushing effrontery and audacity in its statements -- The Standard has at last found out that in this Realm of England, beneath the benignant sceptre of the Queen under the guidance of such a statesman had had no equal since the days of Chatham (hear, hear) that no human being, no one of her Majesty's subjects must perish of hunger (hear, hear). The Standard has for seven years heaped all its slanders and poured all its venom, especially upon the men who have been accustomed to address you from this platform (hear, hear) and on no other ground than this, that we asked that we might all possess that simple right, that right, which, was given to us from on high, that right, which, with your help, shall not much longer be kept from us. (Immense and reiterated cheering in which the final words were lost). The Standard has supported, without intermission, a law whose especial object was to bring about such a state of things that, though the rich might have enough, and the moderately rich might not starve still the poorest must necessarily be driven into the earth. (43)

On December 4, The Times announced that Parliament would be summoned in the first week of January and that the Speech from The Throne would recommend the Repeal of The Corn Laws. For The Standard, the report could not be true and in an immediate riposte delivered in Giffard's best manner asserted that it was an "Atrocious Fabrication by The Times". Indeed, Giffard declared that every one of the propositions put forward by Delane were false. As the row raged on between the papers, Giffard wrote on December 10:

Let the protecting duties be abolished, and they must follow the corn-laws and the whole mass of British labour, we speak of every kind of labour. We ask the artisan is he prepared for a reduction of half his earnings in order to have bread, perhaps two-pence in the four-pound loaf cheaper? We will not go out of our own department to put the question. We ask the working printer will he be contended to exchange his present conditions for twelve shillings a week wages, and bread at three halfpence a pound?(44)

That same evening, at the Manchester Free Trade Hall, Bright once again returned to The Standard and its position, stating that ". . . The Standard, true to its old principles, true to its anti-national character, is doing its very utmost to rouse the passions of the disappointed class to resist the calls which the almost universal people of England is making upon the Government, that these accursed Corn Laws should be abolished."(45) Meanwhile, Lord John Russell was endeavouring to form a government and failed in his attempt. The Queen now called for Peel, and he at once agreed to accept the challenge. On January 27, 1846, the new Parliament assembled and Peel made a long speech in which he announced his determination to repeal the Corn Laws as the only remedy for the Irish famine. As The Standard noted, in his peroration Peel made the comment which has long been regarded as a yard-stick for any Prime Minister:

I will not, Sir, stand at the helm during such tempestuous nights as I have seen if the vessel be not allowed to pursue fairly the course which I think she ought to take . . . I do not wish to be the Minister of England, but while I have the high honour of holding that office, I am determined to hold it by no servile tenure. I will only hold that office upon the condition of being unshackled by any other obligations than those of consulting the public interests, and of providing for the public safety.(46)

Stunned by this bold proposal from their leader, the Tory benches sat silent, and looked towards Disraeli; he did not disappoint them, and, five days later, in Greville's

words, "launched an all-out attack on Peel himself." In a clever and at times extremely amusing assault, Disraeli used the simile of Peel as the nurse who murdered the infant in her charge in opposing his proposal to repeal The Corn Laws:

Protection: The supporters of the right honourable baronet were now mourning over an offspring which had been assaulted by the nurse whom they had engaged (laughter). The nurse, after fondling it, and turning it round and round, and admiring its beauty, in a fit of political frenzy dashes its brains out, and then came down to give the master and mistress an account of the terrible catastrophe. (47)

In the Queen's Speech, Peel had spoken of the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties. To The Standard leader writer it was "next to impossible to believe . . . that as the adviser of such an injunction Sir Robert Peel can contemplate so sudden a change" The debate raged throughout the Spring of 1846, and, despite the bitter invective of Disraeli and his cohorts, the joint forces of the Peelites and Whigs ensured a majority of 98 over the Tory Protectionists on May 15. A month later, the Duke of Wellington carried out his last service to Peel by steering the Bill through the House of Lords. But on June 25, the very night the measure received its third reading, Peel was defeated in the Commons over a Coercion Bill for Ireland. It was an act of revenge by Disraeli who led a combination of Protectionists and Whigs. For the Duke of Wellington, this momentary alliance was a "blackguard combination"; and for Peel it was the end of office. Two days later he resigned, but, until his death in 1850, he was to remain the greatest figure in the House of Commons.

For Giffard, who was not well, this was the ultimate blow. His struggles against Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform had been unsuccessful and now he felt that he had lost the final conflict. The Standard's support for

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Dr. Stanley Lees Giffard,
Editor of The Standard

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Peel could never be the same again, and its new bitterness was reflected in the following extract from the paper's advertisement in The Newspaper Guide of 1851, the first to be published after the Repeal:

Nor was its fidelity to the cause diminished by the difficulties the leader encountered in the administration of national affairs; but it continued to lend him the most efficient aid, combatting with equal energy his old opponents and his disaffected allies, till he abandoned the principles of protection, when The Standard abandoned him; and, with The Herald, ranged itself with the adherents of the Country Party.

Looking back with the advantage of hindsight, the author of Giffard's obituary in 1858 remarked that

In the controversy with the Anti-Corn League, Dr. Giffard by name was sufficient proof how the weapons of The Standard had reached the political enemy. During the period Dr. Giffard undertook for a short time the management of the political department of The Morning Herald. After the sudden, and at all events, unexpected repeal of the Corn Laws by Sir Robert Peel, he adopted that section, which looked on Sir Robert's conduct as wanting in honesty towards his previous followers, and dealt with the event as members of a deserted party will. (48)

3.4: The Growth of Chartism

Throughout Europe in 1848, revolution was rife: France, Italy, the Austrian lands, Hungary, the German lands, all were affected and with few exceptions the revolts were the work of middle-class intellectuals. Although not backed by any one organization, there was, undoubtedly, a strong underlying theme: economic unrest brought about by bad harvests and famine in the countryside, unemployment and a trade recession in the towns. In Britain the major movement of protest and change was Chartism and its programme included universal male suffrage, annual parliaments, vote by secret ballot, payment of M.P.s, equal electoral districts and

the abolition of the property qualification for M.P.s. A decade earlier the London Working Men's Association had published the People's Charter which had advocated these six points. The Industrial Revolution had succeeded in producing a vast working class, of whom -- despite the enactment of the Reform Bill in 1832 -- five out of every six still lacked the vote. As Disraeli so aptly wrote in his novel, Sybil, there now existed in Britain "two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones or inhabitants of different planets . . . the rich and the poor."

To The Standard the reasons for the working class Chartist movement were quite apparent:

This is the fruit of the incendiary speeches and writings of 1831 and 1832, the natural and necessary result of letting loose the fierce passions of an uninstructed and indigent population, and of teaching them that their will ought to stand above the law. And who have been their prompters and models in this course of crime? The men who first taught that laws are to be trampled on -- the men who countenance political unions -- who corresponded with them, who called for 'threats of physical force' from them, encourage the menace of a rebel army to march upon London to frighten the House of Lords into a desertion of its duties . . .

Here the leader writer was commenting on the full-scale rising in Newport, Monmouthshire, on November 13, 1839, when 24 Chartists and their supporters were killed. Between 1840 and 1842, the Chartist Movement was widely split largely over tactics, and especially after a second petition was presented to Parliament in May 1842 and, like its predecessor three years earlier, was rejected. Following this rejection the Chartist Movement had fallen under the influence of Feargus O'Connor and now, in 1848, the Year of the Revolutions, many Chartists felt the time was ripe to make one final demand on the Government.

When, on April 10, following a huge meeting on Kennington Common, a monster Chartist petition containing the Six Points was presented to Parliament, The Standard's version of what occurred certainly revealed its firm hostility to Chartism:

Let us tell in a few words the history of the Kennington meeting. The Chartists began to assemble in anything like numbers about eleven o'clock: the whole assemblage certainly did not exceed 9,000 or 10,000 at the very most (of those about 4,000 passed our office at half-past 10) chiefly the lower class of Irish labourers, bearing banners of the mottoes of Irish sedition. Shortly after the arrival of the delegates, and the completion of the arrangements an inspector of police carried a communication to Mr Feargus O'Connor, when a murmur arose that a person had been arrested. Mr Connor, however, hastened to explain that such was not the case, but that he had received a message declaring that the Government would disperse the meeting, and suggesting that it would be convenient if the persons assembled would anticipate any forcible interference by separating voluntarily. Mr O'Connor added his own advice -- to obey the Government as the Chartists were unarmed; the advice, thus supported, was promptly obeyed, and at two o'clock there were not more than 200 on the ground.

We write in the commencement of a day of such anxiety as the people of London of the present generation have never witnessed. The anxiety of which we speak is not the anxiety of alarm, or of any feeling akin to alarm. It is the anxious expectation with which men await the trial of a desperate experiment on a grand scale . . . Two hundred special constables have already enrolled (at 10 a.m.) to be augmented, we have no doubt by noon, to more than half the adult population, give ample warrant for the ultimate preservation of order. The movers of the sedition will be disappointed . . . And we ask is it reasonable or is it just that under the threatened penalties of rapine, conflagration and murder, the people of London shall be excised in £100,000 sterling, if not twice the sum, at the pleasure, forsooth of Mr Feargus O'Connor, Mr McGrath, Mr Cuffy, Mr O'Brien and the rest of the offshoots of the Repeal Association; and with this no other possible effect than the making of a diversion in favour of an Irish Rebellion, or inviting America or France to invade this country.

Advocating that the "ringleaders" should be prosecuted for treasonable conspiracy, the leader writer concluded: "We expect courage from Lord John Russell, if we cannot hope for wisdom; and with courage we expect honesty. Twenty-four hours will tell us of what stuff the noble lord is made." Following the leader there was one final paragraph on the day's occurrence which stated:

Before taking leave of the Chartists and their description let us offer one other remark upon the audacious petition presented to the House of Commons. The petition is said to bear the names of five million and a half signatures. The number would never be counted for it would take fifteen weeks of twelve hours a day to count so many, but however closely written five million and a half of signatures would cover some tons of paper or parchment, whereas the petition actually presented did not apparently weigh more than a few hundredweight. (49)

An eye-witness of the Chartist demonstration was young Hardinge Giffard, and in 1908, as Lord Halsbury, he recalled:

Sixty-one years ago yesterday, I was a Special Constable on Blackfriars Bridge. I remember very well that John Frank and I went to offices in New River Building and were duly sworn in. Then they wanted us to take charge of the parish in place of the ordinary policeman, but I did not fancy that. I walked down to Kennington Common, where the giant Chartist meeting was being held. I came across a big policeman twice as big as myself, who was being sent with a message to Fergus O'Connor, the head of the movement, and I went with him. He said, I suppose with some irony, 'I suppose, Sir, you are protecting me.' We went to Blackfriars Bridge, and received our orders not to stop absolutely all persons from crossing the Bridge, but only to allow them to go in small groups. There were occasionally little rushes, but we were too strong for anything like a fight, and one of the assailants dropped a somewhat formidable-looking dagger, but they soon found it was hopeless to attempt to cross in any organized body, and by three o'clock in the afternoon the whole thing was over; but not withstanding that nothing happened, the Paris papers the next day announced that London was 'en feu et flame'. (50)

During the two days after the demonstration, the clerks at the House of Commons examined the Chartist petition, and on April 13 The Standard reported that:

The whole number of signatures amounts to one million nine hundred thousand; enough of all conscience, but no less than three million seven hundred thousand short of Mr O'Connor's deliberations. The misstatement of the actual number of signatures, such as they are, is not, however, the most disgraceful part of this affair. The signatures are for the most part forgeries. The Duke of Wellington's name appears seventeen times repeated, the Queen's name and Prince Albert's name are again and again repeated; the like liberties are taken with the names of all distinguished public men of all parties; and in addition to those there is a huge miscellaneous muster roll of ludicrous, filthy and even impious and obscene designations under the form of names. Of the numbers of persons represented by the bona fide names, an idea may be formed from the fact stated by a correspondent of The Times that one errand boy had signed the petition more than 1250 times.

This was the beginning of the end of the Chartist Movement. Unlike the Anti-Corn Law League, it had failed because of weak leadership, lack of co-ordination or contact with the trade unions, internal dissension and the failure to enunciate clear-cut objectives. Nevertheless, the four main Chartist demands were to be achieved within the next 70 years.

3.5: The French Connection

In addition to the heavy involvement of both political parties with the newspapers, there was also a strong influence from foreign governments -- especially with the French -- in the British press. Giffard had long been a friend and ally of Louis Philippe, one-time King of the French, a friendship well reflected in the obituary notice which appeared in The Standard on August 27, 1850, following the death of the exiled King:

It may not seem reasonable to lament the death at the mature age of 77 years of any man, however highly distinguished by virtues or by talents -- our brother

mortal has fulfilled his term, and fallen like a corn to the ground in season, and it is part, instead of regretting, to follow him . . .(51)

Edward Baldwin, too, had a strong connection with France, having established a courier service with the French Government in the 1840s to speed the passage of the Indian mails from Marseilles to Boulogne, thus giving The Standard an advantage over its rival, The Times. (This is discussed in Chapter Six, pp. 196-199). As a result of Giffard's friendship with the late Louis Philippe, on his succession by Prince Louis Napoleon rumours spread that The Standard and The Morning Herald were in the pay of the new French President. The involvement of English newspapers with French governments was nothing new, for as far back as 1792 the Treasury writer, Augustus Miles, noted: "I have had several hints at different times from Frenchmen in constant relation and intimacy with M. de Chauvelin and his family that the editors of The Morning Chronicle and of The Argus have received considerable sums of money, and that they have each of them a large monthly allowance."(52). Similarly, in October 1824, Lewis Goldsmith informed Canning: "It is fit I should tell you that The Courier receives from the French Government 2000 francs per month for the purpose of inserting all their fooleries." (53) Mudford, editor of The Courier and father of the future editor of The Standard, denied that his paper was in the pay of any government, but Canning did not believe him. "The villain," Canning said, "sold to France and took his lessons partly from the French Embassy here, and partly from our own ultras . . ."(54)

Now, in 1850, it was alleged that both The Standard and The Morning Herald were only maintained largely through a subsidy from the Prince-President Louis Napoleon. Much to his annoyance, in 1851, Louis Napoleon was attacked in The Times, which constrained his ambassador in London to report to him:

Someone has told you, Prince, that the hostility of The Times and The Morning Chronicle was provoked by pecuniary subsidies. Nothing could be more false than such an assertion and believe me, on such an important subject I would not make a statement without being absolutely certain. It is possible that third-rate papers like The Sun, Standard, etc., etc., might be purchased. But the enterprise of The Times and Morning Chronicle are backed by too big capital, their political management is in too many hands, for it to be possible to buy them for any price.(55)

Not at all pleased with his ambassador's reply, Louis Napoleon attempted to complete^{ly} the British Government to restrain The Times. The entire affair was brought up in Parliament, where it gave Lord Derby an opportunity to discuss the independence of the Press and its responsibilities in the following statement:

If, as in these days, the press aspires to exercise the influence of statesmen, the press should remember that they are not free from the corresponding responsibility of statesmen, and that it is incumbent on them, as a sacred duty, to maintain that tone of moderation and respect even in expressing frankly their opinions on foreign affairs which would be required of every man who pretends to guide public opinion.(56)

In addition to The Standard and The Morning Herald, Sir Algernon Borthwick's Morning Post was also alleged by Lord Malmesbury to be in the pay of the French. Malmesbury refused to retract the statement in his Memoirs of an ex-Minister, even after Borthwick had sent him a written denial. Malmesbury's source for the allegation was the French ambassador himself, Count Alexandre Walewski. The whole affair then became the subject of a Punch cartoon, published on February 15, 1856. But even the Prince Consort, Albert, was to believe that the whole English press, except The Times, was influenced by foreign governments.

Writing many years later, T. H. S. Escott sought to refute the assertion that The Standard was in the pay of France by stating that: "Of Napoleon III and his personal surroundings, Hamber's first-hand knowledge equalled Borthwick's, and so of course gave rise to the rumour that The Standard, as well as The Post, was in the pay of the Tuileries. In the case of The Standard this was as ancient a legend as it was in the case of The Post; for when in Baldwin's day it had been an evening paper, it was spoken of as existing mainly on a Napoleonic subsidy".(57) Considering the deep knowledge that Escott possessed of The Standard and the political scene -- both national and foreign -- he certainly believed that the case against Baldwin and The Standard was not proven. But there still remains the earlier involvement of Edward Baldwin and M. Guizot, for the French Government in the 1840s, in developing the express Indian Mails service. On balance, there appears to have been a link between The Standard and the French government during the reign of Louis Philippe.

3.6: The American Civil War

At the outbreak of hostilities in the American Civil War in 1861, The Standard immediately took the side of the South (the Confederacy); and, in addition to its leading articles, published a series of letters from "Manhattan" which became, in time, even more fiercely anti-Federal. The author of these letters was Joseph A. Scoville, based in New York, and his despatches from the North were to be so critical of President Lincoln's administration that he was imprisoned in Fort Lafayette Prison and only released in 1864, in time to die. There were also rumours that in addition to personal sympathy and political tactics, bribery determined The Standard's stance. The reason for these

allegations was the activities of Henry Hotze, the Confederate agent in London, whose papers are now in the Library of Congress. On April 25, 1862, Hotze informed the Confederate Secretary of State, Judah Benjamin that:

Two more newspapers, The Herald, Lord Derby's organ, and The Standard, have voluntarily placed themselves at my disposal. The Editor in chief of both called on me, and offered the use of the columns of both, including editorial columns, of which offer I have, though guardedly, availed myself." (58)

Although, Hotze denied the charge of bribery, the evidence points otherwise, for in 1862 he founded The Index, a propaganda weekly, and employed journalists to write for the paper on a part-time basis. Twelve months later Hotze declared that seven journalists employed by London dailies were working for him, with four of them "colleagues of one editorial corps". This was almost certainly The Standard and the following statement strongly indicates that the penurious Hamber was one of them: "I have been fortunate enough to receive as a permanent contributor to The Index the Chief Editor of one of the leading daily journals -- for obvious reasons I omit the name." (59)

Similarly, Hotze reported to the Secretary of State that

disbursements such as boxes of cigars imported from Havanna through the aid of Mr. Helm, American whiskey, and other articles which not being general procurable, form acceptable presents, it is of course out of the question to give vouchers (to the Confederate government accounting for expenditures). (60.)

In addition to the probable gifts "in kind", Hamber was also being supplied with a regular service of news items and leaders and he was not slow to object if he found that The Times had, inadvertently, been supplied with the information in advance of The Standard. Thus Hotze noted:

It appears that Hamber who is intimately connected with The Index Office was told of the Report on

Wednesday morning before Hopkins knew that it was to be exclusively for The Times. When he, Hamber, learned of this fact in the evening he was indignant of what appeared to him an intentional slight. (61).

3.7 The Franco-Prussian Conflict

The declaration of war by France on Prussia on July 19, 1870, provided Hamber with an additional opportunity for The Standard to achieve prestige and increased circulation, but once again he was accused of accepting favours from a foreign power, Prussia. His choice of a correspondent to cover the conflict was, in a sense, unexpected but perspicacious: he chose his chief leader writer, Alfred Austin, who, while entertaining Anthony Trollope, received an urgent letter from Hamber requesting him to obtain permission from the Prussian army to join the headquarters of the King William of Prussia. As Austin later recalled: "I read the letter aloud, and Anthony Trollope at once said, 'If you can get permission you will be a lucky fellow, for there is not a man in Europe who would not like to go to the Seat of War.'"

For The Standard and for Austin it was a momentous occasion and his despatches quickly added to his renown as a journalist. He immediately set out for Berlin and noted "Prussian troops were being conveyed to the Seat of War along every railway line. They were in the highest spirits shouting 'Nach Paris! Nach Paris!'" (62)

When Bismarck was informed that The Standard correspondent sought permission to go to the front, he immediately replied "Tell Mr Austin to go to the War Office, where official permission to join us will be given." Buying a horse and hiring two attendants, Austin set off on his journey westwards. The battles around Sedan and Metz were now raging, and he arrived at the scene in the aftermath of the bitter French defeat at Sedan. Austin's experiences at Sedan, where he walked, notebook in hand, among the dead and the dying, left an indelible mark on his mind. That for the sensitive poet Austin this war was a nightmare was apparent in his

remarks, "I passed from Scylla to Charybdis. . ." Two days later he had reached the Prussian headquarters at Rheims, and there, on two successive evenings, interviewed Bismarck. Thus on September 5, 1870, Austin reported:

The following day I had another and longer interview with Count Bismarck, not quite across the walnuts and wine, but over, at least, the champagne, in the heart of whose native soil we were, and which is now flowing so freely down German throats. Speaking in English with force and a certain familiarity, Bismarck said: 'We shall stay here tomorrow, I think, and perhaps the day after that. We must give the Parisians time to cook in their own juice.' (63)

In Austin's long discussions with the Prussian leader, Bismarck made the following statement which was to cause a stir among the readers of The Standard and of the other papers who printed Austin's reports: "She (France) must be made harmless, We must have Strasburg and we must have Metz. . . We will fight ten years sooner than not to obtain this necessary authority." The interviews caused a sensation in England and Austin's reporting was highly praised. With the investment of Paris about to begin, Austin made for Versailles, where he again interviewed Count Bismarck.

I said to him (wrote Austin) I hoped I had given a faithful account in The Standard, that had been so widely copied, of the conversation he had been so good as to hold with me at Rheims. He replied that he had not read it, but that Abeken (his aide) had, and he had said it was excellent. . .

For The Times and its renown correspondent, William Howard Russell, the much-quoted interviews were something of a bitter blow. Russell had succeeded in having a discussion with the Crown prince Frederick who gave him an exclusive account of

the private talk~~s~~ between the King of Prussia and Napoleon III following the latter's surrender at Sedan. But Bismarck would have none of it and, through Austin, authorized The Standard to say that Russell's story was completely without foundation. When a chastened Russell confronted Bismarck with The Standard's story, he dismissed Russell with the statement, "When you hear things from that dunderhead the Crown Prince you should know better." The fact that Austin's interviews with Bismarck were at the request of the Prussian leader only seemed to confirm that Austin was used by Bismarck to propound the Prussian point of view.

3.8: Hamber and Disraeli

At the time of Hamber assuming the editorship of The Standard in the summer of 1857, Disraeli was a frustrated politician, who, for more than a decade, was to continue to fight to achieve real power for the Tory Party. To some extent he had been thwarted by the political feebleness and indecision of his leader, Lord Derby, who had refused to take office in 1855. By the late 1850s, Disraeli had concluded that Derby, "As the leader of a party -- is more hopeless than ever -- devoted to whist, billiards, racing and betting." A few weeks after Lord Palmerston had again become Prime Minister, following a vote of confidence in the Commons, the advent of a revitalised Standard meant that the Conservatives -- and Disraeli -- were provided with a newspaper that would reflect their points of view. Disraeli was quick to see in Hamber a person who could be manipulated to serve his purposes. Indeed, Hamber himself was soon "admirably pointed to by the wirepullers and minor scribes of the party as a model Conservative editor of the most brilliant^{ly} and chivalrous type." (64)

The long correspondence between Hamber and Disraeli well reflects the fact that the editor did not "call the tune". During the first decade, Hamber's letters were signed "Your very faithful servant" and sought advice or offered

apologies. Doubtless, Hamber was also concerned that, through Philip Rose, the party's agent, the Tories still held the mortgage on the Shoe Lane premises. But this apparent close professional relationship between Hamber and Disraeli was not without its critics. Thus, less than three years after Hamber had assumed control of The Standard, Harry W. Carr wrote in confidence to Disraeli on February 19, 1860:

I almost fear from something you said yesterday, but of which the full import did not strike me at the moment, that you believe me to be the author of a revisionary article in the last number of Bentley's Quarterly, and which appeared in The Morning Herald and Standard Newspapers. Mr Hamber, who is, at the moment, the responsible editor of these papers, was the author of that article, and, if you are under any false impression as to this, it is my right that you should be acquainted with the truth.

Discussing Hamber's editorship, in the same letter, Carr declared that:

The other great disadvantage under which he has been labouring, viz: the dearth of cabinet and information from the leader of the Conservative party is, I trust, now removed, and you may rely upon it that he will do his best to strengthen your hands. I wish to bear testimony to the ability and knowledgeable character of Mr Hamber, my successor in the office, because I have been informed that a very unfair prejudice has been raised against him in some quarters.

In his communication, Carr also suggested to Disraeli that:

With reference to the newspaper, I am told that the proprietor would be satisfied if the Conservative Party would purchase 1,000 copies of The Morning Herald a day. It might be true that this would put money into Mr. Johnstone's pocket, but it is certain that some of the money would go to increase the salaries of the gentlemen who form the editorial staff . . . The proprietor would strongly object to any plan which robbed him of the political direction of the paper . . . this may be arrived at, if the proper kind of influence is brought to bear upon him in the proper way. (65)

Three years later, Hamber appealed to Disraeli for assistance to alleviate The Standard's precarious financial position (detailed in Chapter Four, pp. 143-145). However, there is no record of Disraeli agreeing to provide any special

funds. Hamber's request of Disraeli only seems to confirm what many people had long suspected that The Standard was in the pay of the Conservative Party. In fact only a few months later, on May 3, 1862, Punch was to publish a telling cartoon with the following dialogue:

Mrs. Harris (a struggling Newvendor) "Stanerd! Stanerd! Only a Penny! Please support an old 'ooman, dear gents!"

(D-rby to Dizzy) "For goodness sake give her a penny, and tell the old goose we don't want her cackle -- people will think she belongs to us -- just opposite the club too!"

That Hamber was beholden to the Tory leader is apparent in the following note to Disraeli in the summer of 1862:

I have with some difficulty written a leader in The Herald of the proceedings of last night . . . but I should be sorry to act in any manner contrary to your views and if you would kindly drop me a line to say 'yes' or 'no' I should be gratefully obliged. I ask this favour because tomorrow is my one holiday . . .
(66)

Four other examples of Hamber's homage to Disraeli are apparent in the following communications:

October 30, 1862

Many thanks for your correction. I have been disappointed about the leaders. I placed them in the hands of two writers: both have failed. The truth is, it is a difficulty to find men who have taken the trouble to think over a good article . . .

October 31, 1862

I cannot restrict the impudence to offer you my sincere congratulations on your admirable speech. The expression of my individual opinion is of course not worth a great deal, but I have been about in various quarters today, and the feeling is unanimous that it is a masterpiece of oratory, one of the most successful if not the most successful of your later efforts, and that it must so largely influence public opinion. I cannot hope to do adequate justice to it in my columns, but it may serve me as a text book for days to come, and I trust I may succeed in placing its importance before the nation.

November 4, 1862

I will answer The Times immediately. I should have done so before but I lack a great influx of subjects and few available hands. I thought The Times leaders singularly weak . . . a mere erasure of the points of your speech.

April 18, 1864

I hope you will not think I have gone too far in The Standard. There is horse play somewhere, and those who play with edged tools must expect to be cut. I propose to see Garibaldi tomorrow . . . and if you have five minutes to spare I will come in and let you know any particulars.(67)

As the decade came to a close, The Standard's dependence on the Conservative Party ceased. Increased circulation, arising initially from the reportage of the American Civil War, was to see daily sales of 50,000 in 1864 and 80,000 in 1866; and in 1869 the mortgage to the Conservative Party on the Shoe Lane premises had been paid off. On that day, in 1869, when the mortgage was redeemed, H. W. Massingham was later to report in The London Daily Press, p 80:

Mr. A - sent his usual communique, with the customary hint to place it after the leaders. The editor, however, was then a free man, and he was determined to assert his freedom, so he packed the pars in an envelope and returned them with the accompanying note:

Dear A - I will see you hanged first!

Yours etc. --

Nevertheless, although Hamber could now disregard the Tory Party whips and their daily quota of paragraphs for The Standard and its sister paper, The Morning Herald, he . . . determined to maintain his relationship with Disraeli and in the summer of 1870 he was invited to Hughenden, Disraeli's country estate, near High Wycombe: "Many thanks for your kind invitation. I accept with much pleasure for the 11th August . . ." (68) Three months later, on October 20, 1870, he again accepted a summons to Hughenden with the following remarks:

I thank you sincerely for your kind appreciation of what support I have been able to give. More powerful I fear, it might have been. It could not have been, I know, more truthful, nor, I may add, more considerable recompensed. I shall avail myself with real pleasure of your hospitable invitation. Up to the present moment I have not been able to leave from here during the present crisis. But although I am far from believing that the end of the war (Franco-Prussian) is near I fancy that for the next three or four weeks we shall have a few political events. (69)

In the Spring of 1871, Hamber was tired and decided that a week at the seaside would restore his vigour. On his return to the office, there was a letter from Disraeli to which he replied immediately:

Your letter of the 6 inst (April) only reached me this evening. I have been for the last week in Southend my first escape from London since I enjoyed your kind hospitality at Hughenden. I searched, and was very much angered by the terrible blunder in taste in the article of the 6th. I have done my best to set it right. But I begin to despair of ever enjoying a holiday. (70)

On the Whit-Monday, Disraeli was chief speaker at a Crystal Palace Banquet and chose as his theme the Imperial Customs' Bond -- a theme which had been suggested by Escott in The Standard a few days earlier. Together with Hamber and Watts, Escott happened to be present at the banquet and, when Disraeli declared in so many words for Imperial Confederation with a Custom's guarantee, Hamber, quite excited, turned to Watts and said: "By jove! That's our thunder." Disraeli overheard the too audible whisper, smiled and a minute or two later beckoned Hamber to come and sit beside him. Although Hamber retained this close relationship with the Tory leader -- a relationship which was strengthened by the editor's attack on Gladstone over the Irish Church Bill -- there was now an undercurrent of dissatisfaction among the Party's managers. They felt that "if the paper were to render the party services as undoubtedly were in its power, its conductor must take counsel with the party managers as well as ask for information from them." (71) The time had clearly come for editor and proprietor to part company, but it was not a task that Johnstone would undertake himself; hence one morning in October, 1872 his solicitor called at the home of Hamber in Chiswick, and intimated that his services were no longer required.

But Hamber was not down for long, and was soon employed as editor of The Conservative Weekly Paper. However, the pace of editing a weekly was too slow for Hamber, and on February 7, 1873, he wrote to Disraeli:

I am sure you are aware I am no longer connected with The Standard, but I have a newspaper enterprise of some magnitude on hand, with reference to which I should like very much to ask you advice on one or two points.(72)

The enterprise was The Hour, a morning paper, which made its initial appearance on March 24. However, the paper was not a success, and on May 18, 1874, Hamber again sought help from his old friend Disraeli. Thus he informed Disraeli:

. . . support of the proposal I have to submit to you . . . a well-known banker had offered a sufficient sum . . . provided the hint be given to him from good quarters that the work . . . will be regarded by the heads of the party. You know the circumstances of The Hour. I think it is doing good work . . . Unfortunately our capital is insufficient. A word from you, however, indirectly given, would suffice. Am I asking much in soliciting that word?

By now Prime Minister, it was not Disrael's intention to be associated with failure. He regarded Hamber as a spent force -- and therefore did nothing. For twelve months more the paper struggled on, but, with all the help from his friends now spent and rejection from Disraeli, there was only one more person to whom Hamber could turn. On September 17, 1875, he wrote to his long-time friend of Oxford days and on The Standard, Lord Salisbury:

. . . The Hour has failed. It has not sufficient capital, it is in the wrong hands. Even if it survives occasional crises, it can never be of service to the party or a credit to London journalism under its present regime. I find myself, having given up the best part of my life to Conservative journalism; powerless as to the future yet full of power and will to work.(73)

The following August, 1876, Disraeli "heard with a pang that The Hour was no more."



John Eldon Gorst, briefly Editor of The Standard,
architect of Conservative victory and later
Solicitor-General.

As the new editor of The Standard, Johnstone appointed his son, but the real authority -- certainly on the political front -- lay with John Eldon Gorst, the Tory Party's agent. Johnstone's son lasted only a few months before Gorst took over entirely. However, it was not to be a long reign, for Johnstone was now realising that Gorst was yet another editor who was, to a large degree, intent on ignoring his proprietor's wishes. Certainly, Gorst's criticism of the Conservative Party's colonial policy seriously undermined Johnstone's position. He was also involved in disagreements with his leader writers of whom Alfred Austin was the most vociferous and one who did not hesitate to protest to the proprietor of the papers.

It was only necessary (wrote Austin) for a Party or a policy whether at home or abroad to be called Conservative for him to defend it through thick and thin - a course that has never recommended itself to me. A glaring instance arose when he lent the strongest support to the Duc de Broglie and Marshall MacMahon; this seemed to be fatuous, since not only based on a misnomer, but certain to end, as it did, in utter failure. Accordingly, I refused to write in that vein. Thereupon, though I had been only passive, the proprietor interferred, and quite irrespectively of any opinion of his own, told the editor that my view must be acted on. He bowed to his decision and nothing further occurred. (74)

With the proprietor supporting the writer and not the editor, there could be only one decision, and shortly afterwards Gorst departed from The Standard.

3.9: Mudford, The Seasoned Journalist

For his new editor, Johnstone recruited a seasoned journalist, William Heseltine Mudford, one of the key figures in nineteenth century journalism. From his first days, Mudford was determined to be independent of the political parties. He sent his deputies to Under-Secretaries to discern their views on current issues and often wrote to Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire and other political personalities, but avoided meeting them. It was said that:

The cloistered seclusion in which Mudford lived and worked had at least one advantage. It rendered him immune to the insidious influences often brought to bear on those who control important journals. He wanted nothing from anybody of any party; he had no

personal, social or political ambitions, and, being completely master of his own kingdom, he was a thoroughly independent autocrat who could neither be cajoled nor coerced. Whatever might be the faults of The Standard under his reign - and it had many - nobody could impugn its honesty or courage. (75)

By the end of the decade Mudford was sufficiently convinced of his paper's success -- sales were almost 200,000 copies daily -- to assume a certain independence to his own party. But although still true to the Conservative line, he had no intention whatsoever of slavishly following Disraeli. In addition there was a fierce pride, an example of which was provided on April 16, 1879, when he wrote the following letter to Rowland Winn, a member of Disraeli's government, and ensured that the Prime Minister received a copy of the communication:

My attention has just been drawn to the Report of you at Wakefield on Tuesday night in which you are made to say that the articles in The Standard recently have been a "perfect disgrace" to it. Will you kindly inform me whether this report which appeared in The Sheffield Telegraph of yesterday is correct? Your opinion about the articles in The Standard is of course a matter of complete indifference to me, if I am to understand that it was expressed merely in your private conversation. But if you were speaking as a member of the Government it would be a different matter, and I should feel bound to offer certain observations on your speech in an early issue of my paper. (76)

Another, and perhaps more cutting, example of Mudford's pride and independence and his insistency on privacy, occurred almost 12 months later, on February 19, 1880, in his reply to Lord Salisbury:

The Editor of The Standard asks permission to return the enclosed telegram (just received from his assistant) which has been addressed to The Standard by Lord Salisbury's House Steward: The Editor of The Standard may, perhaps, be allowed to add that he is not much in the habit of receiving telegraphic instructions from House Stewards: not even when they are in the Household of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. (77)

Mudford was now a well-known figure in Press circles on both sides of the Atlantic, and on August 26, 1880, The Nation, published in New York, announced

That The Standard under Mudford qualified as the only distinctly and professedly Conservative journal among the morning news of London. But this did not deter it from showing a certain independence with regard to its own party . . . much fairness of mind in relation to its opponents, the source of a standing quarrel between it and the leaders of successive Conservative governments.

Even Gladstone would have endorsed those remarks, for following The Standard's coverage of the Midlothian election that year, the Grand Old Man said that it was a paper he always liked to read because he found it to be fair and honest. "When I read a bad leader in The Standard," he told Wemyss Reid, editor of the Leeds Mercury, "I say to myself, Mr Mudford must be taking a holiday." Mudford, of course, would have been delighted with Gladstone's remarks, but in no way would he have allowed them to sway his judgment or opinion.

By the start of the 1880s, the persistent independence of Mudford, and the growing liaison between Joseph Chamberlain -- elected in 1876 as the Liberal member for Birmingham -- and The Standard leader writer, T. H. S. Escott, led some Tories to conclude that the paper could no longer be relied upon. Chamberlain, ever an opportunist, had quickly realized that by feeding information to Escott for publication in The Standard he could be of great use. For Escott, his friendship with Chamberlain was the great event of his life and the one point around which all his interests centred.

Because of these doubts, W. H. Smith, the newspaper distribution magnate, was asked to investigate the cost of founding a Tory evening paper. His report was satisfactory, and on July 21, 1881, The Evening News, priced one half-penny, made its debut. While its sales of up to 50,000 copies per issue were a source of comfort for the Tories, there was still the nagging worry that The Standard was losing its way. Frederick Greenwood, of The Pall Mall Gazette, was in no doubt that "The defection of The Standard on every occasion when its loyalty would be of the least value may now be counted for certain . . ." (78)

Hill warned Arthur Godley, Gladstone's private secretary:

You will certainly read in The Standard tomorrow an account of the conclusions arrived at by the Cabinet today and the character of their deliberations. By virtue of what understanding, and through what subterranean channels it may be derived, I will not speculate. The information is used to discredit the Government . . . (79)

Alarmed at the news, on the following day Chamberlain wrote to Escott: "I think we had better not meet for some little time. Some cad or other has taken the trouble to inform certain people that we are close friends and to insinuate that the shrewd guesses of The Standard are the result of our intimacy." (80) But the parting lasted hardly a week: eight days later Escott was invited by Chamberlain "to run down to Birmingham over the weekend, where he could consort with whom he pleased." With the leaks continuing into the following year, the Gladstone Government was quite concerned and, although Lord Acton knew that Chamberlain (for his own purposes) was indiscreet, he was hesitant to "infer from circumstantial evidence that he had prompted The Standard with regard to the government's Irish strategy in 1881." Gladstone, however, believed otherwise, for, according to Lord Hartington, prior to a Cabinet meeting, he pulled from his pocket a letter describing what the Speaker was about to do and remarked: "I could not read this in Cabinet unless I wished it to appear in The Standard tomorrow morning." (81)

The young Reginald Brett, later Lord Esher, had no doubts as to the source of the leaks, when he recorded in his journal: "Lately the Cabinet discussions have been reported in that newspaper, owing it is said to the indiscretion of Chamberlain." Despite the now open secret, the supply of information continued but it was not entirely one way. Thus, Escott wrote to Chamberlain in later October: "Of The Standard and many other matters I have much to tell you when I reach your hospitable roof on Saturday.² (82) Four days later, on November 1, The Standard announced that Gladstone was about to resign as Chancellor of the Exchequer, a post he held in concert with

the premiership. Chamberlain was not amused:

I do not think there is the least truth in The Standard report -- and I doubt the wisdom of publishing such rumours as information. If Mudford does not take care he will get a sort of Figaro reputation which I don't think will be for the advantage of a serious English journal. However, it is his business and not mine -- and he knows what suits his interests.(83)

As Stephen Koss has written:

When The Standard condemned the 'political morality' of the administration on November 12, Escott hastened to assure Chamberlain that he was not the author, "and I may take this opportunity of saying that I should never be asked in The Standard office to write anything of the sort." Without belittling its mutual usefulness, Chamberlain's links with Escott did not secure him obedience or even reliable support from Mudford.(84)

For the Conservatives, 1881 was a year of sadness: Disraeli died in April, hardly twelve months after having been defeated by Gladstone. Mudford, meanwhile, long since freed of any constraints and obligations to the Party, announced that, while regretting the reaction of the country against the Conservatives, his paper was prepared to give the Gladstone Government a trial. The Standard's articles were now being written with conspicuous impartiality and abounded in hints of constructive statesmanship for the new government. As Dyke Rhode commented on Mudford: "The editor who had dared to criticise his party found himself a power such as no predecessor of his had ever been. Unsought for, there gravitated to him the confidence of his titular opponents." The effect of such editorship were immediate. The paper which until recently had been a party organ was fast becoming a national property, and for Mudford himself the financial rewards were immense. He was now the highest-paid editor in the land, earning £5,000 per annum. It was widely acknowledged in Fleet Street that The Standard's articles were largely written by men who were incapable of being party hacks. And, for his part, "the editor could be sure of producing every day a bill of fare to satisfy alike the journalistic connoisseur and the man in the 'bus.'"(85)



William Heseltine Mudford

3.10: The Fourth Party

With Gladstone coming under severe criticism for his failure to resolve the Irish problem, within the Conservative Opposition there developed a Fourth Party, consisting of Lord Randolph Churchill; John Eldon Gorst (the former Standard editor); Sir Henry Drummond Wolff; and Mr Arthur (later Earl) Balfour, which soon became a most effective sector of the opposition. In Churchill, many progressive Tories had a leader, who, through the National Union, was determined to challenge the elders of the party. In this respect there was a similarity with Joseph Chamberlain and his dealings with the National Liberal Federation. And, both Churchill and Chamberlain were well aware of the need to cultivate the press. The ephemeral Escott was in the happy position of being trusted by both politicians and for Lord Randolph he was eager to ensure that he had "access to The World, The Fortnightly Review, and, more restrictively, The Standard." (86)

Mudford, meanwhile, was determined to maintain his air of independence, even though his two chief leader writers, Austin and Escott, were pressing the claims of their respective patrons. Churchill was especially anxious to maintain a friendly relationship, with the press and this was apparent following the sudden death of his father, the Seventh Duke of Marlborough, on July 5, 1883. Lord Randolph wrote to Mudford thanking him for the obituary in The Standard "and . . . for the terms of a leading article which I cannot fail to recognize as being other than from your pen." (87) Similarly, during the same month, he was delighted to note that the Fourth Party's pleas for the Conservatives to reform and revive were being taken up by The Standard. However, in the spring of 1884, Churchill, who was now chairman of the organization committee of the National Union, publicly rebuked Salisbury, accusing him of issuing vague, foggy and utterly intangible suggestions for the reorganization of the Conservative Party. To Mudford this

was heresy, and he promptly gave his full blessing to Austin's leader, no doubt "reworked" by Salisbury himself, which appeared on May 5 and which stated that "In the judgment of Lord Randolph Churchill it is sufficient to injure the Ministry. He is a chartered libertine in the matter of opinion. Any view that is possible and plausible is, with all the fire of honest, though unstable convictions, pressed home . . . he must be taken at his word and treated as an independent member, whose ideas do not accord and whose tactics conflict with those of the Conservative opposition." (88)

To the Tory faithful, The Standard's castigation of Churchill was sensational news. Thus, Lewis Harcourt, the son of the Home Secretary, remarked in his diary:

The Standard this morning throws over Randolph Churchill and tells him the Conservative Party don't want him. All this I hear is a consequence of Randolph Churchill as Chairman of the Conservative Union having got his committee to agree to a letter accusing Salisbury of falsehood. (89)

On that same day, an enraged Escott dashed off a note to Churchill, having discovered that Salisbury and Philip Stanhope (possibly with the assistance of The Earl of Carnarvon and other gentry) had "completely nobbled Mudford & The Standard. A. Austin is the venal scribe of the gang. I know exactly how to meet this combination & it will give me peculiar pleasure to attack them at every turn." (90)

An unruffled Churchill immediately replied: "No doubt the squabble now raging in the Tory Party is eminently adapted to the interpretation of little men & little minds. However, I trust greatly to your skill & ability & power to extricate the great principles which are undoubtedly involved from the grasp of these political brigands." (91) On July 11, realising that, perhaps, he had been too incisive in his attack on Churchill, Austin wrote without his editor's knowledge "solely under my own inspiration & without communication or conference with anybody," an appeal to Lord Randolph to use

his "great talents & great opportunities" to counteract the "popular agitation" against the House of Lords. "We are attacked," wrote Austin, "we must attack in turn & you are the person to lead the attack." (92)

Even though Austin had tried to make amends to Churchill, he had no intention whatsoever of abandoning his patron, Salisbury, and on July 20 he wrote to Mudford, urging him to give maximum publicity to Salisbury's forthcoming address to the National Union conference in Sheffield. He stressed that The Standard was now deeply involved in the success or failure of the struggle between Salisbury and Churchill. The paper's leader and the report of Salisbury's speech were widely discussed at the conference, which was being held under the presidency of Gorst. High on the agenda was the party's neglect of the Press, and from the majority of the delegates there was severe criticism of the party's relations with the press -- and it was unanimously agreed that a committee should be appointed to deal with the problem. Meanwhile, Churchill had resigned the chairmanship of the Union but submitted to re-election on a vote of confidence.

Throughout that summer the Liberals were intent on extending the franchise, through the introduction of the third Reform Act, which would add more than two million agricultural workers to the electoral rolls. Gladstone guided his Reform Bill through the Commons, but Salisbury refused to accept the reform unless the seats in Parliament were redistributed to prevent the Tory Party from being harmed by the new voters. Reform first; Redistribution second, insisted Gladstone. The Lords had other ideas, however, and threw out the Bill on July 9 by more than 50 votes.

With Mudford's blessing, Austin had become deeply involved with both Salisbury and his nephew and political secretary, A. J. Balfour. On June 15 the Conservative leader, in a clear reference to a recent article in The Times, had suggested

to Austin to do what he could "to prevent a certain influential organ of opinion throwing cold water on the action of the Peers." The following Sunday, June 22, Balfour contacted Austin with a draft of a leading article for The Standard:

In accordance with the suggestion [wrote Balfour] you made to me on Friday I send you the outline of the advice which the leaders desire shall be followed by the House of Lords. If you could press this advice in the manner you know of you would I am sure be doing a service to the party. (93)

Austin and his paper were now again in a key position and, as he later recalled:

The Editor of The Standard promised to stand by the House of Lords if, after the House of Commons had, by a strictly Party majority, supported the Government, the Opposition in the Upper House threw out the Bill. This I communicated to Lord Salisbury, assuring him of the thorough-going support of The Standard. The engagement therefore was reciprocal and joint. The Bill was then thrown out, on the ground stated, in the Upper House, by a majority of fifty odd. Thereupon a Conference between the two Parties took place, at the suggestion of the Queen . . . This led to a wise surrender on the part of Mr Gladstone, who thereupon produced his Redistribution Bill; and so the conflict ended peaceably. (94)

While the controversy over the franchise bill raged throughout that long summer, Austin met up with Lord Randolph Churchill in the Carlton Club and secured an interview, with the object of persuading Churchill to speak in favour of the Peers. Churchill began and ended the interview with a flat refusal, saying that Austin was wrong, since there were not any men on the Tory side who could appeal to the masses, and he poured scorn on some members of the Opposition front bench. However, a few days later, Churchill approached Austin in the morning-room at the Carlton and said that he was going to do what Austin had advised.

Austin now asked Mudford if he would support the Peers should they refuse to give way on the Bill. If that were so, said Mudford, then the Tory peers would indeed have the support of The Standard. According to Austin: "This I repeated to

Lord Salisbury, and obtained from him in turn a conditional promise such as I had got from the editor of The Standard, and the result had no little effect in the peaceful solution of the controversy." (95)

Austin then left England for his annual five weeks' holiday, and on his return he was approached by W. H. Smith, in the Carlton, who asked him if he would walk with him to the Treasury. In Austin's own words: "On the way he asked if, in case Mr Walter, the chief proprietor of The Times, was offered a peerage, and Mr Lawson, of The Daily Telegraph, a baronetcy, I though Mr Mudford, editor of The Standard, would expect the latter honour to be offered to him also. I replied that it was in conformity with human nature that he should do so, though I was inclined to think he would not accept it." (96)

On the direction of the Queen, and with the aid of the Dukes of Argyll and Richmond, discussions between Gladstone and Salisbury on the franchise bill continued into the autumn. On Guy Fawkes Day, however, a Tory rally at Aston Park, Birmingham, was assailed by a mob of Chamberlain partisans who stole the fireworks, set fire to an effigy of Sir Stafford Northcote, and brought the meeting to an abrupt halt. The Queen was not amused, and called upon the Government to disown Chamberlain: "He approves of the disgraceful riot at Birmingham! If a Cabinet Minister makes use of such language . . . he ought not to remain in the Cabinet." (97) Despite these setbacks, agreement was reached by Gladstone and Salisbury, and on November 17 Gladstone presented the compromise to both Houses of Parliament. Salisbury, however, was not entirely satisfied, and at an audience with the Queen ten days later remarked: "I think we could have made a good fight." "But at what a price!" replied the Queen.

The Standard was now a power in the land and everywhere regarded as the oracle and mouthpiece of the propertied and the mercantile classes. H. W. Massingham in The London Daily Press (1892) could write: "The Standard is perhaps the most solid of the British newspapers; it stands in some respects at the head of the penny morning London journals . . . the favourite of City men. Its London circulation among the merchant, professional and cultured classes is larger than any of its penny contemporaries." It was the exponent of solid Conservative respectability, and was said to represent the thoughts of the "villa resident" order of Englishmen. Joseph Hatton, a one-time Standard man, could write in his Journalistic London (1884): "The improvement in the tone and character of The Standard dates chiefly from the day when the present editor, Mr Mudford, entered upon autocratic charge of the journal, under the somewhat remarkable will of Mr Johnstone."

Mudford's control of the paper was absolute, and he was constantly being supplied with Cabinet information, much to the chagrin of The Daily News, the official Liberal paper. Frank Hill, its editor, was so incensed that he wrote to Gladstone on May 1, 1885, protesting "personally on a matter which very seriously concerns the influence and production of The Daily News, not only as a newspaper, but in regard to the value of the support which it may be able to give the Government." He complained it was "quite clear that the Standard is habitually informed of communications . . . which have been greatly to augment its influence and circulation and to transfer to it even Liberal readers who would otherwise support The Daily News." (98)

A suggestion by Hill that he should have direct access to the Prime Minister was of no avail, since hardly a month later, on June 9, 1885, Gladstone was out of office -- defeated by the Tories, with Irish Nationalist votes and Liberal abstentions, on an amendment to the Budget.

3.11: New Electoral Register

When Gladstone resigned, it was not possible to hold a General Election until autumn 1885, as the new electoral register emerging from the new franchise Reform Act was not

ready. Despite some misgivings, and with tacit approval from Gladstone, Salisbury assumed his first premiership in "The Ministry of Caretakers". For Churchill, with increasing power in the party, it meant becoming Leader of the House. But, within a week, speaking at West Islington, Chamberlain asserted that Lord Randolph had planted "his foot on Lord Salisbury's neck." Salisbury, meanwhile, had his first meeting with a representative from the Press, G. E. Buckle, editor of The Times, and told him: "You are the first person who has not come to see me in the last few days who is not wanting something at my hands -- place, or decoration or peerage. You only want information!"(99)

On July 31, a leader appeared in The Standard which cautioned the Prime Minister to beware that Churchill was "at heart a greater radical than Mr Chamberlain himself" and who had "done the Conservative Party almost irreparable harm" since taking office. The leader concluded with the statement:

We will follow Lord Salisbury, but we will not be governed by a sort of overgrown schoolboy, who thinks he is witty when he is only impudent, and who really does not seem to possess sufficient knowledge even to fathom the depths of his own ignorance of everything worthy of the name of statesmanship.(100)

Churchill's immediate reaction to the attack in The Standard was that Salisbury had been "reworking a leader" for the paper. That same day, in some haste, Austin wrote to the Prime Minister: "Have you read the first article in The Standard today? I need scarcely say I neither wrote nor inspired it, and fail to see its opportuneness." With Escott suffering from a nervous depression, there could have been only one person responsible for the leader -- the hand of Mudford was at work once more. An interesting point of view on the relationship that existed between Salisbury, Austin and Mudford at the time is provided by Lady Gwendolen Cecil's biography of her father, written 40 years later:

With more ambitious claims to literary distinction as a poet, Mr Austin conjoined a gift for vigorous if rather ornate prose, which he employed in the writing of leading articles for The Standard newspaper. He was a whole-hearted supporter of Lord Salisbury's policy both at home and abroad, was personally attached to him, and a frequent visitor to Hatfield. There are notes from time to time from Austin, calling attention to some article of his which has just appeared, and the Minister's acknowledgments, complimentary or approving do not suggest previous consultation. The press relation was complicated by the fact that Mr Mudford, the editor of The Standard, shared neither in the political principles nor personal friendship of his leader-writer, and the line which the paper followed under his direction was at all times independent of the Tory Minister's policy, and often diametrically opposed to it.

In the General Election held in November 1885, the Liberals emerged with 86 seats more than the Conservatives, which was exactly balanced by Parnell and his Irish Nationalists. A week before Christmas, on December 17, Gladstone's eldest son, Herbert, arranged for The Leeds Mercury (which ardently supported Gladstone and Irish Home Rule) to disclose (in the so-called "Hawarden Kite") that the Grand Old Man was considering "a measure for the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin for dealing with purely Irish affairs." Herbert Gladstone was now intent on manipulating the press to mobilize party opinion in support of Gladstone's Irish Home Rule policy. With The Daily News, Pall Mall Gazette, Manchester Guardian and Scotsman also lined up, the way seemed clear for Gladstone's plans, but again Mudford's mole was at work, and on the same day as the Leeds report The Standard covered the story and declared that: "The Irish question has now reached a stage when all such petty quarrels should be hushed in presence of the common peril . . . It has been currently believed for some time past that Mr Gladstone has made up his mind to bid for the support of the Nationalists by offering them a scheme of Home Rule." (101)

The Liberals were livid with rage and an inquiry was immediately launched. Henry Labouchere, a well-known newspaper proprietor/editor of Truth and a Radical M.P., announced that he had received his information from John Robinson at The Daily News. He then informed Chamberlain and Rosebery that Wemys Reid, editor of The Leeds Mercury, had carried the story to Mudford. Five days later, Charles Cooper, who was also investigating the affair, told Rosebery that there was not the slightest doubt that Reid had passed on information to Mudford, because "the paragraph" in The Standard was almost a verbal reproduction of it." Cooper added, tartly, that The Scotsman might have scooped The Standard but for the fact that its editor prided himself on being "most unfortunately scrupulous." (102) Following these disclosures, a long-drawn political crisis ensued and for several weeks there was a series of political groups forming and dissolving; Chamberlain and Labouchere met Lord Randolph Churchill; Salisbury decided to oppose Irish Home Rule; Churchill followed suit; and Parnell was left to turn to Gladstone. Cynicism marked all of these proceedings.

On January 21, 1886, the Queen opened Parliament for the last time. But the session was of short duration, for less than a week later, on January 27, the Salisbury Government was defeated by the Liberals supported by the Parnellites on an amendment to the Royal Address. It was not even Ireland that brought down Salisbury, but a vote on agriculture! At first, the Queen hoped that Salisbury would continue in office and it was only as a result of his persuasion supported by George Goschen and Sir Frederick Ponsonby that she sent for her bete noire Gladstone. Although he was to be her new Prime Minister, it was Salisbury whom she relied on for political advice, even offering him a dukedom.

Gladstone's Third Ministry was of short duration (barely six months), but, since he was intent on enacting his Irish Home Rule Bill, its brevity was hardly surprising. On

June 7, Gladstone made his final plea for moderation on the Bill, asserting that "Ireland stands at the bar, expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant, think, I beseech you, think well, think wisely, think not for the moment but for the years to come." But this appeal was not enough, for in the early hours of the following day Chamberlain and his 92 Liberal Unionist followers joined the Tories in voting against the Irish Home Rule Bill. The Government was defeated by thirty votes - 343 to 313.

Five weeks later, on July 14, Mudford telegraphed Austin, urging him to "write a strong leader against the notion of a Hartington premiership and to oppose any Liberal Unionist claims." Immediately upon receipt of the message, Austin was in communication with Salisbury, no doubt seeking advice on what to say and remarking: "I fancy Mudford's wish . . . arose simply from the fact that The Times has been indicating Chamberlain's Unionist partner, Lord Hartington, as the Prime Minister." (103) An agitated Austin had already written to his editor protesting "how mischievous a dogmatic leader such as he asked for would be." Nevertheless, he complied with Mudford's request and in the following day's Standard asserted that "Her Majesty will naturally send for Lord Salisbury," adding that the self-denial of the Tories had led to the modest electoral gains of the Liberal Unionists. In the same issue, at the foot of the leader page, Austin wrote a letter signed "A" which stated that "It is to Lord Hartington . . . and Lord Hartington only, not to Lord Salisbury of the Conservatives, that the exhortation to form a National Party should be addressed."

As a result of the victory in the ensuing election, Salisbury and the Tories were able to command a composite majority of 118; and Parnell, through his devious campaign, had ruined the party best suited to provide Ireland with Home Rule. However, Parnell blamed Chamberlain for the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, saying: "There goes the man who killed Home Rule."

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With The Times and The Standard locked in a political struggle for supremacy, Buckle was able to announce in his paper the date upon which Parliament would convene. An incensed Mudford turned on Austin for not providing him with the news first. To Salisbury, now Prime Minister, Austin wrote: "You see how touchy he is; and I am anxious only to keep him straight. He, not unnaturally, thinks the fact could have been notified to him with so much ease through me, especially as I happened to be at your side at the time." (104) In his reply, the Prime Minister was more rational, believing that The Times' story was "purely accidental" and he expressed considerable surprise at the impatience which seemed "to have been attached to these very petty pieces of information." Mudford, however, like Austin, was suspicious of Randolph Churchill who (he complained)

deliberately and systematically communicates important matters to The Times in the expectation of receiving an equivalent . . . I am constantly beset by the fear that, in due course, he should by a bold management of popular sentiment and a judicious manipulation of the more powerful organs of public opinion, dislodge you from that position of authority which is the country's only safeguard against evils as menacing as those from which Gladstone's impetuosity has saved us. (105)

Churchill was now riding high; he was not only leader of the Commons once again, but had also become Chancellor of the Exchequer -- and was more disdainful than ever of the London Press. A young man in a hurry, he was determined to make name for himself at the Exchequer and, in preparing his Budget, planned to cut the Navy and Army estimates. But W. H. Smith, at the War Office, would have none of it, and he was supported by Salisbury. To an impatient Churchill, there was only one step to take, and he tendered his resignation, incurring a Royal rebuke. In The Standard, Austin was quick to seize upon Churchill's rudeness and wrote:

Lord Randolph Churchill has missed his mark. Englishmen are always ready to support independence in their public men, and to make generous allowance for the force of scruples which they themselves do not share. But the circumstances and the manner of Lord Randolph Churchill's secession effectively deprives him of the sympathy generally extended to Ministers when conscientious conviction separates them from their colleagues. If Mr Goschen were only free to succeed Lord Randolph Churchill we might congratulate the seceding Statesman on the great service he has done to the Unionist cause.

It seems that this statement by Austin bore the mark of Salisbury himself, for within a few days the Prime Minister was offering the Chancellorship of The Exchequer to George Goschen, a Liberal Unionist, an old friend from Oxford days, and, most important, a man of rare financial expertise. When Churchill finally knew that he had erred in his precipitate resignation, he remarked: "All great men make mistakes. Napoleon forgot Blücher; I forgot Goschen." There could be no return, and as Salisbury was alleged to have said: "Did you ever know a man who having got rid of a boil on his neck wanted another?"(106) Churchill never held office again, and his fall is one of the personal tragedies of late Victorian politics.

3.12: Austin and Salisbury

Following the departure of Churchill, a major reshuffle of The Cabinet was planned by Salisbury. He spoke to Austin "in preparatory confidence" of his intentions, giving permission to alert Mudford, but not for publication. Within hours, the Press Association had picked up the news: Mudford, not at all bound by the convention of the public school, felt free to publish and did so on January 4. On that same day, an anxious Austin complained to his patron Salisbury: "Really Mudford is impossible." He had forbidden his editor "In the most absolute manner to do what he has done . . . if you state that Smith is to be the First Lord of the Treasury or that Salisbury is to return to the Foreign Office you will cause me to forfeit the confidence of those who at present extend it to me." Austin concluded: "I can trust

him no more and cannot again be the medium of communication between the Government and the paper." But the hurt pride was soon to pass and Austin continued to serve as the "go-between" and The Standard until he received his reward -- the Poet Laureateship -- from Salisbury a decade later. As Stephen Koss noted in his detailed study of the Austin-Salisbury correspondence:

The complexities of this triangular relationship were further elucidated when Mudford wrote Austin 'another letter', enclosing a cheque for £52 10s which he begged me to accept.' Apart from his disinclination to profit from Salisbury's embarrassment, Austin was upset to discover that Mudford 'misses the point' -- viz that I am not in the service of the State, & that I cannot . . . dis sever my aid to it . . . such as it is . . . from my assistance to the paper. The point had also eluded Salisbury, who 'rather surprised' Austin by his inability to 'see why I could not accept any material remuneration from The Standard.' On the grounds that 'I was using the paper (properly using it I trust) not the paper me.' Austin made it known that he had never accepted payment from Mudford 'for any information he has received in consequence of the confidence you repose in me; & I never shall.' Nevertheless, being 'perfectly businesslike,' he always charged the paper £4 4s (four guineas) for work that I considered equivalent to writing a leader, & two guineas for expenses incidental to it.' (107)

Knowing of the stance taken by Salisbury in foreign relations, Austin wrote to him on January 26, 1887, explaining the non-appearance of an article in The Standard on "England and Belgian Neutrality", with an accompanying leader. He enclosed a note from Mudford deprecating the value of the contribution and remarking that "The leader if put into leads, and without the letter, would make a hit. In its present form it won't. It will be overlooked." Austin added that he had told Mudford that it "must on no account be treated as a communique. The result is, as you see, he has not published it." Ten days later, the revised article was published, and "the hit was secured at the cost of at least as great an impression of veiled authority as would have been conveyed by the 'leaded article' to which Austin had demurred." (108)

On March 8, Austin wrote again to Salisbury: "I hoped the leader in The Standard this morning is what you wanted. I could not get it inserted earlier & a little tact was necessary. It would be useful, if you could see your way to send me a line . . . saying you had read the article with pleasure (supposing this is so) & recognizing the assistance The Standard can be in influencing foreign opinion . . . or something of that kind."

By return post, the Prime Minister replied on March 8, 1887: "My dear Austin -- I have read the article in The Standard this morning, on the condition of Europe with great satisfaction. It is a very good article and will do a great deal of good. It expresses the facts exactly as I believe they are. I believe that England will fight in company with Austria, Turkey and Italy in case Russia should attack the Balkan States; and it is well the Czar should know it . . . though, of course, in a parliamentary State, we can give no specific promises." To Austin, who craved acclaim, the reply was sufficient because it seemed to confirm his worth. Writing many year later on the relationship between the Prime Minister and Austin, T. E. Kebbel noted that:

Foreign affairs now fell into the hands of the present Poet Laureate who continued for many years to represent The Standard on all questions of interest connected with Continental affairs. He was in frequent communication with Lord Salisbury, and it was generally allowed that on all subjects of this nature The Standard occupied a foremost place among the leading London journals. Austin used latterly to send his articles from his place in Kent, and they generally arrived in Shoe Lane between ten and eleven o'clock. At other times he wrote at the office, and Curtis used to say of him: 'A's the man for my money; give him three ideas, shut him up in a room, and in one hour you have three paragraphs.

As the decade of the 1890s began, Salisbury continued his involvement through Austin in The Standard's editorial policy, although Mudford remained the arbiter. Thus, on October 11, 1891, as directed by Salisbury, Austin wrote "an article

strongly urging that Arthur Balfour should be made leader of the House of Commons." But, in his editor's absence, Byron Curtis hesitated to publish the leader and telegraphed Austin that Mudford was away and he dared not print the article without consultation. This moved the man at the centre of the piece, Balfour, to remark that "such papers as The St. James's Gazette or The Standard are . . . of no earthly value to the party in the way of making opinions, as their criticisms are a foregone conclusion." (109)

One of the key figures at The Standard who had worked on many of the leaders was Joseph R. Fisher, and on May 20, 1891, he wrote to Austin:

Dear Mr Austin - I feel moved, somehow, to write you a few lines, as this is probably the last time I shall be in communication with you. Your article today so perfectly absorbed and embellished the slight sketch I telegraphed that I cannot help referring to it. It was an article in which I felt reluctant to alter a single word. As one who, during these seven years past, has had only a journeyman's connection with literature, I can speak of the pleasure some of your work has afforded me.

It is so easy, perched on an assistant-editor's chair, to criticise and amend the work of others that I sometimes feel guilty. I have now definitely relinquished journalism for law, and shall no more wear my little brief authority in Shoe Lane. It will make no difference to any one; but for my part I shall always, if you will permit me to say so, regard it as a pleasure and an honour that I was for a few years associated with you in my work on The Standard.

Meanwhile, Mudford's independence even led to his attacking Chamberlain in his leader column, prompting Viscount Woolmer to inform the Duke of Devonshire that [Chamberlain] has talked separately to Balfour and Douglas and myself in a way that fairly brought lumps to our throats. He said he was prepared to stand anything from the Gladstonians, but to be stabbed in the back by his friends was more than he could stand." Salisbury, ever anxious to heal any breach, "bewailed

*Austin, Alfred: Autobiography: Ch. VII, p 179 (see Bibliography)

the indiscretions of The Standard", and wrote to Woolmer regarding Chamberlain: "I never came across so sensitive a public man before. I have known one disgruntled statesman who went half-mad whenever he was caricatured in Punch; and another who wished to resign his office, because he was never caricatured in Punch -- which he looked upon as a slight on his public importance. But I never met anyone before who was disturbed by articles in The Standard. (110)

After almost thirty years as the chief leader writer, Austin was beginning to tire and cynicism was creeping into his work. In December 1891 he told Salisbury: "Newspapers are like Corporations. They have no soul to save." He complained of a Standard leader which had been ruined by "the interpolation of a cantankerous editor." Now, aged fifty, Austin was facing a middle-age crisis: on the one hand there was his well-paid work for The Standard, on the other hand his desire for recognition as a poet. (111)

3.13: Gladstone's Last Ministry

Although the Conservative Government -- even allowing for the traumas of Lord Randolph Churchill and Parnell -- had achieved a solid success in home affairs, gradually its majority in Parliament had decreased. Salisbury, therefore, decided to seek a fresh mandate from the electorate but in the election that followed during the summer of 1892 a hung Parliament emerged with 269 Conservatives and 46 Liberal-Unionists, and 273 Liberals, 81 Irish Home-Rulers and one Independent Labour member. Almost immediately the new Conservative Government was defeated on a vote of no confidence, and Gladstone, now aged eighty-two, set about forming his fourth and last ministry. As Enoch Powell has noted; "The parliament that was elected in June 1892, and the government that took office in consequence in August, were not merely in retrospect doomed to failure and early extinction, they were conscious in advance of their doom to a degree which has rarely, if ever, been paralleled." (112)

In February, Gladstone had embarked upon his second attempt to achieve Home Rule for Ireland. Belying his age, he had shown tremendous stamina, as the debate on The Bill involved eighty-five sittings of the House. On September 1, 1892, after stormy scenes, the Third Reading was finally carried by thirty-four votes in The Commons, but a week later the Lords rejected it decisively by 419 to 41. Mudford had no doubt that the peers had reached the correct decision and wrote that:

After a debate occupying four nights the House of Lords yesterday rejected the Bill for the Parliamentary severance of Ireland from Great Britain by a majority of ten to one . . . The value, indeed the absolute necessity of a second Chamber, has once again been made strongly apparent; and, while the House of Commons has certainly not risen in political estimation in consequence of the events of the present session, the House of Lords has added materially to its popularity. The very fact that Mr Gladstone does not propose -- does not dare -- to oppose it to the country proves conclusively that this is so.

Disenchanted with his failure to achieve Home Rule for Ireland, Gladstone believed that the time had come for him to retire from political life and on March 1, 1894, in his final speech in the Commons, he attacked the House of Lords for blocking Irish Home Rule, pointing out that, in the previous six years of Conservative rule, not one measure had been rejected. Two days later he resigned and retired to his home at Hawarden. The Standard's comments on this event were less than sympathetic:

Mr Gladstone formally tendered his resignation to the Queen on Saturday, and it was "graciously accepted" by Her Majesty. Lord Rosebery was at once communicated with, and his acceptance of the position of Prime Minister is already officially announced. Mr Gladstone's exit from power was not well managed and the vulgar imagination feels defrauded by having to witness a lame and impotent conclusion to a great and interesting career . . . Unfortunately in taking his farewell he gives one the impression half of shuffling, half of being hustled off the scene.

The following summer, on June 21, 1895, the Liberals under the leadership of Lord Rosebery, were defeated, and Salisbury formed a Government, with Chamberlain assuming a key role in the Colonial Office. Parliament was dissolved on July 8 and in the General Election that followed the Liberals were routed. Salisbury, with 343 Conservatives and 71 Liberal-Unionists, led by Chamberlain, had a majority of 152 over the 173 Liberals and 82 Nationalists. With the failure to secure Irish Home Rule, and a general distrust of the Liberal leadership, the country had rendered its verdict. Discussing the results of the election on August 12, The Standard warned that "The Unionists have only one danger to guard against, and that is the peril which always lurks in a very large majority. Numbers beyond a certain point are inimical to discipline; and a respectable opposition is an element of strength rather than a reduction of Government."

On August 22, 1895, Alfred Austin, much to the chagrin of the British literary establishment, received his long-awaited reward from Salisbury when he learned that he was to be appointed Poet Laureate and, as The Standard remarked, "He will be the singer not only of the Court but of the Nation." Assuming his new role on January 1, 1896, Austin wasted no time in supporting the Government by hailing in his first verses the news of the Jameson Raid in The Times on January 12. Although these verses were greeted with derision, Austin decided to devote more and more time to his poetry, and within two years had given up his journalistic work on The Standard. On learning of Austin's decision, the Prime Minister wrote to him from Hatfield House on February 19, 1898:

"My Dear Austin -- I am very sorry to hear that you are meditating a retirement from public work. The readers of The Standard will be great sufferers from your resolution, and so will the interests of the Conservative Party. But health stands before everything; and no one can doubt that you do rightly and wisely."

Austin's replacement as chief leader writer was Sidney Low, who had joined the paper from The St. James's Gazette. There he had been editor for a decade under the proprietorship of Edward Steinkopff, a millionaire from Glasgow, described unflatteringly as a "vulgar, loud-speaking German". (113) Three months later, on May 19, 1898, the nation mourned the death of Gladstone. Even his old enemy, The Standard, could note that "By the death of Mr Gladstone a great man and, with all his faults, a great Minister has disappeared from the political arena."

Mudford had also decided that the time had come to quit the political arena. With Austin retired, there was now no longer the strong link between Salisbury and The Standard. This was apparent in the following occurrence on November 9, 1899, which Sir Robert Edgcumbe reported to J. A. Spender, editor of The Westminster Gazette:

I was travelling to London and was alone in my compartment. At Hatfield, Lord Salisbury got into the same carriage and as the train moved off, he was handed three evening papers. Shortly after we started he took them, opened first The Globe and immediately threw it on the floor of the carriage, then he opened The Evening Standard and treated it in a similar manner, lastly he opened The Westminster Gazette and proceeded to read it diligently until we arrived at King's Cross Station. He was on his way to London to speak that night at the Lord Mayor's banquet. (114)

On December 31, 1899, the last leader written by Mudford was published in The Standard. In the leader he commented: "The year which closes tomorrow is one that is destined to be long memorable in the annals of the British Empire. It has been a period so far, at least as its latter portion is concerned, of striking events, of dramatic episodes, of humiliations and unexpected reverses, and of a sudden, and almost startling, outburst of Imperialistic enthusiasm."

The retirement of Mudford marked the end of the paper's independence of political masters. Throughout the seventy-three

years of its existence, The Standard had fought consistently on behalf of the High Tories; Reform, Catholic Emancipation, Corn Laws -- all were violently opposed by Giffard and his proprietors, Charles and Edward Baldwin. But, despite his high-minded principles, Giffard was prepared (as apparent in his correspondence with Wellington and Peel) "to sell" The Standard to the Tory leaders. No doubt the fact that the Tories held the lease on the Shoe Lane premises played no small part in influencing the Baldwins and especially Giffard. He was almost certainly, too, very closely linked with French Governments. Giffard's successor, Hamber, was not only in the pocket of Disraeli, but in the pay of the Confederates during the American Civil War and there is a strong suspicion that Hamber's support of Bismarck in the Franco-Prussian conflict was not entirely altruistic. Similarly, Gorst, in his brief editorship, was clearly a servant of the Conservative Party. It was only with the arrival of Mudford that The Standard became a truly independent newspaper, though, basically, still favouring the Conservative cause.

Chapter Four

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

In tracing the economics of The Standard -- and its rivals -- in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to begin with the Baldwin dynasty, and to consider the Press of that period. Richard Baldwin, a dedicated Protestant and supporter of William of Orange, had noted with great delight in 1688 the lack of sentiment in Parliament for the practice of censorship. Indeed, "although the Comprehensive Printing Act of 1662 continued in force its renewal became increasingly difficult." (1) And in 1695, despite vociferous protests from such interested parties as the Stationers' Company, whose powers were rapidly declining, the Act and the entire system of licensing was allowed to fall into abeyance.

The way was now clear to expand the English newspaper and to provide further opposition to the official London Gazette which had been published weekly since 1665. As a result, by 1710 a score of newspapers -- varying in size between two and four pages -- were appearing weekly and in 1702 the first daily newspaper, The Daily Courant, made its debut. (2) But, as previously noted, Richard Baldwin was not to share fully in the fruits of this freedom of the Press because within three years of the Act lapsing he was to die of consumption in March 1698, a victim of the stresses and strains of the preceding 20 years.

The death of Richard Baldwin did not mark the end of the House of Baldwin, for his widow, Anne, was a person determined to maintain his standards in an outspoken Protestant Press. Under her guidance, The Post Man had grown to become one of the most successful newspapers of the period with a circulation of between 3,800-4,000.

However, the largest-selling title remained The Gazette which printed on Mondays and Thursdays sold 6,000 copies. Four newspapers -- London Post, English Post, Flying Post and Review -- had circulations of less than 400, while the Daily Courant sold 800; Observator 1,000 and Abel Roper's Post Boy 3,000. (3)

Production of the newspapers was still basic, for using the hand press the printers could ink and pull only 250 single sheets in an hour. By working in relays, 2,000 copies could be produced in eight hours from two presses and with a popular newspaper such as The Post Man four presses would be required and the paper could be set twice so as to speed up the production. Make-up remained simple, generally consisting of a single folio half-sheet, with two columns front and back, and a decorative masthead and initial drop letter.

With an ever-increasing population, London had more than 650,000 inhabitants, many of whom were hungry for news. It has been estimated that the readership figures of the newspapers were ten times the number of copies sold. Henri Mission, a Frenchman who visited England at the time, observed that people listened to the news in the street and heard it in the coffee-houses which are "extremely convenient. You have all Manner of News there: You have a good Fire, which you may sit by as long as you please: You have a Dish of Coffee, you meet your Friends for the Transaction of Business, and all for a Penny, if you don't care to spend more." (4)

In addition to the coffee-houses, the news vendors, or mercuries, were the chief means for the distribution of the newspapers. They controlled a circulation of some thousands in and around London, and, as a consequence,

endured or suffered the prosecution against the papers they distributed. Of them, John Dunton wrote: "I might also characterise the honest (mercurial women), Mrs Baldwin, Mrs Nutt, Mrs Curtis, Mrs Mallett, Mrs Croome, Mrs Taylor, and I must not forget Old Bennett, the loud-mouthed promoter of The Athenian Mercury." (5) More than 40 years later they were still a problem for the authorities, only now they were better organized. The Attorney-General himself complained of the proprietors of unstamped newspapers when he declared that

By their Mercuries and Hawkers not only dispose of them in great numbers in the streets of London and Westminster but in all contiguous counties and have lately taken up a practice and have found means to disperse them 50 to 60 miles from London by their agents and hawkers some travelling on horse and others on foot going from town to town and house to house to the very great prejudice of the revenue as well as of the fair traders who grievously complain thereof. (6)

The publishing successes of the early eighteenth century were undoubtedly The Tatler and, later, The Spectator both under the direction of Steele and Addison. Since its establishment in April 1709, The Tatler was mainly in the hands of Sir Richard Steele and of the 271 issues until it ceased publication Addison wrote only forty-two. From its first appearance as a two-page thrice-weekly journal, The Tatler became the favourite of the coffee houses and of all who enjoyed civilised discussion. But, even while Steele and Addison were achieving success, their thoughts were on launching a daily periodical, The Spectator and, as a result, The Tatler was closed. That its loss occasioned sadness for its readers is well reflected in John Gay's observation that "The coffee-houses realised that it had brought them more Customers than all the other News Papers put together." (7)

The Spectator was launched on March 11, 1711, and was an immediate success. Virtually a daily paper, it was

published until December 1712 and, during that period, 555 issues were produced, of which Steele was responsible for 236 and Addison for 274. Besides Mrs Baldwin, who was in charge of the circulation and the soliciting of advertisements, the paper had the support of Samuel Buckley, who was also producing The Daily Courant. In an age of small circulations, The Spectator reached a wide audience because every copy had many readers. Within weeks its sales had risen to 4,000 and on special occasions a readership of 20,000 was attained. Since not all who wanted to read the paper could afford to buy it daily, it was collected and bound periodically, affording further opportunities for Mrs Baldwin and her helpers. Indeed, a first printing of 10,000 copies of the bound volumes was not unusual.

The number of coffee-houses in London now exceeded 2,000 and almost everywhere The Spectator was read and discussed. According to a statement prepared by the Treasury the total number of papers sold weekly was 44,000, and of these The Spectator accounted for more than 20,000 copies. Other newspapers also prospered and Addison was prompted to write: "About half-a-dozen ingenious men live very plentifully about this curiosity of their fellow-subjects." (8) Increased readership brought with it a growth in advertisements, which might vary from one shilling for eight lines to twopence a line. Anything was advertised, from the sale of books or cosmetics to the treatment of venereal diseases. From his lofty position on The Spectator, Addison now could comment on the rest of the Press and its treatment of the news that "They all of them receive the same advice from abroad, and very often the same words; but their way of cooking it is so different that there is no citizen, who has an eye to the public good, that can leave the coffee-house with peace of mind, before he has given every one of them a reading." (9)

4.1: A Stamp Tax is Levied

But the good times of an unfettered Press could not last. On August 1, 1712, after 17 years of freedom, and in response to a request from Queen Anne to remedy the "scandalous libels", (10) Parliament levied a Stamp Tax of a halfpenny on papers up to a half-sheet, of a penny up to a sheet, and of two shillings on more than a whole sheet (this last was apparently not enforced). Advertisements were to be taxed at a shilling irrespective of their length. Obsessed with the increasing popularity of the Press, Parliament was convinced that it could restrict its activities by imposing these "Taxes on Knowledge". The purpose was that the increased prices of the remaining newspapers would ensure that their circulations were confined to the upper and middle classes. Thus, to Stella on July 19, 1712, Swift remarked: "This Grub-street has but ten days to live." (11) Three weeks later he averred: "Grub-street is dead and gone last week. No more Ghosts or Murders now for Love or Money . . . The Observator is fallen, The Medleys are jumbled together with The Flying Post, The Examiner is deadly sick, The Spectator keeps up, and doubles its price. I know not how long it will hold." (12)

Addison was equally pessimistic when he declared that "This is the day on which many eminent authors will probably publish their last words." Alas, as far as The Spectator was concerned, Addison and Swift were prophetic: the paper did, in fact, double its selling price and by the end of the year had ceased publication, after having set new standards for the Press and having provided a unique chapter in the history of journalism. Now past middle-age, Mrs Baldwin was beginning to find the demands of more than 30 years in the publishing business excessive and although there is still some doubt as to the date of her death, by November 1713 her imprint had ceased. Her premises in Warwick Lane were taken over by James Roberts, described by John Dunton as "a printer of great eminence."

The introduction of the Stamp Act did not realize the intent of Parliament to permanently reduce the sales of the newspapers. Trade was increasing and with it the size and power of the commercial classes and, despite Parliament's punitive measures, by 1750 the combined circulations had trebled. One immediate result, however, was a decline in the daily newspaper and those of an essay-type nature, as few people were now prepared to purchase these styles of publication. The future belonged to the thrice-weeklies, such as The Post Man, which was intended mainly for country distribution and, above all, the weekly newspapers.

The Act of 1712, which was to be the basis of newspaper legislation throughout the eighteenth century, required that the sheets of paper should be stamped at the Head Office while they were still blank. Immediately before its introduction, Addison wrote in The Spectator of July 31 that "A sheet of blank Paper . . . must have this Imprimatur clapt upon it, before it is qualified to communicate any thing to the Publick." (13) Similarly, the levy was greeted by Swift (writing to Stella) on August 7: "Have you seen the red stamp the press are marked with? Methinks, it is worth a halfpenny, the stamping of it." (14)

In an effort to bypass the Act, astute publishers began to issue papers consisting of one-and-a-half sheets (six pages). So common was this practice between 1714 and 1724 that new legislation was introduced by Parliament for George I on April 25, 1725. One result of this new Act was that the proprietors of both the six-page journals and the thrice-weeklies were constrained to increase their prices to 2d and 1d respectively and to reduce the size of their papers to four pages. It did not take the printers long, however, to realise that there was an omission in the Act: the restriction on the size of the page. This led to an increasingly large number of four-page newspapers as half-sheets from which was to evolve a change in the make-up of the page from two to three columns.

But, despite these strictures, an unregistered press continued to flourish and it is estimated that there were at least 30 such titles circulating in London during this period. In 1724, Samuel Negus, a government agent and himself a printer, produced his Complete and Private List of all the Printing-houses in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, together with the Printers' names, what Newspapers they print and where they are to be found. Negus divided the list into four categories: "Those well-affected to King George consisting of 34 printers, of whom he and James Roberts were two; Nonjurors consisting of three names; Said to be High Flyers, some 34 names; and Roman Catholics, just four people". The list of newspapers showed:

Daily Papers

Daily Courant, Buckley, Amen Corner

Daily Post, Meere, Old Bailey

Daily Journal, Appleby, near Fleet Ditch

Weekly Journals

Mist's Journal, Great Carter Lane

Freeholder's Journal, Sharp, Ivy Lane

Read's Journal, Whyte Fryers in Fleet Street

London Journal, Wilkins, Little Britain

Whitehall Journal, Wilkins, Little Britain

Papers Published Three Times Every Week

Post Man, Leach, Old Bailey

Post Boy, James, Little Britain

Flying Post, Jenour, Giltspur Street

Berrington's Evening Post, Wilkins, Little Britain

St. James's Post, Grantham, Paternoster Row

The Englishman, Wilkins, Little Britain

Half-Penny Posts, Three Times Every Week

Heathcote's, Baldwin Gardens

Parker's, Salisbury Court

Read's, Whyte Fryers, Fleet Street

There were additional pressures brought on the Press when in 1757 The Stamp Act was amended. The new legislation imposed a duty of one penny on all newspapers, whether printed on a half-sheet or a full sheet, and there was an extra imposition on the advertisement tax which was raised to two shillings. Despite a vigorous protest from the Press -- far more vocal than in 1712 -- the Act was strongly enforced. A major result was a precipitate decline in the number of newspapers, as proprietors were compelled to cease publication, and a consequent decrease in duties paid to the Government. However, for the remaining publishers, the new duty on the size of the sheet meant that it was now more economic to produce a four-page newspaper, even if the price had to be increased to 2½d.

4.2: Launching The St. James's Chronicle

Four years later, on March 14, 1761, Henry, the latest generation of the Baldwin family, launched The St. James's Chronicle as a thrice-weekly evening paper and to secure financial support he formed a joint stock company. The meetings of the shareholders of The St. James's Chronicle cover 54 years, and its Minute Books are the most detailed of any eighteenth century newspaper, and as such provide fascinating details into the management of the Press at that time. [The notebooks containing the minutes were only discovered during the past 30 years and were bought by a London antiquarian bookseller, Peter Murray Hill, before being sold to the Manuscripts Department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In three volumes they detail more than 550 meetings held between May 15, 1761, and August 9, 1815. Much work has been accomplished in editing these minutes in recent years by Richard and Marjories Bond.]

From the outset, Baldwin and his co-proprietors were determined that their paper should lead the way in both the presentation and the organization of the news. And in addition to domestic intelligence the paper carried economic, foreign, military and political news. The latter were especially important since, with the accession of George III in 1760, the Press had entered into one of its most exciting periods, and interest in politics and public affairs had never been greater.

It was against this background that The St. James's Chronicle appeared on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, so as to facilitate distribution in the provincial mails. Distribution of newspapers from London into the country had long been a problem in the first half of the century, despite the fact that 400 Road Acts had been passed (quadrupled during the next 50 years). The stage coach, however, did not appear until the mid-century and it was not until 1784 that the mail coach was established. One of the leading figures in the development of a daily service to most parts of the country was Ralph Allen, (15) whose service was complemented by a steady increase in the number of cross-posts between provincial towns.

From the seventeenth century onwards, the Clerks in the offices of the Secretaries of State had acted as the main retailers of London papers, sending copies to the provinces at reduced rates. Six Post Office Clerks of the Road, who were responsible for services to different parts of the country, were ideal agents for the traffic of London papers. Almost from the first issue, Baldwin had made a note of their duties in the following imprint of The St. James's Chronicle:

Printed by H. Baldwin at the Britannia Printing Office, White-friars, Fleet Street, where Advertisements are taken in, and letters to the Author received.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in Town and Country, who are inclined to take this paper are requested to give particular orders to their News-Men for The St. James's Chronicle, or if They please to send their orders to the Clerks of the respective Roads at the General Post Office, London; to R. Davis, Bookseller, in Russel-street, Covent-garden; T. Becket, Bookseller, in the Strand; C. Henderson, Bookseller, under the Royal-Exchange, or to the Printer, as above they may depend on being regularly served. (16)

Although not without their faults -- including vulnerability to political bribery -- the Clerks performed a useful function and their services were extensively utilized. Thus, a Parliamentary investigation revealed that in seven days of March 1764 the Clerks had distributed more than 20,000 London papers, mainly on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. However, by the end of the decade, it became possible for individuals whose names were registered at the Post Office to have their copies franked. There was a heavy traffic here with Members of Parliament using the system, and by June 1789 their weekly number of papers posted had reached 63,177 compared with 12,909 for the Post Office Clerks and only 756 by the Secretaries' Office. (17).

As for the newly-launched St. James's Chronicle, its make-up consisted of four folio pages measuring 18 inches by 12 inches, with each page containing four columns. As a circulation ploy, the first issue carried the words "Given Gratis" in its masthead "then 2d till Thursday March 26 when it will be advanced to the usual price of a Chronicle which is two-pence half-penny." (18) But, unlike its competitors, the paper was neatly produced and set a standard that others tried, unsuccessfully, to emulate. A distinct novelty in the masthead was the inclusion of the price at the left of the date with the serial number at the right. Previously the price of newspapers had been placed at the bottom of the centre column: with four-column make-up this was no longer feasible.

For the first few months, predictably, The Chronicle was published at a loss, but within a year the proprietors could declare a dividend, and by the end of the decade the annual profits were more than £1,900. From that moment, these profits became regular, with the seventies contributing £18,000, a drop to £16,000 in the eighties, and in the last decade down to £12,000. (19). In accordance with the Articles of Agreement, Baldwin had "divided the said property into twenty equal shares", all bought or held in trust by the original proprietors, but with the death of Thornton in 1768 the number dropped to eighteen. In the following years, the deaths of Garrick, Robert Davies and Lowndes plus the bankruptcies of Davies and Becklet reduced the shareholders to fourteen. However, in 1788, four new members were admitted: Gillies, Moody, Skinner and Young. A period of deaths brought the number of shares held down to eight, which, in 1807, were held by two partners.

The price of the shares opened at 25 guineas, but the success of the paper in the seventies and eighties drove them up to £300, where they remained for 20 years. This set a value on the company of £6,300 in 1791, but thereafter the shares declined steadily until 1803, when they were valued in total at only £600. Initial costs to the proprietors had been £23 each, and this included £12 10s for the purchase of three journals from William Rayner in 1761, but for all the expenses incurred -- including provision for libels and bad debts -- the dividends on each share totalled more than £3,000, which made the paper one of the great publishing successes of its time. (20)

From the beginning, The Chronicle was determined to charge an economic rate for its advertisements, and these were set at first 20 lines of long primer 5s and one shilling for six additional lines; brevier four shillings for the

first 24 lines and one shilling for eight additional lines. Bad debts, however, remained a problem and in 1770 Baldwin was instructed not to take advertisements without ready money. A bad debt list showed that a total of £220 0s 11d was outstanding for the year. On all the advertisements, of course, duties had to be paid to the Government, and this often led to difficulties.

The duties for the first year totalled £81 2s 0d, but six years later it had risen to £290, reaching a peak of £356 in 1784. On the basis of these figures, which span a 40-year period, it is apparent that The Chronicle was indeed financially successful, even if some of the advertising returns seem somewhat dubious to say the least. However, the recent launch of The Times was making inroads into the circulations of the other publications, and The St. James's Chronicle was no exception. By November 1793 The Times could claim that its regular sales were "now 4,000 daily, a number which was never attained by any Morning Paper under any circumstances." (21)

4.3: The Clerks of the Road

Distribution of newspapers continued mainly through the booksellers and hawkers, and the following advertisement offering the sale of a round on April 15, 1792, well reflects the nature of the business: "NEWS WALK. An old established NEWS WALK to be disposed of that brings in £1 12s per week clear profit; situate in the best part of London, and adaptable with care and assiduity, of great improvement: such an opportunity seldom offers for an industrious person. Enquire tomorrow at No. 14, Portugal Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields."

Since 1787, the General Post Office had set up The Newspaper Office to receive and sort all newspapers, made up in bundles according to the several districts for which they were destined. These packets were distributed to the postmasters by the Clerks of the Road for the postal

divisions of the country. Prior to 1787, the newspapers had arrived at the Post Office late and "in so wet a state as to deface the directions of many of the letters which went in the same bags." (22) Once again, the Post Office was experiencing a financial crisis, and in 1796 a Bill was presented to the Commons "for regulating the conveyance of newspapers." The result was an attack on the hawkers and the handing over the monopoly of distribution to the already entrenched Clerks of the Road, who now, in effect, became wholesalers to the country postmasters, and the Post Office the national distributing agency, with the exception of booksellers and hawkers in London. From that year the newspapers were carried post free.

However, the Post Office was determined to keep a tight rein on the stamping of the newsprint sheets, as the following article on March 19, 1798, pointed out:

The new Postmaster General, Lord Auckland, had begun very extensive reforms in that department. On Saturday night all the Newspapers were examined to see that no writing was put upon the stamped sheets, so as to defraud the Revenue of postage. This is assuredly proper. No person has a right to abuse the privilege of free carriage which the Newspapers enjoy for the encouragement of the stamp duties by smuggling under the cover of private correspondence. (23)

For Auckland and his colleagues -- and successive governments -- the sale of stamped newspapers was to provide a lucrative tax. For instance, in 1781 there were 76 newspapers and periodicals published in England and Wales; less than 40 years later the number of newspapers had risen to 267, and by 1851 was to reach 563. These huge increases in the establishment of newspapers were reflected in the dramatic surge of sales of stamped papers from 14 million in 1780 to 85 million in 1851.

Many of these newspaper launches had been undertaken by printers and booksellers (Henry and Charles Baldwin are a

prime example.) Between 1790 and 1820 the costs of funding such a daily paper could vary between £2,000 and £5,000; as little as £1,000 might be adequate to launch it, but extra capital would be required to sustain the venture until sales and advertising revenue were sufficient. On the editorial side, most daily newspapers had only one or two parliamentary correspondents and no regular foreign correspondents. News from overseas was either sent in by "stringers" and serving army and navy officers or "reworked" from foreign newspapers. By contrast in the 1860s, The Standard could boast of more than one dozen parliamentary reporters headed by Mr Mould and including W. H. Mudford, a future editor. Among the correspondents in every major foreign capital were Henley Bowes in Paris, Dr. Abel in Berlin, and E. A. Bradford in New York. During this period the salaries of reporters were to rise from two guineas a week in 1780 to more than five guineas by 1850, while those of editors increased from four to 18 guineas.

By the 1830s it was estimated that the cost of establishing a new title to compete with The Times would be between £30,000 and £50,000, and it was reckoned that the paper would initially lose more than £100 a week until its sales were consolidated. For example, when launching The Standard in May 1827, Charles Baldwin declared: "I was not willing to risk the continuance of my old and valued journal (The St. James's Chronicle) but preferred the heavier risk of establishing at my own expense and hazard a Daily Evening Paper . . ." (24)

Three years later, the Tories out of office for the first time in almost a quarter of a century, sought to establish a newspaper to present their viewpoint in the great debate on parliamentary reform and, as a result, a small committee of ex-ministers was formed to look into the matter. Charles Baldwin, never slow to miss a business opportunity -- especially when it coincided with his own political beliefs -- approached the committee with a proposal to launch such

a newspaper based on the same lines as The Times. As The Standard already had the best writers and foreign correspondents, it was expected that the initial costs would be the only obstacle, and for this Baldwin requested an immediate advance of £10,000. After much serious consultations, the committee declined his offer and Lord Lowther, one of the advocates of the project, wrote to his father, Lord Lonsdale, on May 7, 1831:

I believe he [Baldwin] is glad the offer was not accepted. Looking at a new concern I do not believe an effective paper could be established to enter into competition with The Times under £30,000. The progress of a paper is slow, and the opinion of some of the best informed upon the subject is that it is not likely to succeed unless conducted as a matter of trade.(25)

Six months later the Tories were still without a party newspaper, despite the efforts of some of the wealthier members who had succeeded in raising more than £30,000 for the purchase of The Morning Herald. Unfortunately, the paper terminated the negotiations and again the Tories turned to The Standard, resuming negotiations with Baldwin and Giffard to establish a morning newspaper. According to Lord Lowther on November 24, 1831, the project was said to be pending, but was not sufficiently advanced when he left town. A certain Mr Hargreaves, "a busy meddling man", who was apt to take more upon himself than he was authorized to do, had been trying by early application to Charles Street (home of the Tory Party) to assume the management of the affair, but it was already in much more influential hands. "I do not believe," said Lord Lowther, "he is authorized by Baldwin to collect subscribers." That Lord Lowther was well aware of the difficulties is reflected in his assertion that

It is no easy matter to establish a morning paper on the same scale as The Times and The Herald.

. . . It must be a matter of trade, and unless Murray, Baldwin or some man, that have prospered by Tory literature, undertook it, as a matter of trade: there was no hope of success. That prospect is now opening, and I hope it will be realized . . . It now assumes a better shape, and really the only one, namely, for a tradesman to embark on his own capital in the concern. (26)

Five days later, on November 29, 1831, Lord Lowther wrote yet again to his father, Lord Lonsdale, informing him that he and other Tory leaders had had a long exploratory meeting with Baldwin, who explained his financial position, i.e., that he drew most of his profits from his printing business and The St. James's Chronicle and very little from The Standard. Baldwin emphasised the financial risk of funding a morning paper on the same scale as The Times, and repeated he would undertake the task only with a guarantee of at least £10,000. Here, Baldwin was being decidedly "reticent", for according to James Grant, who worked on the paper, The Standard, after four years, was already showing a profit. (See Grant's The Newspaper Press, p 109 and next section).

The debate as to whether the Tories should take up Baldwin's offer was to continue into 1832 and although Lord Lowther ardently desired to begin the paper he realized that the finances required would prove too great and that a newspaper (even with Tory backing) could succeed only when managed as a business enterprise.

4.4: A Commercial Proposition

Even though a dedicated Tory, Charles Baldwin was, above all else, a businessman who conducted his newspapers as a commercial enterprise. In its first twelve months, The Standard's circulation had hovered between 700 and 800 copies each evening, but within a few years had risen

to more than 3,500 with a corresponding increase in the number of advertisements. For the first year, the total advertisements constituted less than a column, but within three years they had increased on average to four columns an issue. With expenses kept down, the increased circulation and advertising meant that "before it was five years old profits could not have been less than from £7,000 to £8,000 a year." (27)

The Standard's financial position had been strengthened by the lowering of the tax on advertisements in 1833 from 3s 6d to 1s 6d and, three years later on September 15, 1836, by the reduction of the stamp duty on newspapers from four-pence to one penny a copy and by a reduction in the duty on paper. The newspaper owners immediately introduced one of the earliest restrictive practices -- they collectively agreed not to pass on the full tax to their readers and to reduce the price of the newspapers by only 2d instead of 3d, from 7d to 5d.

Apart from The Standard and The St. James's Chronicle, Charles Baldwin was also the sole owner of The London Packet, published twice a week, and The London Journal published once a week -- "all got up with scarcely any expense out of The Standard." And it was estimated that by 1835 his income from the newspapers was more than £15,000 a year. Throughout this period, The Standard continued to be produced as a four-page broadsheet. There were, however, the occasional eight-page issues, the Coronation of Queen Victoria being one such example, selling at 5d. Similarly, on February 28, 1838, Baldwin even produced, for 3d, a one-page Special Supplement: "Extraordinary Express from Canada. Seizure of Bois Blanc by Rebels." Baldwin's success in building up his small, but profitable, chain had evoked criticism from some of his contemporaries who complained that the London Press was in the hands of too few people. William Clement and Henry Colbourn were other

newspaper proprietors who were assailed by critics who asserted that the punitive effects of taxation on sales and advertising -- despite the recent reductions -- and the large concentration of capital required to establish a newspaper had now made it impossible for anyone except "trading speculators" to own the Press.

An idea of the weekly cost of producing a daily newspaper at the time is provided by F. K. Hunt in his work on The Fourth Estate: Editorial -- Chief Editor £18 18s; Sub-Editor £12 12; Second Sub-Editor £10 10s; Foreign Sub-Editor £8 8s; writers (about four guineas a day) £25 4s; sixteen Parliamentary Reporters £86 7s. Foreign -- Paris postage £18 13s. Agents in Boulogne, Madrid, Rome, Naples, Vienna, Berlin and Lisbon £26. In addition it would also be necessary to have paid correspondents in Malta, Alexandria, Athens, Constantinople, Hamburg, Bombay, China, Singapore, New York and Boston. There would also be the need to employ reporters -- either staff or linage -- at, say, Dover, Southampton, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Bristol, Dublin, Plymouth, Pembroke, Falmouth, Portsmouth, York, Wakefield, Chatham, Sheerness, Woolwich, Gravesend, Glasgow, Cambridge and Oxford.

The expense of covering the various courts in London -- Lord Chancellor's, Rolls, Bankruptcy, etc. -- amounted to £25 per week with a further £6 allotted for the provincial circuits. For reporting on the London police courts a sum of £20 per week would be allowed. The City reporter salaries were estimated at £9 9s with the expenses incurred by the need to subscribe to the Stock Exchange Lists, to Lloyd's and the Jerusalem Coffee House. In addition, "penny-liners" would cover the principal markets in London. Provision would also have to be made to cover the Royal Court, Fine Arts, Sport and Turf. A large number of foreign and

provincial papers must be taken daily and these could total more than 150, plus copies of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Acts of Parliament, Votes of the House and other Parliamentary papers, The London Gazette, the Coal Market List and Packet List.

To service the editorial staff, between 50 and 70 production staff would be required: Printing. Number of men employed -- a printer, assistant printer, maker-up of advertisements, three readers, three assistant readers or reading boys and about 40 to 50 compositors, also approximately eight or ten "grass" men not regularly employed but who wait for engagement of work from the regular hands who might be absent as a result of illness or otherwise. These men, or "grass", are not recognised by the printer in his official capacity -- a regular hand always at his frame either by himself or "grass".

Time of working -- Copy is given out by the printer from about half-past seven to eight in session of Parliament time; and from eight to nine during the recess, except on special occasions. The compositors are obliged to attend about three hours before the copy is given out, for the purpose of distributing the types used in the previous day's paper, which are required for the night's work. Composition is usually closed about three o'clock and the men are usually occupied about ten hours in the office.

Rates of wages -- The printer from £5 to £6 per week; the assistant printer and advertisement man, £3 10s to £4; the reader £3; and the assistant readers £1 1s to £1 10s. The compositors from £2 10s to £3 on average for the whole year. About four or six men are generally employed by the printer, after composition is closed, to assist in putting the paper to press. These men averaged from £3 10s to £4 per week. (It was noted that the "mortality" rate among compositors employed on the morning press, for the past

ten years was approximately four per cent. There were some 460 compositors working on the daily press in London, three-quarters of whom were men of superior intelligence, habits and "respectability", a great improvement having occurred in the last eight or ten years).

Machine Room -- Machinist and assistant machinist, chief engineer and assistant engineer; 16 men and boys to feed the machines and take out the papers; and one "wetter down" to prepare the paper. Publishing Room -- Publisher at five guineas a week; Assistant; and four or five errand boys.

Business management -- Secretary, cashier and accountant; three advertisement clerks; night porter; day porter; and errand boy.

The total costs -- including rent, gas, wear and tear of plant, interest on outlay, with other charges would be: editing, writing and reporting a double paper, during the session of Parliament, £220; foreign and local correspondence, £100; printing, machining, publishing and general expenses, double paper, with occasional second and third edition, and an evening edition three days a week £200. Weekly total £520.

It was also at this time, 1846, that C. Mitchell published the first-ever Newspaper Press Directory, in which both The Standard and The St. James's Chronicle featured prominently, as the following description indicates:

STANDARD

Daily 5d. Established 1827

Advocacy. Conservative - Ministerial - Moderality
Protectionist - Church of England. This old
established and highly esteemed journal has ever been
known for the force and ability exhibited in its
writing - on evidence of the high literary qualifi-
cation of its conduct. Eloquently, warmly conservative.

it bore its part well - during the period of Sir Robert Peel's opposition - in keeping alive the spirit of his party, by appeals of the most argumentative and impassioned description; nor has its fidelity to the cause been diminished by the difficulties the leader encountered in the administration of national affairs; but it has continued and continues to lend him the most efficient aid; combatting with equal energy his old opponents and disaffected allies. So it has remained steadfast to the full Church of England principles - supporting them with surprising power against all attacks; whether external or internal. And for the ability and the zeal with which it has ever adhered to the church it has acquired in a very great degree the confidence and attachment of the Clergy.

Published by Charles Baldwin, 38, New Bridge Street,
Blackfriars

4.5: Increasing Production

As noted in Chapter Two, Edward Baldwin had now replaced his father in the management of The Standard and its sister paper, but his profligate manner in running the titles -- especially as the advertising revenue from the Railway Mania had dried up and circulations had fallen -- meant that there could be only one result: bankruptcy. Nevertheless, even with such lowly sales as 700 copies per day, The Standard was still the best circulated and most authoritative of the afternoon papers. "There is no subject, celestial or terrestrial," commented The Saturday Review, "on which it has not a fixed, familiar opinion." (28)

For James Johnstone, the new proprietor, the first months were exacting and involved the conversion of The Standard from an evening to a morning title, on June 29, 1857, while reducing the price from 4d to 2d and doubling its size to eight pages. This was to be followed within months with a further reduction in price to one penny on February 4, 1858; and somewhat over 12 months later, on June 11, 1859, the re-launch of The Evening Standard.

It was to meet these increased demands that Johnstone and his new editor, Thomas Hamber, embarked on a re-planting programme for the antiquated presses.

While the sales of The Standard continued to rise there were ever-increasing pressures on its production area, and it was not always possible to meet the demands for extra copies. The expansion of the railway system meant that it was now possible for the readers to receive their paper at the breakfast table. Yet, far too often, subscribers (as in the case of Wales and the West Country) were unable to receive their copies. To resolve the problems in distribution, Johnstone ordered an eight-feed press from Augustus Applegath. Built by Thomas Middleton of Southwark, it was capable of more than 16,000 impressions per hour. The installation of this new press was a long project, but on Monday, May 9, 1859, in its first leader the paper informed readers that

More than fifteen months have elapsed since we gave to the public the first broadsheet of the Penny Standard. The venture was a bold, and except with our readers, an unpopular one. A very brief existence was obviously assigned to us, and the long established monopolists of journalism hoped for a time that our failure would be the final ruin of the great modern institution -- a cheap press. . . . From that first day of the publication of The Standard at its present price, the demand for it throughout the country has steadily risen. Every additional issue has created but an increased appetite, and the one great difficulty we have had to contend with has been the impatience of that portion of the public whose orders we find ourselves unable to fulfill. . . . We have by the erection of this machine, which it is calculated will enable us to print from 16,000 to 20,000 sheets in the hour, placed ourselves on a par with the largest newspaper establishments in the country. We look to the public for continuance of the support which it has hitherto ungrudgingly offered, and we do so the more hopefully because we feel that we are advocating a cause with which the most vital interests of every citizen in this free country are connected. (29)

Unfortunately, in his bid to overtake the circulation of The Times, Johnstone had overstretched himself, because much of these extra costs were incurred by the replacement

61XVIA 1107

The Standard,

Office: 129, Fleet Street,

London: 30th March 1862

Dear Sir

I acquitted myself
 of a very unpleasant duty
 in presenting you with Mr
 Johnston's balance sheet.
 Consistently with the service
 I owe to him, I could not
 withhold discommending
 to be its bearer; but I hope
 never to be entrusted with
 a similar document. I have
 only entered in to this volume
 now, because I am most

anxious, that no misapprehension
 should arise in your mind
 as to the motives with which

I have sought and sought
 myself of your very kind
 and flattering confidence.
 Nothing would give me
 more, than to do anything
 to embair it. I beg to
 you with not to write yourself
 to answer this letter.

and remain
 your very faithful servant
 Thomas Johnston

This is the Honorable

My dear Sir

of the antiquated machinery in the press room. Loss of potential advertising revenue from City sources also played a part in the winter of 1857 following the financial collapse and economic depression in that year. He was pleased, therefore, twelve months later, to receive Tory funds, arranged by Philip Rose, the party's agent, in the form of a mortgage on the Shoe Lane premises and printing machinery. However, in return for this financial aid, Johnstone and Hamber pledged to follow the Tory Party line. Despite this financial assistance, within five years, Hamber (who considered himself a friend of Disraeli) was given the melancholy task of seeking assistance from the Tory leader:

I acquainted myself of a very unpleasant task [Hamber told Disraeli] in presenting you with Mr Johnstone's balance sheet. Consistently with the service I owe to him I could not without discourtesy decline to be its bearer, but I hope never to be entrusted with a similar announcement. I have only entered into this explanation because I am most anxious that no misapprehension should arise in your minds as to the motives with which I have sought and involved myself of your very kind and flattering confidence. Nothing would grieve me more than to do anything to impair it. I beg therefore you will not trouble yourself to answer this letter.

Although this brief "Statement showing the Profit and Loss during Mr. Johnstone's Proprietorship" was almost certainly drawn up by Mr Morfier Evans, the deputy financial manager, it was signed by Johnstone. Hamber added a footnote, vigorously underlined, which stated that "During the whole period Mr Johnstone has been the Proprietor of the above newspapers from may 1857 to the present date he has not in anyway drawn one farthing from the concern." (30)

The account revealed a loss of £16,641 7s 5d over the four-and-a-half year period, and against which was set profits of only £2,596 6s 2d. The largest loss was incurred during the year ending December 1858 -- £8,510 17s 2d -- and was almost certainly the result of the expense or cost of the new Applegath press. To these losses was added the sum of £17,500, being "the interest of capital brought in by Mr

Morning Herald & Standard Newspapers

Statement shewing the Profit & Loss
during Mr Johnstone's Proprietorship

Taken from the Books of the Establishment

From the 1st of May 1857 to 31st December 1861

1857							
June 31	To Loss since 1 st May	2785	8	2	1860	By Profit since	
1858					June 30/60	2041	2
Oct 31	To Loss since 31 st Dec 57	8510	17	2	1861	By Profit since	
1859					June 30/61	502	8
June 30	To Loss since 31 Dec 58	295	1	2	By Balance		
1859					being Loss without		
Oct 31	To Loss since 31 June 59	2219	13	9	the Interest of	14045	1
1860					Mr Johnstone's		
June 30	To Loss since 31 Dec 59	1132	13	4	Capital in the Property		
1861					£ 16641 7 5		
June 30	To Loss since 31 Dec 60	1677	18	10	£ 16641 7 5		
		£ 16641 7 5					
To Balance Loss		14045 1 3					
To Interest of Capital brought in by Mr Johnstone and for his services as Financial & General Manager estimated at 2500 p Ann		12500 0 0					
Total Loss		£ 31545 1 3					

J. S. Johnston

To be. During the whole of the period that Mr Johnstone was in the possession of the above Newspapers viz from 1857 to the present day he has had in addition drawn one fourth of

MS. A. 1. 1. 1.

Box 1107

The Standard,

Office: 129, Fleet Street.

London: 20th March 1862

Dear Sir

I acquitted myself
of a very unpleasant duty
in pressing you with Mr
Whiston's balance sheet.

Consistently with the service
I owe to him, I could not
withstand discomfiting decline
to be its bearer; but I hope
never to be entrusted with
a similar document. I have
only entered in to this substance:
now, because I am most

anxious, that no misapprehension
should arise in your mind
as to the nature of the which

I have sought and avoided
myself of your very kind
and flattering confidence.

Nothing would give me
more, than to do anything
to explain it. I beg to
you wish not to trouble yourself
to answer this letter.

most remain
your very faithful servant

Wm. A. Walker

This is the Honorable

My dear Sir

Johnstone and for his services as Financial and General Manager at £3,500 per annum." The Standard and Morning Herald newspapers were now in deep financial trouble. There was no known response from Disraeli, although four months later, on July 17, Hamber wrote to him: "I acknowledge the receipt of your cheque with many thanks. The slight trouble I have had has been very much repaid." (31) From the tenor of this communication it seems probable that this was "payment in kind" to Hamber to ensure his party loyalty rather than an attempt to ease his paper's financial straits.

However, the fortunes of The Standard were now about to improve. The onset of the American Civil War in 1861 provided an opportunity for the paper to score over its old rival The Times and simultaneously to increase its sales. Since the paper supported the Southern Confederacy, it received generous financial support from Henry Hotze, the Confederate Agent in London. During the conflict, Hamber was intent that Disraeli was fully aware of the situation, and on July 13, 1862, wrote to the Tory leader (almost in code): "I enclose Saunders and Ottley's account so far as it is completed. The sale, I think is very good . . . The feeling in this country seems to be almost one of exultation over the defeat of the north." (32)

The reportage of the Civil War had a distinct effect upon the paper's finances, with the circulation on some days exceeding 100,000 copies; a huge sale for those times. Thus, a jubilant Hamber told Disraeli on October 27, 1862: "You will be pleased to hear that our publication is increasing almost daily. We published last week a greater number than we have ever issued -- and this at a dull season of the year." (33)

This great change in the state of The Standard's finances as a result of the increased circulation and advertising meant that at long last the debts outstanding to the Conservative Party, which had held the mortgage on The Standard premises (three Queen Anne houses in Shoe Lane) could now be paid off. Sales of the paper were to increase even further through Alfred Austin's coverage of the Franco-Prussian War. However, the circulation of The Morning Herald had declined seriously, and on December 31, 1869, after a life of 90 years, the paper was closed. In its final leader, Hamber declaimed that

. . . It is a satisfaction to know that whatever opinions have been expressed in reference to The Morning Herald, on account of the unpopularity of its opinions in days gone by, its reputation as a honourable representative of English journalism never suffered. We hope that to its latest day it has preserved that fair fame. In this respect, at least, The Standard, we are sure, will not be wanting to its traditions, associations and memories. (34)

Johnstone was now a very well-known and respected figure and on February 14, 1874, was accorded the honour of being featured in Vanity Fair's caricature gallery of "Men of the Day". The cartoon by "Ape" (Carlo Pellegrini), simply entitled The Standard, depicted the proprietor, paper in hand, pointing to the daily average sale of 185,276. On the reverse of the cartoon a detailed account of Johnstone's prosperity, written by Thomas Gibson Bowles, the editor/proprietor of Vanity Fair, explained that

. . . The American War of Secession brought him [Johnstone] in "Manhattan" a correspondent whose writing first called serious attention to The Standard, and in 1863 matters began so much to mend with it that the daily circulation reached fifty thousand. By the end of 1864 it had further increased to sixty thousand, and in 1866 eighty thousand, and in 1869, Mr Johnstone who had hitherto not drawn a farthing from the property, began to experience the sweets of profit.



Amey

James Johnstone: "Vanity Fair" cartoon

Last year was a critical one for The Standard. Some of those who held themselves to be the best of its staff succeeded to found a rival journal, but this instead of injuring his in its result greatly benefitted the paper, while the Conservative reaction has also so far aided it that the number of copies printed weekly now exceeds a million. Mr Johnstone has long ago paid off all the loans he had contracted, he is the sole proprietor of the journal and his profits from it are very large. (35)

Unfortunately, Johnstone did not live long enough to enjoy the fruits of his labour; he died on October 22, 1878. In his will, Johnstone directed that his friend, Mudford, should serve both as editor and general manager of The Standard as long as he desired. Mudford, as the highest-paid executive in Fleet Street, with a grand salary of £5,000 a year, was about to take The Standard to even greater heights. He was determined to build upon the success of Johnstone and to further expand the business.

4.6: Power in the Land

By 1880, The Standard was again a power in the land with a circulation approaching 200,000 copies per day, and the newly-built offices in St. Bride Street (36) reflected its importance. The new premises consisted of a four-storey building with a magnificent advertisement hall, illustrating all the grandeur of Victorian enterprise. In the Newspaper Press Directory, Mudford announced that:

While maintaining Conservative principles, The Standard reserves to itself the right to apply the principles to the question of the day, without regard to party politics, or special devotion to the view of party leaders. On all political questions it is remarkably impartial in the admission to its columns of letters from any man whose position gives him a right to speak, be his views what they may. In the matter of Parliamentary news, The Standard is the only London Penny Journal that has not adopted the system of very abridged reports. The paper has of late paid great attention to foreign correspondents from all parts of the world; more particularly as is forwarded by



THE "STANDARD" OFFICE, St. Bride Street.

telegraph from all parts of the world. In literary and dramatic criticism it exercises a careful selection of productions worthy of notice for praise or blame; but the complete display of home and foreign news is its chief distinguishing feature. Reports regarding to markets, racing, cricket and boating are very fully given. (37)

To provide for this greatly increased service, the paper was printed on eight machines, seven of which ran at the rate of 14,000 copies per hours. There were also six machines in reserve in another building (the recently-vacated Daily Telegraph site in Fleet Street) with a separate fount of type, so that if an accident happened at the offices in St. Bride Street the entire paper could be composed and printed in Shoe Lane/Fleet Street at the rate of 12,000 copies per hour. An eighth machine printed and cut the sheets, placed the two halves together and folded the sheet which was delivered in shoots ready for wrapper for the post, running at the rate of 12,500 per hour and netting 12,000 copies. H. W. Massingham reported at the time that

The number of hands employed on the morning edition is sixty-three; on the evening edition twenty-six -- a total of eighty-nine. The forms for the morning edition go down to the foundry at intervals commencing from 12 o'clock midnight, the last form, with the Parliamentary or other important intelligence, being received in the foundry at 2.30 to 3 o'clock. The eight plates are all produced and handed to the machine room in thirty-three minutes. The Evening Standard is published in four separate editions, the number of plates that are required varying according to the news received. The Morning Standard is printed in one hour and fifty minutes, and The Evening Standard second edition in fifteen minutes, the third edition in thirty minutes, fourth edition in twenty minutes and the special edition in forty-five minutes.

The duplicate plant of machinery for use in case of accident, by fire or otherwise, is being replaced at the present time by machinery made and patented by Mr Joseph Foster, of Preston, Lancashire. The new machine is called the 'Standard Web Printing Machine' and is only twelve feet six inches long, occupying half as much space as the other web machines. Its

height is five feet six inches and the width being the same as the other machines, plates cast for the Hoe machines will fit on the new machines as well. The collecting motion of these new machines is arranged by a 'tape race', without guides or switches, and flies six sheets at one time and seven at another, which repeated is a London quire, viz, twenty-six, and the fly-board moves in such a manner as to separate each quire. The machines are constructed as to print 14,500 per hour, netting 12,500 copies, and do not require so much steam-power for working as the other web machines, the friction of the machinery being less.

The paper used on either plant of machinery is prepared on wetting machines, invented and patented by the firm, two machines being placed in each building. The steam-power is a pair of 45-horse power engines in each building, and likewise two 60-horse power boilers of the multitubular type for auxiliary machinery in the bill-room, foundry, and for working the lifts and machinery in the engineer's shop, where all repairs are carried out. The amount of paper used during the year 1880 for The Standard was 3,412 tons, equal to a length of 36,609 miles, and for The Evening Standard 855 tons, equal to a length of 13,377 miles, the two quantities making a total of 4,277 tons or 49,986 miles of paper, an average of over thirteen tones, or 160 miles per day. (38)

But T. H. S. Escott, who had recently rejoined the paper, following the demise of The Hour, had his own views on The Standard's costs. Ranking it as "one of the leading papers of the metropolis", Escott declared:

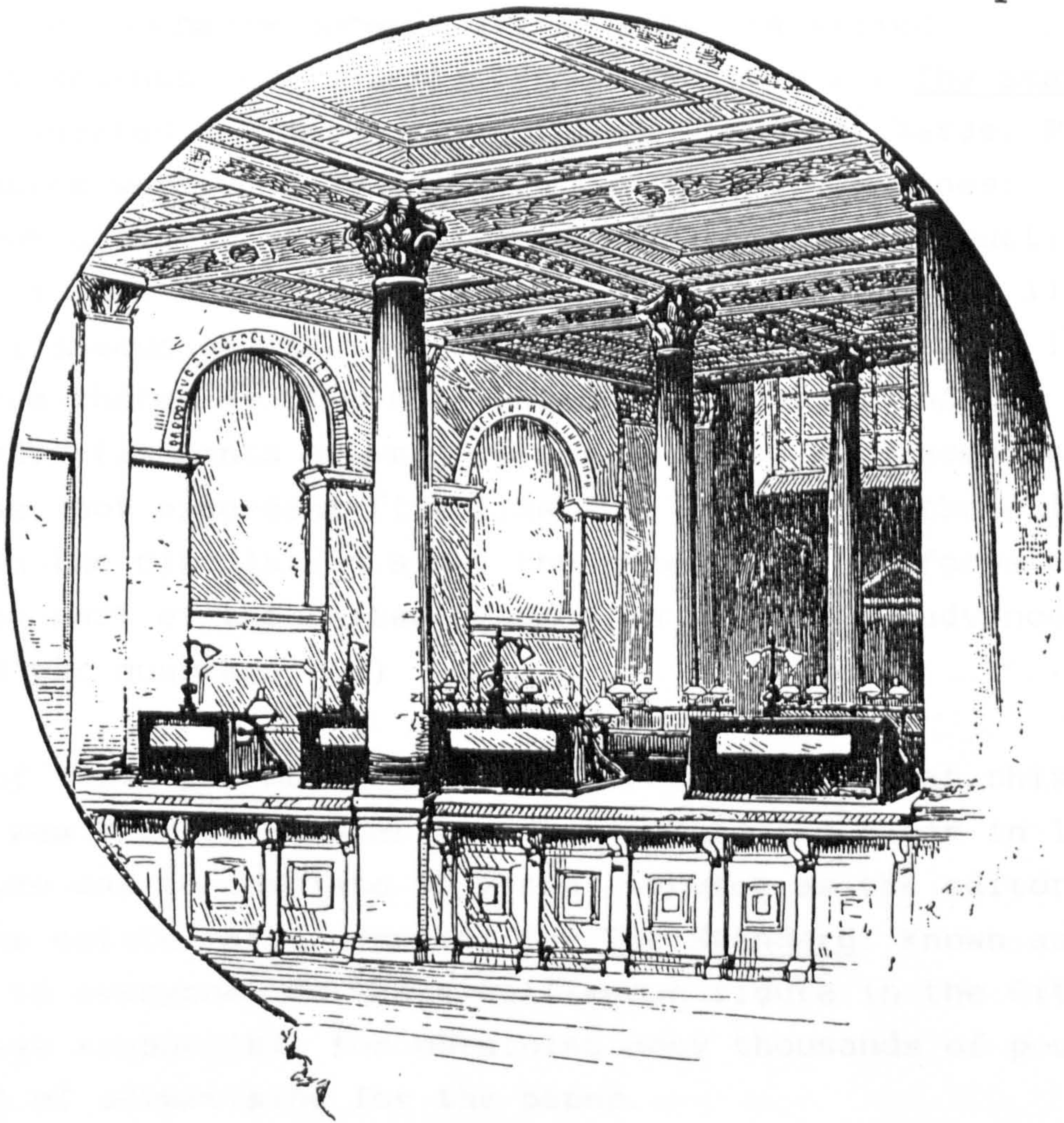
. . . Here is a journal whose annual total expenditure is from £260,000 to £270,000 a year and whose average annual profit is from £55,000 to £60,000. If these figures are respectively divided by 313 -- the number of working days in a year -- we shall have the daily expenditure and profit of a London paper sold for the twelfth part of a shilling. it will then be found that the expenses per diem of such a paper amount, roughly speaking, to £860, and that the daily profit is close to £220 -- in other words, the total daily receipts are as nearly possible £1,000 and the total yearly receipts £313,000. This, of course, includes every item in which in a daily newspaper office it

may be necessary to expend money: printing machinery, telegraphic wires, telephones and the pay of editors, sub-editors, writers, reporters and others. (39)

Similarly, James Grant, a one-time Standard man, rendered the following vivid account of production in Shoe Lane in his book, The Newspaper Press.

I doubt [said Grant] if there be a human being in the world who had to perform such hard work as the Publisher of a daily paper during the time the publication of the journal lasts. he is, during that time, in a perfect agony of excitement and labour: in the coldest days of winter you may see him all over with perspiration, his face flushed and everything about him showing how great his mental and physical efforts are to get through his work with all the expedition which the clamours of his customers call for. Scores of newsboys are in the publishing department, each struggling and calling deafening noise for the number of the day's impressions which he requires. This would be confusing enough for any publisher to hear, but the confusion is 'worse confounded' by the uproar which is caused by the larking which goes on among the newsboys who are waiting for their turn to have their wants supplied. No description could give an adequate idea of what the scenes are which are seen morning and evening on the publication of a daily paper. And any person who is anxious to see the publication of one, without getting up at half-past five in the morning to witness it, will be furnished with a very good idea of the thing, if he places himself any evening about seven o'clock at the door of The Evening Standard office, in Shoe Lane, when the Special Edition of that journal is in the course of publication.

With a circulation of 242,062 per day, The Standard could indeed boast in 1882 that it was "the Leading London Newspaper". Press-time for the morning edition was normally 3.30 a.m., with the evening editions being produced at 1.0 p.m., 2.30 p.m., 4.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. The latest or Special Edition usually carried, in addition to the day's racing, a full summary of the debates in both Houses of Parliament. All editions covered the day's law, police and market news, accounts of commercial meetings, and stock exchange information.



Advertisement Hall of the new Standard building,
St. Bride Street.

With such a large readership -- including approximately 700,000 of the country's most affluent citizens -- the paper was able to charge accordingly for its classified advertisements. All advertisements received for The Standard were inserted in The Evening Standard free of charge. Public companies were charged at 1s 6d per line to 49 lines; minimum charge of 6s books; trades, charities and auctions at 1s a line to 49 lines, minimum charge 4s for five lines; miscellaneous 1s per line to 19 line; 1s 6d, 20 to 49 lines; minimum charge 4s. Two shillings per line were charged on all advertisements after 49 lines. Births, marriages and deaths, not exceeding five line, 5s; and wants, three lines, 2s. On the circulation side, the paper would be forwarded to any part of the United Kingdom on payment in advance of 9s 9d per quarter. (40)

One of the key members of the advertising staff at this time was Francis Bowater, who had joined the paper in 1859, and who was to complete 50 years' service as the editor of the estate market reports for The Standard. Known as "Bo" to everyone, he was a well-known figure in the City and was responsible for obtaining many thousands of pounds' worth of advertising for the paper.

The Standard was now at its peak of popularity. Indeed, less than a decade earlier, on May 21, 1877, Cooper Bros. & Co., Accountants, announced that the sales for the week-ending May 12 had reached 1,088,023 or a daily average of 188,337. Now a regular figure of more than 250,000 copies per day was being attained. (An official return for September 23, 1882, had shown a sale of 255,292).

Among its regular writers, Sir Clinton Dawkins, at the India Office, provided the paper with extensive details concerning the creation of a reserve corps for the native Indian army, and the maintenance of Imperial Service Troops. Colonel A. E. Sturley, of the Scots Guards, was a regular contributor

on military matters. Drama and music were also well covered with A. E. T. Watson and Desmond Ryan. Altogether The Standard had in its employ more than 500 persons, with a payroll of £1,500 a week in salaries. Under Mudford's eagle eye, the daily management was in the hands of Walter Wood, who had been with the paper for 18 years. Born in 1830, Wood had begun his career as a reporter in London and from there went to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, until returning to the capital, where he joined The Standard under Hamber.

To accommodate the increasing circulation (also the result of the Education Act of 1870 and the growing mass demand for reading matter) there was a steady improvement in the production of stereo plates and the quality of paper and ink. All of these factors led to a situation where the rotary press had to be made more effective, and it is during this time that the first steps were taken to improve the machinery. In 1888, Douglas Grey and Frederick Wilson published their Modern Printing Machinery which listed all the daily newspaper offices in London with their press capacity. Grey and Wilson estimated the combined circulation of the Fleet Street papers at approximately 1,200,000 copies per day, of which The Standard printed more than 250,000. Grey and Wilson also provided data on the number and type of presses used which listed: The Times with eight Walter machines; Daily Chronicle with four Hoe machines; The Daily News with eight Walter machines, and cutting and folding attachments; The Globe with three Victory machines; The Echo with six Marinoni machines; St. James's Gazette with one Ingram and one Hoe machines; The Pall Mall Gazette with four Marinoni machines; The Evening News with four Prestonians and one Victory machines; The Sportsman with two Victory and two Hoe machines; Sporting Life with four Marinoni machines; and The Standard with six Hoe and six Prestonian machines. Of the largely circulated weekly newspapers: Lloyds News possessed six Hoe machines; The Weekly Dispatch/Referee six Marinoni machines; and The Weekly Times three Marinoni machines.

In circulation, The Standard was now second among the London dailies, with daily sales of 255,000 -- some 45,000 copies behind The Daily Telegraph. During the 1880s there had been a gradual change in the make-up of The Standard. Although the front page continued to be dominated by dozens of drop capitalized classified advertisements, there was a sense of adventure creeping into display advertisements. The paper was beginning to carry full-page advertisements for such firms as Debenhams and Waring and Gilmor, and even quarter pages extolling the virtues of Weymouth as a holiday resort, "The Naples of England". An interesting comparison of The Standard with its rivals appeared in the 1888 edition of Sell's Dictionary of the World Press. Covering the period Monday, April 5, to Saturday, April 10, it provided the following statistics:

	columns		
	<u>Times</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Telegraph</u>
Advertisements	294	188	232½
Leaders/summaries	30	27	30
Other original matter	18	8	13
Parliamentary Reports	70	32	27
Foreign News	27½	21½	13
Letters to Editor	3	2½	½
Commercial/Shipping	53	31	23½
Sporting	12½	14	12
General News	79	37	30½
London/English News	13	7	2½
	-----	-----	-----
	600	368	384

Deleting the space devoted to advertisements, the number of columns given to news and comment was:

<u>Times</u>	<u>Standard</u>	<u>Telegraph</u>
306	180	151

As a comparison with others papers such as The Scotsman, the article concluded that for Scotland's national daily to provide a similar service, extra costs of £20,000 per annum would be needed to cover the telegraphic service and to provide a London office.

Unofortunately for The Standard the end of the 1880s saw the beginning of the decline in the paper's fortunes. Mudford, seemingly so safe in his well-proven ways, had been lulled into a false sense of security and had not adapted to the "New Journalism" of Frederick Greenwood, W. T. Stead and F. P. O'Connor. Similarly, the rise of Alfred Harmsworth, with his renewed Evening News in 1894 and the new Daily Mail in 1896, accelerated the decline of The Standard. For Mudford, it was not a journalism which he desired to emulate, and at the end of the century he decided to retire, leaving the way open for his successor.

Chapter Five

LABOUR RELATIONS

The growth of labour relations in the printing industry, through the development of the chapel, can be traced to the late seventeenth century -- during the apprenticeship of Richard Baldwin, founder of the newspaper dynasty . in 1668. During that summer of 1668, young Richard was bound for seven years to George Evesden, a printer, who had his business at the Adam and Eve, St. John's Lane, in the City of London, where he specialised in the publication of theological works. (1) At this time, the printing trade was very small, for a survey in 1668 reported that in London there were 26 masters, 24 apprentices and 148 journeymen, making a total of 198 men employed on 65 presses. (2) As for the labour force, its numbers, although less than 200, were quite disciplined, and the practices of the chapels were constant throughout the trade. Here was a body of men prepared to legislate on a wide variety of matters connected with the organization of production and the conduct of its members. Indeed, the seeds of the craft unions' powers in the ensuing centuries were already being sown.

It was in 1668 that Joseph Moxon, a colleague of Baldwin, began work on his Mechanick Exercises, which was published in the following year. This was to provide the first detailed account of the role of the chapel in the printing trade. Entitled Ancient Customs in a Printing House, Moxon stated that

Every Printing House is by Custom of Time out of Mind called a Chapel; and the Oldest Freeman is Father of the Chapel . . . There have formerly been customs and Bye Laws made and intended for the well and good

Government of the Chappel, and for the more Civil and Orderly Deportment of all its Members in the Chappel; and the penalty for the breach of any of these laws and Customs is in Printers' Language called a Solace. And the Judge of these Solaces and the Controversies relating to the Chappel, or any of its members, was plurality of Votes in the Chappel. It being asserted as a Maxim That the Chappel cannot Err. But when Controversie is thus decided it always ends in the Good of the Chappel. (3)

Membership was compulsory, journeymen joining when they were engaged by the master on a more or less permanent basis, and apprentices when they had completed their term of service. Non-members were subjected to pressures from the chapel, as Benjamin Franklin was to discover when he worked as a compositor and pressman in a London office. Here, indeed, was the basis of the closed shop.

Any workman who refused to join or obey the rules of the chapel found himself the subject of the Chapel Ghost who made life most uncomfortable by mixing the letters in his case and hiding his composing stick and inkballs. There were also rules against profanity, fighting, abusive language and drunkenness in the chapel and penalties were imposed for leaving candles burning at night, dropping a composing stick or press ball or leaving letters lying on the floor. The fine for any of these breaches -- the Solace -- varied from a half-penny to a shilling. And, "If a chapel member proved obstinate or refractory and would not pay his Solace then the workmen took him by force, laid him across the correcting-stone and gave him a beating." (4)

According to Moxon, the chapel's income was comprised of entry fees, solaces for breaking the rules, and contributions;

Every new workman to pay half-a-Crown, which is called his Benvenue: this Benvenue being so constant a custom is still lookt upon by all Workmen as the undoubted

Right of the Chappel, and therefore never disputed; yet he who has not paid his Benvenue is no member of the Chappel nor enjoys the benefit of Chappel-Money. If a Journeyman Wrought formerly upon the same Printing House and comes again to Work on it, he pays but half a Benvenue. (5)

Although the chapel movement increased in strength, it was not often recognized by the Master Printers who were more concerned with introducing extra apprentices. This form of cheap labour, which diluted the efforts of the journeymen in seeking higher wages and greater security, moved the London pressmen in 1775 to ask the Court of the Stationers' Company to enforce more rigid control. Despite the Court's gesture of compliance, it was in reality powerless in the matter and it was partly to deal with this problem that the early journeymen's societies came into existence.

Throughout the century the wages of craftsmen varied considerably according to their skills. For example, in 1713 James Watson declared that he would rather pay five shillings a day to a good pressman than one and sixpence to a careless one. But five shillings a day seemed expensive, for in 1747 the following estimates were given of earnings in the various printing trades:

	weekly earnings (shillings)
Compositor	16-21
Pressman	16-21
Copper Plate Printer	15-18
Paper Maker (Moulder)	15-18
Bookbinder	12

Printing wages were generally similar to those of other craftsmen in eighteenth century England, whose average weekly pay of London artisans rose from 15s in 1700 to 18s in 1780. (6)

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From mid-eighteenth century there was a growing tendency for the compositors to be organized into a companionship, under the leadership of a clicker. The Master normally gave out the copy to be set to the clicker, who would divide it among his colleagues -- usually less than half-a-dozen. Thus it was prescribed that

Each sheet should be divided into as many parts as the companionship may consist of and the choice of each part, if it materially varies should be thrown for . . . It frequently happens that a litigious man will otherwise argue half an hour on a point that would not have made five minutes' difference to him in the course of his day's work. (7)

This sub-division of work -- especially when fairly apportioned -- was to bring about the introduction of piece work, especially in newspaper offices, which were now putting a much greater emphasis on speed. As a result this was a period of considerable significance for the London newspaper proprietors and their commercial colleagues and led to the first confrontation between management and men in 1785. The number of master printers was now 24, employing 500 compositors and 180 apprentices. In the press-rooms there were a further 200 journeymen and some 80 apprentices, while 180 journeymen worked as bookbinders. (8)

Dissatisfied with their wages, the compositors presented a petition to the Masters, who, in response, held a general meeting and appointed an ad hoc committee, of whom Henry Baldwin was a key figure. There was, however, no direct negotiation between the two groups at this time, as the masters rejected the right of the compositors to address them collectively. But from this conflict and the ensuing discussions emerged the Compositors' Scale of Prices, which, with many modifications, was still effective 200 years later. The basic rate was raised from 4d to 4½d per 1,000 ens and the daily news compositors now averaged 31 shillings per week, with their pressroom colleagues receiving 21 shillings.

But for these concessions a 12-hour six-day week remained normal practice. (9)

London at this period had eight morning papers and nine evenings, but the circulation was limited, due to hand-setting and manual operation of the presses. Apart from the emergence of the Compositors' Scale of Prices, the year 1785 was another significant date in newspaper history: the first issue on January 13 of The Daily Universal Register, a paper of four pages, largely designed to show the public a new invention of printing with types representing words and syllables instead of only letters. The printer and proprietor was John Walters, of Printing House-square, who experienced great annoyance and losses in his efforts to introduce this logographical system into common practice. (10) Undaunted, three years later on January 1, 1788, after realising that the name of his paper was most inconvenient, Walters relaunched it under the title of The Times. Meanwhile, Henry Baldwin, finding his premises in Fleet Street too small, had moved some hundred yards away to New Bridge Street, and there at Number Five, a property still standing, he built his new house and works, and opened for business in 1789.

5.1: Charles Baldwin apprenticed

In the summer of 1789, July 7, while Paris was in uproar and the revolutionaries were preparing to storm the Bastille, Charles Baldwin was bound to his father as an apprentice compositor. In Charles Baldwin, The St. James's Chronicle had a young man with possibly even greater gifts and talents than his father. In fact,

So quickly did he attain the knowledge of the business that at 18 Mr Baldwin senior confided in him the entire superintendence of the working part of his establishment; and at 21 he was called upon by the Committee of Master Printers appointed to revise the state of the trade from time to time, and to regulate and adjust any differences or demands that might arise between workmen and the employers. (10)

For more than 50 years thereafter, Charles Baldwin was actively employed and he was to exert considerable influence in labour negotiations in the newspaper press.

An increase in the compositors' wages in 1793 had brought the rates of full hands up to £1 16s, an extra of 4s 6d since the introduction of the London Scale of Prices eight years earlier. Supernumeraries had received an increase of two shillings and were now paid 17s a week. With the costs of the pressmen, flyboys and readers to be added, it is doubtful if the total weekly wages bill of The St. James's Chronicle exceeded £40, and of this sum the Printer received £3 3s as the going rate. In this direction, it is interesting to consider the other costs incurred by Baldwin. Since the new duties of 1789, paper was costing Henry Baldwin £2 2s for 500 sheets, yielding 1,000 copies. The old tax on double demy, the size used for newspapers was 8s 4d a bundle weighing 106 lbs., which had been less than 1d a pound. But the new duty was 2½d a lb., which for a bundle of 106 lbs., was 22s 1d, or an increase of 13s 9d. On the publishing side, the hawkers normally allowed a penny margin on each paper and given two papers in every quire. Other costs were relatively low, although the price of dipped candles for lighting was 8s 4d a dozen and Founders' type had increased in price from August 1793, with pica at 1s 1½d and small pica at 13s 3½d a lb. Two-line letters cost 1s 1d, leads (six to pica) 1s 6d. (11)

It was also in 1793 that the compositors in London organized themselves with a permanent committee which collected regular contributions, arranged meetings of delegates from the distant offices and, most important, tried to limit the number of apprentices. The permanent committee's headquarters were at the Hole-in-the-Wall, Fleet Street, where by the end of the century the compositors decided that the time was

ripe for amalgamation of the various factions. Accordingly in 1801 the Union Society was established with the avowed purpose to correct irregularities and "to endeavour to promote harmony between employers and the employed, by bringing the modes of change from custom and precedent into one point of view in order to their being better understood by all concerned." (12) But not all the negotiations between employers and employees were harmonious. Thus, in 1786, the compositors failed to obtain an injunction against John Walter, proprietor of The Times, forbidding him from setting up as a master printer, on the grounds that he had not served an apprenticeship in the trade.

The Government, fearful of the spread of revolutionary ideas from France enacted the Combination Acts in 1799 and 1800 which made all journeymen's trade societies illegal and provided for summary convictions of offenders. These convictions were also dealt with by magistrates and not trial by jury. Within weeks of the first Act being passed, pressmen who had attempted to negotiate with the masters on the limitation of apprentices were prosecuted for conspiracy. Although it was shown that the accused were indeed members of the Pressmen's Friendly Society, whose headquarters were The Crown, near St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, the prosecutor declared that this was only a subterfuge. Thus he argued that

It was called a Friendly Society; but . . . by means of some wicked mean among the society [it] degenerated into a most abominable meeting for the purpose of conspiracy: those of the trade who did not join their society were summoned, and even the apprentices, and were told unless they conformed to the practices of these journeymen, when they came out of their time, they would not be employed. (13)

Another case which achieved widespread notoriety was that of nineteen Times compositors who were found guilty of conspiracy and imprisoned in 1810, with one of them, Malcolm Craig, dying in jail. In reality, these two cases were the exceptions rather than the rule in the printing industry, because in most instances the masters were prepared to meet representatives of the men's societies in order to agree wages and conditions of employment. But it was not until 1825, largely through the efforts of Francis Place, that the Combination Acts were repealed.

It is interesting to note how the weekly wages of compositors and pressmen had increased during the period 1785-1825;
(14)

Daily News compositors:	<u>1785</u>	<u>1795</u>	<u>1805</u>	<u>1810</u>	<u>1815</u>	<u>1825</u>
Evening	31	34	37	43	43	43
Morning	31	36	40	48	48	48
Pressmen	21	24	27	33	32	32

In 1825 there were two societies of compositors in London, one established in 1820 for journeymen on daily newspapers, and one purporting to serve the needs of the whole trade. Thus, in 1834, more than 1,500 compositors joined a new body, the London Union of Compositors, but the daily news compositors refused to join the L.U.C. unless they were given complete autonomy on newspaper matters. (15) However, the L.U.C. declared that since the interests of newsmen were inseparably linked with those of bookmen, "It is therefore necessary for the Committee to declare that the News Compositors have no right to a separate jurisdiction." (16)

A far-reaching event in the London Press scene at this time concerned The Standard and its discussions with the News Committee. There had recently been published a Report of the Committee of the Trade Council appointed to enquire into the present mode of working on The Times and other newspapers and in its annual report for 1836, the L.U.C.

noted that the inquiry was undertaken at the request of the compositors of The Times. The L.U.C. challenged the results of the investigation and that challenge was made by "dilligent enquiry." Apart from The Times, which had been closed to union labour since 1816, five other newspapers -- Morning Herald, Ledger, Courier, Sun and The Standard -- were investigated by the L.U.C.

Truth to say the number of compositors employed on The Standard were few; just 13 full hands paid £2 4s 4½d each per week and four assistants who each received £1 10s. The L.U.C. report on The Standard's composing room read as follows:

Full hands. The full hands on The Standard commence at five o'clock a.m. and are required to get the galley out by nine o'clock. The finish begins at nine, ends at three o'clock, making six hours, during which time they are expected to make a quarter per hour. There are no extras on the first work. After three o'clock, 10½d per hour is charged. The nick, half an hour is paid. It appears doubtful whether any extras can be charged before half-past three o'clock.

Supernumeraries -- None.

Assistants. The assistants, who are all elderly men, come at six o'clock, but have no specified time for commencing, and sometimes do not get any copy before half-past nine or ten o'clock. They do not declare out of the galley at any particular time, nor do they make any charge for standing still. They are not called on to assist in correcting nor are they expected to wait for second editions, which are done by bookmen in the house, and who are likewise employed on the paper whenever there is a press of copy. . If the full hands are not there by six o'clock the assistants are expected to occupy their frames, but this is only an arrangement amongst the companionship.

Second Editions commence at half-past five o'clock, and are charged by the line if exceeding a quarter of a galley, but an hour is charged for any quantity under that.

The number of lines in a Bourgeois galley is 112; Brevier 106; Minion 94; Nonpareil 64. The number of letters in a Bourgeois galley is 5040; Brevier 5194; Minion 5170; Nonpareil 4544. The number of men employed is: Full Hands 13; Assistants 4. Total 17. Average earnings amount to: Full Hands £2 4s 4½d; Assistants £1 10s 0d.

The Standard brevier galley consists of 5,194 letters, and is paid 3s 7d for, which is equal to 8d per 1,000, leaving 3s 8d for a finish of six hours to make up the sum of £2 3s 6d per week, the regular wages of a full hand. If we add distribution, it will make it seven hours and a half for which 3s 8d is paid, consequently the full hands barely receive 6d per hour for the finish. The first work, Brevier lines, is 5,194 letters and the finish 7,791 letters, making altogether 12,985 letters, for which they are paid 7s 3d which is equal to 6½d per 1,000.

The above calculations, as will be perceived, are made from two of the worst cases which came before your committee in order to show what lengths the level of the after-lines and finish are capable of being carried out. There is a bastard nonpareil in use on The Standard, 64 lines to the galley, and there is another irregularity existing on that paper, namely the practice of assistants coming at six o'clock o'clock in the morning and sometimes waiting until half-past nine or even ten o'clock before they have any copy given to them, thus waiting for three or four hours without making any charge for standing still.

The following figures from the Report show that The Standard employed the largest number of Full Hands:

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The Times (night news ship) - Full Hands 10; Supernumeraries 10; Assistants 13. Morning Herald - 6; 5; 27. Ledger - 5; 18; 0. Courier - 6; 16. Sun - 3; 21; 2. Standard - 13; 4; 0. - Total; Full Hands 43; Supernumeraries 74; Assistants 42. (17)

But now, more than ever, compositors and pressmen were becoming increasingly alarmed at the introduction of machinery. In this respect The Times was very much to the fore, and, as early as November 29, 1814, had produced the first newspaper through the use of a steam press. The apparatus was built by two Germans, Frederick Koenig and Andrew Bauer, and was capable of well in excess of 1,100 sheets an hour -- more than 400 per cent better than the old Stanhope hand press. Writing many years later of his boyhood, W. H. Smith, of publishing fame, noted that "The printing was very slow. What they called a full form about 250 per hour, half page of the size mentioned 500 per hour." (18) In the period, 1803-1827, as a consequence of the advent of the steam press, production increased dramatically, as can be seen from the following statistics on hourly output: (19)

Hand press	250 sheets
Koenig	1100-1800 sheets
Cowper	2400 on both sides

Full employment in the printing industry had ended with the Napoleonic Wars, and the enforcement of wage reductions by the master printers in 1816 had only been possible because of a pool of unemployed journeymen. Now, 17 years later, much of the blame was placed on the introduction of machinery. Thus a contemporary reported that, "Machinery must be regarded as a monster that devours the bread of thousands. It is an insatiable Moloch. It is callous to all feeling; it is insensible at the sight of the emaciated form, the hollow cheek and the sunken eye; it turns like the deaf adder from the appeal of misery." (20)

However, many of the fears of the printing unions were to prove ill-founded, since the Census Abstracts of 1831, 1841 and 1851 indicate that the numbers of printers over twenty years of age in the United Kingdom rose from just over 9,000 (London 4,000) in 1831 to nearly 20,000 (London 8,000) in 1851. The average printing office, however, remained a very small affair, employing from one to six men, although several had between twenty and fifty, and a few large offices -- mostly in London -- employed as many as one hundred.

(21)

5.2: Politics and the Printing Unions

Throughout these decades the printing unions adopted a definite non-political attitude. There was, as yet, no distinct Labour Party in the country; workmen might be Radical, Liberal or Conservative, and in many quarters it was feared that the introduction of politics into a trade society would create division and conflict. Very little part was played by the printing unions in the great political agitation of the years 1830-1832 on behalf of the Great Reform Bill. Neither did they participate in the Chartist Movement of 1838-1842. Thus The Compositors' Chronicle remarked in its December 1841 issue on the futility of the attempts of Chartists to alter the political system: "We expect to see the mummery of 1838 renewed with the same negative result." (22) Twelve months later, the editor asserted that printers could not be identified with the recent outbreaks of violence which had characterized the conduct of some trade societies. He claimed that there was not a "single instance wherein a letter-press printer has either forfeited his liberty or undergone an examination before any magistrate for engaging in the recent tumults." (23) Indeed, printers were concerned solely with "the maintenance of those generally recognised principles affecting the trade and had no political aim or object in view, nor the slightest approximation to partisanship of the like nature."

Feergus O'Connor, later arrested by Hardinge Giffard, The Standard's assistant editor, was the least liked of all the newspaper proprietors. As owner of The Northern Star, O'Connor was even denounced by the printing unions as an "unfair" employer. When the paper was printed in Leeds, the compositors frequently complained of late and short payments of wages and when the paper was transferred to London of employing an excess of apprentices. (24) So much for O'Connor and his message of advocating the claims of the working class.

The printing unions were more concerned with agitating for the repeal of the newspaper stamp, paper and advertisement duties and the removal of restrictions on the size of newspapers -- all of which it was hoped would lead to an expansion in the industry, bringing with it increased employment and higher wages. In this campaign, the unions argued that "The labouring millions ought to be considered. By giving them a cheap press, you do that for their minds, which, in giving them a cheap loaf, you do for their bellies." (25)

One other factor which caused great concern during this time was the Master and Servants Bill of 1834 which occasioned even more legal and judicial restrictions on the working man. The Printer strongly condemned the Bill and called on all journeymen to petition Parliament against it. Their efforts -- with other trade unionists -- were successful in securing the defeat of the measure. Despite these strictures, the British press continued to grow and by 1846 there were 551 newspapers in the United Kingdom, of which only 14 (London 12, Dublin 2) were dailies.

But by 1850 the agitation of such politicians as Richard Cobden, Milner-Gibson and others for a Free Press was about to be realized, and in 1853 their parliamentary pressure achieved the abolition of the advertisement tax. This was

followed in June 1855 by the repeal of the Stamp Duty and the Paper Duty in 1861. The "Taxes on Knowledge" had now been done away with. One of the first results of this new freedom was the launch of The Daily Telegraph and Courier on June 29, 1855, which declared in its opening leader:

. . . our mission is to extend to this country the benefit of a cheap and good Daily Press, and now that Parliament has wisely knocked off the last shackle which fettered the progress of the Press, in this great metropolis, we take our stand, availing ourselves the first possible moment the law permitted, of the Repeal of the Stamp Duty, to issue our Journal at the price of TWOpence, as a candidate for the popular favour. (26)

5.3: The Mechanisation of the Printing Industry

As the printing industry grew there was a tendency for the gulf between employer and employee to widen. The introduction of company legislation during the years 1855-1862, which conceded limited liability, meant that the new company shareholders often had little or no practical connexion with the newspaper business and were only interested in profits and dividends. At the same time there was also developing a band of directors, editors and managers interposed between the proprietors and the staff. Fortunately, this was not the case at The Standard, where Baldwin and, later, Mudford strove hard (and largely succeeded) in maintaining good relations with the work force.

The large increase in speed of the printing presses, as a result of the ever-increasing ingenuity of Victorian engineers, and the repeal of the "Taxes on Knowledge" was accompanied by a great boom in newspaper readership, a boom given impetus by the introduction of the Elementary Education Act of 1870. Thus, in 1851 there was a total of 563 newspapers in the whole of the United Kingdom; by 1867 the number of papers had risen to 1,294 and by 1895 to 2,034. This massive growth brought with it a highly-organized labour force, well under the control of the Typographical Association, which in less than 50 years had increased its membership from 481 to 16,179. (27)

Small wonder, therefore, that the union could declare:

Have we not a right to expect that the compositors of London, from their superior station in the ranks of artisans, have learnt that they can never better themselves by the exaction of higher wages than the profits of capital can allow; but they nevertheless have a right, as a body, to regulate their numbers as in some degree of proportion the supply of labour to the demand, and if possible secure to each member of the trade such quantity of employment as shall prevent him from being a mendicant dependent on the classes above him. (28)

The expansion of the Press during the second half of the nineteenth century led to a strong demand for cheap and quicker typesetting. Although there had been great improvements in the printing processes -- considerably facilitated by the introduction of stereo plates -- there was still a major obstacle to faster printing: each page had to be set separately by hand for each press and the type subsequently distributed into appropriate cases.

In 1857, James Dellagan discovered that by using damp papier-mache boards he was able to produce moulds from each page of type into which molten lead could be poured to take as many stereotype plates as were required. By bending the moulds into a half-circle before casting, curved stereo plates could be made for clamping on the cylinders of the newly-improved Cowper press. (It is interesting to note that it is only these past twelve months that this practice has ceased in Fleet Street).

But in spite of these technical developments, there were no startling changes in composition, and the compositor of the 1850s had to set every en of type by hand. Several attempts had been made to develop mechanical composition, but it was not until the mid-1860s that the first machine of any real value was introduced. This was the Hattersley, which had the output of three compositors and was first introduced at The Eastern Morning News in Hull. (29) Although much quicker than hand setting, the Hattersley and its rival, the Kastenbein, were not much cheaper, because the type had to be distributed by hand and arranged in the magazines.

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Such work was done in the provinces by unskilled men or boys and sometimes girls. In Fleet Street, however, the London Society of Compositors took a much stricter view of the work and would not permit the distribution of type by anyone except skilled craftsmen. The result was that The Times, still non-union, was the only newspaper office where the machine was used with any regularity. Another machine which achieved a certain vogue at this time was the Thorne, introduced from America and worked by a three-man team of an operator, justifier and "man behind". Based on the same principles as the Hattersley, it was much faster, with speeds as high as 10,000-14,000 lines an hour being attained by experienced operators. First introduced into the offices of The Bradford Observer and The Manchester Guardian and Evening News in 1889, it seemed set to sweep the country.

But during that same year, the Linotype machine was introduced into Britain and installed in The Newcastle Weekly Chronicle and The Leeds Mercury shortly afterwards. The first Fleet Street newspaper to install the Linotype machine was The Financial News quickly followed by The Globe and Traveller in 1892; by the turn of the century the largest Linotype installations were in The Manchester Guardian (which had quickly rejected the Thorne), The Manchester Sporting Chronicle and The Daily Telegraph, with nearly 120 machines between them. (31) The Standard was also not slow to re-equip with Linotypes, and Alfred Harmsworth, when launching The Daily Mail in 1895, insisted that it be set with Linotypes.

The inventor of the Linotype was Ottmar Mergenthaler, born in Württemberg on May 10, 1854. He became a clock and watch maker, before emigrating to the United States in 1872 to work in Washington D.C. His first attempt at designing a

composing machine was to develop a process of typewriting without having to set the type, but his experiments into impressing characters into a paper mache machine failed, and the project was abandoned in 1879. Less than four years later -- with the aid of 300,000 dollars from a syndicate of American newspaper men who bought a controlling interest in Mergenthaler's machine -- he was able to launch the Linotype. Described by Thomas Edison as the eighth wonder of the world, the Linotype machine was to reign supreme in newspapers for more than a century. (32)

The Linotype was indeed the breakthrough and by 1902 there were 1,172 machines in the various branches of the Typographical Association, and hand composition was rapidly becoming obsolete. (33) Although not adopting a Luddite attitude, the Association was resolved to secure a share in the increased productivity - a resolve no doubt hardened by the following advertisement which had appeared in 1894: "500 intelligent men of good character willing to learn the operation of Linotype machines and so become operators in newspaper printing offices, and be able to earn regular wages of from £2 to £5 per week, according to efficiency, when vacancies occur. As fast as 500 men are trained and certified, further men will be put under training. (34)

Such a threat could not be ignored by the Association who immediately published advertisements in the leading papers and trade journals, describing the precarious conditions of the hand compositors. The newspaper owners themselves established the Linotype Users' Association, began negotiations with the Typographical Association, and as a result the first-ever national conference between the employers and employees was held in Manchester on February 16, 1897. The local branches of the Typographical Association, however, vehemently objected to losing their independence and often rejected the terms negotiated by their Association's Executive,

accusing them of compromise and surrender. "Nevertheless, the Executive won their way and succeeded, after several more conferences with the Linotype Users' Committee, in negotiating national agreements for the working of Linotype machines on stab (1898) and piece (1903)." (35)

For the Executive, the agreements with the Linotype users' were more than satisfactory. The new rates were roughly one third of the hand news rates, but output on the machine was five or six times that of the hand compositors, and the earnings of full-time Linotype operators was almost doubled under the new pay scales. Thus it was easy to see why the union proclaimed that: "It can be asserted unhesitatingly and without fear of contradiction that the Scale then agreed upon was from first to last most favourable to case and machine hands; and it has on more than one occasion been suggested that the employers' representatives were 'caught napping' when assisting to frame it." (36)

As for the printers of Fleet Street papers they could declare that "If machinery is to be introduced, we claim a right to benefit by its introduction; but if it can only be made to pay at the expense of those who have served an apprenticeship to the trade, we submit that in such an event no real advantage is to be derived." (37)

Those members of the newspaper chapels need not have worried, for the London Society of Compositors (L.S.C.) -- formed in 1853 following a joint campaign against the introduction of non-union labour of The Morning Post and The Sun -- had the matter well in hand. When it became apparent that the Linotype machine was becoming an integral part of all new composing rooms, the Society commenced negotiations with the proprietors of the London daily newspapers. The first agreement, which was signed in June 1894 and was to run until the end of 1895, contained several concessions to the L.S.C.'s demand to control the operation of the machines, the most important of which stipulated that: "All skilled operators shall be members of the L.S.C., preference being given to members on the companionship into which the machines are

introduced." (38) For the L.S.C. Executive, it was a major step forward in the history of industrial relations in Britain and the first admission of a trade union's right to exclusive operation of a machine. But in reality the L.S.C. had little to fear, because emerging from this industrial revolution with enlarged membership and funds, it had succeeded in increasing wages and reducing hours with improved working conditions -- for hand compositors as well as for operators -- at a cost of a few strikes and with a minimum of industrial unrest.

One incident, however, which caused some concern was related in the following "Report of the Linotype Company to Shareholders" by the Secretary on March 1, 1896:

The last subject on my notes is the question of training schools. We have dealt with them in the Report and I want to show you that these schools are not entirely unproductive. The other day there was a strike at the offices of the morning newspaper which uses Linotypes and that newspaper appealed to us and we furnished them with the services of 25 efficient men and they were able to make the change from a unionist to a non-unionist office without the slightest disturbance of business. It never occasioned the loss of half an hour in bringing out the paper. (39)

Setting aside this one set back, the L.S.C. had managed to achieve its two main objectives: (1) to retain a "fair" share of work for hand compositors during the transition and (2) to obtain such rates and conditions that operators would not indulge in speed contests. This was quite apparent in the fact that the operators' average output of 6,000 ens per hour was only two-thirds of the American equivalent.

Although The Standard fell in line with other Fleet Street newspapers on pay structures for members of the printing unions, on the domestic side its terms were much better than its competitors. In his role as General Manager, Mudford had announced that the granting of summer holidays, which had been tried for some time in the composing room, would be further extended. Compositors who had been in the employ

of The Standard for less than ten years would, henceforth be allowed one week summer holiday; for ten years and under fifteen, ten days; for fifteen years and under twenty-five, two weeks; and for twenty-five years, three weeks each, all, of course, with full pay. As an employer, Mudford was, indeed, benevolent and was following the practices of his predecessors, Baldwin and Johnstone. No doubt, this was one of the main reasons why industrial relations at Shoe Lane were generally good.

5.4: The New Unions

The most significant change in trade union structure during the 1880s and 1890s was the formation of unions of semi-skilled men and women. In 1889 the successful strikes of the Dockers and Gasworkers -- two huge unions of unskilled and unorganized workers -- inspired workers in other industries to emulate their example. Thus in August 1889 labourers in the large London printing firm of Spottiswoode came out on strike in support of their leaders' demands for a minimum wage of 20s, a standard week of 54 hours, and overtime at 6d per hour. This resulted in the first victory for the newly-formed Printers' Labourers' Union which, aided by the London Society of Compositors, was within 12 months able to announce that the Union had 800 members and a "good round sum in the bank" (40)

From this small beginning emerged the National Operative Printers' Assistants Society, which, under the leadership of George Isaacs, was able to boast a membership of more than 7,000 by 1914. This was to be a Society with ambitions to extend its membership into other areas, a view expressed by James Moran in his official history of NATSOPA, when he declared:

We may laugh at the attempts of the eighteenth-century Tallow Chandlers to keep gas lighting from the streets of London as being harmful to their trade. . . but in seeking to protect

particular crafts, certain unions have, in effect, been seeking also for a permanently stratified society, which seems at odds with egalitarian views expressed at other times. (41)

As for the craft union under attack, the Typographical Association was convinced that it was almost impregnable, for by 1914 the technological revolution in composition was virtually complete, and almost all newspaper offices were using Linotype machines. The transition had been amazingly swift and smooth, but it was fortunate for the union that the machines came on the scene during an era of great expansion within the newspaper and printing industry.

Although hundreds had been displaced, with many compositors being re-absorbed on worst terms on casual work and make-up, overall the Typographical Association (the forerunner of the present National Graphical Association) had every reason to be proud of its achievements during this industrial revolution in the printing industry and could well state:

That the manner in which we have dealt with this question . . . has been productive of results which may be described as unique in the history of trade unionism . . . No organisation outside the printing trade has been able to cope with the introduction of machines with the success which has marked our efforts . . . In no other trade . . . has the working of machines been exclusively secured to members of the Union . . . No other trade union has ever succeeded in obtaining so full and absolute recognition of what may be termed its restrictive rules, and no trade union has been able so far to maintain its position, in spite of adverse influences, as to render its assent an absolute factor in the settlement of working conditions. (42)

The newspaper industry, has already noted, had itself become organized, but labour was well under the control of the craft unions and in less than 50 years the membership of the Typographical Association had leapt from 481 to 16,179.

The repeal of the Stamp Act had marked the defeat of an attitude of mind on the part of Governments which had determined the place of the Press in British society for a century -- the conviction that the lower classes could not be trusted. As Prime Minister, Gladstone asserted that

When it [The Stamp Act] was first introduced, machinery often appeared cruel to working men. The first stage of its application often entailed a good deal of individual hardship to working men in special cases, but to working men in the long run it has been an enormous blessing. (43)

But Gladstone had been sufficiently prescient to realise that an expanding readership would inspire increased public demands and that the introduction of machinery fulfilled this demand.

5.5: The Proprietors' Associations

Alarmed at the prospect of confronting powerful national unions and a national federation of unions, the employers realized that their organization need strengthening.

Thus, in April 1901 the Federation of Master Printers came into being, largely through the promptings of Walter Hazell, who became its first president. The London daily newspaper proprietors were associated with the new national federation, but it was to be a short-lived association, for in May 1906 the L.S.C. reached an impasse with the London Master Printers' Association (M.P.A.) in negotiations on overtime, night shifts and Monotype scale of charges. Simultaneously, the Printing Machine Managers' Trade Society and the Natsopa became involved in a dispute with the London firm of Hamptons. Suspecting that the management was attacking the Society in one office after another, the L.S.C. presented an ultimatum to the M.P.A. declaring that if L.S.C. members were not reinstated the Society would call a general strike of all London compositors.

Thoroughly alarmed by the prospect of a general strike and realising the huge potential losses in revenue, a group of daily newspaper proprietors approached the L.S.C. and agreed to withdraw from the M.P.A. and conduct separate negotiations with the Society, on the understanding that there would be no further involvement of daily newspapers in any dispute in the general printing industry. The Hampton dispute thus gave rise to the Newspaper Proprietors' Association -- and for the Society a great bloodless victory had been achieved. This climb-down by the proprietors was to be the first of many in the ensuing years of the century; but for the Society it had only confirmed what they had long suspected -- the power lay in the hands of the workforce.

While the Newspaper Proprietors' Association was representing the national newspapers, the Provincial Press was looked after by the Linotype Users' Association (L.U.A.) formed in 1895 with the purpose of negotiating with the Typographical Association a national agreement which would regulate working practices. There had been earlier associations of provincial newspapers, but these were generally of a regional nature. Now, under the leadership of Lascelles Carr, the L.U.A. quickly became the leading negotiating body in the Provincial Press; later, in 1920, it would be reconstituted as the Newspaper Society, after absorbing other newspaper organizations. The management patterns for the next 60 years had been set.

5.6: Organization of Journalists

There was now also a growing demand for journalists to be represented as a national negotiating body. Until the turn of the century, the journalist had viewed himself as very much "the gentleman of the Press". Most of the journalists -- especially on the quality newspapers -- appeared to have come straight from Oxford University, often on a personal recommendation of a

friend of the editor, and, if not satisfactory, there was no problem in dismissing the man. Some journalists, mainly Parliamentary correspondents,--knew shorthand, but there was little if any formal training for newsmen. On The Standard, Mudford had ruled like an emperor, having no compunction to summarily fire any of his employees. Indeed, he dismissed most of The Standard's journalists when taking up the editorship. But all this was about to change with the incorporation of the Royal Charter of the Institute of Journalists in 1890, and the establishment of the National Union of Journalists (N.U.J.) in 1907. Most proprietors were very much against organisation of their journalistic staff by the National Union of Journalists. There was, however, one notable exception.

One of the Union's most ardent advocates at this time was, oddly enough, Lord Northcliffe, owner of The Daily Mail. Thus, he wrote to Horace Saunders, secretary of the N.U.J.'s Central London branch, in July 1912:

In the last twenty years our craft has risen from a humble, haphazard and badly paid occupation to a regular profession, which must, in the future, offer increasing opportunities to men and women of ability. It has therefore become all the more necessary that newspaper workers should adopt the methods of other professions, and form a society for mutual protection and encouragement.

The introduction of all manner of time saving machinery within the last few years has made the work less arduous, but more nerve exhausting, and it is incumbent that journalists should unite for the obtaining of longer holidays and better pay . . . It is not in my opinion wise or politic for newspaper proprietors and journalists to belong to the same institution, and I have been much pleased to notice that there is nothing of the cap-in-hand and beanfeast business about your Society. (44)

The letter, which was read at the Union's first annual banquet, was greeted with repeated applause and merited the statement that "it holds a permanent place in our annals." In another gesture of goodwill, Northcliffe gave the Union a column on the leader page of The Daily Mail to proclaim its constitution and policy.

(45)

But to the Institute of Journalists (I.O.J.), Northcliffe was less forthcoming and told its President, James Sykes, when asked to address their annual conference:

I am not of a particularly resentful nature, but I really owe nothing to the Institute of Journalists, except a great deal of abuse. If you care to see the early records of the Institute you will find that the proprietors of the penny papers used the Institute as a means of attacking my colleagues and me. For that reason I have never had anything to do with the Institute and do not propose to have, other than contribute to the Orphan Fund. Sometimes plain speaking does no harm. (46)

Five years later, on December 14, 1917, representatives of the Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists, separately, met the proprietors to discuss new salaries. The I.O.J., through its new President, Sir Edmund Robbins, sought an increase of 25 per cent on all salaries. The N.U.J., showing the old Northcliffe letter, now framed and regarded as the Union's charter, "put forward a reasonable set of proposals." (47) Writing to F. J. Mansfield, Vice-President of the N.U.J., on the following day, December 14, Northcliffe commented that:

It seems a pity that there should be two separate deputations to the N.P.A. [Newspaper Proprietors' Association]. You know the Union will have my support in any negotiations with the newspaper proprietors. I am one of the few newspaper owners who have been through the mill of reporter, sub-editor, and I have very vivid and resentful recollections of underpaid work for overpaid management. (48)

Other newspaper proprietors were not as far-sighted as Northcliffe, and it was not until 1920 that an editorial chapel was founded at The Evening Standard when it became part of the newly-formed Hulton Editorial Chapel. The first Father of the Chapel was William Colley, a distinguished feature writer, who was to hold the post for four years. Later, Colley recalled:

I received every encouragement from Sir Edward Hulton and Mr James Heddle (editor) and it proved of the highest value in the settlement of difficulties and smoothing out problems. With more than 140 members it was to become the largest and one of the most influential chapels in Fleet Street, and with the aid of the management helped in many cases of hardship. But the professional questions loomed most in our proceedings and work was done with the management's cordial co-operation on all occasions. It is my considered view that a chapel, a strong chapel, a chapel co-operating with the management is a necessity alike in the interests of employers and employed -- and the general welfare and progress of the Press. (49)

Unfortunately, many of these principles were to be surrendered within two years by the print unions in their support of the coal miners' strike, culminating in the General Strike. The strike lasted nine days, May 4-12, 1926, and during this period the Government was determined to keep up a flow of information to the public through both the Press and radio. On Saturday before the General Strike (May 1) The Evening Standard commented: "It may be hoped that a sane spirit will prevail . . .but if trouble of the kind come the Government will have the nation behind it in resisting any attempts to force it to surrender." (50) That same day, Lord Beaverbrook, the new proprietor, was summoned to the offices of his other journal, The Sunday Express, where Fathers of the Chapel were objecting to the publication of a government advertisement in The Standard.

Beaverbrook compromised by removing a few words from the advertisement and here was the first instance of trade union censorship of the press. Beaverbrook's editor on The Daily Express, R. D. Blumenfeld, was also conciliatory and wrote a leader which the workers agreed to print. (51) However, The Daily Mail, through its editor, Thomas Marlowe, encountered difficulties with his outspoken comments. Many of the production staff objected and sought to intervene, Marlowe refused and the paper was not produced by the workers. It is said that this incident finally gave Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin the excuse to break off negotiations with the T.U.C.

But Beaverbrook was determined to print his papers, even if it meant giving way to the printing unions and later recalled: "I should have been perfectly prepared to go on publishing at almost any cost . . . even though the actual editing of The Evening Standard was interfered with by the Fathers of the Chapels. The editorial were an honourable exception and did co-operate." (52) Meanwhile, negotiations had broken down with the printing unions because J. Wilson, the chairman, would not agree to "publishing at almost any price". Beaverbrook offered to return and meet the men, but, as he subsequently wrote, "the directors demurred. As the principal shareholder but not a director I had no right to give a direction or an order though I had made my opinion clear." (53) Unfortunately, Beaverbrook's manner in this dispute only served to make the Chapels more aware of their power -- a power they were to use repeatedly during the ensuing fifty years. With newsprint cheap -- £8 per tonne compared with the present £450 per tonne -- Beaverbrook was determined to print at any price, and would concede to almost any demand. But woe betide the manager who lost an edition because of a matter of principle.

Throughout this chapter there has been a theme of a gradual increase in power of the working man in the newspaper industry. The development of the craft societies, leading to the national unions and -- more importantly -- the tremendous pressures exerted by the local Chapels. Until the very recent advent of the new technology, with Eddie Shah as the catalyst and Rupert Murdoch at Wapping, unions were in almost complete control in the newspaper industry, and much of that was the result of the dog-eat-dog attitude of the individual proprietors and the ineffectiveness of their own organization.

Chapter Six

NEWS GATHERING

Ben Jonson's play The Staple of News, presented about 1626, centres on the absurdity of news gathering as an activity; but history has not supported Jonson's judgment. It has been argued that the advent of mass communications represents the greatest change in human consciousness that had occurred in recorded history. (1) Certainly, the last decade of the nineteenth century proved the point that the newly-educated masses were an eager audience for the Daily Press. The development of new methods of newspaper production undoubtedly contributed to this demand, but, more than anything else, the advent of the electric telegraph was the catalyst. One example proves the point: the Franco-Prussian War marked the decline of William Howard Russell, the renowned foreign correspondent of The Times. In September 1870, after covering the horrors of the battle of Sedan, he wrote his despatch and hurried through the night to Printing House Square. However, he was too late . . . the opposition, including The Standard, through the use of the telegraph, had published the news of the German victory two days earlier.

Although such a personage as Dr Samuel Johnson asserted in The Universal Chronicle on May 27, 1758, when ruminating on the merits of his fellow scribes and the Press, that

The compilation of newspapers is often committed to narrow and mercenary minds, not qualified for the task of delighting or instructing, who are content to fill their paper with whatever matter is at hand, without industry to gather or discernment to select . . . The tale of the morning paper is told in the evening, and the narratives of the evening are brought out again in the morning. (2)

and, six months later, commented that: "A news-writer is a man without virtue who lies at home for his own profit. To these compositions is required neither genius nor knowledge, neither industry nor sprightliness, but contempt of shame and indifference to truth are absolutely necessary." (3) he was, in fact, overstating his case.

For almost fifty years during the eighteenth century, writers had roamed the coffee houses of London seeking the news in almost 500 such premises, each with its clientele. But the reporters' task was not without its risks, for the House of Commons had passed a resolution warning "News-writers" not to presume to meddle with and distort the debates or any other proceedings of Parliament. One of the first casualties of this resolution was the writer, Dyer, who was thrashed by Lord Mohun in a coffee-house for having mentioned him in one of his published reports.

From his lofty position of The Spectator, Addison observed that the Press, in its treatment of the news, "receive the same advices from abroad and very often in the same words; but their way of cooking is so different that there is no citizen who has an eye to the public good that can leave the coffee-house with peace of mind, before he has given every one of them a reading." (4)

6.1: The Struggle for a Free Press

Two events stand out in the eighteenth century in the struggle for a free Press: the tenacity of John Wilkes and the letters of Junius. Born in 1727, Wilkes was an M.P., libertine, and publisher of The North Briton. As a wit and a rake, his courage and calculated insolence in dealing with the Crown and Parliament made him the idol of the masses, and as a journalist he was responsible for securing the tacit removal of the ban on reporting Parliamentary debates. He also enhanced the freedom of the electorate and helped accomplish the abolition of the general warrant.

On June 5, 1762, some twelve months after the launch of The St. James's Chronicle, Wilkes established The North Briton as a weekly journal of six pages. Week after week he published scurrilous attacks on the Earl of Bute and the Scottish influence on the court of the newly-crowned George III. In the first issue of The North Briton, Wilkes declared that:

The Liberty of the Press is the birthright of a Briton, and is justly esteemed the finest bulwark of the liberties of this country. It has been the terror of all bad ministers; for their dark and dangerous designs, or their weakness, inability, and duplicity, have thus detected, and shown the public generally in too strong colours for them long to bear against the odium of mankind." (5)

His assaults on the Government reached their peak on April 23, 1763, when, in the famous issue Number 45, a number that was to haunt the ministerial mind for many years, Wilkes wrote a long and highly damaging article on the King's Speech, which was mainly directed at the conclusion of the peace treaty ending The Seven Years War by Lord Bute, in which he asserted that:

The King's Speech has always been considered by the legislature and by the public at large, as the Speech of the Minister . . . This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind . . . I wish as much as any man in the kingdom to see the honour of the crown maintained in a manner truly becoming Royalty. I lament to see it sunk even to prostitution. (6)

George III and his Government were appalled by these remarks, and within days the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General held that the article was "an infamous and seditious libel, tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his Majesty, and to excise them to traitorous insurrections against his Government, and therefore punishable as a misdemeanour of the highest nature." (7)

A general warrant authorizing the arrest of the printers, writers and publishers -- in all 48 persons -- was issued. Wilkes, a Member of Parliament, promptly sought a Writ of Habeas Corpus and in his appeal to the court stated that

The liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and, what touches me more sensibly, that of all the middling and inferior set of people, who stand most in need of protection, is in my case this day to be finally decided upon a question of such importance as to determine at once whether English liberty shall be a reality or a shadow. (8)

The Lord Chief Justice Pratt upheld Wilkes' plea of privilege, and he was released from gaol and borne in triumph to Westminster. As the crowds now took up the cry "Wilkes and Liberty!", Wilkes quickly followed up this success by taking action against the Government for illegal arrest, a point seized upon by the others. All were ultimately awarded heavy damages and the Lord Chief Justice ruled that the Government's issue of a general warrant was illegal. The case cost the Government more than £100,000 in damages and expenses. However, the matter was not to rest, for in the ransacking of Wilkes' house a copy of Essay of Woman, a pornographic parody of Pope's Essay on Man, was found. The House of Lords now ruled that it was "a most scandalous, obscene and impious libel" and the peer chosen to move the resolution was Lord Sandwich, a one-time member (with Wilkes) of the Hellfire Club and one of the most notorious rakes of his day.

Following this resolution, Sandwich was henceforth named "Jemmy Twitcher", after the character in The Beggar's Opera, for having thus turned on his fellow libertine. In a verbal clash on another occasion, Sandwich had received from Wilkes one of the most devastating retorts on record. In reply

to Sanwich's assertion, "Wilkes, you will die of a pox or on the gallows," Wilkes remarked, "That depends my Lord, on whether I embrace your mistress or your principles." (9)

A motion was now passed in the House of Commons stating that the privileges of Parliament did not extend to the writing or the publishing of seditious libels and, as a consequence, Wilkes was formally expelled from the House. Legal proceedings started afresh and he was found guilty of republishing The North Briton and publishing the Essay of Woman. Wounded in a duel, Wilkes fled to France and in his absence was declared an outlaw. An attempt to burn copies of The North Briton outside the Royal Exchange led to a riot in which several law officers were roughly handled. In 1768, Wilkes returned from exile and, although technically still an outlaw, stood for the City of London in the parliamentary election but was defeated. Standing next for Middlesex he won by more than 400 votes, but he was twice refused his seat. In a third election the Ministry put up its own candidate, who was elected, even though he had polled fewer votes. London was in an uproar and everywhere the sign "45" was to be seen. Benjamin Franklin observed that "there was not a door or window to be found in the City that was not marked with the figures 45, and this was continued here and there quite to Winchester which is sixty-four miles." (10)

During these Middlesex elections, Wilkes was imprisoned, having been fined £1,000 and sentenced to 22 months' imprisonment for the reprinting of issue No. 45 and the publication of the Essay of Woman. Even though incarcerated, his popularity with the people hardly waned and, as Burke so aptly noted, "Since the fall of Ld. Chatham there has been no man of the Mob but Wilkes."

If Parliamentary parties could ignore the wishes of the people, and install their own men, who were open to corruption and who would vote accordingly, then Parliamentary elections meant nothing. The masses in London refused to accept this state of affairs and the protest movement reached its peak with the so-called Massacre of St. George's Field on May 10, 1768, when a dozen rioters were killed by the military. But Wilkes was not alone in his fight, for less than twelve months later, in April 1769, The Lord Mayor, William Beckford, and other partisans of Wilkes, launched The Middlesex Chronicle or Chronicle of Liberty, a thrice-weekly newspaper "to vindicate the cause of depressed liberty by exhibiting in full view to the people every measure that has already been taken and every attempt that may further made . . ." (11) Among the contributors to the new paper was the precocious Thomas Chatterton, soon to commit suicide at the age of 17, who wrote letters for the paper in the style of "Junius".

6.2: The Letters of "Junius"

"Junius" had a greater impact than Wilkes in the struggle for a free Press. Although there is still doubt on his identity, "Junius" was, almost certainly, Sir Philip Francis, who was fortunate in having the complete support of a fearless publisher in Henry Woodfull. Not only by their brilliance and force, but by their regularity, the Letters of "Junius" made public opinion a genuine voice in politics. They first appeared in The Public Advertiser on January 21, 1769, and from the beginning were much admired by contemporaries for their style and incisive prose. It was early on apparent that "Junius" had inside information and that nothing or no one was sacred and all were open to attack. But it was in the Letter of December 19, 1769, that "Junius" achieved lasting fame. It was addressed to the King, and the following extracts provide something of the tone of its biting invective:

Sire, - It is the misfortune of your life . . . that you should never have been acquainted with the language of truth, until you heard it in the complaints of your people. It is not, however, too late to correct the error . . . Come forward to your people . . . Tell them you are determined to remove every cause of complaint against your government . . . (12)

The Letter concluded in the most telling of phrases, one which has been repeated on numerous occasions: "The prince who imitates their conduct should be warned by their example; and while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that as it was acquired by one revolution it may be lost by another." (13)

Two days after the appearance of this letter in The Public Advertiser, Henry Baldwin reprinted it in The St. James's Chronicle. So important was this letter that it was also reproduced in Say's Gazette, John Miller's London Evening Post, George Robinson's Independent Chronicle, and John Alum's London Museum. The success of "Junius's" Letter was such that all the contemporary newspapers recorded an increase in sales and The Public Advertiser itself had a circulation rise from 3,400 to more than 5,000. Reacting with alacrity, the Government prosecuted all the newspapers. One result of the subsequent "Junius" Trial was that the reporting of Parliamentary debates increased and with greater accuracy in the newspapers. In a bid to check this state of affairs, the House of Commons, on a motion from Col. Onslow, moved on February 5, 1771, to reaffirm a resolution of 1738 prohibiting the publication of its proceedings. This was, of course, quickly seized upon by the Press, and in John Wheble's Middlesex Journal there appeared the following comment: "It was reported that a scheme was at last hit upon by the ministry to prevent the public from being informed of their iniquity; accordingly, on Tuesday last, little cocking George Onslow made a motion that an order against printing Debates should be read . . ." (14)

This item was immediately reproduced in The Gazzeteer, and both printers were summoned to appear before The Commons. It seemed as if the whole affair had been orchestrated by Wilkes, as neither printer appeared at the bar of the House. An irate Onslow now extended the writ to cover The St. James's Chronicle, Morning Chronicle, London Packet, Whitehall Evening Post, General Evening Post, and London Evening Post. As a result, Baldwin and Wright were made to kneel in penance before the Speaker (the last ever to do so) and, after being reprimanded, were discharged on paying their fees. Baldwin rose in silence, ostentatiously brushing his knees, and in an audible aside remarked, "What a damned dirty House." Worried at putting their printer at risk in the future, the proprietors of The Chronicle resolved on March 4 "That it is advisable to take the Proceedings of the House of Commons under the title of Details of the Representatives of the People of Utopia; and the Printer to be desired to take his measures accordingly." (16)

A month later, Wilkes took the case a stage further, allowing Wheble to be arrested by a fellow-printer in the City. He was then brought before Wilkes, the Sitting Alderman, at the Guildhall, and discharged. A similar occurrence then took place with Miller, who had been apprehended on the authority of a warrant signed by the Speaker of The Commons. At the Guildhall, Lord Mayor Brass, Oliver, and Wilkes demanded on "What authority could a citizen of London be arrested within the jurisdiction of its magistrates?" The Speaker's warrant, they declared, was illegal. It was now a direct conflict between Parliament and the City: the Lord Mayor and Oliver were arrested, found guilty of breach of privilege, and sent to the Tower. At the end of the session they were released, to the roar of a 21-gun salute, and escorted in triumph by more than fifty carriages to the Mansion house. To the people of London a great victory had been achieved -- the Press was finally free and the right to report Parliament confirmed.

6.3: Collection of Foreign News

From the 1780s, the major improvements in news handling were in the reporting of parliamentary debates, largely as a result of the efforts of Wilkes and his friends, and in the collection of foreign news, the latter being especially relevant during the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Most newspapers, though, lacking staff journalists, relied heavily on correspondents -- especially serving army officers -- and translations from Continental newspapers for their foreign news. Thus, only days before the storming of the Bastille, on July 14, 1789, The Oracle announced in its first issue, "Ye Moralists, ye Poets, Historians, Philosophers and Politicians! Ye Artists and Men of Commerce, send therefore your communications hither". (17)

Nine days later, the paper had sixteen contributions, three of which were rejected for venom, one for blatant libel, and one for blasphemy (18). The trouble was not a dearth of news from the Continent, but almost too much. Unlike the War of American Independence when, as a result of the vast distance involved, communications were slow and scant, information from Europe was freely available and editors were faced with the decision as to how much war news could be carried, at the expense of home stories. Thus, The Courier noted in 1795: "We have received a great number of letters, and of Dutch, German and French papers, of which the extreme length of the debate in the House of Commons prevents us at present from entering into detail." (19)

The Government, naturally, was not slow in communicating its point of view on foreign policy to the press, no doubt helped considerably by the bribes offered and accepted by the press. However, there was still competition between the London newspapers on being first with the news from the Continent. Thus, The Oracle stated that: "As a proof that The Oracle still retains its boasted superiority in point of continental intelligence, yesterday's paper contained two entire days of the proceedings of the National Assembly later than any of our contemporaries." (20)

The Sun, of June 14, 1796, commenting on reports of a battle between the Austrian and French forces, declared: "We wait with the most anxious impatience for the arrival of two Hamburg mails that still remain due, from which alone we can expect to derive any authentic intelligence on the subject." (21) That the reporting of foreign news was always important in selling newspapers was readily acknowledged by George Colman in one of the early issues of The St. James's Chronicle when he wrote:

During the time of war, a battle in Germany, a fort stormed in the West Indies, or a Nabob created in the East, is worth forty shillings to every paper that reprints that particulars from The Gazette Extraordinary; nay a town taken or a town lost is equally to the advantage of these half-sheet historians; and the perpetual curiosity kept alive by the public anxiety, sells off whole quires of deaths, marriages and bankruptcies. How great must be the dread of the consequence of peace to the proprietors of the swarm of Advertisers, Gazetteers, Ledgers, Journals, Chronicles, Evening Posts? A peace, which will lie heavier on their papers than the double duty on the stamps! My good friend Mr. H. Baldwin of White Friars has already expressed to me his fears on this occasion. He fairly tells me to my face, that though the Genius were to stand in the front of his paper three times a week, the public attention would flag without great incidents and alarming paragraphs. (22)

Colman certainly confirmed that Baldwin, throughout his ownership of The St. James's Chronicle, was ever aware of the need to cover foreign wars in the quest to increase the circulation. His son, Charles, also, both on The Chronicle and later with The Standard, followed the same pattern. Something of the flavour of their style is apparent in the reporting of the Battles of Trafalgar and of Waterloo in The St. James's Chronicle.

News of the Battle of Trafalgar, on October 21, 1805, did not reach London until November 6, and the full despatch to the Admiralty from Vice-Admiral Cuthbert Collingwood, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels off

Cadiz, was published in 2½ columns. In twelve-point single-column capitals it is headed: THURSDAY, NOV. 7: NAVAL INTELLIGENCE. THE LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY. WEDNESDAY, NOV. 6: "The ever-to-be lamented death of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory . . ." On the last of the four-page issue there is a Postscript of half-column: DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE COMBINED FLEETS AND DEATH OF LORD NELSON. The tribute to Nelson ends: "Even the ashes of such a man as Nelson are prolific. What British seaman, who recollects his name, will not endeavour to emulate his glory?" For the remainder of the year, 1805, Nelson and Trafalgar were mentioned in every issue, including the Thanksgiving Ceremony ordered by the King for December, and the report of Surgeon Beaty, who was present at Nelson's death. In Beaty's verbatim account, there is no mention of Nelson having said, "Kiss me Hardy". (23)

The battle of Waterloo, on June 15, 1815, is covered in even greater detail, for in the issue on Saturday, June 17 - Tuesday, June 20, [the issue covered four days] there is a postscript headed: IMPORTANT NEWS. COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES. MOST DREADFUL BATTLE. "The long looked-for contest has at last begun by Napoleon's making one of those furious and desperate attacks, for which his campaigns are distinguished . . ." The Postscript comprises only a dozen paragraphs and ends on the following note of doubt: "Since writing the above we have heard that a telegraphic communication states the battle to have been fought, and the French have been obliged to retreat. We cannot vouch for this -- the Messenger has not arrived."

In the following issue June 16, however, victory is confirmed; and the account covers four columns over pages three and four under a bold single column heading: GREAT VICTORY. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS. The despatch brought by Hon. Major H. Percy. WELLINGTON'S DESPATCH. GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

"I send with this despatch two eagles taken by the troops in action, which Major Percy will have the honour of laying at the feet of His Royal Highness . . ." The Postscript, which covers two columns on the back page, is headed: OFFICIAL CONFIRMATION OF A GREAT AND DECISIVE VICTORY. Due honour was accorded to the Iron Duke and his troops with profuse praise and the tribute concluded with the statement that "Nothing was wanting to complete the military fame of our illustrious Wellington but a decided victory over Napoleon." (24) Interestingly, almost all the newspapers of the day relied, first and foremost, on the official despatch, before accounts of the battle, from serving army officers, were published during the ensuing week. And the Postscript, published on Saturday, June 17, 1815, is a very early example of the telegraph being used to send brief, but vital, information.

6.4: Home News Sources

Although Giffard had joined The St. James's Chronicle as a journalist in 1813, his forte was that of a political writer -- a task he performed for six years before being appointed editor of the paper. The journalistic staff on his paper at this time was less than a dozen and certainly not large enough to cover provincial stories. Thus, on Wednesday, July 21, 1819, The Chronicle reporter covered a rally of more than 20,000 Reformists held at Smithfield, London, and addressed by Orator Hunt. In a delicious phrase, the reporter noted that the meeting which "included the idlers who came from curiosity and the pickpockets who attended professionally", (25) had passed without incident. It was far different less than a month later, on August 16, when Hunt spoke in Manchester at a meeting that was to culminate in the Peterloo Massacre. Giffard had no reporter present, but relied upon accounts from Manchester journalists John Edward Taylor and Archibald Prentice, and, almost certainly, a "rejig" of John William Tyas's copy for The Times. Nevertheless, the sub-editors on The Chronicle made

it a striking and finely-written story, covering the events from the arrival of the marchers at the Fields at 10.30 a.m. until the charge of the Yeomanry four hours later:

. . . We saw the Editor of The Manchester Observer being attacked . . . another victim five yards of us in another direction had his nose completely taken off by a blow from a sabre, whilst another was laid prostrate. Seeing this hideous work going on we felt an alarm which any man may be forgiven for feeling in a similar situation. Looking around us, we saw a constable at no great distance, and thinking that our only chance of safety rested in placing ourselves under his protection we appealed to him for assistance. He immediately took us into custody . . . (26)

That, even twenty years later, The Standard, under Giffard's editorship, was not averse to using reports from other newspapers including The Times and The Morning Herald is apparent in its coverage of the Chartists Riots in Newport on November 13, 1839:

TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 5

ALARMING CHARTIST RIOTS AT NEWPORT

With deep regret we record today another of the frightful consequences of Whig-Radical teaching -- another dismal offering of British blood to the Reform idol. The deplorable tragedy is thus described in the second edition of The Times and Morning Herald.

(from The Times)

We have received the following from our correspondent at Newport:

Newport, Monday, eleven a.m.

The Chartists have almost entire possession of the Town. There are 7000 or 8000 marched in from the hills and attacking the Westgate Inn, where the magistrates are sitting. I have heard 30 or 40 shots fired, and learn that several of the Chartists as well as soldiers are killed. What the end will be only God knows; they are firing now. I write by post, but, fearing the mail may stopped I send this in addition . . .

The Morning Herald correspondent, from Bristol, reported:

Newport, two o'clock

The Chartists are in possession of the town. This morning alone about 8000 of the most desperate men, headed by Frost, the ex-magistrate and Chartist demagogue, marched into Newport from the hills armed with muskets, guns, pistols, pikes, swords and other offensive weapons (and, as I have been told, two small pieces of cannon) and commenced a violent attack on the Westgate Inn, where the magistrates were sitting. The military was promptly called out, and the attack was of the most ferocious and bloody character. They were obliged to fire upon them, and several had been killed, accounts vary between 10 and 29.

The Standard's use of reports from other newspapers, duly acknowledged, was a common feature of the early Victorian press. Indeed, even as late as the 1870s, The Glasgow Herald had an arrangement with Mudford whereby he would syndicate material from The Standard. This is still a common practice, and at the present time The Standard provides a daily service -- including legal advice -- to The Express & Star, Wolverhampton, and other clients. (27)

6.5: Challenging The Times

In previous chapters the role of Edward Baldwin has been discussed, including his grandiose plan in expanding The Standard, and nowhere was this more apparent than in his aim to improve the foreign news coverage. An early example of this occurred in the autumn of 1828. With his father, Edward arranged a plan for obtaining the earliest information from all parts of Europe; in some instances by the use of carrier pigeons but more frequently by relays of couriers who mounted at a moment's notice ready-saddled horses and conveyed the despatch to the next post on the route. The speed and efficiency of the service was proven when

News of the fate of Varna on the 11th of October, 1828, reached The Standard office and was published about



Edward Baldwin, second proprietor of The Standard
and owner of The Morning Herald

a fortnight before the arrival of the Government courier. A special messenger had been sent to the seat of war, who, travelling day and night, pushed his way so rapidly that the journey was at that time considered an impossible feat, and the news was not credited at first. On its confirmation the excitement was very great, and had a decided influence on the circulation of The Standard.
(28)

The Times was not at all amused at being beaten on this story and there developed a circulation fight between the two newspapers, with The Globe also entering into the fray. The Times referred to The Standard as that "stupid and priggish print which never by any chance deviated into candour." (29) Later, The Standard replied to the "base and filthy insinuations put forwarded by The Times" and christened The Globe "our blubber-headed contemporary." (30) During its formative years, The Standard also came under attack from The Morning Chronicle (at that time a newspaper of some importance) which declared, "It is believed that The Standard is a journal which has lately crawled into existence and is fast hastening towards dissolution." (31) In the event, it was The Morning Chronicle which met an early demise. While The Standard and The Times continued to air their differences in their columns, the underlying dispute was basically a fight to be first with the news from the Continent. Having recently purchased The Morning Herald, Edward Baldwin was excluded from sharing in the services The Herald had previously enjoyed with The Times and other papers. This fact he revealed when he wrote in The Standard on January 1, 1846:

Up to 1843, The Times, Morning Herald, Morning Chronicle and Morning Post addressed their Indian letters to the agents of their respective papers at Marseilles, and upon arrival of the steam-boat the despatches for the four journals were given to one courier who proceeded on horse-back to Paris and thence to Boulogne, where a special steam-boat was always lying waiting where one could be procur^ded, and upon the arrival of this

boat at Folkestone a special engine brought the despatches to London. In 1844, the new proprietor was not allowed to join. On the very first occasion upon which The Herald commenced its single-handed exercise our courier performed the distance from Marseilles to Paris in 48 hours -- that is two hours less than ever before accomplished. Such was the system that continued throughout the whole of the year 1844 -- the average time occupied by the Herald express between Marseilles and London being 67 hours. From 1845, The Morning Chronicle and The Morning Post withdrew. The Times and The Herald were therefore left alone to fight out the battle. The distance between Marseilles and Paris being too great to allow one courier to carry the despatches twice a month, we determined upon dividing the distance, and by appointing two couriers instead of one, thus lessening the fatigue, we calculated upon bringing the despatches from Marseilles to Paris in 42 to 44 hours instead of 48 or 50 as before. This should always have been accomplished had it not been for the unfair practices adopted by The Times agents, who unable to beat us manfully upon the road, have had to recourse to all sorts of devices to retard our courier, by hiding their bridles and saddles and in some instances actually stopping them vi et armis until The Times courier was enabled to overcome our express.

The Times account of its rivalry with The Standard is, not unexpectedly, somewhat different. According to The Times, the Government of King Louis Philippe suddenly withdrew the facilities from the courier employed by The Times for the Marseilles-Paris-Boulogne route and required that despatches should be forwarded by the ordinary channels of the French Post Office. Despite protests to Francois Guizot, the Prime Minister, and M. Humann, the Minister of Posts, the French Government would not budge. To by-pass this obstacle, The Times in October 1845 arranged through a Mr. Waghorn that the Indian mail arriving at Suez would be met by a man on a swift camel, who riding it non-stop across the desert would deliver it the next day to Waghorn himself, waiting on an Austrian ship, with steam already up, in Alexandria harbour. He would cross the Mediterranean to Dwino, 12 miles from Trieste, and then travel through Bavaria, Baden, and Belgium to the Channel ports.

The French Government retaliated immediately against The Times, and Guizot entered into a partnership with Edward Baldwin and The Morning Herald to prove that the Marseilles route was quicker than that from Trieste. The Times at once sought to join in the scheme, but Guizot replied that "this is a joint venture of ours and The Morning Herald, and consequently we cannot -- and we regret it -- allow The Times to participate in an advantage for which The Morning Herald is at the greater expense." For The Times it was a bitter blow, and they could no more than complain that

A public man and the Prime Minister of France, prosecuting a public undertaking, enters into a private partnership with the proprietor of a newspaper, and on the grounds of private interest, excludes all the world, save its partner alone, from a share of the advantage. We are more proud, however, of our defeat than of our remarkable success. We have spared no expense and no exertion, but we would not purchase M. Guizot's favour by slavish adulation; and if success can only be achieved at such a price, we are well contented to copy, as we do now, our intelligence from The Morning Herald. (32)

6.6: Julius Reuter (1816-1899)

Within less than a decade, The Standard's courier system was made obsolete, when, in 1850, a young bank clerk, Julius de Reuter, born at Cassel, Germany, was to have his first experience of collecting and distributing news. Realizing that there was a thirty-mile gap between the end of the recently constructed German telegraph line at Aix-la-Chapelle and the French and Belgian lines at Veriers, he established an organization to collect Stock Exchange prices, and by using pigeon post from Brussels to Aix got his news through hours ahead of the stage-coach service." (33) The growth of the telegraph service throughout Europe led Reuter to consider founding a news service with headquarters in Paris, but since the French authorities were not helpful he decided to make London his base and became a British subject. Renting a small office in the Royal Exchange in 1851, he employed a series of correspondents on the Continent to collect news and share prices.

With the Agence Havas of Paris and Wolff of Berlin already established, it took seven years before Reuter could make his mark. Having organized a commercial cable service to Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, Vienna and Athens, Reuter then approached The Times, and was told, dismissively, by Mowbray Morris, its manager, that: "They generally found that they could do their own business better than anyone else."

Reuter now turned to The Standard and The Morning Herald, offering free for two weeks a service of "earlier, more ample, more accurate and more important information from the Continent than they are presently receiving from their own people." (35) If successful the papers should then take the same service for £30 a month, some £10 less than they were currently paying. Reuter stressed that he intended to confine himself to facts and that accuracy and speed would be his watchwords. Hamber accepted, and he was joined by The Morning Advertiser, The Daily Telegraph, The Daily News, The Morning Post, The Morning Chronicle, and The Morning Star.

This improvement in the supply of foreign news to the London newspapers was soon to be reflected in the provincial press, when on January 1, 1859, The Electric and Magnetic, a leading telegraphic company, contracted with Reuters for the exclusive rights to supply foreign telegrams to all towns in the United Kingdom outside a fifteen-mile radius of London. (36) The demand for news -- sent over the wires at cheap rates when normal commercial traffic was low -- initially brought with it a decline in standards, especially in the leading provincial mornings. Thus, from its early days, The Manchester Guardian, in addition to its detailed Parliamentary reports, had also included long mailed despatches from its correspondents in Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, Vienna, Trieste, Danzig, Naples, Brussels, New York and Rio de Janeiro. Readers were provided with a service such as no provincial newspaper audience had ever before experienced, "but with the development of telegraphic communication it was to fall into a bog of mediocrity, a bog that for a time was to engulf the whole of the provincial press." (37)

Conscious of the potential that they now controlled, the British and foreign telegraph companies sought to corner the news by establishing their own service and endeavouring to force all newspapers to accept it by imposing prohibitive rates for individual press messages. That the London newspapers were strong enough to resist these pressures was apparent in Mowbray Morris's statement that; "We would much rather remain in ignorance of information conveyed in such a manner." But the provincial newspapers were less fortunate in their dealings with the telegraph companies: a poorly-edited, ill-presented, expensive service was certainly, in time, not going to be acceptable. It was left to John Taylor, owner of The Manchester Guardian, in 1868, to lead the Association of Proprietors of Daily Provincial Newspapers in establishing a co-operative and the result was the Press Association designed to distribute Parliamentary, foreign and domestic news to its members.

Its first task was to call on the Government to end the "despotic and arbitrary management" of the private telegraphic companies. In this respect, the Press Association secured an early victory, when the Parliamentary Select Committee appointed to investigate provincial press complaints recommended that the entire telegraphic administration should be removed from private hands and placed under the control of the Post Office, which should provide preferential news rates for press messages but not collect and sell news. In February 1870 the Press Association sent out its first telegraphed despatch from London to member newspapers all over the country and, as Dr. Lucy Brown has pointed out: "This joint action by members of an industry to push for the extension of state ownership in an area as politically sensitive as the transmission of information is an important landmark in Victorian administrative history."

(38)

Johnstone and Hamber had certainly been aware of the efficacy of the telegraph as a means of transmitting news quickly and it was this swiftness which was a contributory factor to their reviving The Standard's evening edition at 3.15 p.m. on Thursday, June 11, 1859. Thus, in its opening leader, the paper stated:



James Johnstone, third proprietor of The Standard

The evening newspaper is an indispensable requirement of these times of rapid intelligence. We cannot keep up with the news of the day without it. The telegram of one hour would almost grow stale waiting for the morning, so speedy is intercommunication, everywhere, so urgent the demand for the latest information . . . The electric wires are running the whole of the twenty-four hours; it is not asking too much of their usual medium of publication -- the Press -- that it do effective duty during half this time. (39)

Certainly, The Standard management had always believed fully in these principles. For example, Nicholas Woods, when covering the Crimean War, was an early user of the telegraph to transmit his messages. Within hours of his reporting the Charge of the Light Brigade, on October 25, 1853, his story was on a ship to Varna where it was transmitted by cable to France and then by submarine cable to England. Four years later, the first news of the Indian Mutiny was reported in the issue of Saturday, June 27, 1857: THE OVERLAND MAIL. GREAT REVOLT OF MOHAMMEDAN SOLDIERY. MASSACRE OF ENGLISH AT DELHI. (By Submarine and British Telegraph) Trieste June 26: The steamer America arrived this day at noon, in 121 hours from Alexandria.

ALEXANDRIA, June 21

The Vectis, with the Marseilles mail, left yesterday evening. The dates from India are -- Bombay, May 27; Calcutta, May 18; Madras, May 25.

It is interesting to note how the story of the Mutiny was received from Trieste and printed in less than twenty-four hours -- a great improvement upon Edward Baldwin's couriers of a decade earlier. The telegraph was to be put to even more efficient use, in conjunction with Reuter, during the American Civil War. Thus, The Standard was first with the news of the surrender of the main Confederate Army on April 11, 1865, and a week later it announced the assassination of President Lincoln. All this was a delight to Hamber, but in Mudford The Standard had an editor who would go to even greater lengths to be first with the news and who spared no expense to have details of the bombardment of Alexandria, on July 11, 1882.

telegraphed from Egypt and even paid a further £800 for one cable despatched during the Afghan War. His news during the First Boer War in the summer of 1880 was telegraphed regardless of the cost of eight shillings a word.

However, it was to the United States that Mudford was determined to have a regular cable link. Previously, The Times was the only paper with its own cable correspondent, in Philadelphia, but his despatches were often meagre. In the summer of 1881, Joseph Hatton, London correspondent of The New York Times, was invited by Mudford to "add a new wire to the telegraphic bureau, so that The Standard was in direct communication with New York and through New York with all the cities of the Republic." Before Hatton's departure for New York he was honoured at a dinner by the editor, and as Hatton later recalled:

At a little dinner which he and his manager, Mr Wood, gave to me they did me the honour of sending me to New York to pioneer and arrange the first daily newspaper cable service from that city to London. I recall the dinner as one of the pleasantest in my recollections, and Mr Mudford as a very agreeable and attractive personality. (40)

Hatton's mission was highly successful and almost immediately he achieved a magnificent scoop in describing the assassination of President Garfield. The despatch was more than five columns and was the longest message ever sent through the cable. It was said that the intelligence concerning the first exciting days of the affair sent through the Direct United States Cable Company would not have cost The Standard less than £1,000 for direct transmission fees alone.

On June 25, Harper's Weekly in New York observed on the new service that:

American travellers in Europe know what it is to take up a London daily paper and find the news of the United States compressed into a few lines, and packed away in an obscure corner. This Transatlantic irritation is to be terminated by the enterprise of Mr Mudford, the broad-minded editor of The Standard. The first New York cable correspondent arrived in the Empire City on Monday, commissioned to

establish an independent daily service of news and opinion between New York and London. Mr Joseph Hatton, the well-known correspondent of The New York Times, has been entrusted with this important international work. He sent his first cable on Monday. It was a sketch of the Panama Canal business from an American point of view, and is worth recording as the pioneer cable of a new era of intelligence in the great London newspaper. The Standard is wise in making its latest experiment under the auspices of Mr Joseph Hatton, who has special facilities for his work here, and hosts of friends to help him. He hopes to complete his organization in a few weeks, returning to his London duties for The New York Times in August. We congratulate America upon this new recognition of her progress. The Standard will add a very large amount to its yearly bill by the addition to its features of these special cables from America.

An English point of view on the new service rendered by The Liverpool Mail on July 16 asserted that

It must be admitted, however, that The Standard beat all its contemporaries in its accounts of the attack on President Garfield. That journal was exceptionally fortunate. It so happened that Mr Joseph Hatton, a gentleman whose energy and ability as a journalist is quite American in its character, had gone out to the States on various literary missions, and among the rest to "work the wires" for The Standard.

While The Standard was perfecting its American service, the Reuters Agency in London was preparing to dispense with its messenger -boys who delivered the "flimsies" to the various newspaper offices in Fleet Street. Smartly conspicuous in their field-grey uniforms -- reputedly ex-Confederate Army stock from the American Civil War -- the Reuters messengers were a familiar sight in the City. But now Herbert de Reuter was preparing to introduce a "new and improved kind of instrument for the simultaneous transmission of the intelligence which . . . [was being] . . . delivered by messenger." (41) Acquired from the Exchange Telegraph Company, this machine transmitted messages electrically to the offices of all the London papers, to which Reuters was connected by wire. It was the forerunner of the

Creed machine and the modern teleprinter. At the same time, the typewriter was slowly being introduced -- the machine age had arrived in the world of telegraphy.

In the autumn of 1890, the success of Reuter was to lead to a challenge from Davison Dalziel, a future proprietor of The Standard, who was described and regarded as "an entrepreneur in finance and service industries." (42) Born in Camden Town, on October 17, 1852, he went to New South Wales as a youth and worked as a reporter on The Sydney Echo. From there he went to the United States, and in February 1886 was sued by the Hanover National Bank of New York, who alleged that his purchase the previous year of the National Printing Company from C. H. McConnel and his subsequent sale of its to the Dalziel Printing Co. of Chicago were fraudulent. Dalziel immediately issued a counter-suit for \$100,000 for libel, defamation, and false swearing or perjury. Four years later (in 1890), another bank, S. A. Kean of Chicago, obtained judgment against Dalziel and in the autumn he sailed to England, where with American support he launched Dalziel's News Agency. He immediately achieved a coup, when on October 7, 1890, he signed a contract with Moberly Bell, the new manager of The Times. Bell viewed the agreement as a clever ploy to play off one agency against another and in the first two months The Times paid the new agency £700 for telegrams, almost double its normal subscription for the same period to Reuters.

With The Times as his key first customer, Dalziel approached the provincial newspapers who were annoyed at Reuter's subscription rates. In a clever move, he agreed to take half the subscription to his news services in cash and the residue in free advertising space which his Agency then offered for re-sale. His speciality was lurid American sensationalism, and nothing was too small to communicate. Thus, "A murder in Canada was followed by a series of crimes, cyclones and ravages of escaped animals, all suffered by

obscure townships in the United States. In every case full details were given; and the names and mishaps of unknown citizens of Utah or Ohio suddenly provoked intense interest among the British public . . ."

Reuters, with a fight on its hands, now launched a special interpretative service, quite separate from the normal telegrams, and at the same time greatly increased their supply of news from the United States. By April 1891 The Times had decided to take this special service and, twelve months later, Dalziel was dismissed by Moberly Bell, who declared that his task "to infuse a spirit of competition into the Agencies was now accomplished." The following year, almost every message from Dalziel was, according to Bell, "absolutely devoid of foundation-- and every line is pure invention." On February 12, 1892, Bell wrote to Dalziel, stating his reasons for terminating their agreement:

The news agencies were deficient both in quantity and quality of their intelligence but mainly in the former . . . I told you with almost brutal frankness that I would only assist you by publishing your telegrams in order to assist the general efficiency of the news agencies; that my one object was the selfish one of improving the news service of The Times . . . We can hardly continue to support two agencies and we are compelled to consider which is the more perfect and trustworthy in the character of its information. (43)

For Dalziel and his Agency, the handwriting was on the wall and the end came when Reuters was able to show that what had purported to be a Dalziel original New South Wales budget message was in fact the Reuter story reworked. In September 1895, The Times paid Dalziel £1 for his telegrams for the month -- compared with the £360 of five years before. Reuters had emerged victorious in this contest with Dalziel.

6.7: The Role of The Special Correspondent

Throughout the nineteenth century the Special Correspondent was regarded quite rightly as the star of his newspaper, and in many instances was to become a household name. Of all these persons, William Howard Russell (1820-1907) of The Times was undoubtedly the most renowned and the first of the great modern war correspondents. For the reader to be able to have long and vivid accounts of campaigns and battles within days of their occurrence opened up a new dimension. Certainly, Russell's graphic accounts of the sufferings of British soldiers at Scutari in the Crimean War 1854 brought home forcibly the horrors and the miseries of the conflict. Lord Aberdeen and his government were not amused and Lord Clarendon, the Foreign Secretary, charged that three pitched battles won "would not repair the mischief done by Mr Russell and the articles upon his letters." However, within a matter of months, Clarendon was by "the power and enterprise of the Press . . ." (44) to have a change of view.

Russell was determined that there would be no repeat of his first big story for The Times -- the trial of Daniel O'Connell in Dublin in 1842. By the use of a fast ship, train and cab, he arrived at Printing House Square with his "scoop". There, Russell was met at the door by a bystander who said that he was pleased to learn that O'Connell had been found guilty. A gullible Russell replied: "Oh, yes! All guilty but on different counts." Within minutes, the "bystander" was at The Standard offices relating the account to his editor and once more Giffard had stolen a march over his arch-rivals.

6.8: The Crimea -- Nicholas Woods

Now, a decade later, a much wiser Russell would know when to hold his tongue, but once more his only real rival was a Standard man, Nicholas Woods, who was also covering the war for his sister paper, The Morning Herald. Arriving at Scutari, Woods was appalled by the stench and chaos of the

hospitals, but within days, along with the other correspondents, he was off to Varna, where the British organization was even more chaotic. His reports of these horrors -- along with those of his press colleagues -- had incurred the wrath of the commander-in-chief, Lord Raglan, who announced that he would not recognize the Press in any way, or provide rations or assistance to them, and, worse of all, he would forbid them to accompany the troops. Matters were not helped when Woods exposed the poor quality of the shells issued to the British Black Sea fleet. Some, he alleged, were more than twenty-five years old, and some were even manufactured before the battle of Waterloo and "not ten per cent of which exploded." (45)

Of all the correspondents covering the war, Woods and Russell were the most vocal and their vivid accounts of what they saw did much to inflame public opinion against the government of Lord Aberdeen. Woods, himself, was fast making a name by the accuracy of his reporting, and one such despatch, Sir Colin Campbell's precaution against a Russian attack, caused great annoyance among the Army Staff. In his history of the war, E. Nolan was to write that "The correspondents of our London morning papers not only communicated intelligence which for them had never reached the British public but gave opinions in reference to military facts and possibilities . . ."

Everywhere, Woods was in the thick of the battle with his graphic reportage, conveying the full horrors to the readers of The Standard. On October 25, he reported the defence of the 92nd Highlanders at Balaclava, the "Thin Red Line" as Russell was to describe them. But there is a difference in their reporting. Woods' account states that the Russian cavalry did not even close up on the Highlanders for their volley to be effective. And within hours, Woods was reporting the Charge of the Light Brigade. Despite their strong efforts to suppress the press, the military in the Crimea were not successful. The Standard and The Times

were determined that they would not be shackled because as Delane later so eloquently declared in The Times of December 8, 1858. :

Liberty and thought and speech is the very air which an Englishman breathes from his birth: he could not understand living in another atmosphere. Nor when you once allow this liberty can you restrict the range of its subjects. The principle must have free exercise, or it dies. There is no medium. It would be fatal to say, "Discuss home matters, but not foreign ones." A press so confined would lack the inspiration of that universal sympathy which is necessary to sustain its spirit. Every issue of an English journal speaks to the whole world; that is its strength; it lives by its universality; that idea imparts conscious power, elevates the tone and braces the will of this great impersonality, invigorates the statement, points the epithet, and nails the argument. It could not speak with half the power it does on domestic subjects if it could not speak of foreign; it could not fly with wings clipped; it would not be the whole which it is and it would cease to be an epitome of the world. (46)

The Daily Telegraph also sought to provide the best possible foreign coverage and, with The New York Herald, shared one of the most successful newspaper ventures of the century -- H. M. Stanley's expedition to Africa to find Livingstone in 1871. These despatches created extraordinary interest and gave The Daily Telegraph an impressive reputation for enterprise. Among the other "young lions" on the paper, George Augustus Sala (1828-1895) was the most prominent and his special commissions from all parts of the world made him the most popular journalist of his time. Sala was the leading exponent of a long-forgotten style of writing "Telegraphese", which conveyed to the reader purple prose in the most picturesque style. During this period, Henri de Blowitz (1825-1903) wrote in a similar vein for The Times, having become in 1875 its chief Paris correspondent.

6.9: The Ashanti War -- G. A. Henty

Meanwhile, on The Standard, George Alfred Henty, as mentioned earlier, was at the height of his fame. Henty was to be found wherever there was a war. From the conflict between Sardinia

and Austria in 1859 to the Garibaldi campaign, to the Abyssinian expedition in 1868, he was in the thick of the fray. Following the reporting of the Suez Canal opening in November 1869, he was in action with the Prussian Army in the Franco-Prussian War, ending up in Paris during the Commune. His next service abroad was in West Africa, with General Sir Garnet Wolseley, during 1873-74, when he covered the Ashanti expedition. The campaign ended with the destruction of the Ashanti capital, Coomassie, so vividly described in the following despatch from Henty:

. . . In one (alcove court) were the war drums, all ornamental with human skulls and thigh bones, others were quite empty, while in two or three were simply a Royal chair upon which his Majesty used to sit to administer justice or decree vengeance. Signs of the latter were not wanting. Several stools were found covered with thick coatings of recently shed blood and a horrible smell of gore pervaded the whole place, and indeed the whole town . . . That ghastly odour was everywhere perceptible . . . part of this was no doubt due to a charnel place, here were the bodies of some of the victims of the fetish . . . The whole place in fact seemed to be little better than a cemetery.

From his triumphs in Ashanti, Henty was next dispatched to Spain to report the Carlist insurrection. He later accompanied the Prince of Wales to India and his last service for The Standard in the field was the Turko-Serbian War of 1876 when he was attached to the Turkish forces. Small wonder that with this background and experience Henty became a successful writer of boys' adventure books. The role of Alfred Ausin, in the Franco-Prussian War, has already been discussed, but his experience there was really very much the exception, although his reporting was first-rate. He was certainly an excellent political correspondent. But the strength of The Standard's foreign coverage also depended upon people as Henly Bowes, for more than 40 years its esteemed Paris correspondent. Here was a man who

never allowed any personal motive to influence the views that he expressed in his letters and telegrams. On one occasion, when still a young man, he was approached by the French Government, who imagined that he could be useful for the expression of official French views in The Standard. Despite the advantages offered, he rejected them without a moment's notice. (47)

Due honour was paid to the special correspondent by The Earl Stanhope at a meeting of the Literary Fund in 1871, who in discussing the Franco-Prussian War declared:

I cannot help thinking that in the past year there is something in addition which calls for particular observation. I allude to the services of the special correspondent at the seat of the recent war . . . From the correspondents of the London Daily Press in an especial manner I think it impossible to withhold the highest need of our admiration for the eminent literary talent, the courage and indefatigable energy which they displayed during the late war. (48)

6.10: The Afghanistan Campaign -- Hector Macpherson

Not all correspondents lived up to those words, and one in particular, Hector Macpherson, when covering the Second Afghanistan War in 1879 was to incur the wrath of General Sir Frederick Roberts and bring shame to The Standard. Unlike Wolseley in the Ashanti Campaign, Roberts was a firm believer in consultation and considered that correspondents should have every opportunity to render full and faithful accounts on what the army was doing. Indeed, as he later wrote: "I took special pains from the first to hear the correspondents with confidence, and gave them such information as it was in my power to afford. All I required from them in return was that the operations should be truthfully reported." (49)

Unfortunately, The Standard was in trouble for publishing a report of an incident which occurred on January 7, 1879. Afghans were discovered attempting to creep into Roberts' camp and "at the sound of the first shot, the [Afghan] prisoners all jumped to their feet, and calling to each

to escape attempted to seize the rifles belonging to the Guard . . ." Following a warning, which was ignored, the native duty officer ordered his men to open fire. Six prisoners were killed and thirteen wounded. Macpherson, however, reported that ninety prisoners, tied together with ropes, had been slaughtered. The report of the affair caused a storm in Parliament. But this was not the first time that Macpherson had abused Roberts' good nature. Thus Roberts noted that

Judging from his [Macpherson's] telegrams, which he brought me to sign, the nerves of the Correspondent in question must have been somewhat shaken by the few and very distant shots fired at us on November 28. These Telegrams being in many instances absolutely incorrect and of the most alarming nature were not of course allowed to be despatched until they were revised in accordance with the truth . . . (50)

Macpherson, having been discovered altering a telegram, after Roberts had countersigned the dispatch, had been brought before the commander and had promised not to do it again. But the prisoner episode seemed too good to miss, and Macpherson dispatched a telegram to The Standard without Roberts' approval. It was not until copies of the newspaper arrived back in Kurram that Roberts became aware of what Macpherson had done. Incensed by what he deemed a betrayal of trust, Roberts was to comment: "I felt it to be my duty to send the too imaginative author to the rear. What to my mind was so reprehensible in the correspondent's conduct was the publication in time of war, and consequent excitement and anxiety at home, of incorrect and sensational statements, founded on information derived from irresponsible and uninformed sources . . ." (51)

Despite these strictures, The Standard man was still able to get his message through, much to the satisfaction of the Prime Minister, Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield). Thus, on May 11, 1879, Beaconsfield confided to Lady Chesterfield: "The Afghan news is very good and I credit it; but, strange

to say, the Government has not yet received any telegram confirming it. But we cannot compete with The Standard newspaper which does not hesitate to expend £500 on a telegram. (52)

6.11: The Zulu War -- C. L. Norris-Newman

While Roberts was engaged in his campaigns in Afghanistan, the harassed Tory Government became involved in another war in South Africa. Since the beginning of the century, the Zulu nation had become a formidable military power led by their warrior kings. Now, under Cetewayo, they menaced the Boer republic of Transvaal which turned to Britain for help. On January 12, 1879, a British force, led by Lord Chelmsford, invaded Zululand, and with the main column rode The Standard's man, the former army captain, Charles L. Norris-Newman, known affectionately as "Noggs". He was the only English correspondent in Natal and claimed to be the first white man to cross the river into Zululand. Norris-Newman's account of the aftermath of the massacre of Isandhlwana, in which more than 1,300 British troops perished, was particularly poignant:

We began to stumble over dead bodies in every direction, and in some places the men were found lying thick and close as though they had fought till their ammunition was exhausted and then surrounded and slaughtered. How that terrible night passed with us I fancy few would care to tell even if they could recall it. During the night we noticed fires constantly burning on all the surrounding hills and in particular one bright blaze riveted our attention throughout as it seemed to be near Rorke's Drift, and we feared for the safety of those left in that small place, knowing how utterly powerless we were to aid them in any way before morning.

He revealed the full horror of Isandhlwana in the following report of what he had witnessed in the morning after the battle:

The corpses of our poor soldiers, white and native, lay thick upon the ground in clusters together with the dead and mutilated horses, oxen and mules, shot and stabbed in every position and manner, and the whole intermingled with the fragments of our Commissariat wagons, broken and wrecked and rifled of their contents. The dead bodies of the men lay as they had fallen, but mostly with only their boots and shirts on, or perhaps a pair of trousers or a remnant of a coat . . . in many instances they lay with sixty or seventy empty cartridge cases surrounding them, thus showing they had fought to the very last . . . it was really wonderful that so small a force had been able to maintain such a desperate resistance for so long. (53)

Without halting to bury the dead, Chelmsford's force, finding Rorke's drift still intact, retreated into Natal and from there the Commander immediately despatched a telegram informing London of the disaster. Accompanied by Norris-Newman's chilling account, Chelmsford's report was put aboard the Dunrobin Castle sailing for England, and from the Cape Verde Islands, the ship's first port of call, it was sent by cable to London, arriving on February 11. For The Standard and its correspondent it was a great triumph. Less than two months later, Chelmsford returned to Zululand, and one of his first tasks was to relieve the besieged town of Eshowe. A member of the garrison later rendered in Blackwood's Magazine the following account of the arrival of Chelmsford's force:

On the afternoon of 3rd April, the column . . . left the fort under General Pearson to meet the relief column . . . A solitary horseman was seen towards 5 p.m. galloping up the new road to the fort. He had an officer's coat on, and we could see a sword dangling from his side. Who is he? He proved to be the correspondent of The Standard . . . A second horseman appeared, approaches the fort, his horse apparently much blown. Who is he? . . . The Correspondent of The Argus (Cape Town). They had a race who would be first at Eshowe, The Standard winning by five minutes! (54)

Three weeks later, on May 20, Norris-Newman, now accompanied by other correspondents, returned to Isandhlwana with the burial parties and found the whole site of the conflict overgrown with grass thickly intermingled with great and growing stalks of oats and mealies. Concealed among these lay the corpses of the soldiers in all postures of decay . . . "I had the melancholy satisfaction of discovering my own tent . . . and immediately behind it the skeletons of my horses with the bodies of my servants just as I had left them . . ." On July 4, the dead of Isandhlwana were avenged, when Cetewayo's force was vanquished at Ulundi. The king was captured and the power of the Zulus broken forever.

6.12: The First Boer War -- John Cameron

With a new Liberal (second Gladstone) Government in power and free from the Zulu threat, the Transvaal Afrikaners now sought to have their country freed from British suzerainty. But in June 1880, the Boers were informed by the Gladstone ministry " that the Queen cannot be advised to relinquish her sovereignty over the Transvaal." The dispute dragged on through the autumn until, at a mass open-air meeting in Paardekraal on December 8, the Boers insisted on the complete restoration of the sovereignty of the Transvaal republic. A week later hostilities commenced in what became the first Boer War, a conflict which lasted only nine weeks and in which the British suffered three humiliating defeats at the hands of the Boers.

Among the London correspondents hurriedly dispatched to the Transvaal was John Cameron of The Standard who was to achieve renown for his reportage of the rout of a British force at Majuba Hill on February 26, 1881. Cameron's 2,500 word account of the battle was outstanding and was later used by The London Illustrated News, with drawings by Melton Prior, based upon Cameron's notes.

Led by General Sir George Colley, 554 troops ascended Majuba Hill at midnight, and by dawn were at the summit about 2,000

feet above the Boer force. At 7 a.m. the Boers realised that the British held the heights and, after an initial panic, commenced firing. What occurred was graphically told in Cameron's account:

We had been exposed to five hours of unceasing fire, and had been accustomed to the constant humming of bullets, which at noon almost ceased when the General, wearied with the exertions of the previous night, lay down to sleep. Communication by heliograph had been established with the camp, and confidence in our ability to hold our own had increased . . . It seems that the advance of the enemy had been thoroughly checked, when one of our people -- an officer, I believe -- noticing the Boers for the first time, ejaculated, "Oh, there they are, quite close;" and the words were hardly out of his lips ere every man of the newly arrived reinforcements bolted back panic-stricken. This was more than flesh and blood could stand, and the skirmishing line under Hamilton gave way also, the retreating troops being exposed, of course, to the Boer fire with disastrous effect . . . By and by there was confusion on the knoll itself. Some of the men on it stood up, and were at once shot down; and at last the whole of those who were holding it gave way. Helter skelter they were at once followed by the Boers, who were able to pour a volley into our flank in the main line, from which instant the hill of Majuba was theirs. The General had turned round the last of all to walk after his retreating troops when he was also shot dead, through the head . . . Of those who remained on the hill to the last very probably not one in six got clear away. (55)

Captured by the Boers, Cameron was allowed to return to the British base to obtain medical assistance for the wounded. Less than a month later, on March 21, with other correspondents, he was present at the peace conference, where there ensued a long anxious wait outside O'Neill's Farm for news of the parleys. Many of the correspondents had their horses saddled ready for the dash to the nearest telegraph at Mount Prospect Camp, some two miles away. Melton Prior, who was on friendly terms with General Woods' A.D.C., had requested the officer to let him know when the Boers had signed the agreement.

Strolling over to Cameron, Prior told him quietly to have his horse ready round the corner of the hill out of sight and he would repay his debt for the information used for the Majuba sketches by raising his helmet to show Cameron that peace had been signed. The A.D.C. emerged shortly after to smoke a cigarette and mentioned casually to Prior, "They have signed." Prior raised his helmet and Cameron galloped off to Mount Prospect. Twenty minutes later, General Woods emerged and announced to the correspondents what Prior had already known, but added that ". . . the wire to England is closed to all communications until my despatch has gone." (56) However, Cameron's message had already anticipated the embargo and The Standard was able to publish an extra late edition that same day announcing the peace even before the somewhat embarrassed officials in Whitehall had received the news.

6.13: The Death of Cameron

Within two years, Cameron was again in action, covering the bombardment of Alexandria on July 11, 1882, following a massacre of Christians in the port. As a reprisal, an Anglo-French fleet was dispatched to Egypt, and, following the withdrawal of the French, Admiral J. Seymour bombarded Alexandria. Leading the assault was Lord Charles Beresford, who, in his gunboat, Condor, moved in close to the batteries with great coolness and daring. It was Cameron's report of Seymour's signal, "Well done Condor!", which made Beresford a national hero. For The Standard it was to be a first-class story, and cabled regardless of expense it was a sensation. Cameron's dispatch covered more than eight columns, carried on successive days, and was virtually an hour-by-hour account:

The great artillery combat which has raged all day has ended on a complete success. The object for which we fought has been attained, and the forts and batteries on the sea face of Alexandria are a heap of ruins. It is difficult so soon after the engagement to write a

cool and collected narrative of the events of the day. The dead calm which has succeeded the tremendous row of artillery which has gone on for so many hours seems strange and unnatural, and we can scarcely realise that the first great sea fight with artillery of the modern type has been fought and won. (57)

Two days later, accompanying a landing party of marines and soldiers, Cameron wrote: "When we were able to penetrate into the town, revolvers in hand, for we did not know at what moment we might come across a fanatic Egyptian." But the event also had its humorous side. With Cameron was Frederick Villiers, the war artist and veteran of some fifteen military campaigns, and as

Cameron clutched Villiers' arm, pointing at what appeared to be a heap of dead and mutilated bodies, armless, headless and white. With a thrill of horror, the correspondents approached the grisly pile. In a second they were roaring with laughter. The murdered Europeans were nothing more sanguine than dressmakers' dummies looted from a shop. (58)

While Alexandria was being bombarded, General Sir Garnet Wolseley was on his way to Egypt charged with orders to crush the forces of the Egyptian nationalist, Colonel Arabi Pasha. Using the war correspondents to his advantage, Wolseley fed them false information that there was to be a landing at Aboukir Bay. But, more seriously his intelligence officer, Major Bruce Tulloch, sent a fake telegram in Cameron's name to Mudford at The Standard. Later, Tulloch explained:

I knew well the correspondent of The Standard, Cameron, a splendid fellow . . . would be too patriotic to object to my taking his name in vain when it was for the good of our work; so I wired the editor . . . as if from Cameron, to the effect that rumours of a possible occupation of the canal by the English are now disposed of. M. de Lesseps, who has the French Government behind him, has settled that the neutrality of the canal shall be rigidly observed . . .

It is now an open secret that whilst the British portion of the force will move from Alexandria and attack Kafr Dewar, the troops coming from India will move from Suez direct to Cairo. (59)

Somewhat over a month later, on the morning of September 13, the British troops caught up with and engaged Arabi's forces at Tel-el-Kebir. Cameron was an eye-witness at the battle when, as the dawn rose, British troops stormed the Egyptian entrenchments. The result was a resounding victory for the British and the prolongation of Britain's occupation of Egypt and control of the Suez Canal. While a British controlled government was being established in Cairo, further south, in the Sudan, the Mahdi or Messiah had risen, determined to rid his country of Egyptian forces. The Gladstone government now faced the dilemma of either enforcing Anglo-Egyptian control of the Sudan or abandoning it to the Mahdi, especially after an ill-equipped Egyptian army of 10,000 under the command of the British officer, General Hicks Pasha, was crushed by the Mahdi in 1883 at Shekan.

By December 3, 1883, with the Mahdi poised on the frontiers of Egypt, Gladstone decided to abandon the Sudan, rescuing only the Egyptian garrisons, especially Khartoum. A week later, while Gladstone was ill with a chill, and the Queen complaining that "The govt. does nothing!", the Cabinet decided to act and, following an agitation led by W. T. Stead in The Pall Mall Gazette, the decision was taken to send General Gordon to report on the situation with a view to evacuation of the Egyptian forces. Aged 51, "Chinese" Gordon was a man of whom the Queen greatly approved and on January 18, 1884, he left London to undertake his mission. While Gordon was en route, another military disaster occurred in the Sudan, with the defeat of an Egyptian force under General Baker Pasha near Trinkiat on the Red Sea coast, which had aimed to relieve the besieged Egyptian garrison of Tokar. For The Standard, Cameron, who was in the thick of the fray, telegraphed the following exciting account of the disaster:

. . . As the cavalry rode wildly in, the order was given for the infantry to form a square -- a manoeuvre in which they had been drilled daily for weeks. At this

crisis, however, the dull, half-disciplined mass failed to accomplish it. Three sides were formed after a fashion, but on the fourth side two companies of the Alexandria Regiment, seeing the enemy coming on leaping and brandishing their spears, stood like a panic-stricken flock of sheep, and nothing could get them to move into their place. Into this gap thus left in the square the enemy poured, and at once all became panic and confusion. The troops fired, indeed, but for the most part straight into the air. The miserable Egyptian soldiers refused even to defend themselves, but throwing their rifles away, flung themselves on the ground and grovelled there, screaming for mercy. No mercy was given, the Arab spearmen pouncing upon them and driving their spears through their necks or bodies. Nothing could surpass the wild confusion, camels and guns mixed together, soldiers firing into the air, with wild Arabs, their long hair streaming behind them, darting among them, hacking and thrusting with their spears. (60)

Three weeks later, on February 28, General Graham landed with reinforcements at Trinkiat, determined to relieve Tokar. Advancing towards El-Teb, they found the remains of Baker's defeated army and as Graham advanced he was assailed by the Mahdist Dervishes. Describing the fierce onslaughts of the Dervishes, Cameron wrote:

So hotly did the Arabs press forward that the troops pause in their steady advance. It becomes a hand-to-hand fight, the soldiers meeting the Arab spear with cold steel, their favourite weapon, and beating them at it. There is not much shouting, and only a short, sharp exclamation, a brief shout or an oath, as the soldiers engage with the foe. At this critical moment for the enemy, the Gardner guns open fire and the leaden hail decides matters. (61)

With the assistance of Admiral Sir William Hewitt, this despatch from Cameron was put on a naval vessel bound for Port Said where it was placed on an Australian mail steamer destined for London. The result was that The Standard carried the story a full week before any other newspaper. Meanwhile, with the Sudan ablaze, General Gordon had arrived at Khartoum on February 18, and exactly a month later the Mahdi laid siege to the city. With Gordon trapped in Khartoum, the Queen warned Gladstone; "If anything happens to him the result will be awful." Harassed by the Queen, public opinion and the press, in the summer of 1884, the Gladstone Govern-

ment belatedly ordered Sir Garnet Wolseley to prepare to leave for the Sudan with a force to relieve Gordon. By the end of the year, Wolseley's expedition had only reached Korti after a most difficult journey in whalers up the Nile. The erratic Gordon now seemed resigned to his fate and in the final entry in his journal on December 14, 1884, wrote: "Now mark THIS, if the expedition . . . does not come in ten days, the Town Hall May Fall, and I have done my best for the honour of our country. Good Bye. C. G. Gordon."

Meeting stiff resistance on January 17, Wolseley engaged the enemy at Abu Klea and Cameron reported that "The hand-to-hand fighting was terrific, but not one of the Arabs that got inside left the square alive." It was his last despatch, for two days later in the engagement at Abu Kru The Standard's distinguished correspondent was to be mortally wounded, as he rose to take a tin of sardines from his servant. As bullets ricoched everywhere, it was inevitable that there would be casualties, and Cameron was the first to fall. On learning of Cameron's demise, his colleague and friend in many campaigns, Melton Prior, of The London Illustrated News, declared; "[He] was a well tried man from the north of the Tweed, who was never tired of letting us know it with pride . . . sharp eyed, imperious, but keen as a razor at his work." With the skirmish over, Cameron's colleagues, Bennett Burleigh (of The Daily Telegraph), Frederick Villiers (of The Graphic), Alex MacDonald (of The Western Morning News), Melton Prior, and H. H. S. Pearse (of The Daily News), carried his body on a stretcher to a freshly-dug grave, where Lord Charles Beresford read the burial service. For Mudford, in Shoe Lane, it was a bitter personal blow. Not only had he lost a good friend, but a distinctive and distinguished foreign correspondent.

Later that year, G. A. Henty, another colleague from The Standard, speaking at a dinner at The Savage Club, remarked on the death of his friend and those of six other correspondents in The Sudan:

. . . why gentlemen, from the days of the Crimea when William Howard Russell, Nat Wood, and in a humble way, myself, began the work of the correspondents with the British army, all the wars, all the campaigns together, have not caused such a mortality as this.

But Cameron and his colleagues were not to be forgotten, for in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral is a tablet commemorating "The Gallant Men who in the discharge of their duty as Special Correspondents fell in the Campaigns in the Soudan 1883-1884-1885", and among the names listed is:

JOHN ALEXANDER CAMERON, "Standard", Abu Kru,
January 19, 1885

Chapter Seven

THE NEW JOURNALISM

One of the major victims of the New Journalism was, undoubtedly, The Standard, and this chapter is concerned with tracing its fall and its ultimate sale to C. Arthur Pearson. But first, the growth of the movement under the influence of such personalities as W. T. Stead, George Newnes, T. P. O'Connor, Northcliffe and Pearson is discussed. The New Journalism took full advantage of the newly-educated masses and advancing technology and in less than twenty years the "Old Order" in Fleet Street was gone and with it the great days of The Standard.

The end of the nineteenth century found many of the long-established newspapers in financial difficulties. Thus, The Standard had ceased paying dividends and was rapidly losing its position among the quality papers. Similarly,, its main rival, The Times, later declared in its official history that "The situation at Printing House Square was obviously not satisfactory, but the fact was that with the exception of The Daily Telegraph and The Daily Mail the London newspaper trade as a whole was not flourishing."

(1) With their solid-set pages and small headlines, The Standard and its competitors had a dull, grey look, and for decades one issue had not differed greatly from another in outward appearance. In fact, "Not since the days of John Bell and other designers of elegantly composed eighteenth-century journals had anyone been interested in making the newspaper agreeable to look at and pleasant to read." (2)

Arriving in Fleet Street from New York City in 1887, R. D. Blumenfeld, a future editor of The Daily Express, was astonished at the staid and drab appearance of the morning

newspapers, all "great heavy-sided blanket sheets of dull advertisements and duller news announcements. They all looked alike and were equally heavy." (3) But all this was to change with the rise of the New Journalism. During the following decade it was to become a badge worn with pride and used indiscriminately it was marked by a multitude of sins. What was new about it was the extent to which it evoked comment, invited speculation, and engendered passions.

It was against this background of a New Journalism, directed at the ever-increasing numbers of literate people who wanted to be entertained and who scorned the grey columns of political opinion, that The Standard entered the twentieth century. Its editor and dominant personality, William Mudford, had recently retired after almost 30 years' service. He "was" The Standard during those years and certainly one of the most powerful men in Fleet Street. Thus, a contemporary recalled that:

There was Mudford, the editor of The Standard - the morning Standard of those days, the most authoritative, the most widely quoted, the best-informed and the least enterprising journal of its time. It made a great deal of money for the people of importance in the various capitals, and the old Standard went on undisturbed, unperturbed, and unnoticed the changes of the world. Meanwhile, Mr Mudford, its editor, who in person was amiable and capable, and by reason of his studied anonymity a more or less mythical personage, looked benevolently on while his next-door neighbour The Daily Telegraph banged the drum, blew the whistle, rattled the bones and trumpeted the glad news from the second-storey window to the surging masses of top-hats passing up and down Fleet Street. (4)

Writing of the New Journalism in the May 1887 issue of The Nineteenth Century, Matthew Arnold declaimed and proclaimed that although "It has much to recommend it . . . it is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts, its one great fault is that it is feather-brained.

It throws out assertions at a venture because it wishes them true; does not correct either them or itself, if they are false; and to get at the state of things as they truly are seem to feel no concern whatever." But in that same issue Arthur Otway contended that while the English press dealt mainly with facts and was eminently practical, the French press was much more emotional and influenced the feelings rather than the reasons of its readers. Until now, asserted Otway, the English press had lived through almost a hundred years of social and economic change without making any real concession to the new age, either in the scope of its contents or in its visual appeal. In sum, for almost a century the pattern of journalism had been frozen.

Each day, the speeches of the leading political figures were dutifully reported in boring detail, with few, if any, concessions to the reader. Headlines were set small, followed by long paragraphs without a single crosshead to provide relief. Teams of expert reporters -- well familiar with Gurney's Shorthand -- reported the speeches verbatim. "Takes" would normally be of five minutes' duration, so as to provide a rapid flow of copy to the printer.

To the conservative editor, the reader of his journal was portrayed as a serious-minded individual with interests mainly confined to politics, the law courts, the Stock Exchange and sport -- especially cricket -- as light relief. But was this portrait of the "normal" reader correct? Did the reader bother to read the extensive political speeches and parliamentary reports? Lord Rosebery, a former Prime Minister, was in no doubt when he told members of the London Press Club in 1913:

Did any reader of the last twenty years ever read the speeches that were reported? I have no doubt that those whose duty it is to criticize, laud them,

or rebuke them in the public Press felt it was their painful duty to read the speeches. But did anyone else? Did any important reader of the newspapers, the man who bought a paper on his way to the City in the morning and an evening paper in the evening -- did he ever read the speeches? I can conscientiously say, having been a speaker myself, that I never could find anybody who read my speeches. (5)

The Central Press Agency established in 1863 to service provincial newspapers was quick to realize that the average reader was no longer interested in columns of turgid political reportage, unless it referred to important persons. By the 1880s the Agency specified the following criteria for political speeches: Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Randolph Churchill, W. E. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury were rated "Class I" and entitled to verbatim coverage. Lords Hartington and Spencer (in the light of the Irish Home Rule question) were each to be accorded a full column; and Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir William Harcourt, Robert Cross, Erskine Childers and Sir Charles Trevelyan were relegated to half-a-column. There is little doubt that such positive direction from the news agencies -- and the newspapers -- to drastically reduce the amount of political coverage had a dramatic effect, both for the politicians, who took great exception to this new trend, and to the newspapers themselves. But, "By cutting down on speeches, newspaper [now] had more room for non-political matter, including advertisements . . . this was the single most striking development in late-Victorian journalism." (6)

7.1: W. T. Stead and The Pall Mall Gazette

Although Matthew Arnold is held to be responsible for coining the phrase "New Journalism", it was W. T. Stead, in his development of Henry Yates Thompson's Pall Mall Gazette who was the architect of the movement. Here was "An editor who said he would rather run naked down the Strand than that his Pall Mall Gazette should be ignored [and who] was bound to produce a Gazette 'with a difference.'" (7)

Born in 1849, William Thomas Stead was a deeply religious Nonconformist, for whom journalism was seen as a means of doing good and God's work. In 1871, at the age of 22, he was appointed editor of The Northern Echo in Darlington, but before taking up the post, it was suggested that he talk with T. Wemys Reid, the experienced editor of The Leeds Mercury. Many years later, Reid remembered that, "For hour after hour he [Stead] talked with an ardour that delighted me . . . Many a time since I have recalled that long night's talk when I have recognized in some daring development of modern journalism one of the many schemes which Stead flashed before my eyes." (8)

In 1880, on the recommendation of Gladstone and other Liberal Party leaders, Stead was invited to become assistant editor of The Pall Mall Gazette under its new editor, John Morley. The P.M.G., as it was often called, had been founded in 1865, with George Smith as proprietor and Frederick Greenwood as editor. The title was taken from Thackeray's Pendennis, but the real Pall Mall Gazette was very different. An eight-page large-folio size evening paper, The P.M.G. was an independent review for a cultivated well-to-do public interested in politics, social questions and the arts. But in its early days the paper was not a success. Sales of the first issue totalled 3,987 and within six weeks the circulation had fallen to barely 600, with advertising revenue in the second month averaging only £3 a day.

The coming of Stead in 1880 (and especially after his replacement of Morley in 1883) heralded a drastic renovation of The P.M.G. Frederick Greenwood, who had been ousted from The P.M.G. because of his hostility to Gladstone, now launched The St. James's Gazette as a rival. Morley was delighted to have Stead and in his Recollections described Stead

as a man of "extraordinary vigour and spirit [who] made other people seem like wet blankets." (9) Yet, they were quite different and Stead readily admitted that "Morley and I approached almost everything from a different standpoint. We disagreed, as I often said, on everything from the existence of God to the make-up of a newspaper." (10) Within three years, following Morley's election to Parliament, Stead became editor of The P.M.G. and "the most powerful journalist in the island". (11) He immediately redesigned the paper, introducing illustrations, larger headlines and crossheads to break up the previous columns of grey type, and, above all, he sought sensational scoops.

Stead's methods irritated but were quickly emulated by other newspapers -- even the so-staid Morning Post -- which on their use of crossheads moved Stead to comment on March 27, 1888:

Wonders will never cease. The new departure is wonderful indeed -- wonderful in that it should have been adopted at last and by so conservative a journal as The Morning Post; wonderful in that it should not have been adopted before. What would have been thought of a publisher who should bring out a book, not only with no division into chapters, but even without the relief of so much as a single fresh paragraph from the first word to the last? (12)

In his own newspaper, Stead exposed and dramatized the plight and conditions of the poor in London; forced the Gladstone government to send General Gordon to the Sudan, and sparked the press campaign to modernize and strengthen the Navy. His assistant editor, Alfred Milner (later Lord Milner) later noted that: "It was such fun to work with him. He was a mixture of Don Quixote and Phineas T. Barnum." (13)

Having increased the circulation of The P.M.G. from 10,000 to 13,000, Stead launched his most famous campaign, exposing the white slave traffic. On July 6, 1885, he astounded his

readers with the first of a series of sensational articles headed "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon". Having learnt that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill for the raising of the age of consent (then only 13) was again to die in the House of Commons, Stead decided to shock the conscience of the public by revealing the facts about the child victims of white slavery and child prostitution on the basis of his personal investigation in collaboration with The Salvation Army. He introduced his first article with the statement that "The report of our secret commission will be read today with a shuddering horror that will thrill throughout the world." And he was indeed right.

However, he was attacked by rival newspapers and deluged by hundreds of letters of abuse, but the ensuing public agitation compelled the House of Commons to speed the Bill through its second reading and on August 10, with some amendments, it was approved by the House of Lords. Nevertheless, Stead suffered for what he had accomplished. In his personal investigations, Stead had omitted one precaution, thus making himself technically guilty of abduction. Exposed by Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper, Stead was arrested, tried, and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. He served his time (as a first class prisoner) in Holloway Gaol, the first genuine rest from his editorial labours that he had been able to enjoy, as he cheerfully told his friends, and made use of his leisure to write essays on "Government by Journalism" for The Contemporary Review.

Five years later, in 1890, Stead left The P.M.G. to found The Review of Reviews as a digest of the chief reviews and magazines of the month and as a journal of opinion. In his new periodical (which was a great success), Stead continued to clash with authority, notably in his support of the Boers at the time of the South African War. He was to die in 1912 in the Titanic disaster, having missed the greatest scoop of his life and having left an indelible mark on English journalism.

Yet, looking back on Stead's role some 40 years later, The Times asserted that the New Journalism was a vain and dubious invention as far as The Pall Mall Gazette was concerned. There was some truth in The Times's verdict that "After six notable years the Editor [Stead] chose to vacate the chair. The lesson of the episode, not then drawn, was that the Newest Journalism had failed because it had been tried on the wrong paper. Stead should have been editor of a newspaper with a popular price, policy and party." (14)

7.2: T. P. O'Connor launches The Star

Stead was certainly a catalyst in bringing about the movement for changes in Fleet Street and many of his ideas were quickly emulated by T. P. O'Connor, a journalist M.P., when founding The Star, a half-penny evening, on January 17, 1888. Launched with a capital of £48,000, The Star boldly announced that it would "do away with the hackneyed style of obsolete journalism" and that it would "find no place for the verbose and prolix articles to which most of our contemporaries still adhere. We shall have daily but one article of any length, and it will usually be confined within half a column. The other items of the day will be dealt with in notes terse, pointed, and plain-spoken." (15)

Unlike The Pall Mall Gazette, the newly-launched Star was to prove an immediate success with the ever-growing literate masses. The Education Act of 1870 had, 18 years after its passing, helped create a new reading public and O'Connor had been quick to realise their needs. In its second issue The Star could proudly proclaim: "Our First Day. An Epoch in Journalism. The World's Record Beaten. 142,600 copies sold."

The paper attracted a wide spectrum of readers -- especially young adults -- who appreciated the criticism and commentaries of such writers as George Bernard Shaw, H. W. Massingham and A. B. Walkley. But, above all, readers were drawn to the style of The Star: the news was presented in a bright manner, the stories were short and the paragraphs to the point. A demand had been met and an audience obtained which was to determine the course of journalism. O'Connor had every reason to assert that "The man on the Clapham omnibus was satisfied!" No evening paper at the time had a more brilliant staff. In addition to Shaw, Massingham and Walkley, the staff included Wilson Pope, later editor of The Star from 1920 to 1930; Sir Robert Donald, editor of The Daily Chronicle, 1902-1918; Thomas Marlowe, editor of The Daily Mail, 1899-1926; Gordon Hewart, afterwards Lord Hewart (a leader writer who became Lord Chief Justice); and Sir George Sutton, later chairman of the Amalgamated Press Ltd. and Associated Newspapers. It was indeed a roll-call of renown.

Constrained to resign from The Star after three years, O'Connor sold his interest for £17,000, which he later lamented as "the greatest mistake I ever made", (16) but in 1893 he tried to repeat his success with the launch of the ill-fated The Sun. Fortunately, O'Connor has left a record of his philosophy and method in a masterly article on the "New Journalism" in The New Review (October 1889). In his discussion of the difference between the "long lifeless columns of the older newspapers" and "the more personal tone" of their later rivals, O'Connor made much of the writings of Macaulay, Carlyle and T. H. Green "who scorned no detail, however trifling, which threw a light on the habits and character of historical personages." Referring to the dictum of Disraeli, he declared that in journalism as in life "it is the personal that interests mankind." Here, indeed, was the basis of The Star's success.

7.3: Enter Alfred Harmsworth

O'Connor's success was not lost upon a young Alfred Charles William Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) and his brother Harold (later Lord Rothermere) when in 1894 they purchased The London Evening News and successfully modernized the paper. Harmsworth had begun his newspaper career as a junior reporter on The Hampstead and Highgate Express, and later became a freelance contributor to the newly-founded weekly magazine Tit-Bits. Launched by George Newnes, a former fancy goods representative in Manchester, Tit-Bits made its initial appearance on October 31, 1881, and consisted of items of interesting information gleaned from books, newspapers and magazines. Within a very short time Tit-Bits was an established success, and after three years Newnes transferred his publishing office to London. The circulation was immense, and the offer of £100 free insurance against railway accidents increased the sales of Tit-Bits to more than 700,000. Another scheme was to hide tubes containing 500 sovereigns and readers by searching for clues in the magazine could find the treasures. This, too, was a great circulation booster.

Realizing the great financial potential from such a popular magazine, Harmsworth launched Answers on June 2, 1888. Although sales of the first issue of 12,000 copies were disappointing, a "re-dress" of the magazine, including the familiar orange cover, pushed the circulation up to 48,000 within 12 months. Harmsworth then hit upon a brilliant idea: the offer of £1 a week for life to the reader who submitted the nearest calculation of the total gold and silver in the Bank of England on December 4, 1889, with the astute proviso that each person who entered the competition must get five others to witness his signature. The competition was a sensation, with more than 700,000 entries pouring in and, within 12 months, the average sale of Answers rose to 352,000.

With the ever-increasing profits from Answers and other journals, Harmsworth and his brother were now earning more than £100,000 a year. A move into the newspaper world seemed the obvious next step, especially when they encountered Kennedy Jones, who held an option to buy The Evening News for £25,000. They immediately took up the option and with it a loyal colleague. "K.J.", as he was known in Fleet Street, was another entrepreneur who knew the tastes of the new reading public, and never tired of telling his reporters, "Don't forget you are writing for the meanest intelligence." (17) In The Evening News, Harmsworth had a ready-made testing ground for his version of the New Journalism and by clever editing and good management made £14,000 profits in the first year of ownership. With this success, Alfred Harmsworth was now ready for an even greater challenge -- the launch of a national daily.

A. G. Gardiner, editor of The Daily News, noted that:

English journalism had, at the end of the nineteenth century, reached a stage in which some sweeping change was imminent. It had remained essentially what it had been for more than a century -- the vehicle of the thought, the interests and temper of the leisured and educated middle class, relatively small in numbers but great in influence. Its appeal was sober and restrained, its methods grave and unadventurous, its spirit dignified even to dullness. The great change that had come over the face of English Society in the preceding quarter of a century found little reflection in its character or appeal . . . The democracy had taken possession of the seats of the mighty, but the journalists seemed unaware of the fact. (18)

Similarly,, G. M. Trevelyan, the historian, observed that:

Fifty years ago the majority of those who could read were in some real sense educated. Therefore the press, following the law of supply and demand, was so used as to appeal to an educated people . . . Now these conditions have been reversed. The number of people who can read is enormous; the proportion of those who are educated is small. The printing-press, following the law of supply and demand, now appeals to the uneducated mass of all classes. (19)

It was precisely this mass readership that Harmsworth sought to reach with his Daily Mail. At 1.20 a.m. on Monday, May 4, 1896, three fast rotary presses burst into life at 2, Carmelite Street, London, and The Mail was born; and in Harmsworth's own words: "We've struck a gold mine!"(20). The "ear pieces" on Page One of The Mail proclaimed: "A Penny Newspaper for One Halfpenny" and "The Busy Man's Daily Journal". Harmsworth firmly believed that there was a market for a newspaper that catered for the ever-increasing numbers of the white-collared lower middle-class. It was an ignorant public but an eager and inquisitive one, keen to improve itself and looking for the knowledge that would enable it to do so. He thought of his readers as "£1,000 a year people . . . and they certainly prefer reading the news and doings of £1,000 a year people. We don't direct the ordinary man's opinion. We reflect it."(21)

Yet the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, possibly looking back upon his days long ago as leader writer on The Standard, dismissed Harmsworth's venture as "a newspaper for office boys written by office boys".(22) But despite Salisbury's cynicism, The Daily Mail was a success from its first number, which sold 397,152 copies -- a record sale for an opening issue. After two years its circulation was 500,000, and by the close of the nineteenth century had reached almost one million. Within four days of the launch of The Daily Mail, Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., advised G. S. Steevens, a most promising journalist: "I met last night perhaps the most remarkable man I have ever seen. It is Harmsworth. The similarity of ideas between those of this Bonaparte First Consul and yourself suggest to me that it is possible that he might like to catch . . . so cultivated, so intelligent and so modern a journalist."(23)

The advent of The Daily Mail certainly set a new standard in journalism. Gone were the heavy columns of greyness;

in their place was a fresh style of presentation. Everything was clearly arranged; stories were shorter; more paragraphs were inserted; crossheads were used; and there was a greater display of illustrations. So professional was Harmsworth in preparing to launch his new title that he had produced 64 dummy issues of The Daily Mail before the actual day.

(24) To the journalists on The Standard and the other more sober newspapers, The Daily Mail seemed trivial and "bitty"; they had not yet comprehended that a revolution in journalism had begun. Many years later, Harmsworth recalled that:

You could search the Victorian newspapers in vain for any reference to changing fashions . . . You could not find in them anything that would help you to understand the personalities of public men. We cannot get from them a clear and complete picture of the times in which they were published as one could from The Daily Mail. Before that was published, journalism dealt with only a few aspects of life. What we did was to extend its purview to life as a whole. This was difficult. It involved the training of a new type of journalist. The old type was convinced that anything which would be the subject of conversation ought to be kept out of the papers . . . The only thing that will sell a newspaper in large numbers is news, and news is anything out of the ordinary. (25)

To some, like A. G. Gardiner, events were moving too fast. He could remember the days when an editor, who stood for something, was ". . . the crown and summit of things -- tolerably visible but still there, when the news pages bore the stamp of his mind and went to 'bed' like good children before the head of the household sent his Sinaitic page to the foundry." (26)

7.4: C. Arthur Pearson launches The Daily Express

Others, such as C. Arthur Pearson, were quick to understand that the market which Harmsworth was exploiting could be expanded, and on April 24, 1900, he launched The Daily Express. Selling at a half-penny, it was to be the first paper to carry news on Page One, and, in Pearson's own words, would "not pander to any Political Party. It will aim to please, amuse and interest by gathering news and witticisms all the wide world over." (27)

Born at Wookey, near Wells, Somerset, on February 24, 1886, Pearson was the son of a country curate, and educated at Winchester. After leaving school, he was waiting at home for a promised vacancy in a bank when he noticed a competition in the recently-launched Tit-Bits. The prize was a post in the offices of the magazine at a salary of £100 per year. Spread over 13 weeks, there were 130 questions to answer, and, with 86 correct, 18 very good and eight good, Pearson was declared the winner of the contest. Within days he had joined George Newnes, the magazine's proprietor, in Fleet Street, commencing in September 1884, and by the following April, at the age of nineteen, had been appointed office manager. Nine months later, Pearson was promoted to manager of the magazine and remained on the staff of Tit-Bits for another five years. By now married and the father of two daughters, he found it increasingly difficult to live on his new salary of £350 per year, and to increase his income he began to work in his spare time as a freelance journalist. One of his earliest successes was an article entitled "Light", which was accepted by The Standard on February 15, 1889. When in late 1889 and early 1890, Newnes and Stead launched The Review of Reviews, Pearson was appointed business manager of the journal. Because of this additional responsibility, he sought a further increase in salary, but Newnes rejected the request and on June 30, 1890, Pearson left Newnes. Three weeks later the first number of Pearson's Weekly appeared.

From the initial issue, with sales of more than 250,000, Pearson's Weekly was a huge success. Most of the first issue was written by Pearson himself, who, of course, also acted as business manager, tasks that involved his making a tour of the United Kingdom, visiting every newsagent of

importance, sleeping often in third-class railway carriages, and writing, in the train, articles and stories which were posted to the office. From Tit-Bits, Pearson had brought with him Peter Keary and Ernest Kessell, and they now helped him to establish Pearson's Limited. His major financial support was a Mr Stephen Mills, who provided Pearson with £3,000 to launch the venture.

Always a person with ideas for circulation-boosters, in the first issue of The Weekly, Pearson offered free railway insurance policies of £1,000 with each copy of his paper. There were also prizes for the person with the longest name and for the fathers of twins, and women readers were given the opportunity to win £100 a year for life and a good husband." (28) The name of the lady selected for the prize appeared in the Christmas issue, but, unfortunately, she withdrew after having had second thoughts, explaining that "she had not seen any gentlemen, from the photographs received who had taken her heart by storm, and did not feel disposed to come to any decision without due consideration." (29) One of Pearson's best stunts however, occurred during an influenza epidemic. Travelling in the train to his office, he was told by a doctor that the best preventive for influenza was "some stuff made from the eucalyptus tree". (30) Pearson immediately bought all the eucalyptus oil he could find and engaged a staff of 50 commissionaires to squirt the oil through scent sprays on the copies of Pearson's Weekly as they came off the printing presses.

But despite its large circulation, the magazine experienced financial problems, and the search began to find a new patron. Through a manager of W. H. Smith, the newspaper wholesalers, Pearson was introduced to Sir William Ingram, the proprietor of The Illustrated London News. At first, Sir William refused to become involved, but he soon changed

his mind when he discovered that Pearson was a fellow Old Wykehamist. After some hard bargaining, Sir William agreed to provide £3,000 but before half the money was called upon Pearson's Weekly was in profit. Indeed, within six years, it became a limited company with capital of more than £400,000. Pearson's next circulation ploy was the missing word competition -- soon to be emulated by his rivals -- in which readers, for a shilling stake, were invited to provide the missing word in different verses each week. Only 815 readers entered the first competition, the winners each received 1s 9d, and within a year there were 473,450 entries, representing £23,628 in prize money. At this stage the authorities stepped in against one of Pearson's rivals, and Sir John Bridge, magistrate at Bow Street Police Court, ruled that such competitions were illegal.

By the turn of the century, Pearson was a wealthy man, having launched Home Notes, for "middle-class ladies"; Pearson's Magazine; M.A.P., edited by T. P. O'Connor; and The Royal Magazine. It was also at this time that he established the Fresh Air Fund, designed to provide a day's outing in the country to as many East End children as possible. During the first year 20,000 children were accommodated and within three years similar organizations were operating in 42 different centres. Ultimately, the number of children taken on these outings totalled almost half-a-million every summer.

Since 1890, Harmsworth and Pearson had been trade rivals and now the success of Harmsworth with The Evening News and The Daily Mail in 1896 made Pearson even more determined to launch a national newspaper. Even before The Daily Mail was established, Pearson was planning a daily newspaper, but this was one designed for American readers in particular, with extracts from the main newspapers in the United States. He had even gone so far as to open offices near Fleet Street and to send A. W. Rider, one of his close associates, to

the United States to make arrangements. But costs were too high and the project was abandoned. Then, on February 7, 1900, Pearson wrote from his premises at 17, Tudor Street, London, E.C., to the editor of The Newspaper Owner and Modern Printer:

If you think the matter of sufficient general interest, will you be so good as to announce that I am going to produce a London morning newspaper in a few weeks time? It will be called The Daily Express. Its price will be a half-penny. It will be owned by myself, and not by Messrs. C. Arthur Pearson Ltd. A great many misleading statements have been made on this subject; hence this letter.
(31)

Ten weeks later, on April 24, Pearson launched his new title, The Daily Express, and as editor, in his opening leader, proclaimed that "It will be the organ of no political party nor the instrument of any social clique . . . Its editorial policy will be that of an honest Cabinet Minister . . . Our policy is patriotic, our policy is the British Empire." (32)

From the beginning, the paper was a success, and by the end of the month had an average daily circulation of 232,374 copies. Harmsworth's caustic comment was: "Well, there is a half-million circulation waiting for him the first day." (33) During the same month that he established his national daily, Pearson bought the Morning Herald, which he merged with The Express on September 3. Until March 3, 1901, the title was Daily Express and Morning Herald, but on that day it reverted to Daily Express. Not to be confused with an earlier paper of the same title and its Standard connections, The Morning Herald had begun as The Morning on Saturday, May 23, 1892, and was a half-penny paper with Unionist leanings. Within six months, however, its proprietor, Chester Ives, one of the first Anglo-Americans in British journalism, had lost £30,000 on his new venture. The paper then changed direction by supporting the Liberals and Conservatives in turn and also amended its title to The London Morning in 1898 and to Morning Herald on April 25, 1899.

On the day of its first issue as The Morning Herald it announced that it would be perfectly candid with its readers in stating that "The editorial view of public questions is Progressive and Liberal without slavish allegiance to any faction. Aware that it was living in a new age, the paper would neither live for politics nor by politics." (34) Kennedy Jones had broken into Fleet Street on The Morning and later wrote that at the close of the century "Politics were out of fashion; the people wanted news, not views." (35) Strangely enough, this was not a point of view shared by Harmsworth who believed that his financial and circulation success with The Daily Mail was balanced by an equal power to influence public and political opinion. In fact, he voiced, not infrequently, and exaggerated the political prejudices of the readers of his popular papers. But like Kennedy Jones, the political scientist, M. Ostrogorski, was at this time convinced that

The public no longer has its old belief in the leading article, and the number of people who systematically abstain from reading it, knowing beforehand that it is outrageously biased, is rapidly increasing. People read the paper for its non-political views, and often vote with its opponents . . . As for improving the political judgment of their readers, the great majority of the newspaper utterly fail to do so. (37)

7.5: Byron Curtis takes over

While the apostles of the New Journalism were changing the face of the British Press, The Standard continued in its unspectacular manner. Mudford, as editor and publisher, was certainly not about to change the habits of a life-time. His paper would duly report the daily news in a sober and responsible manner. Not for him, the brashness of a young Northcliffe or the verve of a purposeful Pearson, rather it was to continue to take a more measured view on life. Unfortunately for The Standard, Mudford was not a person who could easily adapt to change and as The Times was later to assert on Mudford:

... THE ...

Newspaper Owner

Registered at the
General Post Office as
... a Newspaper ...



and

Manager.

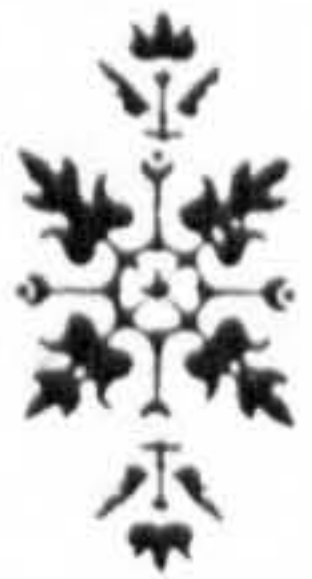
PUBLISHED .
WEEKLY. . .

Posted regularly to the Owner or Manager of every General, Class, and Trade Newspaper in the United Kingdom.

No. 48.

Wednesday, November 30, 1898.

TWOPENCE.
Post Free, 5s. per annum.



MR. W. H. MUDFORD
(Editor of The Standard).

The Upholder of
Independent Conservatism.



Kindly lent by
Messrs. Waterlow & Sons, Ltd.

His ear was not attuned to the modern voice; he did not move with the times; and in his arrogant confidence in the unmistakable ability of his newspaper he failed to recognize the inroads which brasher rivals were making upon its prosperity. But he was one of the masters of older journalism; and as long as his hand was at the helm The Standard was a real force. How largely this was due to his own curious but capable individuality is shown by the rapid decline which set in after his retirement of the editorship. (38)

Mudford, however, was not to know this when on December 31, 1899, he decided to retire and leave the next century to his successor. The person chosen as the new editor of The Standard was Byron Curtis, who had been selected by Mudford himself. Mudford was much impressed with Curtis's ability and in 1880 had appointed him as Chief Assistant Editor of the paper with special responsibility for its nightly production. A tall, spare man, with a striking moustache, Curtis had been born near Worcester on August 10, 1843. After being educated privately, he joined the staff of The Echo as Assistant Editor and Parliamentary summary writer in 1869. Six years later he was appointed Acting Editor, and then brought out The Echo as the first London half-penny morning paper. (39)

The Echo had been launched as an evening paper, selling at one halfpenny, on December 8, 1868, by Messrs. Cassell, Petter and Galpin. But it was not the hoped-for success, and in 1875 was sold to Albert Grant, a notorious company promoter, better known as Baron Grant -- a title conferred by King Victor Emmanuel II, of Italy (40) On October 4, Grant issued The Echo as a morning title, while still continuing with the evening editions. Pagination was amended from eight tabloid-size to four broadsheet pages. However, it was not profitable and it expired on May 31, 1876. Nevertheless, Curtis's work on The Echo had won the approval of Mudford and he joined The Standard as a leader writer in 1877. Soon after the appointment of Curtis as editor of The Standard Arthur Jameson observed that:

In the hot race for honour in London journalism the prize is not always to the swift. There have been cases where pushing young men have risen rapidly to the editorial chair, have flashed like comets through the sky of Fleet Street, and have disappeared as quickly as they came, leaving few traces of usefulness behind. The biggest prize in London journalism is held by journalists to be the editorship of The Standard, and this recently fell to Mr Byron C. Curtis. The prize was won after 20 years' faithful service as sub-editor on that paper. Mr Curtis is a thin, wiry man, about 55, who possesses a knowledge of Parliamentary secrets and political doings on the Continent that is coveted by every journalist in London. (40)

Unlike Mudford, who positively loathed the men's clubs, Curtis was a member of both The Carlton and The Junior Carlton, ideal places in which to attract the attention of Conservative Party politicians. Quite rightly, Curtis regarded the editorship of The Standard as the most important post in Fleet Street: he certainly did not believe his paper to be in any way inferior to The Times. In a sense he was following on the point of view of Mudford, who was said to reign like some Eastern potentate over the paper. "Thus, Byron Curtis could say, 'I know I'm only a humble sort of fellow, but I've got a jolly lot of power.'" (41)

R. D. Blumenfeld, the future editor of The Daily Express, and a close friend of Curtis, wrote some years later:

All London bona-fide departmental Editors are naturally under the Editor-in-Chief and have access to him. It has not always been so. I recall the case of Mr Byron Curtis, the august and personally so kind Editor of The Standard, Mr Mudford's successor, who was as inaccessible to the staff as was the Dalai Lama. He used to come down to the Shoe Lane offices after lunch and sit in his heavily guarded sanctum, write a few letters in his own hand to Cabinet Ministers and

Bishops (The Standard was largely read by the clergy) and then go off to his Club in Pall Mall for tea. If you had an idea to offer you went to his room at your peril! The idea of offering ideas! In the evening after dinner he came down, talked to his leader writers, waited to see the proofs of the leaders and took the 12.20 train from Blackfriars. Did the French republic blow up or was there likely to be some grave news later in the night, he took the 12.20 just the same, and the efficient Night Editor did the rest."

A key figure during this period, Blumenfeld was then working as an Associate Editor of The Daily Mail, and in the autumn of 1900 he was asked by Harmsworth if he would act as intermediary in the possible purchase of The Times. According to Blumenfeld (in his diary on October 16)

Alfred Harmsworth . . . came into my room at The Daily Mail office a couple of days ago and said: "There is nothing I would like better in all the world than to obtain control of The Times. I do not think they are getting on too well there, and they might like to sell, If I went to see them they would refuse me. Will you make them an offer instead?"

Blumenfeld met Godfrey Walter, who, after seeing his elder brother, Arthur, gracefully refused the offer. On receiving the news, a philosophical Harmsworth told Blumenfeld: "Never mind. We'll get it sooner or later."

Ever restless, Harmsworth now decided to launch a daily newspaper produced by and for ladies of breeding, The Daily Mirror. In the first issue of The Daily Mirror, which appeared on Monday, November 2, 1902, he proclaimed that: "All that experience can do in shaping it has already been done. The last feather of its wings has been adjusted, so that I have now only to open the door of the cage and ask your good wishes for the flight." The first issue -- no doubt because of a certain novelty value -- sold 265,217 copies; by the seventh issue sales were less than 100,000 and within three months the circulation had dropped to only

24,000. Having lost £100,000 on the venture, Harmsworth returned its editor, Mrs Mary Howarth (who had been paid £50 per month) to The Daily Mail, remarking that he had learnt two things from his costly mistake: "Women can't write and don't want to read."

To salvage matters, Hamilton Fyfe now became editor, assisted by Kennedy Jones, and both decided that the "monstrous regiment of women" must go. They soon discovered that there were delays in getting pages off stone "because of the anxiety of the compositors to make-up and re-make a page under the appraising eyes of elegant women in low-cut evening gowns who had just returned from the theatre to supervise the assembling of their works of art in the mechanical department." Fyfe later recalled that when dismissing the female staff, "They begged to be allowed to stay. They left little presents on my desk. They waylaid me tearfully in the corridors. It was a horrid experience, like drowning kittens."

With the fortunes of The Mirror now improving, it was decided on January 25, 1904. to relaunch the paper as The Daily Illustrated Mirror, "a paper for men and women, the first half-penny publication in the history of journalism." Arkas Sapt, one of Harmsworth's key technicians, told his Chief: "I can fill a daily newspaper with photographs printed on high-speed rotary presses." He was confident of producing high-class half-tones on ordinary Hoe presses at speeds of more than 20,000 per hour; and he was to be proved right. With Hannen Swaffer as the first art editor, the circulation of The Mirror now rose to 140,000 within the first month and the foundations were re-laid of what was to become Britain's biggest-selling daily.

As yet another popular daily paper entered the market, catering for the every-growing literate class, the swing away from the more traditional newspapers became even more

apparent -- and the one to be most affected by these changes was The Standard. By the spring of 1904, the fortunes of the paper were very much on the wane. The editorship of Byron Curtis had not been the hoped-for success and the new reading public was no longer interested in the high politics of the Tory Press. For the Johnstone family, now once more in charge of the paper's ailing fortunes, the heady days of Mudford, in his dual role as editor and manager, belonged to the past. Since the death of Johnstone Senior, in 1878, Mudford had been the driving force behind The Standard's fortunes, and for almost 25 years until his recent retirement had ensured its well-being. But now, with the sales of the paper continuing to fall, the Johnstone family decided that the time had come to sell and secret negotiations were begun with the Hon. John Edward Douglas-Scott-Montagu, the future second Baron of Montagu.

Although in some financial difficulties with his ownership of The Car Illustrated, Montagu believed that he could bid for The Standard and revive the paper. Throughout the eight-month struggle for the ownership of The Standard, he was to note, cryptically, in his diary, using the initials JM, of how the negotiations were proceeding; and on Saturday, April 23, 1904, there appeared his first entry: "Proposal re 'S' taking root." Two days later he dined with Artie Johnstone to discuss the purchase of The Standard and afterwards noted: "Nothing definite arranged. Figures not discussed but evidence given that they are not averse to JM's proposal to take over." Within a fortnight, Johnstone had asked Montagu to meet his solicitor. Montagu now felt that events were moving almost too swiftly: "Do not want the business rushed. Wants a lot of careful consideration. Afraid almost too big."

On that very night, May 4, Harmsworth invited Montagu to dine with him at his Berkeley Square home, and informed him

that he was aware of the planned purchase. He had heard the news from a mutual acquaintance, Alfred Watson, editor of The Badminton Library, at the opera during the previous evening. Harmsworth then said that he had been attempting to buy The Standard for the past two years, and suggested that, through Montagu, he would purchase the title. If successful, he proposed that Montagu would become Editor-in-Chief, with full editorial powers. However, in the event of a Government crisis, he reserved the right to veto the paper's policy.

To have the financial backing of the huge Harmsworth press empire seemed an ideal solution for Montagu and he felt that his bid for The Standard could not fail. He conducted all negotiations with the Johnstone family and, if he lacked sufficient financial support, Harmsworth promised to raise the balance of the finance himself. However, there was one condition: Harmsworth's involvement was to be kept a close secret. Two days later they met in a solicitor's office at Ely Place, Holborn, and signed a formal agreement setting out the powers and responsibilities if and when they acquired The Standard. For Montagu, it would mean a salary of £5,000 per annum.

On July 21 an offer was made for The Standard and rejected as totally inadequate. A fortnight later The Standard's solicitors responded and now Montagu felt that their asking price was too high. For the next three months no negotiations took place, but on October 28 Montagu entertained Arthur Balfour, the Prime Minister, at Beaulieu, and used the opportunity to inform him of his plans for The Standard. That evening, Montagu recorded that Balfour was "greatly interested and promised his support if we were successful in obtaining The Standard. Very pleased to get this from him." But, even while Montagu had secured the Prime Minister's support, the prize was slipping away. On that same day (October 28), The Standard's solicitors were attempting to contact him with news of another prospective purchaser.

With Harmsworth out of London on business, Montagu could do nothing on the following day, and it was not until Friday, November 4, that he was able to see Harmsworth. Immediately after their discussions, Montagu left for the solicitors, but it was already too late: Pearson had paid the Johnstone family the full asking price for The Standard. A chastened Montagu, knowing that Pearson had not actually signed the contract, hastened to 10, Downing Street to tell "Balfour the news and to warn him that The Standard under Pearson could not be relied upon to support Government policy as it had in the past." (42) Returning to Beaulieu for the weekend, Montagu noted in his diary: "Coming so suddenly, this is more of a blow than it would have been if worked up. I find, now that the thing slips, how hopes and ambitions were built upon it. Seem to have missed the chance of a lifetime." When the news of Pearson's success was printed on the front page of The Standard, it was greeted with amazement by many of Montagu's hard-line Tory associates, who told him that they would rather have had a person such as himself in charge of the paper. A final entry in his diary summed up Montagu's dashed dream: "Little did they know how he had striven for it and what hopes he had built upon it, not for himself but for the [Tory] party . . ."

For Pearson, aside from his purchase of The St. James's Gazette, it was a particularly active time as he turned his attention to The Newcastle Evening Leader, from which was to emerge The Newcastle Evening Mail. He now also controlled The Birmingham Gazette, The Birmingham Express and The Birmingham Evening Dispatch, and to complete his Midland chain he purchased The Leicester Evening News. All of these properties were profitable titles.

Under ever-increasing pressures, Pearson realized that the strain of editing The Daily Express was proving too much for him -- although for several years he was to attend

staff meetings and supervise policy. Blumenfeld, as Pearson's editorial chief, having recently left The Daily Mail, was now able to use his "inside knowledge of the methods by which Harmsworth's unprecedented successes had been achieved" for the benefit of Pearson's empire. Despite all these activities and pressures, Pearson was not content to rest on his laurels, and on November 4, 1904, he purchased The Standard and The Evening Standard from the Johnstone family. While Montagu had been cherishing his hopes to possess the paper, Pearson had struck, and on October 12 he had confided his plans to Joseph Chamberlain in the following letter:

The Standard is in the market and I have secured an option on it. The paper has, of course, gone down very much of late, but not too far to be saved from the total wreck which will befall it if it is left much longer under the present management. From the business standpoint it is conducted on old and extravagant lines by people with no knowledge of practical newspaper work. With the introduction of modern methods it is, I am certain, capable of being brought back to a state of prosperity and of regaining the influence which it has lost.

The Standard among newspapers is like a free-fooder in the Cabinet. It is a powerful enemy in our ranks and very much more harmful than an open foe. In my judgment, The Standard has from the point of newspaper influence done far more to impede the course of Tariff Reform than any other paper. It has still a great hold among the sober thinking class and particularly among business men, for its commercial intelligence has always been looked upon at the very best. (43)

Writing in his diary at the time (on November 3), Blumenfeld noted:

Arthur Pearson came into my room this afternoon and said that he had purchased The Standard and Evening Standard from the Johnstone family for £700,000. Pearson is heavily backed by men of wealth. The Standard, which up to three years ago was one of the most prosperous papers in the world, has lost readers and support owing to its

policy of Free Trade. I went with Pearson over the establishment in Shoe Lane tonight and found it archaic and ill-equipped for the production of a first-class newspaper. There are men there who have drawn salaries for years without doing an adequate day's work.

When Chamberlain learned that Pearson had been successful, he wrote to him from his holiday retreat in Siena, offering his congratulations. He noted the rumour that the purchase price was £700,000 and remarked that "If this had been so it would have been the greatest deal that has ever been negotiated."

The day after the sale, Saturday, November 5, The Daily Mail commented ". . . that no alterations are contemplated in the price, appearance or general tone of the [The Standard] paper . . ." The hand of Harmsworth was behind the article which added that Pearson had bought The Standard as a business venture and not as a support for Tariff Reform. It said that although aged 38, Pearson talks with the enthusiasm of a twenty-five-year-old. The sum of £700,000 was also listed as the purchase price. These remarks moved a very pleased Pearson to write to Harmsworth on that very day thanking him "for the nice things you say about me in this morning's Daily Mail and for the importance which you gave to my purchase of The Standard. It had been intended to complete the business next Tuesday or Wednesday but the announcement in your paper made it necessary to complete it at once." In this direction, E. T. Cook, a former editor of The Pall Mall Gazette and The Daily News, wrote in his diary that the purchase price for The Standard was "not far short of £700,000 as opposed to Harmsworth's offer of £450,000. The present circulation is 80,000 and last year's profits were said to have been £10,000 -- at one time £100,000."

Meanwhile, the change in ownership of The Standard was presented in a mere four paragraphs in the paper on the morning of November 5:

THE STANDARD

The Standard passes to-day into the possession of Mr C. Arthur Pearson.

The recent owners feel assured that, in disposing of their property to Mr Pearson they are taking a step which will ensure the continuance of the traditions which have given The Standard a proud position which it has for so long occupied in the annals of British journalism.

No alterations are contemplated in the price, appearance or general tone of the paper.

The statement cabled from America yesterday that Mr C. Arthur Pearson is acting for the Tariff Reform League is untrue. The transaction is a purely business one, in which Mr Pearson is acting for himself alone, and neither the Tariff Reform League nor any other body or Association has anything to do with it.

Thus, one of the last of the traditional daily newspapers had succumbed to an apostle of the New Journalism.

The coming of the New Journalism was, in a large sense, inevitable because of (among other factors) the Education Act of 1870. A new reading public was not to be satisfied with the dry and stuffy columns of the existing newspapers. The public demanded -- and received -- as a result of the ideals and work of a few far-sighted journalists, the newspapers of its choice.

Traditional journalism, with its limited clientele of leisured readers, had seemed firmly entrenched while the newspapers were set by hand. But the arrival of Stead, O'Connor, Harmsworth and Pearson and others, with their visions of a journalism designed to interest everyman, soon

changed the status quo in the British newspaper world. The process of revolution, for so long stagnant in the British Press, had received a tremendous jolt. The newspaper had been dragged kicking and screaming into the twentieth century.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

The theme of this dissertation has been the way in which one newspaper, The Standard, survived throughout the Victorian era. Although the old Queen died on January 22, 1901, the turn of the century seems an appropriate point in which to pause in this study. It is necessary, therefore, to appraise the work and status of The Standard: the heavy involvement of the High Tories from its launch; the long-lasting rivalry with The Times; and the drive, with the aid of improved writing and enhanced production, for ever-increasing circulations until, finally, the emergence of the "New Journalism" found a dogmatic editor/manager who would not adapt to the new conditions and circumstances. There could be only one result: a heavy decline in sales, a fall-off in profits, and ultimate disposal of the paper.

Certainly, from the earliest days of the Baldwin dynasty, 150 years before The Standard was launched, the proprietors had always been fiercely anti-Catholic and supporters of William of Orange. This loyalty to the Protestant cause, especially from such diverse editorial characters as Giffard and Maginn, although both Irish Orangemen is apparent throughout the history of The Standard. Even Johnstone, a generation later, had no compunction in dismissing W. D. Williams, his chief reporter, when he discovered that Williams was a Roman Catholic -- and this after the unfortunate man was considered for the editorship of the paper.

Despite the religious bigotry of Giffard, as editor, when leading the campaign against Catholic Emancipation during

the early days of the paper, his campaign was as unsuccessful as those he was to wage against Parliamentary Reform and the Repeal of the Corn Laws. Like so many other Orangemen, Giffard did not believe in any grey areas; the issues were either black or white, because for Giffard politics was not the art of compromise. Nevertheless, his support of the Tory Party, . . . when he saw that it was not prepared to give way on important matters of policy, was absolute. His offer of the services of The Standard, without condition, to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel on two separate occasions is adequate proof of the journal's commitment to the Tories. But Giffard had no time for Party hangers-on, as his thoughts on that bastion of Conservatism, the Carlton Club, well reflect:

When the Club was first founded, my friend Sir Richard Vyvyan one of the committee of seven (I think) urged me to allow my name to be put down as an original member. This I refused . . . because I knew what the Club would become and what it has become, an instrument of a few empty and insolvent aristocrats aided by the servile class of place-hunters . . . I hate the mean and vulgar manners of all the Irish gentry of the Lord and Member of Parliament class, and I knew that, from the forwardness of these men, they would soon give a mean and vulgar tone to the Club which they have done. I am a poor and humble man and therefore I hate the promiscuous great. (1)

This self-styled "poor and humble man" was nonetheless a proud man who would not even accept any financial assistance from his friends. His disposal of the Duke of Newcastle's £1,200 gift is a clear case of his pride. For an editor, who fathered ten children, and, in the autumn of 1840, as a result of vast indebtedness, was forced to send his family to France to live on two or three pounds a week, this was self-sacrifice of the highest order. Further evidence of Giffard's strong belief in the need for integrity and independence in an editor is apparent

in the following letter to his friend, Fred Shaw: "One of my motives for not joining the Carlton Club was a consideration that I would not wish to see prevail more generally than it does, namely that a man cannot passionately presume his independence and in politics, his integrity, except in the company of his equals." (2)

8.1: Giffard's Beliefs

The plain fact is that if Giffard were of a mind to indulge in any snobbery, he could indulge in it to his heart's content with the Duke of Cumberland (who as King of Hanover declared that Giffard was the best friend he had in England). Giffard's independence was so pervasive that he would accept no hospitality, either for himself or his children, that he could not reciprocate. But there was one aspect of independence in which he could indulge: that of stating what he pleased in the columns of The Standard and for Giffard this was compensation for everything, even if it landed him in challenge and controversy. This independence -- and his views on the Press -- are well evident in his assertion:

I have always freely used the power that I have in the Press to serve those I love. I have strong impressions upon this point which I may avow to a friend of now twenty six years' standing (Charles Baldwin). I believe fidelity in friendship to the extent of zeal to be a duty as binding upon conscience as any other. But though I say I owe the duty and claim the right to serve my friends in the Press to the extent of my small power, I am strongly impressed with the criminality of prostituting the Press to the indulgence of personal animosities. May I further affirm that I never inflict pain or injury, as my unhappy office compels me sometimes to do, without a corresponding violence to my own feelings. (3)

Despite the fact that Giffard's name was very prominent during his years as editor of The Standard, Charles Baldwin, the proprietor, was also well-known, especially among

practitioners of the Press. An anonymous journalist of the period was convinced that Baldwin had established the paper at a time little promising of profit largely because of his support for the Protestant cause. He also believed that The Standard was one of only two journals published in London that was not below the intelligence of the people. Indeed, he was convinced that "It would be an injustice to consider it a mere party journal -- it is eminently the journal of liberty. Let an invasion of liberty, a case of oppression arise, and The Standard has always been the first to hurry to the defence. This has often called for the gratitude of the extreme Radicals. Even Mr [Daniel] O'Connell has had much to thank The Standard." (4)

However, the paper was not without its critics, especially from rivals, as The Sun reported in 1837: "The Standard is in a singular state of political optimism -- a state, we may add, alarming to its friends and its party . . . Its extreme unctious portends that rite to its party." (5) Despite such criticism, it was generally accepted that The Standard "was particularly distinguished by its gentlemanly tone which was maintained without any sacrifice of the force of argument or the vigour of style." An anonymous Member of Parliament of opposite opinions was heard to remark that "Mr Baldwin was remarkable as the most consistent politician he had ever known; he had never made a political or a professional blunder."

8.2: A Change of Ownership

With the retirement of Charles Baldwin, the business passed to his son, Edward. Unfortunately, here was a man with a fixed purpose -- to overtake The Times. Despite success in his development of the editorial -- especially when dealing with foreign news -- he was unsuccessful as a businessman. In fact, his profligacy in financial matters, even following the collapse of "The Railway Mania" and the resulting decline in advertising revenue in the paper,

was a certain road to ruin: his appearance in the bankruptcy court and the enforced sale of his newspapers was the disastrous result. (6) Fortunately for The Standard, the arrival of a new proprietor, James Johnstone, with new ideas and methods, brought about a dramatic improvement in the paper's fortunes. But the rescue and revival did not occur without a distinct change in the basic make-up and cost structure of the product, including the re-launch of the evening edition. Inheriting a circulation of less than 1,000 copies a day, when he purchased The Standard in April 1857, Johnstone was quick to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by the recent repeal of the Stamp Tax. By the radical step of doubling the pagination and halving the price of the newspaper he was able to expand the circulation; and a further reduction in the cover price to one penny, on February 4, 1858, had an even more profound effect. Here was the first example of a large-size one penny newspaper -- and a significant event in British newspaper history -- as the publisher proclaimed: "We this day publish The Standard at the price of ONE PENNY, which, we venture to predict, will yet become the current charge for newspapers throughout the Kingdom." (7)

To increase the circulation of the paper in less than a decade to 100,000 copies a day was certainly a remarkable achievement, almost matched by rise in sales to 185,276 by 1874. Unfortunately, just as Johnstone was beginning to enjoy the benefits of a highly-respected and profitable newspaper, he died suddenly in 1878.

8.3: Mudford Takes Charge

There is little doubt that the first ten years of Mudford's tenure as both editor and proprietor were a great success. On Johnstone's death in 1878, Mudford was rewarded by his late proprietor's will with complete editorial and managerial

freedom of The Standard for life at a salary of £5,000 per year. This was one of the most extraordinary acts of faith in nineteenth century journalism, and I know of no other example in British journalism where one man was granted such absolute power over a national newspaper.

Mudford was certainly fortunate in taking over a profitable business. Much money had recently been spent on modern machinery and during that very year, 1878, The Standard's magnificent new building had been completed in St. Bride Street. By his own efforts the paper already possessed a first-class editorial staff: G. H. Henty, Charles Norris-Newman, John Cameron, and, even, Hector Macpherson, despite his lapses in Afghanistan, were special correspondents of the highest order. And, with such leader writers as Alfred Austin, T. H. S. Escott and T. Keibel, plus more than a dozen parliamentary staff -- all backed up by the superb professionalism of his assistant editors Byron Curtis and, later, Sidney Low -- The Standard was greatly admired for the "port-wine flavour in the solid rhetoric of its editorial pages."

Under Mudford's direction, The Standard now became a radical journal with Tory predilections and an ardent exponent of British imperialism. On the whole it was succeeding admirably as a steadying influence on its preferred Tory Party with its healthy and stimulating criticism. The paper prided itself on being in close touch with all aspects of contemporary English life and its being privy to Cabinet secrets. Given all this, it is no wonder that The Standard in the mid-1880s was daily selling more than 250,000 copies (an official return for September 23, 1882, recorded a circulation of 255,292) and was readily acknowledged as one of the most prosperous and influential journals of the day.

Why then, in little more than a decade, did The Standard lose its direction, see its influence wane, and have its sales surpassed by other daily papers?

8.4: End of an Era

The basic cause of The Standard's decline is not difficult to discern: the paper simply could not adapt to the changing patters of the "New Journalism" largely because of its intractable editor/manager, Mudford. The Times was convinced that Mudford failed because:

His ear was not attuned to the modern voice; he did not move with the times; and in his arrogant confidence in the unmistakable ability of his newspaper he failed to recognize the inroads which brasher rivals were making upon its prosperity. But he was one of the maestros of older journalism; and as long as his hand was at the helm The Standard was a real force. How largely this was due to his own curious but capable individuality is shown by the rapid decline which set in after his retirement of the editorship. (8)

It is, indeed, a fair summary of Mudford's stewardship, for within four years The Standard was sold to Arthur Pearson, abetted by Lord Farringdon and the Tariff Reform League.

CORRESPONDENCE

(William Wordsworth to Alaric Watts)

May 21, 1827

My Dear Sir,

Along with a copy of my new edition I directed that two should be enclosed to you to be forwarded, the one to Miss Jewsbury, the other to Mrs Hemans, believing that you are in communication with these ladies. Certainly any paper has my good wishes that promised to be judiciously conducted with a view to support the Protestant cause.

I am not a friend to further concessions to the Catholics, being convinced that, as those restrictions are not the cause of the misery and discontent of Ireland, so the removal of them neither will, nor can, tranquilise that unhappy country. The present aspect of public affairs is to me anything but encouraging. You will not, however, be surprised when I say that I participate in little of the heat which the late changes appear to have called forth in London.

With respect to the seceders, my opinion is that they have acted most injudiciously. It must have been galling, I own, to act under Mr Canning, or any other concessionist Minister; but surely it would have been much wiser to stomach that and make the best of a bad state of things, than to leave their places empty to their adversaries. I have no doubt that numbers of the party are heartily sorry for having decided so hastily; and this brings me to a part of the case which bears upon your engagements with The St. James's Chronicle and The Standard.

Undoubtedly there exists at present a strong feeling to support the principles which those papers undertake to defend, but I am inclined to think it will not be long before much of that feeling abates. If it be true that

many seceders regret the course they have taken, it is to be expected that they will fall back into the ranks as soon as they decently and conveniently can; but in what a sad condition will they find the cause which they have conscientiously supported, compared with the state it would have been in, however, far short of their and our wishes, provided they had never retired.

It grieves me to speak in this manner of men to whom the country has such reason to be grateful for their public services; and, who in the steps they have taken, have, I sincerely believe, been as much guided by a sense of duty as we have a right to expect any party of men to be. I am sorry on their account; and when I look on the other side what consolation can be found?

If I grieve for Mr Canning's position, it is no more so that he must grieve for himself. He can have no comfort, knowing what the opinions of the King are on the Catholic question; and feeling what compromises and sacrifices must be reciprocally made to keep him and his new friends together for an hour.

Mr Canning is a man to whom I am personally attached. His attentions to me have been beyond what I had the least right to expect. I had occasion to ask a favour of him, not as a member of Parliament some time ago, and he met my wishes with the most obliging readiness. It is far less on this account that I regret Mr Canning's present embarrassment than because I shall ever feel grateful to him for the services he rendered the country and the world during the long protracted struggle against the domination of Bonaparte.

He was no doubt one of the principal agents in keeping the British army in the Peninsula at a time when his new friends were clamouring for its recall; and doing all in their

power to discourage our noble exertions and animate our deadly enemy. For this I never can forgive the Whigs, or cease to deplore that a man like Canning should have been brought to unite with such heartless politicians, Englishmen so unworthy of their name and their country.

Ever sincerely your obliged friend,

W. WORDSWORTH

(Robert Southey, Poet Laureate, to Alaric Watts)

Harrogate, June 21, 1827

My Dear Sir,

I trouble you with this hasty note to request that The Standard may henceforth be directed to Keswick, for which place we set out on our return tomorrow. As soon as I am settled there, which will be in the course of some ten or twelve days, you will hear from me, and I shall commence what I hope may be a useful correspondence. The story of George Fox looking on while his house was burning, which is noticed in The Standard to show the ignorance of the biographer, is indeed proof enough of that ignorance. The fact itself is related to the first or second of Espriella's Letters, and belongs to an old acquaintance of mine, Charles Fox by name, who was in all respects a very remarkable person.

Your paper has started well. I thought it unguarded in its language concerning Huskisson, imputing to him a wish to subvert the institutions of the country. That there are many of the Whigs who have the wish, I do not question; but it may be doubted whether any of them confessed to

themselves the design. But I do not think Huskisson aims at anything worse than his own advancement.

Be that as it may, it is perhaps better to show what must be the natural consequences of their schemes of policy than to charge them with having those consequences as an end in view. I will send you some observations on the state of Portugal, and enter upon other subjects of importance.

Meantime, believe me, dear sir,

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT SOUTHEY

(Robert Southey to Alaric Watts)

Keswick, September 11, 1827

My Dear Sir,

On my return last night from a visit to Wordsworth I found your letter. One reason why you have not heard from me during the last two months you have divined. That, however, would not have kept me silent, had the hurry and worry which this season brings with it, left me leisure for composition. I should indeed be altogether unwilling to enter into the warfare of parties; and while Canning lived would never have sought occasion of speaking with severity of one towards whom my personal feelings were kindly.

But if time had permitted, I hoped, and still hope, to send you some letters in which great questions will be treated, with the intention of showing that class of the people who are already the fearful majority that it is their interest to support the existing institutions of the country, not to overthrow them -- this in a way that shall rather tend to conciliate and persuade than to provoke a

contradictious spirit. You give a sad account of public affairs; and you have sad proof of the disadvantage under which an advocate pleads, when there are certain points which must not touch, though they are material to the strength of his case.

In opinion I have generally gone with The Standard, not always in temper; but it is ably conducted, and makes itself felt.

I have nothing in the way of prose what would suit your Souvenir, and what I have of verse is, as you see on the opposite page, of little worth; but it will answer the purpose of adding a name to your advertisement, and perhaps next year I may finish a long ballad, the story of which is good, and the commencement promises well. Pray send me the proof leaf of these lines, for the chance of improving them; it shall not be detained beyond the next post.

Believe me, dear sir,

Yours very truly,

ROBERT SOUTHEY

(Stanley Lees Giffard to the Duke of Wellington)

Myddleton Square, November 17, 1834

At the risk of being thought obtrusive, I take this abrupt mode of placing at your Grace's service The Standard newspaper -- and the other newspapers under my control -- circulating more than all the other London evening papers, of all parties, put together.

MS.A.263

Eight years ago The Standard was indeed established at the sole cost and risk of its proprietor, for the same service -- but deviating from the other direct course of communication which I now adopt at all hazards. We were deceived by the official persons who made use of your Grace's authority -- and this led to consequences which I must continue to regret.

The offer which I now make is wholly without reserve -- The newspapers shall be absolutely at your command -- and if it be necessary to your Grace's interests that they take a line which I cannot approve of -- I shall be at any time ready to retire in favor of a successor of your appointment -- and I have no doubt of being able to prevail upon the proprietor to agree to such an arrangement.

Your Grace will, I hope, pardon one word more -- which however I am ashamed to write, though the common practice of political writers renders it necessary. I want nothing -- I look for no favor, present or remote. I think I may say the same for my friend the proprietor of The Standard, etc. Hitherto we have done our best for Conservative principles freely -- and we will continue to do so. I send this letter by post, because some years ago a letter which I tendered in persn at Apsley House was refused.

(The Duke of Wellington to Stanley Lees Giffard)

London. November 18, 1834

I received your letter last night upon my return home. I have never had any communication with a newspaper or with a gentleman connected with the Press; but nothing can be more open or fair than your proposition.

It is perfectly well known that the arrangement of the Government at present made is only temporary. I think, therefore, that it is but fair towards you to urge you to pause before you decide upon taking so determined a course as you have proposed to take. You will see hereafter the advantage that which I recommend to you. In the meantime I recommend to you candour & fairness the temporary arrangement of which I have the conduct.

(Stanley Lees Giffard to Sir Robert Peel)

December 8, 1834

Sir, I take the liberty of offering for your service The Standard newspaper. The Standard circulates more than any other evening paper except The Globe which it nearly or altogether equals in circulation -- and with The St. James's Chronicle and other journals belonging to the same owner conducted by the same editor -- and for the most part printed from the same types -- circulates more than all the other evening papers put together -- The Globe included.

In offering The Standard to your service, no return of any kind, present or future, is expected, but much of the confidence of the Government as must be necessary to render any service to be effectual: it is right, however, to explain what experience has demonstrated and what you, sir, yourself may observe in the case of the late Government -- that it is much better for an administration to do without newspapers altogether than to have rival and jarring papers.

If, therefore, you think it worth while to take The Standard into your service you will feel that it ought to be the only evening paper so taken.

There are, I believe, but two evening papers likely to come into competition with The Standard -- The Albion and The Courier -- but The Standard alone (without The St. James's Chronicle, etc.) circulates a great deal more than both put together. And though it may be and doubtless is inferior in talent (the public has, however, made a different award) it can bring to the aid of any Government which it supports a weight of character such as no other journal can -- and a corresponding claim upon the confidence of Conservatives.

If necessary to facilitate an arrangement, the proprietor of The Standard is prepared to buy -- at a rate higher than persons acquainted with the value of that kind of property will appraise it at -- the property of The Albion and Courier or both.

I cannot be ignorant, sir, that you have good cause for objections personal to myself. I am, however, prepared to break all connection with The Standard and its kindred journals, and I have no interest whatever in any of them. I offer these assertions upon the pledge of a word which no man has a right to doubt.

My sole motive in addressing you is to obviate the possibility that this power which I have the means of erecting should operate to embarrass the formation or progress of a Conservative Government to any degree, however slight, and also to learn as early as possible what is to be my own position.

(Sir Robert Peel to Stanley Lees Giffard)

December 10, 1834

Harrassed as I am by public business, I will not defer the acknowledgement of your letter, and by the expression of

my sincere thanks for the very liberal and handsome offer which it conveys. I am the more unwilling to postpone its acknowledgement from a desire to assure you that no comments made by The Standard upon any part of my public conduct have left the slightest hostility or ill towards you. Such has been my admiration of the ability with which that newspaper has been conducted that I have uniformly read it, being better pleased to bear with its occasional severities upon myself than to forego the satisfaction of reading the able and powerful and eloquent comments upon public affairs which it so frequently contained.

I neither have nor ever had the slightest connexion in any shape with either The Albion or The Courier. Personally, I am entirely free to give a full and fair consideration to the proposal you make, and I will give it that consideration at the earliest moment that I am disengaged from the very pressing matters which at present absorb my whole attention.

(Stanley Lees Giffard to Sir Robert Peel)

39, Myddleton Square. August 31

Private. -- The generous construction which you put upon the offer of my humble services seven years ago relieves me from the apprehension that I can be misunderstood in now repeating my offer.

I hope that in placing unreservedly at your command The Standard and the several other newspapers under my control, I shall be thought to have no personal object nor other object than the power of being useful to the country and of testifying my gratitude to you.

If you honor me by accepting this offer I shall be happy to receive the instructions of any gentleman to whom you may direct me; and I trust to merit from you a repetition of that approval which has been the proudest distinction of my life.

You will, I hope, have seen by my conduct during the last six years that it is not your accession to the high office to which you are entitled that commands my respect and service.

(Sir Robert Peel to Stanley Lees Giffard)

Whitehall. September 3, 1841

Private. -- Though I have scarcely a moment which I can call my own, I will no longer defer the acknowledgement of the letter which you have been good enough to address to me -- and assuring you that I am equally sensible of the disinterestedness and the value of the offer which it conveys.

I will again communicate with you upon the subject of it when I am less harassed by business which presses for instant despatch.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

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Chapter Two

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Chapter Three

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT

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2. *ibid*, p.67.

3. Johnson, however, who in his Dictionary had defined a pension as "pay given to a State hireling for treason to his country", was awarded a pension of £300 for twenty years. Lord Bute, his benefactor, had assured him it was for work accomplished. Nevertheless, Johnson wrote several strong pamphlets in defence of Lord North's policies.
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8. Aspinall, op. cit., p.18. Sheridan, one of the partners in The St. James's Chronicle, divided the House of Commons on this part of the Budget on April 26, 1797, but was defeated by 151 votes to 43.
9. Aspinall: *ibid*, p.23.
10. Aspinall, p.16. The statistics in this table apply only to Britain and exclude Ireland.
11. During the same year, however, Lord Ellenborough, in explaining the Newspaper Stamp Duties Act, declared that "It was not against the respectable Press that this Bill was directed, but against the pauper Press." Quoted in Newspaper History from the 17th century to the present day (London 1978), p.46.
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29. History of The Times, Vol. I, p.498.
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31. *ibid.* 2/16/27.
32. Fox Bourne, H. R.: English Newspapers (London 1887), p.80.
33. Giffard to Sir Robert Peel, December 8, 1834. Sir Robert Peel MSS., British Reference Library.
34. Standard, June 27, 1837, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
35. Grant, James: The Newspaper Press - Its Origins - Progress and Present Position (London 1871), Vol. I, P.110.
36. Greville, Charles: Greville Memoirs: Second Part (London 1888), Vol. I, p.158.
37. Times Newspapers Archives.

38. Giffard to Sir Robert Peel, August 31, 1841. Sir Robert Peel, MSS. op. cit. Add. MSS. 40486, fol. 305.
39. Sir Robert Peel to Giffard, September 3, 1841. *ibid*, fol. 306.
40. *ibid*.
41. Standard, May 5, 1845. British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
42. *ibid*, May 8, 1845.
43. *ibid*, November 29, 1845.
44. *ibid*, December 10, 1845.
45. *ibid*, December 11, 1845.
46. *ibid*, January 28, 1846.
47. *ibid*, February 2, 1846.
48. *ibid*, November 9, 1848.
49. *ibid*, April 10, 1848.
50. Halsbury Papers. Conversations with Lord Halsbury.
51. Standard, August 27, 1850. British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
52. Aspinall: Politics and the Press c1750-1850, p.102.
53. *ibid*, p.104.
54. *ibid*, p.105.
55. Standard Archives.
56. Herd, H.: The March of Journalism: The Story of the British Press, 1622 to the Present Day (London 1952), p. 143. In two leading articles published on February 6 and 7, 1852, The Times presented a reasoned answer to Derby which outlined its view of the role of the Press and the responsibility of statesmen.
57. Escott, T. H. S.: Masters of English Journalism (London 1911), pp.197-200.
58. Crapster, Basil: Thomas Hamber 1828-1902, Tory Journalist, Victorian Periodicals Newsletter 1978-80 (South Illinois University, Edwardsville, Ill. 1981), p.117, quoting the Henry Hotze MSS in The Library of Congress.

59. *ibid.*
60. *ibid.*
61. *ibid.*, p.118.
62. Austin, Alfred: Autobiography (London 1909), Chapter 1, pp.24ff.
63. *ibid.*
64. Escott, *op. cit.*, pp.197-200.
65. Hughdenden Papers. Harry W. Carr to Disraeli, February 10, 1860. B/XX/A/79.
66. *ibid.*, Hamber to Disraeli, July 30, 1862.
67. *ibid.*, Hamber to Disraeli, October 30, 31, 1862; April 18, 1864.
68. *ibid.*, Hamber to Disraeli, August 12, 1870.
69. *ibid.*, Hamber to Disraeli, October 20, 1870.
70. *ibid.*, Hamber to Disraeli, April 7, 1871.
71. Escott, *op. cit.*, pp.197-200.
72. Hughdenden Papers. Hamber to Disraeli, February 7, 1873.
73. Hamber to Salisbury, September 17, 1875. Salisbury Third Marquess Papers, Hatfield House and Christ Church College, Oxford.
74. Austin: *op. cit.* Ch. 5, pp.106ff.
75. Obituary, The Times, October 20, 1916.
76. Salisbury Papers: W. H. Mudford to Rowland Winn, copy, April 16, 1879.
77. *ibid.*, Mudford to Lord Salisbury, February 19, 1880.
78. Hamleden (W. H. Smith) Papers: Frederick Greenwood to W. H. Smith, August 27, 1881, quoted in Stephen Koss: The Rise and Fall of The Political Press in Britain. Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century (London 1981), p.248.
79. Frank Hill to Arthur Godley, November 19, 1880. W. E. Gladstone Papers, British Reference Library Add. MSS. 44,467, fols., 20-21, quoted in Koss, Vol. 1, p.244.

80. Koss, *ibid.*
81. Koss, *ibid.*
82. Joseph Chamberlain Papers, The Library, University of Birmingham. Escott to Chamberlain, October 27 and November 12, 1881.
83. Koss, *op. cit.*, p.245.
84. *ibid.* Stephen Koss discusses in some detail the complex Escott-Chamberlain and Escott-Salisbury relationships under the all-seeing editorship of Mudford.
85. Standard Archives.
86. Koss: Vol. 1, p.250.
87. Standard Archives.
88. Standard files, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
89. Viscount L. V. Harcourt's Papers. L. V. Harcourt's Diary, May 5, 1884, quoted by Koss, Vol. 1, p.252.
90. Koss: Vol. 1, p.253.
91. *ibid.*
92. Alfred Austin to Lord Randolph Churchill, July 11, 1884, quoted in Lady Gwendolen Cecil, Life of Robert Marquis of Salisbury (London 1921-32), Vol. III, p.112.
93. Alfred Austin MSS, University of Bristol. See also Brown, Lucy: Victorian News and Newspapers (Oxford 1985), pp.183-84. The relationship between Austin and Salisbury (and Balfour) is explained in Lady Gwendolen Cecil's biography of her father.
94. Austin: Autobiography, p.211.
95. *ibid.*, p.212.
96. *ibid.*, p.243.
97. Longford, Elizabeth: Victoria R.I. (London 1964), p.595, quoting from Queen Victoria's Journal, November 6, 1884.
98. Frank Hill to Gladstone, May 1, 1885. Gladstone Papers, Add. MSS. 44,490, fols. 177-78.
99. Cecil: Salisbury, Vol. III, p.142.
100. Standard files, July 31, 1885, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.

101. *ibid.*
102. Charles Cooper to Lord Rosebery, December 22, 1885, Earl of Rosebery Papers, National Library of Scotland, Vol. 10,011, fols. 140-41.
103. Alfred Austin to Lord Salisbury, July 15, 1886, Marquess of Salisbury Papers, Hatfield House, Hertfordshire.
104. *ibid.* Austin to Salisbury, November 28 and 29, 1886; and Salisbury to Austin, November 29, 1887. See also Brown, Lucy: Victorian News and Newspapers, p.184.
105. Austin to Salisbury, January 28, 1887, Salisbury Papers.
106. Cecil: Salisbury, Vol. III, p.334.
107. Koss, Vol. I, p.302-03.
108. Austin: Autobiography, p.240.
109. Austin to Salisbury, October 12, 1891, Salisbury Papers.
110. Salisbury to Viscount Woolmer, April 20, 1895, Earl of Selborne Papers, quoted in Koss, Vol. I, p.316.
111. Austin to Salisbury, December 10, 1891, Salisbury Papers.
112. Powell, Enoch: Joseph Chamberlain (London 1977), p.89.
113. Robertson-Scott, J. W.: The Story of The Pall Mall Gazette . . . (London, 1950), pp.269-70.
114. Koss, Vol. I, p.386.

Chapter Four

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

1. Timperley, C. H.: Encyclopaedia of Literary and Typographical Anecdotes (London 1842), p.531.
2. Knight, Charles: The Old Printer and the Modern Press (London 1838), p.218.
3. Harris, Michael: Newspaper History from the 17th Century to the Present Day (ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London 1978), Ch. 4, pp.86-87.

4. Misson, M.: Memoirs and Observations in His Travels Over England (London 1719), pp.101-102.
5. Dunton, John: Sketches of The Printers, Stationers and Binders of the City of London, 1689-1705 (Cambridge 1930), p.118.
6. Herd, H.: The March of Journalism. The Story of The British Press, 1622 to the Present Day (London 1952), p.24.
7. Gay, John: The Present State of Wit (London 1711), p.11.
8. Williams, Francis: Dangerous Estate. The Anatomy of Newspapers (London, 1957), p.26.
9. Worley, Henry, ed.: The Spectator, new edition (London 1884), p.647. Spectator No. 452.
10. Herd: op. cit., p.434.
11. Swift, Jonathan: Journal to Stella, quoted by Francis Williams, op. cit., p.29.
12. ibid.
13. Worley, op. cit., p.636. "A Faceless Friend of mine, who loves a Punn, calls the present Mortality among Authors: The Fall of the Leaf."
14. ibid, p.637n. Writing in issue No. 488, September 19, 1712, Addison proposed two points for consideration: by buying a candle less per night the money saved could go towards the cost of the Stamp Duty imposed on The Spectator or one could "buy them in the lump" -- bound volumes which do not attract duty.
15. Bath Postal Museum.
16. St. James's Chronicle files, Guildhall Library, London.
17. Harris, Michael: Newspaper History from the 17th Century to the Present Day (ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London 1978), Ch. 4, p.89. See also Cranfield, Geoffrey Alan: The Development of the Provincial Newspaper, 1700-1760 (Oxford 1962).
18. St. James's Chronicle files, Guildhall Library, London.
19. Bond, Richard and Marjorie N.: The Minute Books of The St. James's Chronicle. Studies in Bibliography (Chapel Hill, 1975), p.28.

20. *ibid*, p.29.
21. History of The Times (London 1935), Vol. I, Ch. 1.
22. Standard files, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
23. *ibid*.
24. *ibid*.
25. Lonsdale MSS. Lord Lowther to Lord Lonsdale, May 7, 1831.
26. *ibid*. Lord Lowther to Lord Lonsdale, November 24, 1831.
27. Standard Archives.
28. Standard Archives. Edward Baldwin was proprietor of both The Standard and The Morning Herald, and not as has been suggested by Koss, Vol. I, pp.134-35.
29. Standard files, May 9, 1859, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
30. Hughenden Papers. Hamber to Disraeli, March 20, 1862.
31. *ibid*. Hamber to Disraeli, July 17, 1854.
32. *ibid*. Hamber to Disraeli, July 13, 1854.
33. *ibid*. Hamber to Disraeli, October 27, 1862.
34. Morning Herald files, December 31, 1869, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
35. Writer's collection.
36. Standard Archives.
37. Reference Section, British Newspaper Library.
38. Massingham, H. W.: The London Daily Press (London 1892), Ch. III. The Standard.
39. Escott, T. H. S.: Masters of English Journalism (London 1911), pp.202-07.
40. Advertisement, Willing's Press Guide (London 1882). Reference Section, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.

Chapter Five

LABOUR RELATIONS

1. Apprentices' Register Book 1666 to 1727 (MSS Stationers' Hall, London) and conversations with Robin Myers,

Archivist.

2. Musson, A. E.: The Typographical Association, Origins and History up to 1929 (Oxford 1954), p.5.
3. Reprinted in Introduction to Ellic Howe, The London Compositor: Documents . . . (London 1947), pp.22-27.
4. Musson, op. cit., p.10.
5. ibid, p.11.
6. Source: A General Description of All Trades (London 1747); see also Gilbury, E. W.: Wages in Eighteenth Century England (London 1934), Appendix.
7. Stower, Caleb: The Printer's Grammar (London 1808),
8. p.468. These rules had been in operation almost 50 years and were a bone of contention with the work force. Stower, in fact, suggests that piece work had been introduced as early as 1700 -- and it was still in operation almost 300 years later.
8. Child, John: Industrial Relations in the British Printing Industry (London 1967), p.48, quoting Johnson, John: Typographia (London 1824).
9. ibid.
10. Standard Archives.
11. ibid.
12. The London Scale of Prices, 1836 (St. Bride Printing Library, London), p.17.
13. Allinson, E.: An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Dispute, 1799, p.12, quoted in Child, op. cit., p.51.
14. Sources: Bookbinders' Documents (Jaffray College), New Compositors' Report, 1820; London Scale of Prices, 1836; and The Gorgon 1818, p.220, quoted Child, op. cit., p.73.
15. London Union of Compositors: Report of Union Committee, 1833 (St. Bride Printing Library, London).
16. ibid.

17. London Union of Compositors' Annual Report, 1836: Report of the Committee of the Trade Council appointed to enquire into the present mode of working on The Times and other newspapers (St. Bride Printing Library, London).
18. Wilson, Charles: First With the News. The History of W. H. Smith, 1792-1972 (London 1985), p.14.
19. *ibid*, p.15.
20. The Advocate, February 16, 1833, quoted Child, *op. cit.*, p.92.
21. Musson: *op. cit.*, p.18.
22. The Compositors' Chronicle, December 1841.
23. The Compositors' Chronicle, December 1842.
24. The Northern Typographical Union records, 1830-1844.
25. The Compositors' Chronicle, December 1842.
26. The Daily Telegraph, June 29, 1855, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
27. National Graphical Association records, Bedford. (The Typographical Association amalgamated with The London Society of Compositors in 1964 to form the National Graphical Association).
28. London Society of Compositors' Archives and conversations with the Secretary of the Society, Norman Robbins.
29. Musson, *op. cit.*, p.191.
30. Child, *op. cit.*, p.166.
31. *ibid*, p.174.
32. McCullagh, E. Farewell to Fleet Street (London 1988), p.1.
33. Linotype Company, Altrincham, records.
34. The advertisement appeared in The Manchester Guardian on September 17, 1894. The Typographical Association had published a warning on September 15, which the Linotype Company answered the following day.

35. Child, op. cit., Ch. 11: "Composing Machines", pp.165-83.
36. Typographical Association Report of Delegate Meeting 1898.
37. London Society of Compositors. Circular to the Workmen of the United Kingdom, February 1892.
38. Child, op. cit., p.178.
39. Linotype Company. Report of Meeting of Shareholders, March 1, 1896, p.25.
40. National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants' Jubilee, 1889-1939 (London 1939), p.10.
41. Moran, James: Seventy-five Years of the National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants (London 1964), p.21.
42. Typographical Association Regional Council Meeting Report, May 1900.
43. Standard Archives.
44. Mansfield, F. J.: Gentlemen, the Press! The History of the National Union of Journalists (London 1943), p.34. Northcliffe's only interference with the column was to suggest altering one word. The phrase "trade or business of journalism was in the copy and Northcliffe sent a message that he would prefer the word "profession". This was readily agreed. *ibid*.
45. *ibid*, pp.170-71.
46. Pound, Reginald, and Harmsworth, Geoffrey: Northcliffe (London 1959), pp.436-37.
47. *ibid*, p.602.
48. *ibid*.
49. Colley, William: News Hunter (London 1936), p.203.
50. Evening Standard files, Saturday, May 1, 1926, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
51. Daily Express Archives.
52. Taylor, A. J. P.: Beaverbrook (London 1974), p.307.
53. *ibid*.

Chapter Six

NEWS GATHERING

1. Carey, John, ed.: The Faber Book of Reportage (London 1987), p.xxxv.
2. Herd, H.: The March of Journalism. The Story of The British Press. 1622 to the Present Day (London 1952), p.57.
3. *ibid.*, p.58. Johnson was quoting Sir John Wotton's description of an ambassador as a man of virtue sent abroad to lie for the advantage of his country.
4. Spectator, No. 452, Friday, August 8, 1712.
5. North Briton file, No. 1, June 5, 1762, British Reference Library.
6. *ibid.*, April 23, 1763.
7. Herd: *op. cit.*, p.99. See also Harris, Michael: Newspaper History from the 17th Century to the Present Day (ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (London 1978), Ch. 4, pp.95-97.
8. Williams, Francis: Dangerous Estate. The Anatomy of Newspapers (London 1957), pp.41-47.
9. Herd: *op. cit.*, p.100.
10. Williams: *op. cit.*, p.143.
11. Herd: *op. cit.*, p.101. In 1988, John Wilkes' work was acknowledged with a statue in Fetter Lane, near Fleet Street, dedicated by Michael Foot, another radical journalist, and one-time editor of The Evening Standard.
12. Public Advertiser, Letter XXXV (December 19, 1769). The printer, Henry Sampson Woodfull, was sent to trial at the Guildhall before Lord Mansfield, but the jury returned the verdict "Guilty of printing and publishing only". Woodfull was acquitted. Interestingly, John Walter, a thirty-year-old coal merchant, was a member of the jury. Sixteen years later he founded The Daily Universal Register (later The Times).

13. *ibid.*
14. Discussions with D. Johnson, House of Lords Records Office.
15. *ibid.*
16. St. James's Chronicle Minute Books, September 4, 1771.
17. Black, Jeremy: The English Press in the Eighteenth Century (Beckenham, Kent 1987), p.283.
18. *ibid.*
19. *ibid.*, p.284.
20. *ibid.*
21. *ibid.*
22. St. James's Chronicle, July 13, 1761, Guildhall Library, London.
23. *ibid.*, November 6, 1805.
24. *ibid.*, June 16, 1815.
25. *ibid.*, July 21, 1819.
26. *ibid.*
27. Syndicated material to provincial newspapers at the present time include such items as JAK cartoon, Bristow strip and feature articles. Allied to this are the services of The Evening Standard legal department. This last service is used extensively by The Express & Star, Wolverhampton.
28. Standard Archives.
29. *ibid.*
30. *ibid.*
31. Standard Archives.
32. The Times files, December 31, 1845, Guildhall Library.
33. Storey, Graham: Reuter's Centenary (London 1951), p.12.
34. *ibid.*, p.16.
35. *ibid.*, p.20. James Grant, one-time Standard journalist, provided a most interesting account of these discussions when, as editor of The Morning Advertiser, he met Reuter. See Grant, The Newspaper Press - Its Origins - Progress - and Present Position (London 1871), Vol. II, p.326.

36. Boyd-Barrett, Oliver: Newspaper History from the 17th Century to the Present Day (ed. George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate) (London 1978), Ch. 10: "Market Control and Wholesale News: the Case for Reuters", p.192.
37. *ibid.*
38. Brown, Lucy: Victorian News and Newspapers (Oxford 1985), p.121.
39. Standard files, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
40. Standard Archives.
41. Storey, *op. cit.*, p.104.
42. St. Bride Printing Library Archives.
43. Conversations with Ann Piggot, Archivist, The Times.
44. Clarendon to Reeve, October 3, 1855, cited by Stephen Koss, The Rise and Fall of The Political Press in Britain (London 1981), Vol. I, p.113.
45. Wilkinson-Latham, Robert: From Our Special Correspondent (London 1978), p.45.
46. The Times files, December 8, 1858, Guildhall Library.
47. Obituary in Sell's Newspaper Directory, 1899, p.84.
48. Royal Literary Fund Archives.
49. Wilkinson-Latham, *op. cit.*, p.141.
50. *ibid*, p.141.
51. *ibid*, p.142.
52. *ibid*, p.143.
53. Standard files, February 11 and 12, 1879, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
54. Wilkinson-Latham, *op. cit.*, p.152.
55. Standard files, March 2, 1881, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
56. *ibid*, March 21, 1881. This was a classic example of Victorian newspaper enterprise by The Standard and a tradition maintained by Max Hastings, now editor of The Daily Telegraph, when as a Special Correspondent

for The Standard he "liberated" Port Stanley on Monday, June 14, 1982, during the Falklands War. By entering the capital before the advance guard of the British troops and wiring his exclusive for an early-morning special Standard, Hastings more than upheld the glory of his predecessors.

57. Standard files, July 11 and 12, 1882, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
58. *ibid*, July 15, 1882.
59. Wilkinson-Latham, *op. cit.*, p.174.
60. Standard files, February 12, 1882, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
61. Standard Archives.

Chapter Seven

THE NEW JOURNALISM

1. Herd, H.: The March of Journalism. The Story of The British Press, 1622 to the Present Day (London 1952), p.222; see also History of The Times: Vol. III, 1884-1912. The Twentieth Century Test (London 1947), Ch. 4: "The Press and the Parties", pp.90-106.
2. Standard Archives.
3. Blumenfeld, R. D. B.: The Press in My Time (London 1933), p.32.
4. Blumenfeld, R. D. B.: All In A Lifetime (London 1931), p.226.
5. London Press Club Archives as cited by R. A. Scott-James: The Influence of the Press (London 1914), p.276.
6. Koss, Stephen: The Rise and Fall of The Political Press in Britain (London 1981), Vol. I, p.347.
7. History of The Times, Vol. III, p.90.
8. Herd: *op. cit.*, p.225.

9. *ibid.*
10. *ibid.*, p.228.
11. Williams, Francis: Dangerous Estate. The Anatomy of Newspapers (London 1957), p.126.
12. Pall Mall Gazette files, March 27, 1888, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
13. Williams: *op. cit.*, p.126.
14. History of The Times, Vol. III, p.94.
15. Star files, January 17, 1888, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
16. Herd, *op. cit.*, p.234. However, under the terms of a lucrative settlement, O'Connor had been barred from London journalism for three years. "The Sun was his return blow, but with insufficient capital he was happy to be extricated three years later." See T. P. O'Connor's Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian (London 1929), Vol. II, p.270; and Koss Vol. I, p.323.
17. Jones, Kennedy: Fleet Street and Downing Street (London 1919), pp.118-36.
18. Koss, Stephen: Fleet Street Radical: A. G. Gardiner and The Daily News (London 1973), p.10.
19. Koss: The Rise and Fall of The Political Press in Britain, Vol. I, p.414.
20. Jones: *op. cit.*, p.142.
21. Williams: *op. cit.*, p.144.
22. *ibid.*
23. Pound, Reginald and Harmsworth, Geoffrey: Northcliffe (London 1959), p.208.
24. *ibid.* Chapter 8: May 4, 1896. Although Salisbury disparaged The Daily Mail, like Gladstone he deemed it politic to send a telegram of good wishes on the first issue of the paper.
25. *ibid.*
26. Standard Archives.
27. Daily Express files, April 24, 1900, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.

28. Dark, Sidney: The Life of Sir Arthur Pearson (London 1921), p.136.
29. *ibid.*
30. *ibid.*
31. The Newspaper Owner and Modern Printer, February 17, 1900. St. Bride Printing Library, London.
32. Daily Express files, April 24, 1900, Daily Express Library.
33. Daily Express Archives.
34. Morning Herald files, April 24, 1899, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
35. Jones, *op. cit.*, p.157-58, quoted in Koss, Vol. I, p.378.
37. Ostrogorskii, M.: Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties (London 1902), pp.409-10.
38. Obituary, The Times, October 20, 1916, Guildhall Library.
39. Echo files, December 8, 1898, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
40. Newspaper World, February 1900, St. Bride Printing Library.
41. *ibid.*
42. Conversation with David Linton, co-editor The Newspaper Press in Britain, An Annotated Bibliography (Mansell Publishers, London) 1987.
43. Dark, Sidney: *op. cit.*, p.114.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

1. Halsbury Papers and conversations with present Earl of Halsbury. In this context Lord Halsbury showed me letters and provided other information from his "Family History", a history dating back to William the Conqueror, which he is bequeathing to his heirs.

2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*
4. *ibid.*
5. Standard Archives.
6. The Times, November 17, 1845, exposed the "Railway Mania" that was sweeping the country.
7. Standard files, February 4, 1858, British Newspaper Library, Colindale.
8. Obituary, The Times, October 20, 1916, Guildhall Library, London.