

THE FORWARD PARTY: THE PALL MALL GAZETTE, 1865-1889

by

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"... today's journalism is tomorrow's history."

- William Manchester

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## ABSTRACT

A number of books deal with the subject of the Pall Mall Gazette, but none attempts to study in a scholarly way the journalistic, commercial and political evolution of this evening newspaper and review. Neither does the paper receive consideration in most of the official biographies and more common political works that deal with its age, even though the P.M.G. often exerted an influence second only to that of The Times. In addition, the P.M.G. during its first twenty-four years provided a notable and continuous experiment in journalism.

This study examines the Pall Mall through its first three editorships that extended from 1865 to 1889. Chapter I examines the journal under Frederick Greenwood, editor from the journal's founding until 1880. During this time the paper assumed a consciously impartial character which later gradually changed to a conservative coloration, though Greenwood never became a strict party man. Chapters II and III study the journal in the Radical garb it assumed during the editorship of John Morley, between 1880 and 1883. Chapters IV to VII are devoted to the Liberal-Radical "New Journalism" of William Thomas Stead, and Chapter VIII concludes. With the exception of Greenwood's editorship, for which material has been compiled from numerous memoirs and secondary works, the study draws its materials mainly from the daily record of the newspaper itself. Particular care has been taken to identify both permanent staff as well as contributors during the successive editorships and to relate them to the character of the paper. This activity has met with a good degree of success despite the fact

that the paper's official files are lacking. The relation of the journal to other newspapers as well as to party thought are points that receive special attention, especially for the later editorships. The main emphasis remains on politics, but a general attempt is made in addition to relate the entire character of the journal to such a focus. Thus the ever-present literary ingredient is examined at some length. Finally, where monographic studies exist of given "crusades" undertaken during Stead's famous editorship, little attempt is made to retrace well-trodden ground.

The present study makes a number of points about the various editorships of the paper. The pioneering work of Greenwood to establish the journalistic vehicle upon which Stead in turn built his "New Journalism," as well as the former's work to establish a strong tradition of independent journalism, are points that receive special emphasis. The study also stresses the "watershed" effect of Morley's short innings. His prestige and recruitment of staff aided the paper's recovery following its change of political banner, and girded it with inherent strengths upon which Stead both drew and built. Under Morley the P.M.G. became recognized as the ablest supporter of Liberalism among the press. It also directly abetted the rise of the Radical leader, Joseph Chamberlain. The most impressive editorship remained that of Stead's, during which the paper succeeded in its efforts to revive the power of the press and attempted to establish its editor's aspiration of "Government by Journalism." In this way, the paper both preceded as well as guided investigation and legislation on many occasions to right outstanding social abuses. Concurrently, Stead's Pall Mall served as a means of educating the upper classes in many of the philosophies and movements that characterized the 'eighties, and that included Socialism in its various manifestations, the women's movement and the work of manifold secu-

lar and religious organizations. The paper also attempted to exert a seminal influence upon Liberal thought, particularly in relation to imperialism and internationalism, and to a lesser extent, the question of Ireland. The P.M.G. actively promoted programs in these fields in a number of instances. At all times the paper served as both bell-weather and friendly centre to the Liberal party. It was made all the more effective since it was the only newspaper of Liberal sentiment in the Metropolis that led active crusades. Its spirit directly reflected the moral ideals of its mentor, and was conspicuously broad, liberal and humanitarian. While Stead's P.M.G. lasted, it was a remarkable example of much that was vital and admirable in late-Victorian Liberalism. Despite such a colorful and influential history, the P.M.G. remained for the period of this study an uneconomic undertaking. This factor provided the motivation from which derived the paper's multitude of distinctive advances in journalistic technique.

## PREFACE

George Murray Smith, the founder of the Pall Mall Gazette, once expressed the opinion that during the 1880's his journal exerted an influence as a newspaper of opinion on occasion second only to that exerted by The Times.<sup>1</sup> His judgement cannot be imputed entirely to the bias of ownership as he had given up control of the paper in 1880. Yet, the "P.M.G.," as its staff and friends called it, has yet to receive from scholars attention commensurate with the exalted position it enjoyed as a maker and reporter of opinion.

The first lengthy study of the Pall Mall occupies a not inconsiderable portion of the first volume of Frederic Whyte's The Life of W.T. Stead (1925). More recently, J.W. Robertson Scott, a former member of the P.M.G. editorial staff, and retired editor of the Countryman, devoted the years just before his death to bringing forth his two works on the newspaper, The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette (1950) and The Life and Death of a Newspaper (1952). These works exhaust this rich field neither individually nor collectively. Whyte's treatment of the P.M.G., though extensive, deals mainly with Stead and pursues the limited aim of relating the paper to the "New Journalism" of the 'eighties. Of necessity, he devotes much attention to the more provoking of the paper's varied crusades, especially those of "Gordon," the "Truth about the Navy" and the "Maiden Tribute," to each of which he devotes a separate chapter. He also enumerates Stead's "planks" in the P.M.G.'s platform, but does not trace them

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<sup>1</sup> J.W. Robertson Scott, The Story of the Pall Mall Gazette, p. 140.

in detail. Robertson Scott stated in the early pages of his first book that the Pall Mall that his treatment was deliberately not a "study" but rather a narrative,<sup>2</sup> and both books treat the journal even more peripherally than does Whyte. The earlier work deals chiefly with the lives and times of the paper's first editor, Frederick Greenwood, as well as its founder, George Murray Smith. The later book takes up the story already begun and considers the lives and works of the paper's great editors from 1880 until its expiration in 1923. It treats the personalities and some of the achievements of John Morley, W.T. Stead, E.T. Cook, Harry Cust, J.L. Garvin and three other editors.

The work which follows is a deliberate attempt to write a "study" of the Pall Mall's first twenty-four years. In addition to its being highly influential, the Pall Mall was a continuous experiment during this time. This study attempts to summarize the contents, to examine the policies of this "newspaper and review," as well as to describe that experiment and assess its success. A major consideration at all times remains the special qualities and influences of the newspaper.

For the period that begins with the newspaper's birth in 1865 and extends to 1880, this treatment has had to rely upon memoir and secondary sources. The greatest emphasis is on the period of the 'eighties, and especially the years 1883 to 1889 inclusive. This is done for a number of reasons. First, these years saw the editor's chair in Northumberland Street occupied by W.T. Stead, the man who left the "deepest mark" on the character of the paper.<sup>3</sup> Second, it was during these years that the paper had a more defined policy and exert-

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<sup>2</sup> Robertson Scott, Pall Mall, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The Great London Dailies. The Penny Evening Papers --- The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 607.

ed its deepest influence. In referring to these years, ~~one~~ witness recorded: "Those were the days when the Press had ceased to be merely a goad in politics; it was entering more and more into the field of collaboration and suggestion, and inviting the public to join in the game."<sup>4</sup> Third, for this period, Stead's introduction of the signed article into daily journalism renders the problems of determining authorship much less difficult. This point is especially significant when one takes into account the fact that, owing to the dispersment of the Pall Mall's office records, there is no way, aside from the impractical one of consulting scattered and unpublished records, of determining the authorship of articles written during the earlier life of the paper. Finally, such decisive considerations happily coincided with the ten years that one pair of co-authors have called ... "this most restive and effervescent parliamentary decade of the century."<sup>5</sup>

The campaigns of the Pall Mall which evoked the greatest response during Stead's editorship have already received much attention in written studies. Especially notable are discussions of the Pall Mall's exposure of child prostitution in its series "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon." Both Whyte and Robertson Scott treat this campaign at some length in addition to their discussions of the Pall Mall's role in focusing public opinion to send General Gordon to the Sudan and to demand greater expenditure on the British Navy. Ann Stafford's The Age of Consent (1964), although it suffers from stylistic problems inherent in a fiction writer's first attempt at writing history, is the latest as well as the most thorough treatment of Stead's and his associates' moral

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<sup>4</sup> Cited in the Introduction ("A Memoir I") to Charles Morley, Travels in London, p. 8. The quotation refers to the days of Greenwood's successor, John Morley, but is even truer for the editorship of W.T. Stead.

<sup>5</sup> J.L. Hammond and M.D.R. Foot, Gladstone and Liberalism, p. 166.

campaigns. A number of other studies also pay attention in passing to the paper's other crusades.

In contrast, the day-to-day policies of the Pall Mall receive the main emphasis in the study which follows. The details of such famous crusades as the above are developed, but only in order to contrast and compare them to the general policy of the paper, as well as to evaluate their cumulative influence upon public opinion and ultimately upon the success of the newspaper.

Chapter I surveys George Smith's proprietorship and the editorship of Frederick Greenwood, which extended concurrently from 1865 to 1880. Chapters II and III treat the years 1880 to 1883 during which time John Morley edited the paper and reversed its politics from independence with a growing tendency to an unaffiliated conservatism during the late 'seventies, to those of an independent Radical Liberalism. Chapter II examines how Henry Yates Thompson, the new proprietor, and Morley built up a new staff and took other measures to strengthen the paper. Chapter III turns to examine the editorial policy of Morley's P.M.G. as it presented its face to the public, and especially the manner in which it supported the Chamberlain Radicals. Chapters IV to VII examine the paper under Morley's successor, William Stead, between 1884 and 1889 during which time it served as an exceedingly independent organ of Liberalism. Chapter IV elaborates the influences that shaped Stead as a man and newsman; Chapter V examines the general characteristics of Stead's "New Journalism." The closing chapters are more specific, and deal respectively with the Pall Mall's politics and with its prosecution of an active social program. In the latter capacity, the paper conducted many a pragmatic crusade and actively promoted the work and philosophy of many of the humanistic and ameliorative efforts which characterized the decade. Chapter VII concludes with a

comparative summary.

The study's title, The Forward Party: the Pall Mall Gazette, 1865-1889, requires elaboration. It takes its origin from an entry in Stead's personal journal written soon after he had come to the Pall Mall as John Morley's assistant in late 1880. As Stead conceived the paper's ideal role it should ... "defend in advance every position the forward party is about to occupy." This aspiration, the Pall Mall more than lived up to during the decade that followed; but neither is the title entirely out of character for the paper's earlier years under Greenwood. For then, too, it provided a relatively democratic forum for opinion, especially in the beginning, and it pioneered as well in establishing a distinct new mode of journalism.

This study is obliged to Mr. John King, Librarian of the Evening Standard, for his assurance that the newspaper has very little record of its predecessor. Since his kind communication, the writer has discovered that the file of the Pall Mall was last reported in the possession of Mrs. Yates Thompson, the daughter of George Smith. Since her death, these papers have not been traced, and must be assumed to have been misplaced.<sup>6</sup>

The papers and diaries of Viscount Morley of Blackburn would undoubtedly have yielded much interesting material as well concerning the P.M.G. under his direction. Unfortunately, Lord Morley's will made stringent injunction forbidding his executors and heirs to allow his papers to be approached by persons desirous of writing memoirs or biographies of him, or of his "friends or others." As an article in The Times has suggested, this request possibly

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<sup>6</sup> Bradford A. Booth, "Trollope and the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" (Part One), Nineteenth Century Fiction, vol. 4 (1949/50), 52 --- see footnote.

owed its origin more to Morley's opinion that he had adequately commented on his career in his two volume Recollections, as well as to his dislike of "postponed biography," rather than to Morley's innate modesty.<sup>7</sup>

The writer is also indebted to Professor Joseph O. Baylen, formerly Chairman of the Department of History, The University of Mississippi, who was kind enough to provide the information that because of the carelessness of the late Mr. Robertson Scott, many of the Stead papers for the period have been lost. For this reason, their omission from this study might be considered a justifiable shortcoming.

Finally, thanks are tendered to Mr. Maurice Wedgewood, Deputy Editor of the Darlington Northern Echo. His cooperation provided data that was otherwise unavailable concerning Stead's early editorship of that paper.

The reader's indulgence is invoked if the pages that follow are filled with too copious quotation from and reference to the Pall Mall. In answer, this writer can only plead the examples of other studies of celebrated periodicals, and cite one such author's axiom that, as in biography, it is best to let the subject speak for itself.

One last word remains to be said with respect to the method of footnoting when reference is made to the Pall Mall. The paper customarily assigned titles to the leaders that appeared on its front page as well as to longer articles in its back pages. Nevertheless, the paper also expressed much of its editorial opinion on the page or so it gave over to untitled occasional notes, usually appearing as page three and often carrying over to include a part of four. Thus where the text makes reference to these unti-

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<sup>7</sup> "Lord Morley's Papers," The Times, 22 Nov. 1923, p. 15.

filed, short editorials, the corresponding citation bears no title, but merely expresses itself as "P.M.G.," followed by date and page number.

## CHAPTER I

### THE PALL MALL GAZETTE: 1865-1880

#### I. ORIGINS OF THE P.M.G.

There was no question that there existed by the mid 1860's a strong need for disinterested reviewing in light of the distressing state of periodical literature.<sup>1</sup> The Edinburgh Review supported the position of the old Whigs, the Quarterly Review that of the Tories, the British Quarterly Review that of the political Dissenters and The Times, that of the common-satisfied, well-to-do Englishman. Most of the monthlies avoided the subject of serious criticism. Weeklies such as the Athenæum, the Spectator and Punch were the most vital and independent organs, but they were limited in range. The most able magazine was the relatively new Saturday Review, founded in 1855, and which was highly critical of middle class vulgarity and sentimentality. It featured the most eminent of young writers writing for the most intelligent circles of London society. Its range included literature and science in addition to politics.

It was against this background that Frederick Greenwood, then editor of the Cornhill Magazine, formulated his own plan to emulate the eminent virtues of the Saturday Review and Cornhill in a daily newsheet. In the mid-Victorian era, the leading newspapers suffered from additional drawbacks than the

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<sup>1</sup> the critique of periodical literature which follows is taken from Matthew Arnold, Essays in Criticism, pp. 19-20 as well as from Edwin M. Everett, The Party of Humanity: the Fortnightly Review and Its Contributors 1865-1874, p. 3 and pp. 13-15.

mere question of political bias. They paid little attention to literature and art in their single-minded concentration upon news and politics. In most cases they presented the news in a heavy and unintelligent manner. They were also incapable of providing disinterested reviews of music and the theatre, let alone of books. The paper that Greenwood envisioned would rectify all of these commissions and shortcomings.

Greenwood's first interest in the subject can be traced to his discovery in 1863 of some bound editions of Canning's eighteenth century publication the Anti-Jacobin. Its outspokenness and arresting format, including wide columns entitled in large headings "Lies," "Misrepresentations," "Mistakes," impressed upon his ready mind the shortcomings of Victorian journalism.

From that date, Greenwood and George Murray Smith, owner of the Cornhill as well as head of the publishing firm of Smith, Elder, and Company, worked out the practical problems of the new newspaper and review. They were assisted by George Henry Lewes, a distinguished journalist and critic who served Smith as an additional advisor.<sup>2</sup> The proposed paper would combine the best features of the modern periodical press with those qualities of the Anti-Jacobin. If its tenor and style relied heavily upon the former, its plan owed much to the latter as well, for Greenwood looked to its "originality, incisiveness, wit, literary character and appearance."<sup>3</sup> He had been especially impressed by the paper's appearance which featured a pleasing type, wide double columns, the headlines of a pre-newspaper tax era and the size of page of a pamphlet. These features the new paper was to employ in slightly modified form. It was intended as well that the paper should be particularly selective in the mater-

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<sup>2</sup> Gordon S. Haight ed., The George Eliot Letters, iv, 172.

<sup>3</sup> Robertson Scott, Pall Mall, pp. 122-123.

ial it accepted. This consideration began with the type of advertising it was to carry and continued on through its entire editorial policy as discussed in its prospectus which follows below.

Once the plan had been determined, the name of the journal remained to be decided. After much discussion, the management decided upon the title the Pall Mall Gazette in memory of Thackeray's journal of that name. In its selection, Smith, Thackeray's former publisher, prevailed over Greenwood who had not considered the name to be an asset.<sup>4</sup> He thought that an air of snobbishness clung to it since it had been exclusively a journal "written by gentlemen for gentlemen" when it appeared in the thirty-second chapter of The History of Pendermis (1849-50), and when it reappeared a decade later in The Adventures of Philip (1862).

Greenwood himself wrote the Pall Mall's prospectus which appeared in the leading journals the week before its first number appeared. It acquainted the reading public with the aims of the new journal in detail:

THE PALL-MALL GAZETTE; an Evening Newspaper and Review. - It is difficult to describe the plan of an enterprise like the Pall-mall Gazette without seeming to boast or to decry the efforts of others. But we are unwilling to lose the advantage of a few words of explanation, and we therefore trust the candour of the reader for a just interpretation of our meaning. The Pall-mall Gazette will contain all the news proper to an evening journal. But, addressed as it will be to educated men and women, the space of the paper will not be occupied by trifling chronicles, nor by the excess of words which adds nothing to the interest of newspaper records while it destroys their significance. Literary considerations alone would determine us to have our news reports written in plain English; but beyond these there is the fact that the lessons to be found in many an accident of human life or social polity are lost in the turgid language in which they are narrated. Events made known by the morning papers will be discussed in the Pall-mall Gazette of

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<sup>4</sup> Frederick Greenwood, "Birth and Infancy of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" P.M. G., 14 April 1897, p. 2.

the same day, but they will not reported anew. Trustworthy advices from the Money-market will be included in the news of the day. The rest of the paper (by far the larger part) will be made up of original articles upon the many things which engage the thoughts, or employ the energies, or amuse the leisure of mankind. Public affairs, literature, the arts, and all the influences which strengthen or dissipate society, will be discussed by men whose independence and authority are equally unquestionable, and who are accustomed to regard the public expression of opinion as a serious thing. This is the chief aim of the Pall-mall Gazette: to bring into daily journalism that full measure of thought and culture which is now found only in a few reviews. At the same time, we by no means intend to make the paper pedantic or solemn. Humour is too powerful, as well as too pleasant, to be left out of the design; which will lose nothing of the advantages of the occasional trifling. If a thing can be said better in verse than in prose, it will be said in verse. Epigram, but not spite - burlesque, but not vulgarity - will be readily admitted into its columns: and since a joke is often as illustrative as an argument, good jokes will be welcome too. It will be understood that this advertisement is rather a proclamation of ideas and effort, than of promise. But the proclamation is not made before a large number of able writers have accepted the idea and pledged themselves to the effort.

Previous to the appearance of this prospectus Greenwood had accepted the post of editor. This he did with reluctance, and only after R.H. Hutton of the Spectator as well as several subsequent choices possessed of equally distinguished credentials had refused the appointment. Despite Greenwood's initial hesitancy, he brought to the post a number of personal assets which soon rendered forgotten the fact that his appointment was one of expediency rather than of foresight. He was at the prime of life, his youth was just mellowing into middle-aged maturity. He had been thoroughly schooled in the secrets of popular journalism by having served Vizetelly on the Illustrated Times. H.W. Massingham would later describe him as ..."one of the few writers who, while they may be called self-educated, have developed a style which for elegance and flexible quality would be hard to match outside the notable models of writ-

ten English."<sup>5</sup> In addition to this great ability, Greenwood brought to the paper a keen and inquiring mind that was not afraid of innovation nor short of imagination.

During the preliminary period the Pall Mall management looked to the problem of its physical plant as well. It acquired a warehouse at the river end of Salisbury Street, Strand, on the naked foreshore of the Thames, to serve as its printing-office. It rented a small dwelling-house some doors nearer the Strand in Salisbury Street as its first centre for editorial and publishing purposes. These facilities served until 1867 when the management removed both premises to Northumberland Street, Strand. The latter location served as the famous address of the paper throughout the remainder of its existence.

## II. THE PAPER'S EARLY DAYS

The first number of the Pall Mall appeared on February 7, 1865. Its format was particularly distinctive, being a large quarto, made up of eight pages. The paper was printed in a large, pleasing type that contrasted strongly with those of other newspapers of the period. The paper carried its leader conspicuously on its front page, and featured in addition the Anti-Jacobin headings "Lies," "Misrepresentations" in its inner pages. The fact that it was printed on a rich, creamy paper such as that used for books gave the new journal a distinguished appearance.

The first number or numbers of a newspaper are rarely editorial successes, and the Pall Mall proved no exception. The first printing, Sir Sidney

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<sup>5</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The Great London Dailies. The Penny Evening Papers --- The 'St. James's Gazette' and the 'Globe,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 674.

Lee described as "not a strong number."<sup>6</sup> Greenwood himself was responsible for the paper's initial leader which gently admonished the monarch for her retirement from her public duties. The "occasional notes" were written by a number of hands, as they were to be throughout the life of the newspaper. Attracted to the paper by the singularly high fees it rewarded even writers of correspondence with,<sup>7</sup> a number of eminent writers began serialized contributions with the first number. Contributors to the first number included: Anthony Trollope, who wrote on politics; Sir Arthur Helps, who contributed the feature "Friends in Council"; John Ormsby, a Saturday Reviewer, who wrote "Ladies at Law"; and Sir Reginald Palgrave, who began his "Letters of Sir Pitt Crawley on Entering Parliament," seeing as the paper's initial publication coincided with the opening of the session. Such serials were "smart," but nothing more; they were newspaper "padding," though of a high quality.<sup>8</sup>

Based on such fare, the Pall Mall's initial acceptance was hardly overwhelming. Only four thousand copies were sold of the first number.<sup>9</sup> Within six weeks, the paper's sales had dropped to just over six hundred copies.<sup>10</sup> The three thousand pounds that Smith supposedly spent in advertising the journal exerted little effect.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Sir Sidney Lee, "Memoir of George Smith," D.N.B., i, Preface, xliii.

<sup>7</sup> Fraser Neiman, "Some Newly Attributed Contributions of Matthew Arnold to the Pall Mall Gazette," Modern Philology, vol. 55 (1957/58), 85; James Grant, The Newspaper Press, ii, 115.

<sup>8</sup> T.H.S. Escott, Masters of English Journalism, pp. 244-45.

<sup>9</sup> Lee, op. cit., xlv.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., xlv.

<sup>11</sup> Grant, The Newspaper Press, ii, 114.

One immediate result of the paper's early numbers was that Smith's business partner, a staunch conservative, soon sold out his interest. Though the paper's goal was that of complete independence, its early numbers possessed, to his thinking, a distinctly liberal tone.

From the beginning, Greenwood took great pains to present the work of his writers to the best possible advantage. The first consideration that he turned his attention to was the appearance of the new paper. Greenwood inaugurated a modernized format in the Pall Mall. He adhered to the practice of featuring a single leader in place of the three or so featured by other newspapers, and he broke this, like he did his other articles, into paragraphs that corresponded to the arguments under discussion. The paper's skilled staff of printers, who were to remain with the Pall Mall for the duration of the present study, did much to aid the editor in his pursuit of physical excellence.

Greenwood's development of the "occasional note" put a premium upon concise expression. These notes were almost from the start a feature of the paper. They were short, concise reports that possessed the advantage that they could be printed separately or else be used to "build up" longer articles, if a more extensive study were desired. Greenwood's notes, at first long and cumbersome, gradually matured in design and grew in number. In time, twelve or so of them came to form several additional pages of editorial comment.

The Pall Mall's editor took additional steps to improve the way the paper wrote up its news. He took great care to distinguish between the disparate roles of news collector and leader writer. In reporting news, he concentrated on printing facts rather than opinion, speculation or the usual verbatim coverage that most papers extended to speeches. Under Greenwood's direc-

tion, the paper set a new standard for journalism in its parliamentary reporting. The paper featured what was probably the first descriptive report of parliament regularly written from the gallery.<sup>12</sup>

In time, the paper began to show signs of improvement and to demonstrate the consistently high quality of its staff. George Lewes, who had gained valuable experience helping to edit the Cornhill, assisted Greenwood in his editorial duties and wrote additional criticism. His activities at the Pall Mall remained on a part-time basis for he had additional engagements with both the Leader and the newly-founded Fortnightly.<sup>13</sup> Lewes' most distinct action during his association with the Pall Mall was to give the first strong welcome to Darwin's Origin. Within the first month of the paper's existence Lewes was joined on staff by Matthew James Higgins --- the former contributor to The Times of the terse, outspoken letters of "Jacob Omnium." He was destined to continue for many years as an admirable contributor of notes of a decidedly autonomous flavor, and he often led controversies in the paper's pages with great adroitness. Late in 1865 Robert Giffen, the very able statistician, became the City Editor. Henry Lucy served as parliamentary reporter until 1872. His lively and amusing sketches of men and events in the House in time earned him the reputation of being the dean of parliamentary reporters.<sup>14</sup> Maurice Drummond, former private secretary to Lord John Russell, began to write "occasional notes" in the second year of publication.

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<sup>12</sup> "The Observer in Parliament," P.M.G., 14 April 1897, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Haight, George Eliot Letters, i, lxx, iv, 172; and vii, 153-4.

<sup>14</sup> "The New Liberal Leader," P.M.G. 8 June 1887, p. 1.

He brought the feature to a perfection and invested it with a flavor entirely fresh in the Gazette.<sup>15</sup>

The noted jurist Fitzjames Stephen began with the paper's second number a series of leading articles which, in addition to his "occasional notes" and literary contributions, helped fix a distinctively independent personality on the paper during its first five years. Throughout this period he contributed better than half of the paper's leading articles, and in 1867 and 1868 in particular he wrote by far the predominant portion. He continued to contribute to the Pall Mall until 1874, though in later years his work was not nearly so extensive.<sup>16</sup>

The distinguished school of additional contributors that Greenwood and Smith built up during the first year also aided them in bringing the Pall Mall to a polished, if not yet serious level of journalism. The writers were a diverse mixture. Within the first month the original writers were joined by Leslie Stephen, R.H. Hutton, Sir John Kaye, Charles Lever and John Addington Symonds. In the first year George Eliot contributed a triad of outstanding articles on light social subjects under the name of "Saccharissa." Lord and Lady Strangford contributed regularly, the former writing in addition to studies of Eastern knowledge, light articles of much ability. Greenwood also invited George Goschen as well as Thomas Hughes to contribute to the Pall Mall's leaders during the first year. During that initial span, John Tyndall commenced his articles that gave the paper its characteristic agnostic

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<sup>15</sup> Escott, Masters of English Journalism, p. 245.

<sup>16</sup> Leslie Stephen, Life of Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, pp. 213-214.

strain. Additional early contributors included Matthew Arnold and Charles Kingsley.

The Morning Star, a Radical rival of the Pall Mall, examined the latter's record at the end of its first year of publication. That journal conceded that its writing was often polished, vigorous and eloquent, but it strongly attacked the Pall Mall's "sneering snobbism" and it criticized its lack of a "moral dignity of high purpose."<sup>17</sup> Although it was gradually changing for the better, such a tone, in conjunction with other limitations, had worked to severely restrict the circulation of the journal.

### III. THE "AMATEUR CASUAL"

The first success of the early Pall Mall took its origin from a planned campaign. In January of 1866 the question of the homeless destitute was beginning to attract attention in the press. At the same time Greenwood sensed the need of the paper for publicity, comparing it to a "captive balloon" that was about to rise and only required that its tether be cut.<sup>18</sup> Greenwood's ready mind provided a tool when the paper featured a story of his own direct inspiration. This was his brother James' account of a night which he and a friend spent disguised as indigents in Lambeth Workhouse. With his friend's memory to aid his own, James Greenwood wrote of their experiences in three installments. Frederick Greenwood carefully edited the series, with the intent of forestalling the charge of exaggeration. The paper presented the series in an unstudied manner, with neither editorial reference, nor prominent position, yet these articles practically made the paper's initial success.

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<sup>17</sup> "Annual Chronicle" of the Morning Star for 1865. Cited W.T. Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" Review of Reviews, vol. 7 (Feb. 1893), p. 142.

<sup>18</sup> Greenwood, "Birth and Infancy of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" P.M.G., 14 April 1897, p. 2.

The "Amateur Casual" fulfilled Greenwood's immediate expectations. The circulation of the Pall Mall, then between two thousand and four thousand a night, doubled within days and stayed there.<sup>19</sup> The articles thus brought the paper's circulation very close to the peak it was to reach during Greenwood's editorship of between eight and nine thousand, arrived at between 1871 and 1880.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to dramatically increasing the sale of the newspaper, the "Casual" gave rise to positive reforms. Its transcription into hundreds of papers effectively publicized the problems of the poor and raised a storm of indignation. To the paper's articles could be traced the beginnings of the reform of the Poor Law in the convening of inquiries such as the Fowler Royal Commission.<sup>21</sup> In an even more direct sense, the "Casual" stimulated charity organization. As prominent an organization as the Society for Promoting Female Welfare would in later years trace its origin directly to the appearance of the series.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV. GREENWOOD'S LATER PAPER

In the years that followed its birth, Greenwood's Pall Mall gradually attained a high reputation as a serious review. The contributions of both Fitzjames Stephen and Matthew Arnold aided it greatly in this respect. Arnold employed the pages of the paper to express many practical as well as theoretical

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<sup>19</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 144; c.f. J.A.S. Spender, Life, Journalism and Politics, ii, 134-136.

<sup>20</sup> Grant, The Newspaper Press, ii, 413; Spender, op. cit., 134-136.

<sup>21</sup> Stead, op. cit., p. 145.

<sup>22</sup> "A Useful Piece of Women's Work. An Interview with the Secretary of the S.P.F.W. Society," P.M.G., 27 April 1887, p. 11.

considerations that interested him in the intervals between the appearances of his books.<sup>23</sup> His views appeared in the form of articles, reviews and letters, and though all remained anonymous, they forwarded his general efforts to modify and correct the values of English culture. His most ambitious work appearing in the paper was his brilliantly satirical serial "Friendship's Garland," which he published between 1866 and 1870.

From its second year onwards, the Pall Mall featured such serious essayists as: Sir Henry Bulwer, John Morley, Meredith, Huxley, George Grove, Reade, and Winwood Reade, Laurance Oliphant, Sir Frederick Pollock, Barthelemy St. Hilaire, as well as many others of lesser reputation. Still later contributors to the journal were Coventry Patmore ("C.P."), Alice Meynell, Drummond Wolff of the "fourth party," Spencer Walpole, the Positivist Frederick Harrison, Ruskin, Sidney Colvin and H.D. Traill, all eminent figures in politics or the world of letters.

Greenwood constantly supplemented these and his other distinguished contributors by frequently calling upon persons of ability, if lesser renown. He broke with the tradition of retaining a permanent staff of leader writers, and instead kept a constant watch for young talent in the London clubs, the Inns of Court and the University common rooms. He did not commission these newcomers to write leaders, but rather invited them to submit ideas. Promising material would be elaborated into a leading article.<sup>24</sup> Neither did the editor neglect to take an active role in inspiring and even directing the clever pens of the truly eminent.<sup>25</sup> Greenwood's greatest discovery was the

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<sup>23</sup> Fraser Neiman, "Some Newly Attributed Contributions of Matthew Arnold to the Pall Mall Gazette," Modern Philology, vol. 55 (1957/58), 84-92. See page 84 for a complete list of Arnold's contributions.

<sup>24</sup> T.H.S. Escott, Masters of English Journalism, p. 247.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 246.

talented Richard Jefferies, whose serial "The Gamekeeper at Home" and other pastoral sketches appeared in the Pall Mall of the late 'seventies.

Greenwood worked to make the paper appealing in many ways. It very nearly attained the high aspiration, set out in its prospectus, to include at all times a greater amount of original material than any of its daily contemporaries. There appeared in every edition an article by a competent authority on a subject of current interest. This gave the paper a reputation for keenness, scholarly competence and trenchant style. Additional features were reviews of the main weekly, monthly and quarterly journals. Commenting on the paper's originality, James Grant wrote in 1871 that: "On some occasions it has happened that nearly one-half of its contents has consisted of articles and paragraphs expressly written for the Pall Mall."<sup>26</sup> Because of this originality and the time of day that the paper appeared at, it began at an early point in its history to supply the provincial newspapers with more copy than did any other London newspaper.<sup>27</sup> Even during the 'seventies, when the commercial promises of the journal had not been sustained, it continued to exhibit good style and to attract much ability.

Despite such strengths, the Pall Mall's effectiveness continued to be weakened by a number of specific considerations. The strict anonymity which it preserved added nothing to the reputations of its contributors and kept the paper's readers from recognizing the identities of their instructors, although the general excellence of their work did not escape recognition. Also, although the paper featured able epitomes and summaries of the morning papers,

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<sup>26</sup> Grant, Newspaper Press, ii, 116.

<sup>27</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 150.

it aspired to little in the way of originality in its reporting of domestic news. The editor's lack of interest and shortage of time compounded this weakness. Generally, he left the editing of news to his sub-editors and did not himself look at the feature until the last edition had left the presses.<sup>28</sup> This put the Pall Mall at a decided disadvantage compared with most of its evening rivals, which, in contrast, stressed the reporting of news. The paper's coverage of business news exhibited similar weaknesses, although the management at an early date had improved the feature somewhat in order to satisfy the demands of subscribers.<sup>29</sup>

In contrast, the Pall Mall's reporting of foreign affairs came to be recognized as one of its particular strengths. This was due to Greenwood's strongly-developed interest in diplomacy. At the age of twenty-five he had published several works dealing with the life and politics of Napoleon III and he played while at the paper an important and confidential role in apprising the British government that the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal were for sale.<sup>30</sup> John Morley, who succeeded Greenwood as editor, considered that his mind and knowledge found their freest development in the field of

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<sup>28</sup> Robertson Scott, Pall Mall, pp. 195-196.

<sup>29</sup> "City-Notes --- Ten Thousand Numbers Ago," P.M.G., 14 April 1897, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Greenwood defended his claim to priority in 1905-06 in a series of letters between himself and Mr. Lucien Wolf, the latter citing Lord Rothschild's mission to Paris the year previous to the editor's services. Neither side produced conclusive evidence as each respectively alluded to. See: The Times, 15 April, 11 May, 27 Dec. 1905; 13, 26 Jan., 10 Feb. 1906.

international affairs. As Morley testified:

He took ...great trouble to ascertain and work out for himself the facts and conditions which ought to affect the foreign policy of this country. He applied his ingenious mind to unravelling the mixed motives of men at home and abroad, to seeing the underside of the cards, to tracking out the burrowings of diplomatists and chanceries.<sup>31</sup>

Another contemporary editor, James Grant, wrote of the Pall Mall's foreign intelligence: "The expenditure in procuring early and accurate intelligence from the various capitals of Europe, is most liberal, and the quality of correspondence is such as to justify the large sums expended on it."<sup>32</sup> In time Greenwood had his pick of correspondents all over the world.<sup>33</sup> In his reporting he was aided at home by P.W. Smythe, both before and after he became Lord Strangford. Greenwood also found in London useful writers such as Max Schlesinger, the Kölnische Zeitung's representative, and Camille Barrère, later a French ambassador. A particularly notable series of some sixty articles carried by the Pall Mall was Friedrich Engels' "Notes on the War," describing the Franco-German conflict. They proved so successful that The Times plagiarized them.<sup>34</sup> When the French surrendered, the Pall Mall correspondent on the battlefield brought the first details to London, and scooped the rest of the press by over a day.

The Pall Mall experimented in many ways between 1865 and 1870 in order

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<sup>31</sup> "Dinner to Mr. Frederick Greenwood. The Story of the Suez Canal Shares," The Times, 10 April 1905, p. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Grant, Newspaper Press, ii, 120.

<sup>33</sup> Robertson Scott, Pall Mall, p. 184.

<sup>34</sup> History of The Times, ii, 304.

directly to increase its circulation. In early 1870 it attempted a morning edition, as it had on one other occasion immediately following its first appearance. The paper's second attempt lasted but a short four months though the venture was a distinctly independent operation tailored to the tastes of the morning reader. During these years the Pall Mall grew in size as well. Following the success of the "Amateur Casual," it became a twelve page paper. In 1869 it once again increased its size to the familiar format that characterized it for the next twenty years: sixteen pages, full folio. An immediate by-product of this increase in page size was the paper's adoption of larger headlines in place of its former modest ones. The paper also began in the late 'sixties to issue a weekly edition for circulation abroad. During the 'seventies, Greenwood's innovational tendencies as well as Smith's were less evident, reflecting the parlous financial situation of the paper.

#### V. POLITICS

Despite the fact that the Pall Mall's prospectus had neglected to mention either the words "politics" or "party," the paper always accorded foremost place on its front page and the most pleasing type to this activity. The omission of a statement of intent on this vital issue merely indicated the paper's initial resolve to "hoist no political ticket." The readers of the journal "were left to discover what its politics would be from day to day whatever the public credit and the public advantage seemed to determine; without the least reference to the Ins and the Outs."<sup>35</sup> Thus the marked character of the Pall Mall was its individuality, especially on the political side, where Greenwood's independence dominated.

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<sup>35</sup> Frederick Greenwood, "Birth and Infancy of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" P.M.G., 14 April 1897, p. 2.

As mentioned in a preceding section, during the Pall Mall's early years, its leaders were given over largely to Fitzjames Stephen. In his earlier days at the P.M.G. the paper easily managed to pursue its policy of disinterestedness. As Stephen's brother, Leslie, wrote years later: [he was] ... "less interested in purely political questions of the time ...but he wrote with a sturdy common sense which gave a characteristic flavour to the paper."<sup>36</sup> The great changes that the political world was undergoing in the 'sixties inspired Stephen's independent stand. Though his writing remained one of the few Liberal elements in the paper, he remained highly critical of the new Liberal assumptions and he frequently criticized Gladstone in the paper's pages. As Leslie Stephen concluded, the keystone of Fitzjames' writing in the Pall Mall was that the liberalism of the intellect, which determined whether a theory was true or false, should continue to prevail over the liberalism of sentiment as preached by Bright.<sup>37</sup> In this vein, Stephen lamented the passing of the aristocratic freedoms of an older school of statesmen when Palmerston died, and he remained highly wary of the Reform Bill which followed in 1867.<sup>38</sup> His brother summarized his views as follows: "It is enough to say that his antipathy to sentimentalism, and to the want of high patriotic spirit in the Manchester school of politics blends with a rather contemptuous attitude to-

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<sup>36</sup> Leslie Stephen, "Some Early Impressions --- Journalism," National Review, vol. 42 (Nov. 1903), p. 433.

<sup>37</sup> Leslie Stephen, Fitzjames Stephen, p. 224.

<sup>38</sup> see John Roach, "Liberalism and the Victorian Intelligentsia," Cambridge Historical Journal, vol. 13 (1957), 62.

wards the parliamentary system."<sup>39</sup> Leslie Stephen conceded that his brother's "indifference and want of familiarity with the small talk of politics probably diminished the effect of his articles in so far as it implied a tendency to fall back upon principles too general for the average reader."<sup>40</sup>

Even in the early days when Stephen's inexact politics dominated, the paper occasionally assumed stronger colorings and opinions. Greenwood listed his early personal politics as "Philosophic Radical." In consequence, the Pall Mall displayed at times an ultra-radical positivist sentiment. This was especially evident during the unionist outrages of 1867. Among those rising to the defence of the working class in the paper's pages were Professor E.S. Beesly and John Morley.<sup>41</sup>

Trollope as well entered the pages of the early Pall Mall to advocate policies at variance with conservative doctrine. From the paper's commencement, he contributed a series of spirited letters calling on it to support the Northern cause in the American Civil War. These remained his main polemical contributions, but he also discussed in serious tones inequalities in clerical incomes and civil service reform.<sup>42</sup>

Given such an unstudied program, and a wide diversity of contributors and opinions, the political tone of the early Pall Mall remained elusive of defi-

<sup>39</sup> Leslie Stephen, Fitzjames Stephen, p. 225.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

<sup>41</sup> T.H.S. Escott, "John Morley," Fortnightly Review, nos. 680-683 (Nov. 1923), p. 712.

<sup>42</sup> For a complete tabulation of Trollope's contributions as well as a discussion of the leading ones, see Bradford A. Booth, "Trollope and the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" (Two Parts), Nineteenth Century Fiction, vol. 4 (1949/50), 51-69; 137-158.

dition. James Grant attempted to delimit the paper's political allegiance, but he could only write:

With regard to its creed, either political or theological, I am conscious of my unfitness for the task of defining it; and I feel assured that every one who habitually peruses its pages will, speaking for himself, say the same. In relation to politics or religion it is neither one thing nor the other. .... Its political and theological faith is made up of opposites. Politically, it might with great propriety be called a Radical journal; while in relation to religion, its beliefs ...are a kind of Christian-Pantheism....<sup>43</sup>

In the early 'seventies, the Pall Mall's generally impartial early tone, the result of a balance between political principles, gradually altered and conservatism grew dominant. This reflected, among other influences, the changing position of its editor, for Greenwood was undergoing a change of opinion, possibly as a result of his successes as a self-made man. A certain element of conservatism had never been entirely lacking even through the period of the paper's early history. It had, for example, been highly critical of Gladstone's administration which began in 1868. At the same time, the paper did not extend particular support to Gladstone's Radical critics, at least in an editorial sense.<sup>44</sup> From an early date the paper had been "anti-radical" on the question of foreign policy, where its editor's views coincided with those of his ablest contributor, Percy William Smythe,<sup>45</sup> after 1871 Greenwood indicated his changing politics by denouncing in particularly strong language both Marx and the English Positivists upon the occasion of their com-

<sup>43</sup> Grant, Newspaper Press, ii, 116-117.

<sup>44</sup> H.R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers, ii, 340.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.. Smythe later became Lord Strangford.

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mon defence of the Paris Commune.

To the extent that a definite turning point can be identified in the paper's policy, this can be taken to be its publication in installments of Fitzjames Stephen's Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Stephen's study, since described as the "finest exposition of conservative thought in the latter half of the century,"<sup>47</sup> was a reply to John Stuart Mill's lofty and powerful essay On Liberty. Its appearance in the Pall Mall during late 1872 and early 1873 signalled Stephen's conversion to conservatism.

In these ways, the paper had progressed some distance along the path to conservatism by 1874, the year in which Greenwood had an interview with Disraeli over the question of the Suez Canal shares. Henry Mayers Hyndman, a good friend of the editor's, attributed a major significance to the prime minister's magnetism as it exerted itself on this occasion. He claimed that Greenwood was never the same man afterwards; his faculty of criticism ... "seemed to have left him, and his admiration for the Imperialist statesman intensified the dislike for his rival [Gladstone] which was already keen enough."<sup>48</sup>

The Pall Mall strongly defended Britain's "imperial responsibilities" for the remainder of Greenwood's editorship. In this policy, Greenwood enlisted the strong support of Hyndman who wrote anonymous articles and criticism, and the occasional letter signed "H." Against the background of an in-

<sup>46</sup> see for e.g. "Our Own Reds," P.M.G., 15 April 1871, cited Royden Harrison, Before the Socialists: studies in labour and politics 1861-1881, p. 267; see also p. 275.

<sup>47</sup> Sir Ernest Baker, Political Thought in England; 1848-1914 (ed. of 1947), p. 150, cited Leon Radinowicz, Sir James Fitzjames Stephen 1829-1894 and his contributions to the development of criminal law, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> H.M. Hyndman, The Record of An Adventurous Life, p. 213.

creased general interest in empire which evidenced itself throughout the decade, Hyndman served as a stronger advocate of imperial power than Disraeli himself.<sup>49</sup> His attitudes foreshadowed those of William Stead, the famous editor of the Pall Mall at a later date, as well as those of Joseph Chamberlain. Hyndman stressed the importance of parliamentary reform in order to make possible the representation of the colonies. He also advocated an Imperial customs union.

During the Eastern Crisis of the late 'seventies especially, the Pall Mall indulged in an extreme and anti-Russian jingoism. The paper identified itself with Lord Salisbury, and strongly supported his stand against the moderates in the government. Though the paper reaped much credit from Salisbury's initial successes, it lost most of its gains when it was disclosed that the statesman had conducted secret negotiations with Russia about Turkey's Balkan holdings.

The Pall Mall's later leaders also exhibited a conservative coloring on general questions of political philosophy, which reflected the influence of Sir Henry Maine. Maine, who had become chief leader writer, proved a fitting successor to his friend Stephen. He wrote with the same studied aloofness from the realm of practical politics, and exhibited a like wariness concerning democratic equalitarianism.

Despite this conservative inclination, the Pall Mall remained to the very end of Greenwood's days a forum for free discussion. Greenwood never turned it into a strict party organ. In attesting to its independence, Hyndman, who, as a future leader of the Social Democrats, was well qualified to judge, thought

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<sup>49</sup> C. Tsuzuki, H.M. Hyndman and British Socialism, p. 21.

it allowed ... "as free expression to out-and-out democratic opinions, if ably expressed, as any journal in the country."<sup>50</sup> A reader of confessedly Whig-Liberal sympathies seconded this opinion. He wrote of the paper: "You do not impute personal and mercenary motives to opponents, and you do hear the other side...."<sup>51</sup> Such were the general principles on which the P.M.G. continued to be conducted as late as the final year of Greenwood's administration.

#### VI. PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE P.M.G.

By 1880 the Pall Mall's circulation remained minute, even by the modest standards of its contemporaries. There were several reasons for this. At the price of twopence, the paper was expensive and cost twice as much as its evening rivals. Another consideration working to curtail circulation was Greenwood's utter neglect of the managerial side of the paper.<sup>52</sup> This contrasted sharply with his ability as an editor. The already-mentioned weaknesses of the paper in respect to news content compounded the situation as did its increasingly partisan politics.

In the beginning, a single page had satisfied the requirements of the small number of advertisers that favored the paper with their support. The journal thus derived little income from this necessary source. Not until the 'seventies, did the Pall Mall's revenue derived from advertising increase sufficiently to appreciably aid in sustaining the paper's existence in the face of a circulation level which remained stationary.

Both in its dual identities as a review and as a newspaper the Pall Mall

<sup>50</sup> Hyndman, Adventurous Life, p. 149.

<sup>51</sup> "Some Whig Reasons," Correspondence, P.M.G., 31 March 1880, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 149.

was unfortunate to have been born at the same time as a number of able competitors. Deficient in the news sense, the paper was an expensive review as compared with the weeklies or the newly founded monthlies, the Fortnightly Review and Contemporary Review. Even more real was the formidable competition it received from its main rival in the evening newspaper world, the Echo, which had been founded in the same year. This newspaper compared favorably with the Pall Mall, both in the standard of its journalism as well as in its independent tone, and cost only a halfpenny. Although this energetic organ was afterwards to go into a premature decline, its circulation increased steadily throughout the period of Greenwood's editorship of the P.M.G., and reached some eighty thousand in the 'seventies.<sup>53</sup>

Despite the fact that the P.M.G. had a small circulation, it did possess a good deal of influence. Gladstone, for example, had jestingly attributed his defeat in 1874 to the studied opposition of the Pall Mall.<sup>54</sup> As indicated by the last of the stamp returns, better than three-quarters of the paper's early circulation of eight to nine thousand remained in London.<sup>55</sup> Here, the paper's price restricted its sale largely to the legendary and influential "top ten thousand" in the City and in the West End that read The Times, costing threepence, in the morning. At the same time, the remainder of the P.M.G.'s copies circulated widely in the provinces and made their way into the hands of the important.

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<sup>53</sup> Grant, Newspaper Press, ii, 413.

<sup>54</sup> H.R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers, ii, 340.

<sup>55</sup> A. Ellegard, "The Readership of the Periodical Press in Mid-Victorian Britain," Goteborgs Universitets Arsskrift, vol. 63 (1957.3), 10, Table I.

## VII. GEORGE SMITH STEPS DOWN AS OWNER

By early 1880, George Murray Smith considered his experiences in the newspaper world to have lasted long enough. He was realizing a fortune in the mineral water business where he had secured the sole rights in English-speaking countries to bottle "Apollinaris," the German tonic-water. The Pall Mall, on the other hand, had cost him considerable money,<sup>56</sup> and had done nothing to ingratiate him with his party. As he confided to Hyndman, he could no longer stand his editor's attacks on Gladstone.<sup>57</sup> In the general election of 1880 Greenwood had finally strongly committed the Pall Mall on the Conservative side. Thus Smith turned the Pall Mall over to his son-in-law, Henry Yates Thompson, as a gift.

Thompson's Liberalism was stronger than Smith's. In the recent election he had been an unsuccessful candidate, and he had run for parliament on several earlier occasions. He had also served Lord Spencer at Dublin Castle. Thompson soon presented Greenwood with an edict to reverse the political tendencies he had been pursuing in the paper. The editor refused to swing the Pall Mall around, and he resigned to found the St. James's Review. At Greenwood's departure, the majority of the Pall Mall's editorial staff followed their chief to the new paper rather than compromise their journalistic integrity. The St. James's in time came to be regarded by many as the successor of the original Pall Mall.

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<sup>56</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 145 and p. 149.

<sup>57</sup> Hyndman, Adventurous Life, p. 188.

## VIII. CONCLUSION

Thompson was left with a paper which was not a financial success, and without an editorial staff. But the Pall Mall had promising potential if handled properly. The literary reputation that Greenwood had established and maintained had created the nucleus of an influential audience in London and made the P.M.G. a "journalist's newspaper" in the provinces. Greenwood had established for it a strong network of foreign correspondents. He had given it a noted reputation for independent expression, though this characteristic was somewhat obscured by the paper's recent conservative bent. He had also forged a newspaper which was distinctive in its make-up and possessed a strong tradition of experiment and innovation.

Years later, Greenwood could look back on his career at the Pall Mall and put it in perspective:

If I am right, a very distinct period in the character and status of the newspaper press began soon after the middle of the century, and lasted less than a generation. Then began another period distinct enough to be recognized as different without assistance of the label, "The New Journalism." On the whole, is it [the latter] a higher as well as a larger development from its predecessor?<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Frederick Greenwood, "The Newspaper Press: half a century's survey," Blackwood's Magazine, vol. 161 (May 1897), p. 717.

## CHAPTER II

### NEW MANAGEMENT

The new proprietor of the Pall Mall Gazette, Henry Yates Thompson, was to obtrude himself less upon the journal in a direct sense than had his father-in-law, George Murray Smith. Smith, for example, had personally supervised the production of the P.M.G.'s unsuccessful morning edition during its four month trial in 1870.<sup>1</sup> He also had kept in constant consultation with Greenwood throughout his editorship on many aspects of the paper. Thompson, by contrast, gave his editors an entirely free scope once the Pall Mall had been initially set on its feet as a Liberal journal, save to keep careful watch over the business side of the operation. Despite this fact, or rather, because of it, Thompson's personality deserves further elaboration in order that his unobtrusive presence can be accounted for during the eventful years that followed. An understanding of his character goes far to explain his subsequent relationship with his first editor, the austere John Morley, and it throws even more light on what must have been his relationship with Morley's successor, the irrepressible William Stead.

When Thompson died in 1928, a writer personally acquainted with him described him in one of the few accounts that exist:

First impressions of the large head, short, compact build, square broad shoulders, the direct glance, shrewd and penetrating, under

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<sup>1</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 145.

the heavy brows, the sudden glint of laughter lighting up the grim, bearded countenance, the gruff voice, and the bluntness, almost rudeness of address, soon yielded to recognition of the breadth of his interests and the richness of his experience. Fuller knowledge revealed a man of great strength of will, indifferent to the opinion of the multitude, at once reserved and outspoken, whimsical and generous, humorous and austere. To his friends, and they were many, no substitution can be found for that ample, genial presence, with the sharp yet kindly glance, the open mind, keen yet humane, and the large heart.<sup>2</sup>

The description was drawn in later life, but it was probably not too far removed from the picture he presented in his earlier days when he was the owner of the Pall Mall.

Thompson's "breadth of interests and ...richness of ...experience" derived from an extremely interesting life. He was born in 1838, the son of a banker living near Liverpool, and came from a family of considerable wealth and reputation in Lancashire. Thompson's family was strongly Liberal, both in politics and religion. Thompson achieved a moderately distinguished record at Harrow and Cambridge, and later read law and was called to the bar. On several occasions, he interrupted his career to travel extensively in the New World as well as in Europe and the East. Between 1868 and 1874 he served as private secretary to Lord Spencer, the Viceroy of Ireland. He married Miss Smith in 1878.

Thompson's flexible personality allowed him generally to agree with his editors even in the face of strong public opinion. His Liberalism was of a much stronger brand than that of his father-in-law's, and this accounted for his enduring patience with the far from lucrative P.M.G. Partly because of

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<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Henry Yates Thompson. Rare Books and Manuscripts," The Times, 10 July 1928, p. 21.

Stead's deference to Thompson's wishes, this Liberalism remained a strong ingredient of the paper despite Stead's own social Radicalism and increasing sentimental affinity in later years for the Socialist cause. Stead's support of the Socialists was probably the only major issue on which he and the proprietor ever strongly differed. Thompson's service at Dublin Castle rendered him a strong supporter of Home Rule. Thus he could encourage Morley's cautious and moderate stand on the subject of coercion, and later strongly identify with Stead's rabid support of the Irish cause. Thompson's international experiences caused him to be strongly opposed to war. In this regard, he concurred with Morley's Cobdenite thinking as well as with the more active internationalism preached by Morley's successor. Thompson's cultivation of American diplomats undoubtedly appealed to and stimulated Stead's great interest in the unity of the English-speaking races, though the effect of such an activity was undoubtedly lost on Morley. Like both of his editors, Thompson was strongly interested in maintaining the high literary tone of the Pall Mall. His own generous support of charity work meant that he was also to allow Stead relatively free scope in turning the P.M.G. to the active support of many causes. But all of these considerations lay in the future. In the spring of 1880, Thompson found himself for the first and last time actively engaged at the Pall Mall office because of a critical shortage of staff.

How does one proceed to make a party newspaper out of a journal that possesses a reputation for independence, or independence with a leaning in the opposite direction to that in which one wants to turn it? That was the first problem that confronted Thompson. It was made all the more delicate by the paper's exceedingly small circulation.

Greenwood had taken all but the compositors and several of the lesser editorial staff with him. It is therefore impossible to be certain who wrote the "turnover," or second leader, which appeared on Monday, May 3, 1880. It is not unlikely that it was Thompson himself, for he took a strong hand in getting the paper out during this crisis. If Thompson did not write the article in question, he at least provided its inspiration.

That article began by noting that to date the Pall Mall had never been guilty of talking about itself, and stated the reluctance it felt in "transgressing" that record:

It is now known to all our readers that the able and accomplished gentleman who has from the commencement been Editor of this journal no longer retains that position; and in bidding him farewell we feel bound to say how much the Pall Mall Gazette has owed to his untiring assiduity and unflinching independence. It is by the latter quality that this journal has been distinguished in the past and will be characterized in the future. The Pall Mall Gazette in the livery of a party or in the train of a minister might still retain its name, but it would be the mere shadow of its former self.

The article continued, noting the rumor that had first gone through the provinces, and finally appeared the day previous in a Sunday journal, to the effect that the P.M.G. was about to become a ministerial organ. The Pall Mall's denial was vociferous: "It has been, is now, and will be our boast to judge each question on its merits as it rises, to have neither party nor programme, and to keep to our old traditions of liberty and independence."

With the printing of this article, the P.M.G. invoked what was probably one of the few unwitting mistruths of its gentlemanly history. For, as shall be seen in the chapter to follow, while the paper was to adhere to no inflexible program in its quest for independence, that independence was to possess

exceedingly strong overtones of party, and the paper was to prove to be quite definitely "in the train of a minister."

Surprisingly, the P.M.G.'s change in allegiance did not drastically affect its circulation. A few days before news of the switch became public, Leslie Stephen had predicted drastic results in noting the contrast between the paper's traditional character, "the incarnation of Greenwood," with his jingoism, and the new Liberal role it was to assume.<sup>3</sup> But the impact of the change on subscribers was not, at least at first, as severe as predicted. A noticeable lack of protesting communications suggested the skill with which the staff gradually "turned" the paper.

Yet in the first week Thompson's troubles were considerable. He had a paper to publish despite his lack of staff. He managed to carry on by pressing into use the large number of manuscripts that Greenwood had accumulated.<sup>4</sup> The arrival of John Morley as the new editor soon relieved him.

Morley was, as one of his biographers has written, the finest man of letters that the press possessed, if the short Dickens editorship of the Daily News be excluded.<sup>5</sup> He had taken an undistinguished degree at Oxford, but this was perhaps due to the state of his college and to domestic considerations which rendered him anxious to leave to earn his living. Morley wrote well and had spoken capably in the Union, and this led him to London where he wrote for the Leader under G.H. Lewes and, following this, edited the Literary Gazette. Morley next studied law in Lincoln's Inn, and he undoubtedly traced his friend-

<sup>3</sup> cited F.W. Maitland, The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen, p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick Braybrooke, Lord Morley: writer and thinker, p. 154. The biographical material which follows is taken from "Lord Morley. Statesman and Writer," The Times, 24 Sept. 1923, p. 6.

ship with Thompson to this period. But Morley never practiced the law. Instead, he continued on to write for the Saturday Review, and subsequently succeeded Lewes as editor of the Fortnightly Review in 1867. For a short period in 1869 he served also as editor of the Morning Star, the most advanced of Radical daily papers. When he came to the Pall Mall, Morley still edited the Fortnightly, as he was to for three years more.

In his capacity of supervising that journal, Morley had gathered around him the strongest Liberal politicians and philosophers. He had published there a number of the first drafts of his historical biographies. These included masterfully-written studies of the eighteenth century French political theoreticians De Maistre, Condorcet and Turgot. Still later, he had published his works on Voltaire (1871) and Rousseau (1873). Morley had also written a series of philosophic articles which appeared when collected together under the title On Compromise. He had, in addition, written a practical work, The Struggle for National Education. During his Pall Mall days, he published his Life of Cobden. Thus Morley might, on the strength of his record to this date alone, be said to have been steeped in the liberal tradition of thought.

Morley encountered less trouble than might be imagined in his search for part-time editorial writers. Many of the distinguished staff of occasional writers that Greenwood had created made themselves available to their old newspaper.<sup>6</sup> The Pall Mall's literary columns probably suffered more, following the departure of Saintsbury, Sir Frederick Pollock and Traill.<sup>7</sup> But the great-

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<sup>6</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The Great London Dailies. The Penny Evening Papers --- The 'St. James's Gazette' and the 'Globe,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 675.

est problem Morley and Thompson faced was that of acquiring a new permanent staff.

The most urgent need was for a man to assist Morley with the editorship, for he continued with his duties at the Fortnightly, and was engaged with his study of Cobden. Thompson filled the post in the fall of 1880 when he appointed William Thomas Stead. Thompson's attention had been directed to Stead when the latter, then the editor of the Darlington Northern Echo, had sent to the Pall Mall occasional contributions to help Morley through his first difficulties.<sup>8</sup>

Even before this, Stead and the Northern Echo had made their presence felt in various ways. As a strongly Liberal organ, the Echo had roused the north on behalf of Gladstone's "Bulgarian Atrocities" agitation of the late 'seventies. This marked the culmination of the Echo's pro-Russian policy which extended back to Stead's first arrival as editor.<sup>9</sup> In the late 'seventies, Gladstone and Bright had quoted from the paper both on the platform and in parliament. Stead's habit of sending annotated copies of his straw-colored paper to prominent persons had also done much to publicize his name. Undoubtedly, Thompson knew as well of the success that Stead had made of the Echo in a commercial sense. He had combined a virile and aggressive journalism with a clever exploitation of Darlington's excellent rail facilities to extend the circulation of the paper.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> W.T. Stead, cited Estelle W. Stead, My Father: personal and spiritual reminiscences, p. 90.

<sup>9</sup> see Joseph O. Baylen, "W.T. Stead, Apologist for Imperial Russia, 1870-1880," Gazette, vol. 6, no. 1 (1960), 281-297.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 281.

As early as 1871 Stead had formulated his own ideas about how leaders should be written and newspapers edited. When, as a result of his earlier contributions to the Echo about charity organizations, its owner offered him at the age of twenty-two its editorship, he called upon Wemyss Reid for advice. On this, his first visit to a newspaper office, Stead had not affected to conceal from Reid, editor of the Leeds Mercury, his own views on journalism. As he explained to a bemused Reid, the press was the primary agent for influencing public opinion in the world. It was the "true and only lever by which Thrones and Governments could be shaken and the masses of the people raised."<sup>11</sup> Stead did not have the opportunity of carrying such ideas to fruition at Darlington, although, as he claimed later, he had put the stamp of his own personality on the Echo. In the broad sense, his public career as an innovator and pioneer in journalism was to begin after he had left Darlington.<sup>12</sup>

Nonetheless, Stead's policy during his Northern Echo days bears examination because it was strongly to color his future days as editor of the P.M. G. In discussing his very early career, Stead would later describe himself as "a thorough-going Gladstonian of a very stalwart fighting kind."<sup>13</sup> He recorded that the program that he preached later had changed but little from those early days. Among the policies he advocated from the beginning were industrial arbitration and imperial extension. He strongly opposed capital punishment and the Permissive Bill. From the first, he was a vehement supporter of Josephine Butler's crusade against the Communicable Diseases Acts. As men-

<sup>11</sup> Stuart J. Reid, ed., Memoirs of Sir Wemyss Reid 1842-1885, p. 309.

<sup>12</sup> Maurice Wedgewood, Deputy Editor of the Northern Echo, letter to the writer, 3 July 1966.

<sup>13</sup> cited Estelle W. Stead, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

tioned already, he strongly supported the position of Russia in international affairs. Though the description of Stead's daughter narrows his policy somewhat, she too noted that when he was at Darlington he had already embraced the first two elements of his later mission on "Peace; Woman; Spirits."<sup>14</sup>

Stead anticipated a freer hand to put his energetic views into practice, and he wrote the following entry into his personal journal soon after arriving at the Pal Mall in late 1880. The general object that the paper should strive to attain was:

To lead the leaders of public opinion, and to supply briefs for the journalists of the country, and to defend in advance every position the forward party is about to occupy.<sup>15</sup>

Additional goals included: to combine selling journalism with literary value; to promote working politics, science and letters; to interpret the aspirations of the "dumb" classes to the vocal; and to feature the thoughts of every thinker as well as every reform and every abuse. Stead desired to combine the function of "Hebrew prophet and Roman tribune with that of that of Greek teacher." He aspired to inform the public mind on all subjects, and to keep a distinct view before them. At the same time, he would strive to make the paper "lively, amusing and newsy."<sup>16</sup> Stead also had ambitious plans for various series that the paper might run.

There followed a list of "political aims":

To promote a sense of unity among (1) English-speaking races and (2) the nations of Europe. To promote universal Free Trade and especially a British Zollverein. To dwell more on points of union than on differences. To insist that the control of native

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<sup>14</sup> Stead, cited Miss Stead, op. cit., p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> cited J.W. Robertson Scott, The Life and Death of a Newspaper, pp. 117-118.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

policy be directed by the Home Government. To watch vigilantly the Government of India. To resist all encroachments, not absolutely necessary, on the liberty of the subject. .... To advocate the organization of emigration and transmigration. .... To improve education all round. To nationalize the Church. To reform the landlords.<sup>17</sup>

Stead's Puritan nonconformist religious beliefs inspired such strongly-defined ambitions. These and other considerations are examined in further detail in chapter four. At present, it is sufficient to state that Stead's religion was of the most sincere kind.

To what must have been Stead's chagrin, Morley prevented him from mounting a full-scale program to achieve the goals outlined above. Yet the combination of Morley and Stead, which lasted for three years, was a formidable one. Years later, a writer in The Times described it as "a union of classical severity with the rude vigour of a Goth."<sup>18</sup> Morley circumscribed Stead's ambitions by acting as political director, and it was the former that wrote most of the leading articles. Stead directed the rest of the paper and provided fertile suggestions. From the beginning of their association, the reserved Morley kept close watch on Stead for he had been warned by Stead's mentor, Wemyss Reid, that he was a man of such extreme views and daring aspirations that he could seriously embarrass the newspaper if left to himself.<sup>19</sup> As shall be seen in a later chapter, Morley could not always control Stead's suggestions about topics, but the former's influence did assert itself prominently in the style of the newspaper. Morley succeeded in converting Stead to write

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "Death of W.T. Stead," The Times, 18 April 1912, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> S.J. Reid, ed., Memoirs of Sir Wemyss Reid, p. 317.

in his own classic style of "Morleyese," as readers termed it. Many an article which outsiders would have attributed by style and temperament to Morley, was in fact the work of Stead.<sup>20</sup> Despite Morley's predominance, the relationship between editor and assistant prove a congenial one. In after years both could describe it with respect and affection.

Morley and Stead came in time to be supported by a very able staff. T.P. O'Connor was among the first to be acquired. Acknowledged to be one of the finest speakers in the Commons, he restrained his Irish nationalist sympathies to write the brilliant and picturesque parliamentary sketch which in those days occupied a most important position, coming right after the leaders.<sup>21</sup> Aaron Watson was another experienced newsman when he joined the paper in early 1882. Usually he wrote the "turnover," or second leader, which he strove to make "designedly different" in character from Morley's solemn leaders. Watson also collaborated with Stead in a number of sensational exposures which find elaboration in a following chapter.<sup>22</sup> Watson was sometimes relieved in the turnover by Grant Allen. Allen served as a part-time contributor throughout both Morley's as well as Stead's ensuing editorship. He supplied the outstanding science commentaries that captured the imaginations of laymen during Morley's days. At the same time, his range was much wider than these alone would indicate. In later years especially, he drew upon both his skill as a literary critic and his friendships with a large number of England's most prominent writers and thinkers to

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<sup>20</sup> The Times, 18 April 1912, p. 12.

<sup>21</sup> T.P. O'Connor, Memoirs of an Old Parliamentarian, i, 50.

<sup>22</sup> see Chapter IV, p. 70; see as well Aaron Watson, A Newspaper Man's Memories, pp. 113-118.

contribute many a cultural study and review to the Pall Mall.<sup>23</sup> His articles on evolution and his brilliant summaries of various thinkers' "Gospels" or philosophies were especially famous.

During Morley's days, the Pall Mall recruited further staff by way of Oxford. Aided in his search by George A. Macmillan of the publishing firm,<sup>24</sup> Morley induced Alfred Milner to join the paper in the spring of 1882. Edward Tyas Cook and the slightly older Herbert Asquith soon followed Milner to the Pall Mall, although the two contributed only in a part-time capacity. In these writers, the paper acquired a brilliant trio. All had served as Presidents of the Oxford Union, Cook and Milner with particular distinction.<sup>25</sup> These two now among other duties prepared Morley's leader notes. Milner was concurrently taking an active part, as was Cook, in Canon Barnett's University Extension Society. The "socialistic" proclivities he expressed in this capacity induced the wary Morley to implore Stead to ensure that such views did not find vent in the newspaper's editorials.<sup>26</sup> As shall be seen in a later chapter, Milner was afterwards to support Stead when the latter himself turned the paper to a moderate socialism following Morley's departure. Asquith, it may be assumed, contributed many of the paper's frequent articles on the "Money Market" which appeared on its leader page to give it, during Morley's days, an appear-

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<sup>23</sup> For a further discussion of Allen and his work see: "Mr. Grant Allen 'At Home,'" P.M.G., 4 Oct. 1887, p. 13 (extracted from the American Magazine, Oct. 1887); "Death of Mr. Grant Allen," The Times, 26 Oct., 1899, p.13.

<sup>24</sup> Letter of Mr. George A. Macmillan to The Times, 31 Oct. 1923, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook K.B.E., pp. 17-18.

<sup>26</sup> Philip Gibbs, The Journalist's London, p. 95.

ance on occasion not unlike the Economist.<sup>27</sup>

From the beginning, Morley's reputation helped to persuade many distinguished contributors to continue with the paper. Matthew Arnold continued his frequent contributions, and his articles characteristically combined both instruction and literary appeal.<sup>28</sup> Frederic Harrison continued his earlier work and his most notable contributions were some outstanding columns in the spring of 1882 on the subject of aesthetics.<sup>29</sup> Two other writers of stature returned to the Pall Mall's pages in the persons of Anthony Trollope and Leslie Stephen.<sup>30</sup> The former came in at once with his "London Tradesmen" series of humorous sketches which detailed the experiences of a gentleman in dealing with his tailor, chemist, plumber, horsedealer and the like. After others took up the immediate need of providing literary fare of a recognized quality, Trollope ceased his work. Yet his sketches, in addition to Stephen's well-written "Peripatetics" series, based on his hobby of walking, did much to get the paper over its initial difficulties. Stephen contributed additional papers of a "roundabout" style and also reviewed books. His great reputation as a

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<sup>27</sup> Asquith made no reference to his contributions to the P.M.G. in his memoirs, but he recorded that he wrote on many kinds of subjects, including economics, for the Spectator. He was also making a concerted effort to master the subject at this time. See: Herbert, Earl of Oxford and Asquith, Memories and Reflections, i, 68.

<sup>28</sup> Fraser Neiman, "Some Newly Attributed Contributions of Matthew Arnold to the Pall Mall Gazette," Modern Philology, vol. 55 (1957-58), 84.

<sup>29</sup> Frederic Harrison, The Choice of Books, p. 291 ff. and p. 301 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Bradford A. Booth, "Trollope and the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" (Part Two); Nineteenth Century Fiction, vol. 4 (1949-50), 155; F.W. Maitland, The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen, p. 328.

literary critic and intellectual historian ensured the ready acceptance of his work.

In time, Richard Jefferies joined the above literary contributors. Jeffries owed his discovery largely to Greenwood, and would continue, in the future, to contribute articles under Stead. It is not unreasonable to assume he accounted for the majority of the articles appearing in the paper on the scenes, labors and pleasures of country life. Such pastoral sketches gave the paper a tone quite unmatched by other journals. Undoubtedly, Jeffries also found himself frequently called upon to write many of the sketches of London scenery and life that appeared in the Pall Mall.

Based initially on the contributions such writers made, Morley's efforts to rebuild the strength of the Pall Mall's distinctive academy of contributors proved more than successful. By the fall of 1883, the paper could editorialize when challenged by an evening rival: "With a single 'Anti Radical' exception every living writer of any emirence who contributed to our columns before May, 1880, has also contributed to them since that date."<sup>31</sup>

The Pall Mall had been left virtually to manage itself under Greenwood. The predictable result was that it paid dividends for only two or three years immediately after the Franco-German War.<sup>32</sup> Immediately preceding this date, it had been in particularly straightened circumstances with both circulation and revenue falling off. Only an improvement in its income deriving from a booming advertising market had temporarily saved the situation. The paper's experiment in morning journalism had also cost it dearly.<sup>33</sup> Smith had de-

<sup>31</sup> P.M.G., 17 Oct. 1883, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 149.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

frayed at least a part of the cost of the paper by the income derived from full-page ads of "Apollinaris" as well as of Smith, Elder, and Company. Thompson's P.M.G. was not to receive the benefit of such largess from Smith's concerns, for their ads continued in more intermittent fashion and only occupied a fraction of their former space. Thus the new proprietor stressed and encouraged alternative methods of improving the paper's revenue.

Thompson took steps to improve both the management as well as the news coverage of the paper. Upon his first taking over the property, Thompson initiated a program of professional management. Henry Voules, Labouchere's editor at Truth, loaned to the Pall Mall on a temporary basis, aided him. Voules systematically trained Henry Leslie as his assistant, and Leslie succeeded him in time to become the competent office manager of the P.M.G. for the remainder of this study and even longer. It may also be surmised that W. Hill came to the Pall Mall in the capacity of news editor early in the life of the new proprietorship. There exists no exact record of his arrival, but by Stead's editorship he finds mention,<sup>34</sup> and H.W. Massingham stated that by the early 'nineties, he supervised an "admirably worked news department."<sup>35</sup> In these ways, Thompson ensured that the paper would aspire to a better record as a business venture than it had shown under Greenwood.

Thompson saw to it that other improvements complemented such major advances. In addition to the leaders on the "Money Market" already alluded to, the financial page farther back in the paper showed one of the largest improvements. So marked was the success of the paper in its efforts to improve the reporting of commercial intelligence, that in the years which followed an ex-

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<sup>34</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 146.

<sup>35</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The Great London Dailies. The Penny Evening Papers --- The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 610.

pert pronounced the Pall Mall to have been one of the pioneers of the new financial journalism.<sup>36</sup> Morley's successor was not to stress business reporting, and this aspect of the paper declined somewhat in the future from the high standard it had attained in the early 'eighties.

An even more striking addition, and one of the most appealing, lay in the improvement of the Pall Mall "epitomes," or summaries of other papers. Morley extended these to include regular summaries of several of the great northern and midlands Liberal papers, including the Manchester Guardian and Birmingham Daily Post, in addition to the London morning papers. When Stead arrived a few months later, he introduced further increases in the number of provincial Liberal newspapers epitomized, and he directed the feature in person.

<sup>37</sup> The Pall Mall's detailed reviewing of such papers both strengthened and reflected its newly-acquired Liberalism, which in itself finds further development in the chapter to follow. For, in the early 'eighties, it was the Liberal party, in contrast to the Conservatives, that paid the greatest attention to the press.

<sup>38</sup> The Pall Mall's summaries brought to a common centre the opinions of a rapidly expanding provincial press that was predominantly Liberal in sentiment.

<sup>39</sup> This feature made the Pall Mall the preferred and most profitable newspaper that Gladstone read, as he acknowledged.<sup>40</sup> Both he, as

<sup>36</sup> "The New Financial Journalism. Interview with Mr. W.R. Lawson," P.M.G., 27 Nov. 1889, p. 3.

<sup>37</sup> J.W. Robertson Scott, The Life and Death of a Newspaper, p. 118.

<sup>38</sup> W.T. Stead, "How to Become a Journalist," The Young Man, Jan. 1891, reprinted in Edwin H. Stout, ed., A Journalist on Journalism: being a series of articles by W.T. Stead, p. 35; "Journalistic London," First Paper, Harper's New Monthly Magazine, vol. 63 (1881), p. 665.

<sup>39</sup> P.M.G., 24 July 1884, p. 3; P.M.G., 13 May 1886, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup> "Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden," Harper's, vol. 64 (Dec. 1881-May 1882), pp. 748-49.

well as Bright, complimented Stead on his epitomes.<sup>41</sup>

Stead introduced additional changes into the paper that made it more appealing and readable. Even in Greenwood's time, the paper had possessed large, clear headlines. Soon after his arrival, Stead carried the feature a step farther by introducing "cross heads," which summarized the contents of paragraphs which followed. He then introduced a distinct feature into English daily journalism when the paper began the regular use of diagrams. At first these were quite crude, being ingeniously constructed out of type and easily-bent brass rules, but in time they became more sophisticated. During Morley's editorship Stead also began to shorten the Pall Mall's traditionally essay-length leaders as well as its occasional notes in the interest of readability. He shortened the customary two columns of the leader, which, under Stephen and Maire, had often extended over onto the following page, to a succinct column and a half. The notes did not yet attain the brevity of ten or twelve lines each that they were later to assume when Stead took over the paper, but the assistant editor did curtail their extent.

Stead made other improvements and innovations in the paper's weekly edition as well as in its extras. The Budget, established in 1868, was the forty page weekly edition of the paper containing a summary of news, city intelligence, articles, notes, essays and reviews printed from day to day. By 1882, the Spectator could write of the Budget: "It has been made under its present management distinctly the most readable paper in England."<sup>42</sup> Figures on its circulation are unavailable, but its widespread circulation in the remoter parts of the United Kingdom and in the colonies as well as on the Continent greatly enhan-

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<sup>41</sup> Robertson Scott, Life and Death of a Newspaper, p. 118.

<sup>42</sup> Spectator, cited in advertisement, P.M.G?, 5 Oct. 1882, p. 16.

ced the influence of the Pall Mall's small circulation as a daily. For the paper could claim that this feature enjoyed in its famous orange wrapper the widest circulation of any newspaper in the world.<sup>43</sup> The halving of the Budget's price to threepence in 1882 temporarily destroyed its financial value, but the action helped lay the basis for an extremely profitable operation once the management raised its price again in Stead's day. Stead also began the practice of issuing, in addition to the occasional appended supplement to the paper, separate extras. He took the idea from the New York Tribune. The Pall Mall issued several only under Morley beginning in 1883, but these met with surprising success and undoubtedly encouraged the management to persevere in this endeavor. As shall be seen, it was destined to come to full bloom under Stead's later editorship.

Aided in its efforts by an increasing public awareness of the paper's many excellent writers, contributors and additional features, by early 1882 the Pall Mall's management had succeeded substantially to increase the amount of advertising space sold in its pages. Where the paper had commonly carried only three or four pages of advertising in early 1880 at the time of Greenwood's departure, it now carried five pages. The increased revenue from this source enabled the management to reduce the paper's price to a penny in 1882. Its circulation, which had been somewhat set back by the paper's switch of political loyalties, almost immediately doubled to between eight and ten thousand, which marked the greatest circulation it attained under Morley's editing.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Advertisement, P.M.G., 6 Aug. 1881, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 154; J.A. Spender, Life, Journalism and Politics, ii, 134; Correspondence: Thompson to Stead, cited J.W. Robertson Scott, Life and Death of a Newspaper, p.150.

Thus Morley's editorship laid much of the groundwork on which his successor built. The management reorganized the paper as a business undertaking while attempting to make it more appealing to the public. In the process, Thompson acquired an extremely talented and capable staff. These changes and additions did much to offset the adverse effect of the paper's change in political allegiance.

## CHAPTER III

### JOHN MORLEY'S PALL MALL

The previous chapter examined the Pall Mall's new management, staff and contributors and some of the improvements and innovations made in the paper. This chapter investigates the paper's editorial policies in looking first to its general tone and then its politics. It also attempts to estimate the paper's impact on its readers and its particular influences.

#### I. GENERAL TONE

Morley's biographer has summed up the general tone of the Pall Mall well.

In his words:

Mr. Morley's editorship of the Pall Mall Gazette was distinguished by moderation, calmness and dignity. He did not stoop to the colloquial style of 'journalism'; he did not aim at sensationalism.... He was also opposed to too much space being given to politics. He wished literature and science to receive a larger proportion of space and attention than was given them at that time in any daily paper.<sup>1</sup>

In holding to such a program, Morley was guided by his main idea of making the Pall Mall "an instructive and readable paper rather than a party organ."<sup>2</sup> He was largely successful in this endeavor. A few years later a conscientious reader of the P.M.G. over three editorships could write: "Mr. Morley's direction brought the paper (me judice, and speaking from a fifteen years' or more

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<sup>1</sup> Syed Sirdar Ali Khan, The Life of Lord Morley, pp. 40-41.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

knowledge of it) to its highest point of ability and literary dignity..."<sup>3</sup>

Morley's determination to admit nothing into the paper that was not genuine literature enhanced the Pall Mall's reputation. Three years before he came to the paper as editor, Morley had decried the general tendencies of the newspaper press thus:

Then there is the newspaper press, that huge engine for keeping discussion on a low level and making the political test final. To take off the taxes on knowledge was to place a heavy tax on broad and independent opinion. The multiplication of journals 'delivering brawling judgements unashamed on all things all day long,' has done much to deaden the small stock of individuality in public verdicts.... For a newspaper must live, and to live it must please, and its conductors suppose ...that it can only please by being very cheerful towards prejudices, very chilly to general theories, loftily disdainful to men of a principle. .... It is, however, only too easy to understand how a journal, existing for a day, should limit its view to the possibilities of the day, and how, being most closely affected by the particular, it should coldly turn its back on all that is general.<sup>4</sup>

Morley's criticism reflected his own experience and tastes as the editor of a more weighty and considered monthly publication. During his days at the Pall Mall, he would especially deplore the increasing "Americanization" of the English press with its introduction of the sensational.

Such was the opposite of the manner in which Morley both wrote and edited the Pall Mall. In the early 'nineties, after he had left the paper, E.T. Cook wrote an account of his impressions of the Gazette. He wrote how it had delighted readers at Oxford, "with its grave, philosophical radicalism, its deliberate and weighty reviews, and its subdued style." Cook testified how

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<sup>3</sup> Special Correspondence: "A Bull in a China Shop," The Nation (N.Y.), 6 Aug. 1885, vol. 41, no. 1049 (July-Dec. 1885), p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> John Morley, On Compromise, pp. 32-34.

the paper profoundly influenced particular issues and the world of practical politics with its restrained manner and its application of general doctrines, philosophically arrived at.<sup>5</sup> Morley's principle of conducting the newspaper encouraged additional formality in that he enlisted experts when the need arose.<sup>6</sup> As shall be seen, his method contrasted markedly with that of his successor, who propounded the idea that the journalist interprets the knowledge of the few for the understanding of the many, and who stressed a lighter, more popular level of writing.

Readers with an appreciation for the intellectual savored the literary qualities and philosophic tone of Morley's paper, but there must have been many persons as well who considered it above their tastes. Speaking in early 1886 Lord Randolph Churchill said: "...while Mr. Morley was connected with the Pall Mall Gazette and the Fortnightly Review both ...were conducted with much ability, but the general opinion was that they were decidedly dull."<sup>7</sup> H.W. Massingham, unlike Churchill, was a Radical Liberal and therefore inclined to be less biased; he was a prominent newsman as well, and he wrote: "Mr. Morley's essay-like leaders, written with less warmth of colour than his best literary work, but models of pure and nervous English, were read, but his paper was not."<sup>8</sup>

At least several of the Pall Mall's staff were critical of their chief's policies, although they did not give vent to their thoughts at the time. Stead

<sup>5</sup> Cook, cited Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 155; also J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook K.B.E., p. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>7</sup> "Lord Randolph Churchill on Irish Policy," P.M.G., 15 Feb. 1886, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The Great London Dailies. The Penny Evening Papers --- The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 607.

later wrote:

Mr. Morley's mental characteristic is not agility, but solidity.

This lack of nimbleness of mind was a drawback to Mr. Morley as an editor of a daily paper. He was not a born journalist. He was deficient in the range of his sympathies. No power on earth could command Mr. Morley's interest in three-fourths of the matter that fills the papers. He is an intellectual aristocrat. He looked down with infinite contempt on most of the trifles that interest the British tomfool, as the general reader used sometimes to be playfully designated when considerations of management clashed with editorial aspirations. He had no eye for news, and he was totally devoid of the journalistic instinct.

Aaron Watson wrote of Morley's austerity that he "would have made the Pall Mall Gazette a daily Fortnightly Review."<sup>10</sup>

That many contributors could not be identified was a factor which rendered the Pall Mall's highly intellectual style unappealing to the average reader. At first thought, it may appear puzzling that Morley had not introduced the signed article into the Pall Mall in consideration of his concurrent connection with the Fortnightly. The latter review had earlier spearheaded the crusade against anonymous journalism. Nevertheless, Morley took no action in this respect in the daily. The reason for his continuing the practice of the unsigned article was evident if reference is made to a paper he contributed to the early Fortnightly. He had noted that there was practically no anonymity for the leading writers in the major journals, the Pall Mall included. The general public, perhaps, did not know their instructors, but each writer had a circle of friends who knew what he wrote. It was their

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<sup>9</sup> Stead, "The Right Hon. John Morley, M.P.," Review of Reviews, vol. 2 (October 1890), p. 430.

<sup>10</sup> Aaron Watson, A Newspaper Man's Memories, p. 68.

opinion that the writer remained responsible to. Morley concluded: "It is, for one thing, because they are thus in fact not anonymous that their general tone is so respectable."<sup>11</sup> As long as Morley could account for intellectual integrity, he never seriously considered the question of popular appeal, or the reputation of the nascent writer.

As mentioned, Morley desired to stress other considerations and to prevent the Pall Mall from assuming the tone of a purely political organ. The editor when absent from the paper wrote to Stead, "Only on the hardest compulsion should there be a word of politics after pages 5 or 6 ..." and complained of Stead's having printed "twice too much politics." A later communication when Morley was on another trip complained because his assistant was writing two leaders a day in his absence.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of Morley's studied effort to restrict the paper's political role, the Pall Mall never abandoned its traditional character as a forum of independent opinion. It continued to publish lengthy communications of all shades of opinion in its correspondence page. Like many of the paper's longer articles, such letters often appeared over the well-known ciphers of famous persons, and undoubtedly were recognized and stimulated conversation in many a club. At the same time, Morley did not solicit and actively encourage contributions by extending prominent space to guest writers in the manner his successor would.

In its specialized role as a party organ, the Pall Mall found itself curtailed at first on a number of accounts. At this stage, although there

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<sup>11</sup> John Morley, "Anonymous Journalism," Fortnightly Review, n.s. vol. 12 (Sept. 1867), p. 290.

<sup>12</sup> Correspondence: John Morley to William Stead, 6 Aug. 1881 and 18 Aug. 1882, cited Stead, "The Right Hon. John Morley, M.P.," Review of Reviews, vol. 2 (Oct. 1890), pp. 431-432.

existed no doubt as to the shade of Morley's political convictions, he had not yet become the all-out partisan of Gladstone that he was destined to become.<sup>13</sup> A second consideration that restrained the Pall Mall's ardor was that, in the early 'eighties, the Liberal party was becoming increasingly concerned with national opinion and was known to be looking more and more to the provincial press. Morley himself was to concur at an early date with the general sentiments of his party in this respect,<sup>14</sup> and it caused him initially to question the effective role that the P.M.G. could play. Another important influence steering Morley and the Pall Mall away from an active political role was the consideration that neither he, nor Radicalism at large, had a body of political principles that could be called a system or creed. He wrote no detailed resume of his editorship of the Pall Mall; but it may be assumed that if he had done so, it would not have been unlike the "Valedictory" he wrote upon leaving the Fortnightly in the fall of 1882. Morley owned that the Fortnightly had not been able to serve as an organ of systematic and constructive policy. Admittedly, its original scheme dictated that it strive for diversity of content, but its role was made all the more difficult by the fact that a systematic body of Radical thought did not exist. As Morley had written not many months previous, modern Liberals had no comprehensive philosophy such as the Benthamites had possessed sixty years earlier.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Sirdar Ali Khan, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>14</sup> "English Journalism --- I," The Nation (N.Y.), vol. 31 (22 July 1880), pp. 59-60.

<sup>15</sup> Morley, "Valedictory," Fortnightly, n.s. vol. 190 (Oct. 1882), pp. 520-521. See also Morley's "The Life of James Mill," Fortnightly, n.s. vol. 31 (April 1882), pp. 503-504.

## II. POLITICS

Despite Morley's care not to devote too much space to politics, the Pall Mall fulfilled a distinctive political role. During the three and a half years that Morley controlled it, the paper became recognized as perhaps the ablest supporter of the Liberal government.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, the paper defended with growing strength the role that the "new Radicalism" was increasingly exerting upon the policies of the cabinet. By 1883 the newly-founded Conservative journal the National Review paid tribute to the P.M.G. as the most thoughtful organ for the expression of the new Radicalism.<sup>17</sup> In the National's opinion, the Pall Mall's highly intellectual and theoretical nature set it apart from the essentially religious and Nonconformist Radicalism which found its ideal type in the editor of the Spectator. It thought that the Pall Mall's Radicalism differed from a third type, the shrewdly common-sense practical politics of which Joseph Chamberlain represented the ideal. The National Review recorded that the latter school, though far superior numerically to the other types of Radicalism, nevertheless looked to the Pall Mall for intellectual justification. In doing so, it sought to give an aura of respectability to conduct "that ... [had been] entered upon for reasons quite other than philosophical."<sup>18</sup>

The foregoing sketches the role that the Pall Mall fulfilled in general terms. The newspaper deserves more studied examination for its support of Liberalism at large, as well as for the way in which it aided the rise of

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<sup>16</sup> The Nation (N.Y.), vol. 41, no. 1051 (20 Aug. 1885), pp. 14-15.

<sup>17</sup> W.H. Mallock, "Radicalism and the People," National Review, no. 1 (March 1883), pp. 107-108; Mallock, "The Radicalism of the Market-Place," National Review, no. 4 (June 1883), pp. 529-530.

<sup>18</sup> Mallock, op. cit., no. 1, pp. 107-108.

Chamberlain, the manner in which it assisted the new Radicals to formulate certain basic tenets in lieu of a definite party program at this time and for the way in which it reflected its editor's related beliefs.

The victorious Liberals of 1880 were a diverse collection of interests, both old and new. Held together by the authority and prestige of Gladstone, the party suffered from both a lack of a definite program and ideological divisions within the cabinet. While he was advanced in his views on constitutional reform, Gladstone remained hesitant in the field of social reform. At one extreme, Lord Hartington pursued an aloof course followed by his adherents who represented a dying Whig tradition. At the other extreme, Joseph Chamberlain represented a new Radicalism. He and his ally Sir Charles Dilke, who remained outside the cabinet, were beginning to respond to a new interest in social problems and in imperial and colonial affairs. The new more social and interventionist policies of the new Radicalism differed from the traditional program of the Nonconformist Old Guard, still headed by John Bright, and which tended to stress political or constitutional reform at home and "nonintervention" abroad.

Against this diverse background, Morley did not find it an easy chore to conduct the P.M.G. as a ministerial organ. In his hands the paper started as a strong exponent of the views of Gladstone and the Radical wing. The program it supported included domestic reform and international duty as set out by Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign speeches.<sup>19</sup> At an early date, the paper confidently predicted that "the whole tone of the Administration ought

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<sup>19</sup> H.R. Fox Bourne, English Newspapers, ii, 342.

to be of buoyant life and movement."<sup>20</sup> Such optimism on the paper's part soon dissipated in the face of the government's general ineffectiveness. This resulted chiefly from cabinet divisions, but the obstructionist tactics of the "Fourth Party" of Lord Randolph Churchill as well as of the Irish and the Lords contributed to the deadlock. Despite the poor record of the Liberals, which disappointed many of their most ardent followers, the Pall Mall continued to accord the government its loyal support. It worked constantly to reconcile cabinet divisions, and it strongly attacked the elements that were obstructing the ministry from without. In its constant support, the paper was often hard-pressed to herald the "accomplishments" of generally barren sessions.<sup>21</sup>

The Pall Mall's concerted defence of the governmental program reached its lowest ebb in early 1883. In anticipation of better results for the prospective session, the paper recorded how "In 1880 ... the ministerial program was more faithfully carried out than in either 1881 or 1882."<sup>22</sup> Gladstone was successful in carrying an Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill in 1880, a Burial Act to relieve Nonconformists, a Ground Game Act and an Employers' Liability Bill. The year 1881 had seen the passing of the Irish Land Act, and 1882, bills on private law concerning married women's property, settled land transfer, municipal corporations and bills of exchange. The Pall Mall's leading article concluded by listing the many bills that the gov-

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<sup>20</sup> "The Prime Minister," P.M.G., 20 May 1880, pp. 1-2.

<sup>21</sup> e.g. "The Fruitfulness of a Barren Session," P.M.G., 20 Nov. 1882, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> "The Fourth Session," P.M.G., 15 Feb. 1883, p. 1.

ernment was attempting, in 1883, to carry from previous sessions --- many of them for a third time. These included bills on Bankruptcy, Corrupt Practices, Irish County Government, Rivers Conservancy, County Boards, London Municipal Government, Criminal Code and Patents. The Pall Mall had consistently supported these measures, especially as many were of Radical inspiration.

By the end of the fourth session Morley assumed a more sanguine note. Bills passed in 1883 included Chamberlain's carrying of Bankruptcy and Patent Acts, and the Attorney General, a Corrupt Practices Act. In the final leader that he wrote before leaving the Pall Mall for the more active life of politics, Morley paid special tribute to the lead provided by the Radical wing. He justified his constant support of the Radicals in the columns of the P.M.G. by writing: "It is the new Radical wing ... which at first was bidden to take a lower place, that has made the most mark on the policies of the present government."<sup>23</sup> Morley made special mention of the lead provided by his friend Chamberlain as well as by Dilke and Trevelyan, who were playing increasingly active roles by 1883. Nevertheless, even now he conceded the need for the more conservative party elements, and commended Hartington's record since the latter had moved into a closer accord with party thought.

This new Radicalism which was beginning to come to the fore strongly by 1883 both in parliament and in the cabinet looked to earlier origins. A decade earlier, Joseph Chamberlain had undertaken to broaden the issue of Nonconformist education by weaving together the separate strands of three chief Radical grievances: the Church, the land and education. From that time on, Cham-

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<sup>23</sup> "Three Years of Liberal Administration," P.M.G., 25 Aug. 1883, p. 1.

berlain's program slowly evolved to include a general attack on class privilege.

In his capacity as editor of the Fortnightly, Morley had greatly furthered the objectives of the new "third party" by providing Chamberlain space in that journal's columns. At this time, in the mid-'seventies, Chamberlain was serving as the reforming mayor of Birmingham, but was little known elsewhere. The Fortnightly was the first journal to feature the signed article, and Morley thereby ensured the making of Chamberlain's name. There soon developed between the two an association that Morley was to describe as "brotherly."<sup>24</sup> The two complemented one another's deficiencies. Chamberlain's confidence and strength of purpose gained from the world of affairs undoubtedly more than balanced Morley's diffident intellectualism, yet the latter served as an ideal mentor in theoretical considerations.

Chamberlain made the Pall Mall Gazette his newspaper organ upon joining the Liberal administration in 1880. In his own papers; Chamberlain recorded that in this manoeuver, he enjoyed the support of the Liberal cabinet, which was attempting to cement its relationship with the fourth estate.<sup>25</sup> In truth, Gladstone found Chamberlain's newspaper connections, which also extended to the Conservative Standard as well as the Birmingham Daily Post, obnoxious, and the more moderate Liberals detested them.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, in return for an occasional supply of confidential information from Chamberlain, Morley supported the Radical leader's position throughout many a disagreement between cabinet

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<sup>24</sup> Peter Fraser, Joseph Chamberlain, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Joseph Chamberlain, A Political Memoir: 1880-92, p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> J.L. Garvin, The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, i, 307.

factions. Morley considered himself to be obligated to Chamberlain in a more personal sense as well since the latter had recently lent him a sum to help in the completion of his Life of Cobden. This amount, Morley promptly repaid on the completion of his book.<sup>27</sup> Morley not only kept in close touch with Chamberlain, but he also communicated frequently with Chamberlain's political ally, Dilke,<sup>28</sup> who remained until late 1882 outside the cabinet.

From late 1881 onwards, rumor spread that Chamberlain and his Radical "tail" of the Liberal party were preparing a subversive and revolutionary budget. By early 1882 opinion in more conservative quarters stiffened against his work to create the National Liberal Federation, an American-style "caucus" of local associations. The Times created an atmosphere of apprehension and exaggeration. The Saturday Review claimed that power had gone over to "mobs and the caucus."<sup>29</sup> The Pall Mall exerted itself to deny such charges, claiming rumors that Chamberlain did not subscribe to the party's program were false. It also examined in detail the bogey of the caucus.<sup>30</sup>

The Pall Mall found itself particularly pressed to defend Chamberlain's growing vociferousness during the parliamentary session of 1883. For this year marked for him one of full recovery and powerful advance following difficulties over his position within the cabinet in late 1882 as well as over his stands on Ireland and on Egypt. The paper had strongly defended him during these crises. Early in the session of 1883 the P.M.G. strove to stress

<sup>27</sup> Garvin, op. cit., p. 342.

<sup>28</sup> Garvin, op. cit., p. 307.

<sup>29</sup> "Weak Counsel and Needless Alarms," P.M.G., 2 March 1882, p. 1; "The Ministry and its Foes," P.M.G., 21 Jan. 1882, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> "At Birmingham Last Night," P.M.G., 6 Jan. 1882, p. 1; "Weak Counsel and Needless Alarms," P.M.G., 2 March 1882, p. 1; "The Cant About the Caucus," P.M.G., 4 March 1882, pp. 1-2.

the accord that existed between the Radical leader and the rest of the cabinet.<sup>31</sup> At the end of March, Chamberlain uttered his famous indictment of the upper classes. Throughout the spring and summer in platform engagements he commenced his cry for constructive Radicalism based on a widened franchise. This program brought him into conflict with many Liberals, and the Pall Mall sought to maintain party harmony and to emphasize the willingness of cabinet moderates to accept his views.<sup>32</sup> In June, Chamberlain's demagoguery electrified England when he declared that the country was becoming more radical and democratic. The Pall Mall on this occasion stressed the transiitiveness of the storm that was rising and predicted that it would soon pass.<sup>33</sup> Finally, in July, Morley studiously defended Chamberlain against the outcry of the press. The editor pointed out that Chamberlain's judgement, will and capacity had gained him popular support. The journalist also contrasted these qualities to the actions of the main part of the party in "this bewildering time" and stressed the Radical leader's consistency.<sup>34</sup>

The Pall Mall from late 1882 onwards after Gladstone added Dilke to the cabinet assumed an even stronger stand in support of Radicalism. It welcomed Dilke's appointment in a lengthy editorial and defended the little band of Radicals against the Daily News' onslaughts.<sup>35</sup> The Pall Mall elaborated at some length on the policy that the Radicals should follow. It advocated the

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<sup>31</sup> "The Prospects of a 'Quiet Session,'" P.M.G., 2 Feb. 1883, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> e.g. "The Duke of Argyll and Mr. Chamberlain," P.M.G., 16 April 1883, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> "Old and New," P.M.G., 15 June 1883, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> "Mr. Chamberlain," P.M.G., 2 July 1883, pp. 1-2.

<sup>35</sup> "Sir Charles Dilke," P.M.G., 26 Dec. 1882, p. 1; "Sir Charles Dilke on Party Permeation," P.M.G., 6 Jan. 1883, p. 1.

practice of "permeation," which Dilke had so successfully employed in the past to influence Liberal thinking at large.

Such editorial advice pointed to the relative weakness of the Radicals in numbers, their general inability to work together and their failure to agree on a program. In early 1882 Morley had defended the new Radicalism in the Pall Mall against charges that it was not the logical successor to the program of the earlier Radicals. Morley had stressed the pragmatic nature of the new creed and claimed that its very dynamism was ever leading it on to new goals.<sup>36</sup> Such a tenuous defence left much to be desired. The paper's editor undoubtedly looked forward with high anticipation to the formulation of a definite Radical program. Though Chamberlain would inform him in May of 1883 that such a program was being planned,<sup>37</sup> its appearance in late 1883 and early 1884 was not scheduled to aid Morley in his days at the Pall Mall. Throughout Morley's editorship Radicalism lacked a creed.

As indicated by the pages of the Pall Mall, the school did subscribe to certain basic tenets. In welcoming Dilke's cabinet appointment the paper summed up much of Radicalism's aims. It noted with approval his excellent record in the field of municipal reform, an ideal preparation for his new post of heading Local Government. The paper also paid tribute to his awareness of the great social problems of town populations as well as of the rural laborer.<sup>38</sup> The paper's explicit statement was typical of its constant watch on labor unions,

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<sup>36</sup> "Anti Radicalisms," P.M.G., 24 Feb. 1882, pp. 1-2.

<sup>37</sup> Correspondence: Joseph Chamberlain to John Morley, 19 May 1883, cited Garvin, Life of Chamberlain, i, 391.

<sup>38</sup> "Sir Charles Dilke," P.M.G., 26 Dec. 1882, p. 1.

London government, poor law administration, education and land reform.

Nonetheless, in contrast especially to its later days under William Stead, the Pall Mall indicated a noticeable lack of depth in practical application and inquiry into social problems. This reflected Morley's tendency to prefer theoretical to practical matters. The editor remained strongly influenced by the general principles of the teachings of especially the younger Mill as well as the Positivists. As shall be seen in the chapter that follows, during Morley's last years the paper did mount a number of dramatic inquiries into outstanding social problems. The person who accounted for these newer policies was Morley's assistant Stead. The latter would later criticize Morley's range as did such other critics of Liberal sympathies as H.W. Massingham and Emile de Laveleye.<sup>39</sup>

The Pall Mall's vague and preoccupied stand on the social question can also be attributed to its support of Radicalism's central tenet at this stage that land reform lay at the heart of the matter. Success in this program would render it unnecessary to look to other problems to any great extent. The Pall Mall, like the other recognized Radical journal, the Spectator, had assumed a strong lead on the land question. Here, Morley's thought closely paralleled that of Chamberlain. The paper had raced far ahead of general Liberal sentiment as expressed in early 1881 by both the administration and such moderate journals as the Edinburgh Review and Economist.<sup>40</sup> Morley warmly welcomed the recommendations of the Irish land Commission that certain limitations

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<sup>39</sup> W.T. Stead, "Sir Alfred Milner: A Character Sketch," The Young Man, Nov. 1897, p. 372; H.W. Massingham, "Morley the Humanist," Fortnightly, n.s. vol. 683 (Nov. 1923), p. 697.

<sup>40</sup> "Two Important Items," P.M.G., 19 Jan. 1881, p. 1; "The Government and Peasant Proprietorships," Economist, 15 Jan. 1881, p. 3.

be placed on the rights of landlords. The editor drew implications of a larger nature from the report. He outlined in detail how land was not a free commodity and how this concession modified the entire concept of traditional political economy. The Pall Mall's philosophic prognostication proved highly accurate. For, several years hence, Chamberlain's ambitious program would extend the general principle of the regulation of property to enforce its duties farther when he extended his thinking to both the unearned increment of land in towns as well as to other forms of wealth.

In the meantime, the Radicals continued to draw a sharp distinction between their own plans to make the free economy function more effectively and fairly, and the plans of Socialists who were recommending the "plunder" of land nationalization. Radical suspicions were heightened by late 1882 in light of the increasing interest that London workingmen were taking in Socialism against the background of the Irish question. By this time, both Chamberlain and Morley had come to react against the teachings of Marxian Socialism in a strong manner, the editor referring to it in private as "shrieking Liberalism."<sup>41</sup>

Thus Morley opened the pages of the Pall Mall to the reasoned contributions of a number of distinguished critics of Socialism in 1882 and 1883. Leslie Stephen provided the paper with its most extensive critique when he contributed a series of articles pointing out the shortcomings of Henry George's single tax theories.<sup>42</sup> Soon after, the paper published several lengthy articles

<sup>41</sup> Fraser, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>42</sup> "The New Gospel of Agrarian Socialism," -II- P.M.G., 10 Nov. 1882, pp. 1-2; III - P.M.G., 15 Nov. 1882, pp. 4-5; III - P.M.G., 2 Dec. 1882, p. 2.

written by Chamberlain himself. These appeared under the signature "E," and argued strongly against the doctrines of Alfred Wallace and George that the land problem accounted for all pauperism.<sup>43</sup> Another distinguished contributor who took part in the paper's crusade against collectivism was the Positivist, Frederic Harrison. His counsel closely paralleled that of Morley who constantly admonished unionists to avoid jeopardizing their hard-won gains over the questions of social reform and land nationalization.<sup>44</sup>

To Radical thinking, the central constitutional objective remained the reform of the House of Lords in order to clear the path for the coming democracy, for from this would naturally follow more practical reforms such as county government and franchise extension. In order to counter the recalcitrance of the Lords, who were currently harrying Liberal measures already in progress, the Pall Mall issued in 1881 its factual little booklet entitled "Fifty Years of the House of Lords." The seven articles, which had earlier appeared in the paper, formed the basis of the extra-parliamentary agitation that swept the country between 1881 and the passing of the third Reform Act in 1884. The storm of controversy it stimulated was made evident by the many references to it in other journals.

During the session of 1882 Chamberlain took a direct interest in a related question of constitutional import. In the belief that majority rule must predominate in a democratic forum, he led his own personal program to carry new rules of closure in the face of Irish obstruction of parliamentary debate. The P.M.G. lent this movement an intellectual justification through-

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<sup>43</sup> "Short Notes on Land Nationalization," I - P.M.G., 24 Jan. 1883, pp. 1-2; II - P.M.G., 29 Jan. 1883, pp. 1-2. The articles were written by Chamberlain with aid from Arthur Chamberlain.

<sup>44</sup> "The Nationalization of the Land," By Frederic Harrison, P.M.G., 28 Sept. 1883, pp. 1-2.

out its successful course. The paper reversed its strong opposition of a year earlier, and featured an elaborate question and answer "Catechism of the Closure," which appeared early in the campaign and skilfully refuted the many objections raised against the measure.<sup>45</sup>

On the question of religion, Radicalism as expressed in the P.M.G. remained neutral. This did not mean that men like Chamberlain and Morley were lacking what they considered a larger creed. Though a non-believer like his friend, Morley regarded the religious, or "spiritual," question as the supreme issue of politics.<sup>46</sup> In this spirit, he had written his work on Voltaire, and was in the future to treat Cromwell. Morley summed up his attitude in an article which appeared in the Pall Mall on "Toleration as a Religion," and in which he traced the historical genesis of the concept.<sup>47</sup> Earlier, several dispassionate articles had appeared discussing in highly theoretical terms the advantages a non-established church enjoyed under the law and which made for its independence.<sup>48</sup> Yet Morley carefully refrained from calling for Disestablishment.

Concerning the issues of external and colonial policy, Radicalism possessed no hard and fast rules. At this transitional stage, imperialism was exerting its growing influence upon Chamberlain, and especially Dilke. Yet its hold on most Radical minds was not yet in evidence. Morley, in particular, remained until the late 'eighties, a confirmed "little Englander." As he wrote in the

<sup>45</sup> "A Catechism of the Closure," P.M.G., 16 Feb. 1882, pp. 1-2.

<sup>46</sup> Fraser, op. cit., p. 25.

<sup>47</sup> "Toleration as a Religion," P.M.G., 20 Sept. 1883, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> see especially "The Price of a Church Establishment," P.M.G., 13 Jan. 1881, p. 1.

paper, England must first be strengthened at home as a preliminary to expansion abroad.<sup>49</sup> The editor's reluctance to advocate interventionist policies drew inspiration as well from his almost Positivistic belief in the integrity of race and nationality, a view which justified his stand as a passionate champion of minorities.<sup>50</sup> In this tenor, he set the Pall Mall to opposing Britain's expansion into the Transvaal, as well as her intervention in the affairs of Egypt in 1882. Morley also wrote that so long as Britain continued her rivalry with Russia on Afghan soil, which came within Russia's natural sphere of interest, British interests there would continue to be harassed. Concerning Britain's relations with the powers of Europe, Morley firmly condemned participation in Continental alliances.<sup>51</sup> His mildly pro-German attitude and his superficial appreciation of France, surprising in light of his works on her earlier history, caused him to withhold journalistic sympathy from this sister Liberal nation.<sup>52</sup>

The above discussion has outlined the main tenets of the paper's Radicalism. Morley's real and main field of interest in politics remained that of Ireland. The number of leaders that the P.M.G. carried on this subject often crowded out its treatment of other political considerations. Indeed, Stead thought that this was the only matter in which Morley passionately interested himself.<sup>53</sup> In time, Morley's great interest in this subject was to reap its

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<sup>49</sup> "Anti Radicalisms," P.M.G., 24 Feb. 1882, pp. 1-2.

<sup>50</sup> Fraser, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>51</sup> "England and her Allies," P.M.G., 19 Dec. 1882, p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> see especially T.H.S. Escott, "John Morley," Fortnightly, n.s. no. 683 (Nov. 1923), p. 712.

<sup>53</sup> Stead, "John Morley, M.P.," Review of Reviews, vol. 2 (Oct. 1890), p. 429.

brief reward when Gladstone appointed him to the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1886, during the short-lived Liberal administration of that year.

Under Morley's direction, the paper followed a singularly independent line on the Irish question. The editor's reasoned and lengthy discussions provided a fair and moderate review of this inflammatory subject as Stead realized when he reprinted many of them as an extra in 1886. Yet in all of his days at the Pall Mall, Morley never committed the paper to Home Rule, although he became an early convert soon after leaving the paper.

During his first year or so at the P.M.G. Morley adhered to the strong lead of Chamberlain and Bright who were maintaining, in contrast to the generally undecided attitude of most Radicals, that "force [was] no remedy." A large number of letters constantly travelled between Chamberlain and the editor to apprise one another of developments, although the two were often upset by the exigencies of daily journalism in their efforts to coordinate their thinking.<sup>54</sup> In following the course of the Radical leaders, the Pall Mall pursued a policy that contrasted markedly with the vast majority of the Metropolitan press, which was calling for coercion and urging members to support the cabinet in bringing in such a measure.<sup>55</sup>

Before it became the exponent of systematic terrorism, the Land League enjoyed Morley's strong approbation. In the Positivist tradition, he drew favorable comparison between its constructive activities and those of the trades unions, themselves but recently recognized as being of a responsible and beneficial character.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> cited Garvin, op. cit., i, 343-44.

<sup>55</sup> Such was the observation of the South Wales Daily News: cited "Epitome of Opinion," P.M.G., 12 Jan. 1881, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> "A Contrast," P.M.G., 15 Sept. 1881, p. 1.

By October of 1881 Chamberlain had undergone one of the reorientations of his career. His earlier opposition to coercion had stemmed from his desire to give fair redress to what he considered legitimate agricultural grievances. When Parnell incited the Irish to repudiate rent and landlordism, the Birmingham leader swung around and endorsed the arrest of the Irish leaders. Morley did not share his friend's approval of this action and he denounced it in the Pall Mall. When Chamberlain soon after publicly and vehemently identified with a policy of coercion and stated his belief in the permanence of the Union, Morley swerved temporarily from his usual path to cover for his friend. But, as Stead later wrote: "notwithstanding his faith in Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Morley never conceded in his most apologetic articles, his inner conviction that the policy of Coercion was a mistake...."<sup>57</sup>

Morley soon continued in his original policy of opposing coercion, a line of thought in which he was to adhere to for the remainder of his editorship, although with diminishing strength. He later justified his action on the ground "that it [coercion] would prove ineffective for its own special purpose, and would prejudice besides the reception of remedial legislation."<sup>58</sup> Thus Morley harried the government without being as solid in positive advice as he proved in censure.

The paper's most decisive action on Ireland took place in the spring of 1882. In April Chamberlain reached an accord with the imprisoned Parnell to release him if he would make the land act workable. As Irish Secretary, William Forster opposed Chamberlain within the cabinet in his own desire to maintain in effect strongly repressive measures. At this stage, Morley entered

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<sup>57</sup> "A Kick for a Kiss," P.M.G., 25 March 1887, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> Viscount Morley, Recollections, i, 173.

the picture and in a series of brilliant articles that appeared in the Pall Mall, argued that Ireland had genuine grievances for which force was no remedy. The Liberal press, with scarcely an exception followed the cue of the P.M.G. The Conservative organs felt little obligation to defend Forster from his own party.<sup>59</sup> In May, the views of Chamberlain, so ably publicized by Morley, prevailed. Forster resigned when the cabinet failed to renew Irish coercion and released the Irish leaders. Yet, as Chamberlain later communicated to Morley, the support of the Pall Mall, independently tendered as it was, actually worked against his own position in the cabinet.<sup>60</sup>

Soon after this, Morley was deeply affected by the assassination of Forster's replacement, Frederick Cavendish, in Phoenix Park, Dublin. Still, even in the face of such shocking acts of Fenian violence, the paper attempted to maintain a civilized tone. Stable government for Ireland rather than sensationalism remained Morley's chief interest as editor of the Pall Mall. In a sense, he foresaw more than most persons that the stalemate of Ireland would eventually produce pressures for an attempt at remedial legislation. Such legislation might prove fateful to the Liberal party's unity, as he realized and gave expression to in a final editorial of his career at the P.M.G.<sup>61</sup>

### III. CONCLUSION

As editor of the Pall Mall Gazette between 1880 and 1883 John Morley commenced by adhering unswervingly to his own strong strictures to maintain

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<sup>59</sup> S.J. Reid, ed., Memóirs of Sir Wemyss Reid, p. 320.

<sup>60</sup> Correspondence: Chamberlain to Morley, 12 April 1882, cited Garvin, op. cit., i, 361.

<sup>61</sup> "Three Years of Liberal Administration," P.M.G., 25 Aug. 1883, p. 1.

the high literary and educational nature of the journal as had been bequeathed him from the Greenwood era. He succeeded admirably in this task and brought the paper to the highest reputation it was to enjoy in its entire fifty-eight year existence.

When he first arrived at the Pall Mall in 1880, Morley was not yet a strong personal adherent of Gladstone, and this was reflected in his desire to keep the political coverage of the newspaper from becoming over-dominant. Yet, during the four tortuous years of Liberal administration that followed, the journal gained a widespread reputation as one of the ablest supporters of the wavering ministry.

The increasing support of the P.M.G. for the Gladstonian Liberals reflected Morley's parallel pilgrimage which was taking him out of the cloistered editorial sanctum and into the arena of active politics. Early in 1883 a by-election returned him as M.P. for Newcastle. His years as editor of a daily paper had served as an ideal apprenticeship for this new role in that they had brought him into ready contact with the problems of practical politics.

The Pall Mall's growing support of the Liberal cause paralleled the increasingly active role played by the Radical wing of the party. Though the paper promoted all factions of Liberalism, the sympathies of its editor undoubtedly lay closest to the rising wing of new Radicals. The constant and continuing support of the paper for the latter school must have proved of particular consequence, since throughout this period they lacked a defined political program. Without a doubt, the highly-reasoned, almost overly abstruse prose of Morley's leaders exerted its strong influence in rallying the adherents of Radicalism, who remained loosely-organized in a doctrinal sense, to

an intellectual meeting-place.

Throughout Morley's editorship, the P.M.G. retained its strong reputation for influencing political life in a direct and reasonably objective manner. At a much later date, Morley would survey his career and note the relative strength of the press as it manifested itself during his own days in journalism, as compared to its twentieth century counterpart.<sup>62</sup> In the speech in which he announced his resignation from the P.M.G., the editor also summed up another great quality of the newspaper. He said: "There was always one thing that the public could be sure about the Pall Mall Gazette ... they could be quite sure that we knew our own minds."<sup>63</sup> His judgement held true if some allowance was made for the paper's strong Radical inclination. Yet, this bias was not always evident, for Morley generally followed his own sentiments in questions of conscience, as exemplified by his strong stands concerning external affairs, and especially the Irish question. On issues of social polity, the editor might have, in light of his independent and humanistic character, directed the paper into a more active, prodding role, but here he fell the victim of his own set of mind. Humanitarian as it was on theoretical questions, it prevented him both as journalist and later as politician, from realizing a great opportunity to head the latent movement that was leading Manchester Liberalism into the social Liberalism of the 'nineties.

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<sup>62</sup> "A Talk With Lord Morley," The Times, 25 Sept. 1923, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> cited Aaron Watson, A Newspaper Man's Memories, p. 102.

## CHAPTER IV

### WILLIAM STEAD: INFLUENCES THAT SHAPED HIM

A not unsympathetic critic of Stead's Pall Mall said in the summer of 1885 that the paper had a number of strong attributes:

...a narrow but direct and unflinching view of public questions; a provincial unconventionalism and contempt for the convenances of metropolitan journalism; uncompromising adherence to the editor's personal views in despite, or even contempt of all party considerations or advantages; puritanical vigor in questions of morality, and as nearly inflexible independence of all views on all questions as is possible to the editor of a paper owned by another person. Add to this a north country energy and obstinacy and brusqueness, and a very shrewd eye to business in the function of the journalist, a sensational vein, and some other qualities of popular American journalism, and (in the opinion of many critics) a want of responsibility, but which seems to me rather an honest, even if overweening, sense of the importance of his own views, which is more or less the consequence of a provincial career and the want of the broadening effect of metropolitan life and labor --- and you have what I think enough to explain all the evolutions of the Pall Mall Gazette under its present management.<sup>1</sup>

William Stead had made his influence known during Morley's generally staid editorship. Though he proved highly effective in containing Stead's strong personality, Morley had not been able to keep the Pall Mall's pages entirely free from the permeating influence of his deputy. In contrast with his superior, Stead concerned himself not with theoretical considerations, but with the full range of human existence. In this pursuit, Stead drew inspiration from the

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<sup>1</sup> "A Bull in a China Shop," Special Correspondence to The Nation (N.Y.), 6 Aug. 1885, vol. 41 (July-Dec. 1885), p. 111.

crust of bread that had been given Greenwood's brother on that famous earlier occasion, and which had been preserved under glass in the office of the P.M.G. He drew as well on the energies provided by his own strong social conscience. His development as a truly humanitarian "new Liberal" evinced itself on a number of occasions in Morley's Pall Mall, even before he succeeded to its direction in person.

Beginning in 1882, Stead directed a number of sensational and highly successful exposures that appeared in the paper's pages. The first of these detailed examinations drew attention to the inadequate morgue situation in London and resulted in a reform of the mortuary system.<sup>2</sup> Soon after, the paper published several articles that dealt with the "fighting gangs" that inhabited London's underworld, whose existence the police had denied.<sup>3</sup> A third subject to which the paper directed the attention of its readers concerned the disgraceful condition of the housing of workingmen in London.<sup>4</sup> This marked the first enunciation of the great cry for artisan housing that was soon to exert its influence upon Radical policy and thought. Finally, in the fall of 1882, Stead's interest sparked an inquiry into the inadequate manner in which wounded soldiers had been treated during the Egyptian campaign and on the voyage home.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Aaron Watson, A Newspaper Man's Memories, p. 113; "The Morgues of London," P.M.G., 2 March 1882, pp. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> "The Fighting Gangs of London," P.M.G., 14 March 1882, pp. 1-2; "London Brigands and Their Methods," P.M.G., 25 March 1882, pp. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> "The Housing of the Poor in Great Cities," P.M.G., 27 April 1882, pp. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> "The Return from Egypt," P.M.G., 5 Oct. 1882, pp. 1-2.

In his role as managing editor under Morley, Stead exerted his influence in other ways as well. On occasion the paper featured articles which examined such diverse topics of human interest as poor law administration, workingmen's clubs and the little-known activities of University Extension. Stead also extended constant publicity to the movement which sought the repeal of the Communicable Diseases Act --- a measure which worked indignities on many an innocent woman unfortunate enough to be suspected by the authorities. Despite the offence it gave to the paper's owner,<sup>6</sup> the Pall Mall conducted a ready defence of the activities of the Salvation Army, which were currently coming under strong criticism from the majority of the press in light of the sensations stemming from the "Salvation Wars." The paper's strong and consistent support of William Booth owed perhaps more to Stead's enthusiasm for the movement, than it did to Morley's more rational devotion to religious toleration.<sup>7</sup>

In the spring of 1883 the P.M.G. featured several distinctive leaders that clearly foreshadowed the new Radicalism's increasing interest in social problems. They were written in a style highly suggestive of Stead's crusading editorials of a later date, and they called on the Conservative party to adopt a policy that was deeper than the merely political --- one that would embody the social politics of the earlier Disraeli, and look "beyond political catchwords and shibboleths."<sup>8</sup> As the autumn came on, and Morley slowly withdrew his influence from the paper, Stead's strong opinions on social issues

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<sup>6</sup> John Boon, Victorians, Edwardians, and Georgians: the Impressions of a Veteran Journalist extending over Forty Years, ii, 427.

<sup>7</sup> Correspondence: W.T. Stead at Pall Mall to Commissioner Railton, Feb. 15, 1882, cited Harold Begbie, The Life of General William Booth the founder of the Salvation Army, ii, 5. See also Morley's criticism of Salvationist "conversions:" P.M.G., 19 Oct. 1882, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> "Lord Beaconsfield and His Successors," P.M.G., 19 April 1883, p. 1; "The New Conservative Cult," P.M.G., 10 May 1883, p. 1.

emerged more and more frequently in the paper's pages.

The preceding gives a good idea of the transition that occurred between the Pall Mall's second and third editorships. But an effort must be made to examine the personality of its new editor and the influences that shaped him if the paper's later qualities are to be accounted for in detail.

The Puritan sympathies that William Thomas Stead learned in the manse and that found reinforcement in his youth clung to him throughout his life. Stead was born in the small village of Embleton on July 5, 1849. His father was a Congregational minister at Howden-on-Tyne near Newcastle. At the age of twelve, Stead attended Silcoates School near Wakefield, an institution which catered to the sons of Congregationalist ministers. From the headmaster, Dr. Bewglass, the young boy learned a deep and well-founded faith in democratic government.

Stead soon came under the influence of other forces. He left school at the age of fourteen, and entered a Tyneside merchant's shop as an apprentice. The merchant served in the part-time capacity of Russian consul, and Stead gained his first interest in that country that his reading of Cobden on the Crimean War would later reinforce.<sup>9</sup> His clerical duties left the serious young man extra time to read and he made extensive use of the facilities of the local mechanics' institute.

The books that he read as a young clerk profoundly affected Stead's maturing mind. The work that influenced him most strongly was Carlyle's Life of Cromwell. Years later, Stead wrote an article for his own Review of Re-

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<sup>9</sup> W.T. Stead, ed., The M.P. for Russia: Reminiscences and Correspondence of Madame Novikoff London, [1909], i, 380-81.

views entitled "Cromwell and His Independents; or, the Founders of Modern Democracy."<sup>10</sup> He attributed to the Puritan leader many of the ideas that had influenced his own thought. Stead looked to Cromwell for his own views on Britain's imperial destinies:

The Independents owe to Cromwell their imperial ideas, their conception of England's responsibility for the exercise of her power, and their belief in the grandeur of her destinies. .... They are as much committed to the maintenance of a powerful navy as they are to the order of the diaconate....<sup>11</sup>

Stead also traced the strong idea of religious toleration to the philosophy of the Lord Protector.

In addition to these more traditional concepts, Stead drew inspiration from Cromwell's devotion to social regeneration. Thus the editor could quote Cromwell's address spoken following the Battle of Dunbar, and which might be regarded as having provided the first inspiration for Stead's own "rational socialism:"

Disown yourselves; but own you authority, and improve it to curb the proud and insolent, such as would disturb the tranquility of England, though under what specious pretence soever. Relieve the oppressed, hear the groans of poor prisoners in England. Be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be anyone that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a Commonwealth.<sup>12</sup>

Despite Stead's over-emphasis on detail, the stirring speeches of the Puritan leader exerted their strong presence upon his mind.

The editor also looked to the contemporary American abolitionist poet

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<sup>10</sup> Stead, "Cromwell and His Independents; or, the Founders of Modern Democracy," Review of Reviews, vol. 4 (July 1891), pp. 58-75.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

and diplomat James Russell Lowell for inspiration. As a youth Stead won a prize for an essay contributed to a newspaper competition. The rules stipulated that the money be taken out in books, and young Stead selected a thin volume of Lowell's poetry. The well-worn edition remained in his possession for the rest of his life. He fondly recalled how the Preface to Lowell's "The Pious Editor's Creed" first made him aspire to become a journalist.<sup>13</sup>

Stead claimed that "all that is real and true" in what Matthew Arnold derisively called the "New Journalism" found its expression in Lowell's preface. In a sustained metaphor, the poet had contrasted the traditional clergyman to the modern journalist. The former had proved largely ineffectual in preparing humanity for the coming world, but the latter possessed the opportunity to bring instant deliverance to the multitudes. Edward Cook later wrote of Stead's preoccupation to "teach and preach zealously for the love of God." Cook recounted the editor's intense conviction that the editorial front page of the Pall Mall should preach the sermon of the day.<sup>14</sup>

The editor drew additional stimulation from Lowell's poetry itself. Both the Pall Mall and Stead's subsequent Review of Reviews published extensive articles that examined the poet's philosophy as expressed in his work. Stead found Lowell most apt in that he reconciled the broadest humanitarianism with the conscientiously orthodox theories of Christianity.<sup>15</sup> The journalist summed up the poet's creed in the familiar phrase of "serving God by helping man."

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<sup>13</sup> Stead, "James Russell Lowell: His Message and How It Helped Me," Review of Reviews, vol. 4 (Sept. 1891), pp. 235-36.

<sup>14</sup> E.T. Cook, "W.T. Stead," Contemporary Review, vol. 101 (May 1912), pp. 615-16.

<sup>15</sup> Stead, "James Russell Lowell," p. 240.

The poet's advocacy of the reign of an ideal socialism and his championing of the cause of womanhood also struck responsive cords in Stead. Lowell's practical heaven reinforced views Stead already latently held.

If Stead was first deeply affected by reading Cromwell's life and Lowell's poetry, he soon widened his reading to include many other works. Important among them was Cobden's Political Writings. Cobden's fight against the Crimean War impressed upon Stead the conviction that "second only to ... healing the ... schism between the ... English speaking peoples, there was no ... duty so obvious as ... removing the ill-feeling and jealousy which existed between Russia and England...."<sup>16</sup> The editor would undoubtedly trace the origin of his strong belief in the federation of all peoples to the same well-spring of international Liberalism. He was probably influenced subconsciously as well by Cobden's claim that Ireland was a problem that Britain had not properly understood.

The strong ideas that Stead already possessed about the role of the press when he joined his first paper, the Northern Echo, received reinforcement from his association with the proprietor of that journal, a doughty fighting man.<sup>17</sup> John Hyslop Bell was a north country Radical who, in the 'seventies, strongly opposed the Education Act because it subsidized denominational schools. He taught Stead that a newspaper must fight elections even if it were not a principal organ, and the Echo became recognized as the best fighting newspaper between Leeds and Edinburgh largely in result of its performance in the 1874 cam-

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<sup>16</sup> W.T. Stead, ed., The M.P. for Russia, i, 380-81.

<sup>17</sup> The material cited here concerning John Hyslop Bell appears in "A North Country Worthy," Review of Reviews, vol. 10 (July 1894), pp. 85-86.

paign. As has been mentioned in an earlier chapter, it played a strong role in the Bulgarian Atrocities agitation of the late 'seventies also. The Echo was founded when the Cleveland iron field was opened up, and from Darlington it dominated South Durham and Yorkshire. Against the setting of the coal and iron industries in these areas, Bell voiced his constant stand for industrial peace, co-operation and the elevation of the masses. He refused to report gambling or horse racing in the paper. In addition to his defence of labor, Bell always used his pen to promote peace, Home Rule and the advancement of womankind. All of these factors influenced Stead and the later Pall Mall.

By the time that Stead became editor of the P.M.G. in his own right, his early influences had developed into a comprehensive philosophy. In time he formulated his social and political creed into a thirty-page document which he issued to the paper's staff. Typically, Stead called it "The Gospel According to the Pall Mall Gazette." Its ten outstanding heads included: (1) the development of the individual; (2) the independence of woman; (3) Christian is as Christian does, or the recognition of the equality of all religions; (4) Federation of the Empire; (5) arbitration in all Anglo-American disputes; (6) Home Rule for Ireland; (7) justice and understanding in all relations with subject races; (8) common-sense in regard to Russia; (9) foresight in regard to France; (10) the establishment of the United States of Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Stead amplified his beliefs in the mission of the press as well. He ex-

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<sup>18</sup> For a detailed synopsis see Frederic Whyte, The Life of W.T. Stead, ii, Appendix I, pp. 321-327.

pressed these in a number of leaders that appeared in the P.M.G., in a pair of articles he contributed to the Contemporary Review in 1886 and in several pieces he published miscellaneous during the period that immediately followed his days at the Pall Mall.<sup>19</sup> His first great axiom was that the press had almost superseded the House of Commons as a popular arena for the discussion of political and social questions. "We began by governing England by Kings, we then governed her by nobles. After the Reform Act we tried government by the Commons, we are now well on our way to government by the Press."<sup>20</sup> Such was the severely confident vein that Stead wrote in shortly before the passage of the third Reform Bill. The press exerted great power in uniting divided cabinets. To this end, the editor thought that not only should the law of libel be modified in order to permit papers greater liberty to print the truth, but the executive arm of government should take the press into its confidence and even let it have access to classified information.<sup>21</sup> The newspaper world should also be in close and direct contact with both extremities of the social system and all of its intermediate grades, for it fell upon the press to uphold especially the rights of the lowest. Here, Stead invoked the image of the editor as the "Sandalphon" of humanity.<sup>22</sup> The poet Longfellow had depicted Sandalphon, the Angel of Prayer, standing at the portals of heaven where he listened to petitions and turned them into flowers.

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<sup>19</sup> W.T. Stead, "Government by Journalism," Contemporary Review, vol. 49 (1886.1), pp. 653-674; "The Future of Journalism," Contemporary Rev., vol. 50 (1886.2), pp. 663-679. These as well as several later papers Stead wrote are reprinted in Edwin H. Stout, ed., A Journalist on Journalism; being a series of articles by W.T. Stead.

<sup>20</sup> "The Position of the Press," P.M.G., 26 July 1884, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> "Government by Journalism," p. 674; "The Position of the Press," p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> "The Future of Journalism," p. 670.

Apart from its missions to serve as a critic of the executive, or as a means to rid the world of its many evils, Stead envisaged other tasks for the newspaper. One of the greatest duties of the press was to educate the public. The greatest educator of the day was the public press, noted the Pall Mall in one editorial, although it conceded that the newspaper was not always the best.<sup>23</sup> Stead would also eventually insist that one of the main tasks of the journalist was to discover the "wise ones," or leaders of humanity in all fields, and to afford them the opportunity to articulate their ideas through his columns, so that they could make their authority potent among their contemporaries.<sup>24</sup>

The editor set out in detail in various articles the methods that his ideal newspaper should employ. The first duty of the press was to state the facts. "Get to know your facts, and learn to master the tools. It is a great mistake to imagine that feeling is antagonistic to fact."<sup>25</sup> He recommended that the aspiring journalist look to the government blue-book as the "gate of paradise." Stead also enunciated a manner in which his ideal newspaper would measure public opinion scientifically.<sup>26</sup> He envisioned a day when a newspaper would have its volunteers, or "major generals," in each and every district of a nation. There they would both observe and report public opinion. Stead also suggested that a newspaper keep two journalists "travelers" on the road at all times to visit various centres and report on events.

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<sup>23</sup> "English at the Universities," P.M.G., 15 Jan. 1887, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Stead, "Wanted: A New 'Times,'" reprinted Edwin H. Stout, ed., A Journalist on Journalism, p. 98.

<sup>25</sup> Stead, "How to Become a Journalist," Stout, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> Stead, "The Future of Journalism," p. 671.

As shall be seen in following chapters, the journalist used such methods to practical advantage in his days at the Pall Mall.

Stead did not hesitate openly to advocate sensationalism as a "motor" to help men reach the truth. In a democratic age the mass of the public could only be moved by a strong common interest derived from deeply human motives. Yet, Stead carefully distinguished between "true" sensation, which helped men to see the truth, as opposed to a false variety.<sup>27</sup> To emphasize this important distinction, Stead wrote:

...I have not a word to say in favour of any method of journalism that can fairly be called exaggerated or untrue. Mere froth-whipping or piling up the agony, solely for purposes of harrowing the feelings of the reader, and nothing more, may be defended as ghost stories are defended; but I have nothing to say for that kind of work. .... The sensationalism which is indispensable is sensationalism which is justifiable. Sensationalism in journalism is justifiable up to the point that it is necessary to arrest the eye of the public and compel them to admit the necessity of action.<sup>28</sup>

Like the great Delane, Stead recognized the necessity of cultivating his personal contacts with the important people of his time, and he had a wider concept than did the famous editor of The Times of what or whom were important.<sup>29</sup> Even before his arrival at the P.M.G. as assistant editor, Stead had begun to build up his circle of friendships. He made the acquaintance of General and Mrs. William Booth at Darlington in 1879.<sup>30</sup> The part he and the Northern Echo played in the "Bulgarian Atrocities" agitation brought him into close contact with prominent Liberal politicians, including Gladstone, as well

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<sup>27</sup> "Sensationalism as a Motor," P.M.G., 27 May 1887, p. 1; "Government by Journalism," p. 671.

<sup>28</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>29</sup> E.T. Cook, "W.T. Stead," Contemporary Rev., vol. 101 (May 1912), p. 615.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Sandall, History of the Salvation Army, ii, Appendix F, p. 322.

as acquainted him with Mme. de Novikoff, dubbed by Disraeli "the M.P. for Russia." Stead also met Carlyle, Canon Liddon and Dean Church of St. Paul's during the same crusade.<sup>31</sup> Later, the journalist became the Canon's constant companion, and his friendship with the Dean continued until 1885 when the Pall Mall's series on the "Maiden Tribute" terminated it.<sup>32</sup>

Upon coming to London, Stead widened his set of acquaintances. By 1882, he had cultivated additional Salvationists such as Commissioner Railton.<sup>33</sup> In 1880, Stead had not yet met Josephine Butler or Bramwell Booth, who were later to cooperate with him to expose the evils of child prostitution. But, by 1883, they had become known to one another and they had discovered that their views were identical on the great social problems of the time: poverty and the degradation of the poor, exploitation of women and girls and the related evils of the Contagious Diseases Acts.<sup>34</sup> As early as 1880, Stead had made the acquaintance of James Stansfeld, whose work for the repeal of the C.D. Acts he so admired.<sup>35</sup> Early in his career at the Pall Mall Stead met Benjamin Scott, the Chamberlain of the City of London, who inspired him throughout the 'eighties with his own sentiments about the fight against prostitution and its related vices, and interested him in the affairs of the London Municipality.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The Times, 18 April 1912, p. 12; "Dean Church," Review of Reviews, vol. 3 (Jan. 1891), p. .

<sup>32</sup> "Dean Church," p. 29.

<sup>33</sup> Correspondence: W.T. Stead at Pall Mall to Commissioner Railton, 15 Feb. 1882, cited Harold Begbie, The Life of General William Booth, ii, 5.

<sup>34</sup> Ann Stafford, The Age of Consent, p. 114.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>36</sup> "Three of the Dead: Cardinal Manning, M. De Laveleye, Benjamin Scott," Review of Reviews, vol. 5 (Feb. 1892), p. 139.

When Stead first came to the paper, Thompson introduced him to H.M. Hyndman. The latter in turn introduced the journalist to Marx and to George Bernard Shaw, who in time became a reviewer for the P.M.G. Marx continued the cycle and introduced Stead to Engels.<sup>37</sup> From the time he defended her advocacy of birth control in the 'seventies, Stead had corresponded with Annie Besant, and he followed up their friendship in person upon arriving in the Metropolis.<sup>38</sup> Such persons brought him into close contact with the mainstream of Socialist activity. Stead undoubtedly came into touch also with such reformers as Samuel Barnett, the organizer of University Extension, and Mrs. Henry Fawcett, who was prominent in the fledgling women's movement.

Stead's great friendship with Cardinal Manning traced its origin to the "Maiden Tribute" campaign of mid-1885. On that occasion, the Catholic leader strongly defended the editor's controversial action in the press of both England and America. In the years that followed, the two exchanged frequent communications on the questions of Disestablishment, Ireland and labor.<sup>39</sup> Though Manning protested in no uncertain terms Stead's defence of Socialists in 1887, the churchman did not allow the difference to interrupt their friendship. The Cardinal's influence helped Stead gain access to Catholic clergy who aided him in the paper's first-hand investigation of Irish problems. His introduction made possible also the editor's unique interviewing visit to the Vatican in 1889.

In his years at the Pall Mall Stead added many additional persons to the

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<sup>37</sup> Henry Mayers Hyndman, The Record of An Adventurous Life, pp. 188-189; Anne Fremantle, This Little Band of Prophets, p. 66.

<sup>38</sup> "Annie Besant," Review of Reviews, vol. 4 (Oct. 1891), p. 364.

<sup>39</sup> "Three of the Dead: Cardinal Manning, M. De Laveleye, Benjamin Scott," Review of Reviews, vol. 5 (Feb. 1892), pp. 132-134.

above enumeration. One of the most famous was Cecil Rhodes. Still other illustrious personalities were Tolstoi and Czar Alexander III, both of whom the editor interviewed at extensive length during his visit to Russia in 1888. The great number of important persons that the newspaper editor could count as friends and acquaintances ranged through a long list of statesmen and politicians representative of both the main parties, churchmen of all faiths, as well as England's most distinguished intellectuals.<sup>40</sup> Yet, his association with the great did not preclude his interest in the humble and destitute. As T.P. O'Connor recorded of Stead: "But equally he knew no disgust or superiority or aloofness from the lowest and the most vicious and the most unfortunate: czar or beggar, duchess or Magdalen, they were all the same to him; with a slight leaning to the poor and the sinner."<sup>41</sup>

As shall be seen, from an early date the P.M.G. took part in a number of singular social crusades. Stead's strong preoccupation with the plight of the "silent ones" was to eventually lead him to co-edit, along with the Fabian, Annie Besant, a little halfpenny weekly called the Link, which ran from February 1888 to the following December. This activity he undertook as a sideline to his regular duties as editor of the P.M.G. The greatest achievement of the little paper was its exposure of the conditions at Bryant and May's Match Company. Its interest helped precipitate the strike of the match girls when several workers were suspended for having supplied the information for its vivid articles. From this strike first grew labor's new sense of solidarity which anticipated the arrival of the "New Unionism" of the year that followed. Les-

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<sup>40</sup> "Some Autograph Introductions," Review of Reviews, vol. 1 (Jan. 1890), pp. 3-13; "Greetings from Near and Far," Review of Revs., vol. 1, pp. 182-184.

<sup>41</sup> T.P. O'Connor, "Reminiscences of W.T. Stead --- II," T.P.'s Weekly, vol. 22, no. 575 (14 Nov. 1913), p. 626.

ser activities of the newssheet included the exposure of the regular petty injustices inflicted on the poor: starvation wages paid to women and other sweated workers; injustices perpetrated by landlords; workhouse scandals; violations of the Employers' Liability Act, and of Charles Bradlaugh's Truck Act.<sup>42</sup> The paper also undertook a constant warfare against the police. It accused them of acting more and more flagrantly to blackmail prostitutes and to mistreat poor prisoners.<sup>43</sup> The announced goal of the Link remained the building up of a "New Church, dedicated to the service of man." It wished to establish in every village and street some person "who [would] sacrifice time and labour as systematically and as cheerfully in the temporal service of man as others do in what they believe to be the service of God."<sup>44</sup>

A strong similarity existed between the contents and policies of the latter P.M.G. and those of the short-lived Link. This held especially true during Stead's concurrent editorships. The Link's appeal for a "temporal church" even appeared on rare occasions in the pages of the Pall Mall.<sup>45</sup> Though it waged frequent war on the same evils, the more exclusive journal never took to the task of exposing social abuses with quite the fervor of the Link. The ever-watchful Thompson acted as a restraint of sorts, following the great uproar caused by the "Maiden Tribute." Edward Cook also helped to exert a moderating

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<sup>42</sup> Annie Besant, An Autobiography, p. 332.

<sup>43</sup> Geoffrey West, The Life of Annie Besant, p. 127.

<sup>44</sup> Besant, op. cit., p. 332.

<sup>45</sup> e.g. "Can Anything Be Done for the Out O'Works?" P.M.G., 10 Jan. 1888, pp. 1-2; "To All Friends of the Commonwealth a Suggestion for this Time of Stress and Storm," P.M.G., 20 Jan. 1888, pp. 1-2; "Are You Doing Anything, and if Not Why Not?" P.M.G., 26 Nov. 1889, p. 1.

influence in his capacity as acting editor during Stead's lengthy absences in later years.

Then many other influences discussed above and enumerated in Stead's "Gospel" frequently emerged in the pages of the Pall Mall Gazette. Above all, there was the paper's predominantly humanitarian tone. It preached its editor's own distinctive "socialism plus the Ten Commandments" concerning policy at home, and an active internationalism concerning policy abroad. Other distinctive features were its strong stands in support of full extension of democratic government, Imperial Federation, Irish Home Rule and the women's movement. At the same time, the P.M.G. extended strong support to Liberalism in the strict party sense. An ever-present additional feature was the paper's cooperation with, and constant effort to extend full coverage to, all of the contending movements and beliefs of its day. The sincere beliefs that the paper's editor enunciated on the importance of the press in a new democratic age, though overstated, worked to influence its method as well. The paper exhibited a distinctive animation on a number of accounts. It actively enlisted sensationalism as a tool to rouse interest in questions of public import. It frequently undertook the role of ascertaining public opinion. Not infrequently, it attempted to serve as special advisor to the legislature. And, finally, it often assumed the role of special investigator or commissioner to parallel or even to precede the work of government agencies. All of these strong characteristics find full discussion in chapters to follow.

Such were the diverse characteristics of the Pall Mall under Stead but for one additional permeating influence. This was its Puritan tone, especially marked in Stead's strongly-written editorials on the occasions of such an-

niversaries as Cromwell's birth or of famous Roundhead victories. This vigor of exhortation was present in most every edition, for, as Cardinal Manning remarked: "When I read the Pall Mall every night, it seems to me as if Oliver Cromwell had come to life again."

## CHAPTER V

### THE "NEW JOURNALISM"

John Morley retired as editor of the Pall Mall in the early fall of 1883 having brought the journal to the highest peak of literary achievement it enjoyed and was subsequently to attain. Yet, it was his successor, William Stead who left the deepest mark on the character of the paper. During Stead's occupancy of the well-worn chair in Northumberland Street the Pall Mall served as an independent organ of Radical Liberalism. It also attained an unrivalled power for leading public opinion to the social and political problems of the hour. Stead's Pall Mall was also distinct for the journalistic innovations it pioneered and which aided it greatly in its pursuit of deeper aims.

Before turning to a detailed discussion of the paper's political and social roles, it is first necessary briefly to elaborate the paper's general characteristics under Stead's management. The keynote of Morley's editorship had been a cautious adherence to traditional methods of journalism. In strong contrast, Stead took deliberate steps to give the newspaper a more popular format and appeal. As Stead told his fellow newspaperman T.P. O'Connor during his first months as editor: "I'll either make the paper on these lines or smash myself."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> T.P. O'Connor, "Reminiscences of W.T. Stead --- II," T.P.'s Weekly, 14 Nov. 1913, p. 625.

The new lines on which the editor recast the paper included his adoption of a series of innovations. The Pall Mall borrowed the American practice of the interview. It also featured the "special article," the signed contribution and more frequent use of illustration. In time, the paper introduced several additional novelties to British daily journalism by its frequent use of "extras" to drive home particular campaigns, and in its employment of public opinion polls and its use of political caricatures. From the beginning, Stead experimented with the little-used practice of employing the talents of his most able staff members in a multitude of capacities.

The new editor made other changes to make the Pall Mall more interesting. He quickly adopted editorial policies designed to introduce a miscellany of general or "popular" reading. The "Ten Commandments" of popular journalism that Stead adhered to can be condensed as follows: (1) omit anything not of interest; (2) omit nothing memorable; (3) stress intelligent epitomizing of other newspapers; (4) prefer general reading even if dated, in comparison to news which offers no other recommendation but novelty; (5) interest the women and elder children; (6) omit gambling; (7) feature a ballad or a poem on a topical subject; (8) ensure a leading article that is comparable to the best of The Times; (9) make illustrations serve written content; (10) stress church news over that of the stock exchange. The editor appended one additional great principle: "Be alive, and sympathize with all that lives."<sup>2</sup> In keeping with this concept, the Pall Mall followed a consistent policy of avoiding the boycott of either persons or ideas. As will be seen in further chapters, it served

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<sup>2</sup> Stead compiled this list some twelve months after leaving the P.M.G. in outlining a proposed halfpenny morning paper for London. Yet its points summarize his policy at the Pall Mall as well in addition to his his experience there. W.T. Stead, "The London Morning Dailies that Are and Are to Be," reprinted from Sell's Press Guide, 1892, in Review of Reviews, vol. 4 (Oct. 18-91), p. 415.

as a forum for opinion of all shades.

Stead's personal influence permeated much of the paper. The two former editors of the Pall Mall had regarded their writing activities to end at the close of the leader and occasional notes. Stead combined the more formal chores of writing leaders and notes with lesser functions. Thus the Pall Mall came to reflect the presence of one man's initiative to a greater degree than it had ever done previously. As before, the evening's edition drew its themes from the pith of the morning newspapers as well as from the speeches of prominent statesmen and politicians. But now the leader and notes looked particularly for their inspiration to the news reports, interviews and summaries of opinion that appeared elsewhere in the paper. Often, Stead alone was responsible for the predominant part of the news content. Edward Cook testified to the singular and unbelievable initiative and energy that Stead brought to his post as editor. Cook wrote later of how Stead would frequently write the lead article, half-a-dozen "occasional notes," a special article or interview and a column of information, all in a single edition.<sup>3</sup> Neither would the editor hesitate to leave his editorial chamber when important happenings were afoot.

Under this dominant influence, the literary qualities of the Pall Mall assumed a forthright, strident and often vigorous tone that contrasted markedly with Morley's former eloquence of written expression. Morley had taken studious care to divest the paper of anything that savored of "telegraphese." In comparison, several critics commented on Stead's want of an upbringing in the Classics.<sup>4</sup> They also noted his penchant for "loaded" figures of speech which,

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<sup>3</sup> E.T. Cook, "W.T. Stead," Contemporary Review, vol. 101 (May 1912), pp. 614-15.

<sup>4</sup> Cyril Waters, "'Steadism' in Politics," Westminster Review, vol. 137 (1892.1), p. 619; H.J. Massingham, ed., H.W.M.: A Selection From the Writings of H.W. Massingham, p. 146.

as one of them stated, reduced his style to "a kind of daring obviousness."

The paper's newly-acquired characteristics rendered it a thing apart from the respectable and decorous London press. The extensive use of the interview enabled the Pall Mall to feature the opinions of all the main political, social, artistic and literary figures on many a controversial topic. The paper's sensational tendencies and its instances of "puffing" also came under criticism. It soon earned a reputation with a rival review for having turned from "a solid readable review into a shrieking, screaming news sheet."<sup>5</sup> Even earlier, in 1884, Matthew Arnold wrote to John Morley, and charged: "Under your friend Stead, the P.M.G., whatever may be its merits, is fast ceasing to be literature."<sup>6</sup> Both he and Leslie Stephen left its columns in this year in protest of its general policies and politics. Following the paper's sensational exposures of child prostitution, George Saintsbury ceased to review for it in mid-1885.<sup>7</sup> Even Cook, a Pall Mall regular, described the paper as a "strange mixture of good and bad." In writing to a friend, he noted that it ranged from the "voice of culture" to the "blatantest vulgarity."<sup>8</sup>

Most of these reactions overstated the case. Despite the paper's new tone and its loss of a number of former contributors, it cannot be claimed that its literary reputation declined to any great degree. To assume this, would be to ignore the able contributions of staff members such as Alfred Milner, now Stead's deputy, and Edward Cook, who had joined the paper on a full time basis. These

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<sup>5</sup> "Letters to Eminent Idiots --- III. To W.T. Stead, Esq., Editor of the 'Pall Mall Gazette.'" by "A Candid Friend," St. Stephen's Review, 19 Sept. 1885.

<sup>6</sup> cited Harold Begbie, The Life of General William Booth, ii, 39.

<sup>7</sup> "The 'Log-Rollers' Again," P.M.G., 2 Feb. 1886, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cook to Fox, 21 April 1884, cited J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook, pp. 59-60.

writers were joined part-time by Grant Allen and Richard Jeffries, whose activities have been examined in a preceding chapter.

Milner continued in his capacity as assistant editor until he left the paper in 1885. He was chiefly responsible for writing some of the longer essays. He strove to provide the "university tip," or to give the paper a flavour of academic interest. In addition, he did much to civilize Stead's proofs.

Edward Cook shaped the paper in three distinct ways. First, he gave the Pall Mall a distinct reputation for its articles on the fine arts and its art extras. Second, he introduced the Ruskinian strain into the paper which was a special characteristic during Stead's day as well as his own subsequent editorship. Third, his love of the collation of figures on political subjects gave the journal an unrivalled intellectual thoroughness and organization.<sup>9</sup> Under Cook's influence, the paper built up a library superior to The Times' and an additional special reference bureau. Out of the work of the latter department came the Pall Mall's well-known extras. The paper's famous electoral guides upstaged Dod in their comprehensiveness, and cost far less. The paper's good organization also enabled it to provide a biannual index between 1884 and 1888. This unique feature enhanced its services as a permanent and authoritative guide often turned to by both the scholar and the politician.

Cook's active mind provided a large number of fertile suggestions that the paper acted upon. The best remembered was the famous symposium of 1886 on the Best Hundred Books. Against the background of the English publishing renaissance of the 'eighties, a large number of eminent persons contributed lists of their favorite reading.

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<sup>9</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The Great London Dailies. The Penny Evening Papers --- The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 609.

The paper ensured the continuance of its literary reputation by the calibre of the book reviewers that it acquired. In this capacity, it featured such famous names as William Archer, Oscar Wilde and, in time, George Bernard Shaw. The paper continued its original commitment to impartial reviewing practices, and could, in 1886, examine the less-ethical procedures of some of its contemporaries, which stood in marked contrast to its own.<sup>10</sup>

The paper's staff and contributors were joined by others who also put their own imprints on it in greater or lesser ways. In the mid-'eighties, Henry Norman joined the Pall Mall staff as a young man fresh from school, yet he brought to the paper a cosmopolitan background that included studies in France, America and Germany. His particular interests and strengths included travel and communications, themes that were beginning strongly to affect the political thought of the 'eighties. Norman fulfilled a flexible role, and did leaders, notes, theatrical criticism, reviews and special correspondence. He eventually rounded out his connection with the Pall Mall by undertaking a world tour for the paper designed to underscore Stead's great interest in promoting greater international understanding.

Under Stead, the Pall Mall enjoyed the distinction of including on its staff the first woman journalist to receive the salary, hours and conditions of a man. Miss Hulda Friedrichs had joined the staff in 1882, and was destined to rise to the post of chief interviewer under Stead's successor. In Stead's day, she proved a particular asset in the paper's campaign to give the woman's cause a prominent place in its editorial policy.

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<sup>10</sup> "The Literary Duel and its Lessons," P.M.G., 30 Oct. 1886, p. 1.

In the person of Edmund Garrett, who came to the paper in 1887, the Pall Mall acquired another distinctive member. A prominent Radical, as befitted the nephew of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, he complemented the crusading proclivities of many another member of the paper's staff. In the manner of many a Pall Mall writer of first-line calibre, his work covered a wide range, but his main editorial venue remained the parliamentary commentary, which required his particular talent for descriptive journalism.

The Pall Mall occupied a singular place in the field of daily journalism for its use of the cartoon and caricature. Starting about 1886, the cartoons of Francis Carruthers Gould, "F.C.G." as he signed them, became one of the most distinctive features of the paper. Judged by far the most effective political caricaturist of his time,<sup>11</sup> he acted as a force making for party unity. Though it lacked any pretension to great beauty of line, his work could sum up in a single telling picture the situation that confronted the Liberal party at any given moment.

Charles Morley first came to the paper as his uncle's personal secretary. In Stead's day he assumed the direction of an increasingly popular as well as profitable feature of the paper in the form of its weekly Budget. By this date, it combined illustration, political content and general reading to set itself distinctly apart from all other weekly publications. In light of his experience with the weekly, Morley increasingly aided Cook in the supervision of the Pall Mall's growing number of extras, a series that would reach close to fifty during Stead's editorship.

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<sup>11</sup> "Death of Sir F.C. Gould," The Times, 2 Jan. 1925, p. 12.

Stead's penchant for sensation continued to grow through his years as editor. It culminated in the Pall Mall's defence of a number of "wronged" individuals in later years. The most prominent was the celebrated case of one Mrs. Langworthy, whom a millionaire had tricked into a sham marriage. Lesser cases included the defence of Miss Cass, charged with being a common prostitute, as well as that of Lipski, a murderer, whose gallows confession compromised the paper's earlier defence of him.

Despite the editor's indulgence in such activities, the Pall Mall never declined from solid standards of journalism. Even its more sensational undertakings took their motivation from what Stead conceived to be real wrongs. News coverage, which Stead took pains to improve, rendered the paper a particularly knowledgeable organ concerning both foreign and domestic affairs. Stead never lost sight of the fact that his primary goal was one of education, understood in the broadest sense. It was this last consideration in particular that separates Stead's paper from the real "New Journalism" which emerged to stress entertainment in the decade that followed.

Thus throughout his editorship Stead ensured that the Pall Mall remained a positive force despite the aspersions cast upon it by Matthew Arnold in 1887. Arnold charged that the "New Journalism," as he christened it, "threw out assertions at a venture."<sup>12</sup> In reply, the Pall Mall challenged its implicit detractor to name "any journal in existence which was more ready to correct any misstatement...."<sup>13</sup> This constant policy, in conjunction with the other methods of "open" journalism that characterized the Pall Mall, ensured its ethics. Un-

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<sup>12</sup> Matthew Arnold, "Up to Easter," Nineteenth Century, no. 123 (May 1887), p. 638.

<sup>13</sup> P.M.G., 3 May 1887, p. 4.

fortunately, the P.M.G. was never able fully to live down the charge made by one of England's foremost critics.

The Pall Mall's strenuous new brand of journalism did not bring about the great increase in circulation that Stead had anticipated. This was probably due to the growing conservatism of London in the face of the Irish question, and to the fact that a limited market existed for a quality newspaper of its political persuasion. Neither did the paper's circulation in the provinces undergo any great increase, but here the problem remained primarily one of distribution.<sup>14</sup> The Pall Mall's circulation achieved at its peak a regular figure of only some twelve to thirteen thousand, and this probably decreased in later years.<sup>15</sup>

Despite the poor response all of its efforts evoked, the management never ceased to innovate in search of the formula of success. The paper attempted by other experiments to catch the public imagination more directly. The paper pioneered in the use of the feuilleton, or serialized literature of a light nature, so common to European papers when it ran Arthur Conan Doyle's "The Mystery of Cloomber." It also featured the quiz, although it restricted its topics to those of a cultural and educational nature. In later days the paper departed from the strict edict that Greenwood had set down in respect to advertisers to feature a more controversial type of sponsor. In making this momentous change in a time-honored policy, it justified its stand in the argument that advertising furthered the age of democracy in that it alone directly maintained the penny press.<sup>16</sup> Finally, in 1889, the Pall Mall changed its tra-

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<sup>14</sup> Frederick Whyte, The Life of W.T. Stead, i, 288.

<sup>15</sup> J.A. Spender, Life, Journalism and Politics, ii, 134-136.

<sup>16</sup> "The Age of Advertisement," P.M.G., 6 Nov. 1889, p. 1.

ditional format to that of a larger page size in order to make room for additional features of "light" journalism. In authorizing this change, Thompson overrode Stead's strong objections to the competition that advertising and such features would offer the leader on the front page.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, these measures proved of little immediate avail. The new era of mass journalism was still some half-dozen years off, and Alfred Harmsworth was destined to take credit as its innovator.

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<sup>17</sup> E.T. Cook, "W.T. Stead," Contemporary Review, vol. 101 (May 1912), pp. 615-616.

## CHAPTER VI

### POLITICS

#### I. INTRODUCTION

The Pall Mall's deceptively small circulation must not prejudice appreciation for the paper's great and pervasive influence in politics and society. For, as Stead noted, a newspaper's authority is proportional to the level of its readership.<sup>1</sup> In its day, the P.M.G. was highly influential. It appealed to a select audience of politically active and interested readers: the cabinet minister, the member of parliament, the banker, the business man and the journalist. J.A. Spender recorded that in one manner or another the Pall Mall reached most of the persons who would be actively interested in the politics that it advocated.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, Stead took pains to ensure that its reporting of political news would be both knowledgeable and reasonably balanced. To this end, he kept a footing in both political camps and corresponded with Lord Salisbury, the Conservative leader.<sup>3</sup> This source he must have frequently supplemented beginning in 1885 by consulting his former deputy, Milner, who had become Goschen's secretary. Cook, too, enjoyed the privilege of almost daily conver-

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<sup>1</sup> Stead, "The Future of Journalism," Contemporary Review, vol. 50 (Nov. 1886), p. 671.

<sup>2</sup> J.A. Spender, Life, Journalism, and Politics, ii, 134-136.

<sup>3</sup> E.T. Cook, "W.T. Stead," Contemporary Review, vol. 101 (May 1912), p. 615.

sations with Lord Randolph Churchill, the leader of the Radical wing of the Conservatives.<sup>4</sup> Stead's great interest in the Irish cause brought him into the confidence of many Irish leaders also. Even in later years, when the P. M.G.'s policies had done much to alienate it from the innermost councils of Liberalism, Gladstone himself never remained far from the reach of Norman.<sup>5</sup>

The Pall Mall gained added influence from the circumstances that affected the world of London journalism. For the decade of the 'eighties saw The Times and the Daily News, its great rivals, both suffering from retreats of influence because of inadequate management.<sup>6</sup> The Echo and the Daily Chronicle, both formerly strong Radical organs, were slackening in their fervor as well. This left the Pall Mall the only forcible newspaper of Liberal sympathies in the Metropolis until the founding of the Star in 1888.

## II. POLITICAL PROGRAM

During the first months which followed Morley's departure, Stead set out, as he recorded, "deliberately but cautiously" to change the political direction of the vessel. The Pall Mall's "epoch-making leaders" broke with the old Morleyan tradition, and expounded the policy of Liberal imperialism abroad and rational socialism at home.<sup>7</sup>

On the first day of 1884 Stead enunciated at length the "theories of existence" of "we of the advanced Left, the vanguard of the Liberal host...." The

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<sup>4</sup> Cook, op. cit., p. 615.

<sup>5</sup> Algar Thorold, The Life of Henry Labouchere, p. 253; H.W. Massingham, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 610.

<sup>6</sup> "The Editorship of the 'Times,'" The Spectator, 16 Feb. 1884, pp. 212-213; "A Bad Great Newspaper," P.M.G., 2 Jan. 1888, p. 1; "The New Liberal Leader," P.M.G., 8 June 1887, pp. 1.

<sup>7</sup> W.T. Stead, "Sir Alfred Milner: A Character Sketch," The Young Man, Nov. 1897, p. 372.

editor denied charges that the modern Radicals were destitute of a body of philosophical doctrine similar to that possessed by the earlier Philosophical Radicals. Stead listed what he considered to be the fundamental principles of Liberal opinion in the new age. For its external policy, the program looked to Seeley's concept of the Expansion of England. The authority of the Imperial government must be established in lands colonized. In foreign affairs, the new idea of the federation or internationalizing of the peoples was supplanting the old idea of non-intervention. The domestic program advocated: first, that all forms of local self-government be extended to admit all householders, male and female; second, and most important, that social amelioration should precede efforts to attain an "ideal equality."<sup>8</sup>

The paper's adoption of such principles reflected current developments in the Radical camp. Seeley's Expansion of England had appeared but a few months earlier, and was currently exerting great influence on Chamberlain as well as Radicals of lesser stature. Dilke had written a strong plea for imperialism in his Greater Britain. Under the leadership of Stead's friend Forster, the Imperial Federation League was gaining strength. Stead's program drew a great part of its inspiration on external policy from such views. On domestic matters, he could look to the lead that Chamberlain's Radical Programme, currently appearing in installments in the Fortnightly Review, was providing to advance Radical thought.

In another elaborate statement which it printed a year later, the P.M.G. augmented its earlier program. The paper took encouragement from the gains made by the Radical wing during 1884 both in theory and in practice, as sym-

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<sup>8</sup> "The Old and the New," P.M.G., 1 Jan. 1884, p. 1.

bolized in the passing of the third Reform Act. The P.M.G. reiterated the general principles of its program and then turned to specific applications.<sup>9</sup> It called for further British expansion in Africa, Malaya and in the Pacific, or at least the establishment of some sort of international control in these regions. It also demanded that Britain follow up her responsibilities in Egypt and in South Africa. The paper called for the setting up of a permanent commission on naval strategy to be drawn from all parts of the Empire. In a guarded manner, it suggested that Home Rule might soon follow in Ireland as the natural outcome of franchise extension. On the domestic scene, the paper outlined a long-range policy on matters of County Government, London Government and licensing reform. The Pall Mall urged that the safest way to solve social difficulties was through municipal socialism, provided that personal liberties were sedulously safeguarded.<sup>10</sup> Many of these concepts, particularly those concerning Imperial Federation, internationalism, Ireland, naval strength, the enfranchisement of women and the correction of the condition of the "disinherited," far outran official Liberal policies of the day.

### III. POLICY IN EARLY YEARS

The characteristic of the P.M.G. that would have appeared most evident to anyone who studied a copy was its manner of promoting a strong central Liberalism whenever party factions came into conflict, as they so often did during the first half of this decade. In this respect, the new editor continued Morley's tolerant policy with perhaps even a greater objectivity in application. Stead

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<sup>9</sup> "Our Ideals," P.M.G., 1 Jan. 1885, p. 1; "Programme 1885," P.M.G., 1 Jan. 1885, pp. 1-3.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

put the paper's policy into explicit form when, in discussing differences that prevailed within the party, he wrote that the P.M.G. recognized the "importance of maintaining the independence and high character of members of Parliament, and of securing the representation of every section of opinion...."<sup>11</sup>

The paper's attitude did not preclude its registering strong criticism of its own party on occasion. In particular, it stung and finally estranged Gladstone with its taunts about his "cut and run" and "scuttle" policies in foreign and colonial affairs.<sup>12</sup> The P.M.G. frequently went beyond the prime minister himself to make more specific criticism of Lord Derby at the Colonial Office, Granville at the Foreign Office and the First Sea Lord, Lord Northbrook.

No section of Liberalism proved immune from the Pall Mall's searching gaze, and the paper proved one of Chamberlain's strongest critics. John Morley tried in vain, as a mutual and esteemed friend of both Stead and Chamberlain, to soften the editor's attitude.<sup>13</sup> The P.M.G. agreed in principle with the increasingly independent program of "Ransom" which the Radical leader had developed by 1885. The program included: free education, free libraries, artisans' dwellings, taxation of personal in addition to real property, a graduated income tax, higher death duties and land taxes, free trade in land and legislation to promote small holdings. At the same time, the paper remained highly critical of the Birmingham Radical for his ambiguous and opportunist policies, aimed towards the newly-enfranchised electorate, and which the paper claimed lacked a "soul."<sup>14</sup> More specifically, the P.M.G. remained wary of

<sup>11</sup> P.M.G., 3 Jan. 1885, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> "Obituary: W.T. Stead," The Times, 18 April 1912, p. 12.

<sup>13</sup> Garvin, op. cit., i, 561.

<sup>14</sup> "Radicalism Old and New," P.M.G., 30 Jan. 1885, p. 1; "A Fiasco in Social Reform," P.M.G., 10 Aug. 1885, p. 1.

Chamberlain's call for a general confiscation of land, and it also criticized as being inexact his plans for a graduated income tax.<sup>15</sup> Later, the paper's puritanical editor would attack both Chamberlain and Dilke over the latter's involvement in the Crawford divorce action, and thus help in no small part to bring on the second inquiry which destroyed that politician's promising career.<sup>16</sup>

During these years of Liberal administration, the P.M.G. worked actively to shape opinion on specific questions of legislation. In late 1883 and early 1884 the paper polled both M.P.s and Liberal associations over the fiercely-disputed program for the coming session. It released the results of its circulars at a crucial time to influence both the cabinet and parliament,<sup>17</sup> and its data lent support to the Radical wing in its successful campaign to introduce a reform program.

Throughout this time the paper labored to further the extension of democratic institutions. Even before it issued the circulars referred to above, the P.M.G. featured its series devoted to "Fifty Years of Household Suffrage." In these articles, prominent newsmen from the great cities of Britain explored the experience of their communities with a popular suffrage. In the summer, when the Lords threatened to obstruct the Reform Bill, the Pall Mall reissued

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<sup>15</sup> "Mr. Chamberlain as Highest Bidder," P.M.G., 15 Jan. 1885, p. 1; "Radicalism Old and New," P.M.G., 30 Jan. 1885, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> T.P. O'Connor, "Reminiscences of W.T. Stead," T.P.'s Weekly, vol. 22 no. 575 (14 Nov. 1913), p. 626; Roy Jenkins, Sir Charles Dilke, pp. 239-248.

<sup>17</sup> "Our Circular of Inquiry," P.M.G., 3 Jan. 1884, pp. 1-3; "The Liberal Party and the Programme of Next Session," P.M.G., 30 Jan. 1884, pp. 11-12.

its extra which examined the record of the House of Lords, and which had been first issued in Morley's day. It supplied many arguments to fuel the agitation against the Lords which aided Gladstone to reach a compromise with Salisbury.

#### IV. CAMPAIGNS: 1884-1885 AND POLITICAL REPERCUSSION

During 1884 and 1885 the Pall Mall also conducted a number of spectacular campaigns which brought pressures to bear upon respective administrations such as had possibly never before been conducted by the press. They undoubtedly owed their origin in part at least to Stead's desire to boost circulation, but this interpretation alone is much too facile. The editor's first successful manipulation of public opinion in the case of General Charles Gordon set the stage and whetted his appetite for the additional journalistic exploits that followed.

In Gordon, Stead met a soul of strangely kindred spirit. He formed a strong personal attachment for the enigmatic and mystical hero when he interviewed him at Southampton in early 1884 on the subject of the British government's troubles in the Sudan. As a memento of their memorable meeting Gordon presented the editor with his own copy of The Imitation of Christ. The following day, the Pall Mall published Stead's long conversation with the "Christian General" under the heading "Chinese Gordon for the Soudan." The Pall Mall abruptly reversed its stand and recommended that in light of Gordon's testimony and his African experience that the government's plans for evacuating the region should be abandoned as impracticable.<sup>18</sup> The editor's can-

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<sup>18</sup> "Chinese Gordon for the Sudan," P.M.G., 9 Jan. 1884, pp. 1-2.

ny move to reactivate the more moderate suggestions of Lord Dufferin as well as of The Times, the newspaper's latest but of a few days earlier, that Gordon might be sent to restore the situation in the Congo correctly anticipated the mood of the nation.<sup>19</sup> The next day, The Times and every important newspaper in the country reproduced the greater part of the interview.<sup>20</sup> Under the weight of public pressure, Gladstone's wavering cabinet prevailed upon Gordon to withdraw his recent resignation from active duty and to accept command at Khartoum. He carried with him orders that strictly limited his mission to that of supervising a withdrawal.

Soon after his arrival in Africa, Gordon countermanded his instructions, and formulated his own plans to hold the Nile Valley. Even before this turn of events, the Pall Mall and its enthusiastic editor had attempted to fire parliament's imagination to support stronger measures. Immediately previous to the session, the paper issued its extra "England, Gordon, and the Soudan. A Narrative of Facts." It formed a succinct summary of the various phases of the issue from the defeat of Colonel Hicks down to the dispatch of Gordon. In it, Stead called upon the administration to take a stronger line than it had earlier, as attested to by its record.

The Mahdi's forces cut off Gordon's communications in May. Gladstone's cabinet remained, nevertheless, both inactive and silent following a tentative pledge by Hartington that it would not abandon the garrison. Against the background of official silence, both the Pall Mall and The Times led a strong demand that the public be given the facts of the situation and enlightened as to

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<sup>19</sup> Lawrence and Elizabeth Hanson, Gordon The Story of a Hero, pp. 192-194.

<sup>20</sup> Lord Elton, Gordon of Khartoum: The life of General Charles George Gordon, p. 273.

what action was planned. The P.M.G. drove home the campaign with a second extra entitled "Who is to Have the Soudan? Gordon, or the Slave Traders?" Its editor even travelled to Brussels in an unofficial attempt to enlist the aid of the Belgian King. At the end of July, Stead played a decisive role when he discovered that the cabinet was forcibly blocking efforts to send a relief force.<sup>21</sup> The uproar that the Pall Mall's story unleashed resulted in Wolseley's being soon named to head an expeditionary force. Six months later, its advance units arrived in Khartoum, only to find that the town had been stormed two days earlier.

Gordon's martyrdom unleashed sentiments of indignation, grief and shame and profound mourning in England. The Pall Mall's final extra carried Gordon's portrait, and repeated in its caption the Queen's own words, "Too Late!" It helped ensure the permanent deification of the slain general and the immediate embarrassment of the government. The edition sold fifty thousand copies.<sup>22</sup> Such immediate publicity, in consort with that of the rest of the press, did much to sweep away the popular triumph which accrued to the ministry for its eventual passage of the Reform Bill not many weeks before. The paper's extra was the first of numerous books and pamphlets which followed to extoll the story of Gordon, the ideal Victorian hero.

While Wolseley's expedition was still determining Gordon's destiny, the Pall Mall carried out in the fall another campaign designed to put pressure on the government. This one concerned the question of naval strength, and it struck home with even greater impact than had the more protracted one of Gor-

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<sup>21</sup> Anthony Nutting, Gordon: Martyr and Misfit, p. 270.

<sup>22</sup> P.M.G. index for July 1888.

don.<sup>23</sup> Stead's series took its inspiration from the young and determined H.O. Arnold Forster as well as Lord Charles Beresford and others.<sup>24</sup> John Fisher, a captain, as well as other officers collaborated with the editor in the production of "The Truth About the Navy."<sup>25</sup> The articles outlined the story of how the Navy had been allowed to deteriorate after the Congress of Berlin of 1878 and the era of peace it inaugurated. Now both Russia and France were emerging as potential antagonists, and they were closely followed by Germany, which was beginning to cast glances in the direction of Africa.

Stead's articles, which the P.M.G. supplemented with two special extras, served as the fuse which ignited a heated debate on the state of the Navy. Correspondence within the cabinet shows that the paper's demands for up-to-date battleships, fast cruisers, torpedo-boats and improved coaling stations met with strong general approval.<sup>26</sup> The scare, however, probably did not extend much beyond London.<sup>27</sup> Lord Northbrook, the First Sea Lord, threw in his lot with the agitators upon returning from abroad, and by December the government announced an additional expenditure for the purpose of the Navy. Yet the administration's appropriation of some £3,100,000 spread over five years fell

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<sup>23</sup> Arthur J. Marder, The Anatomy of British Sea Power: A History of British Naval Policy in the Pre-Dreadnought Era, 1880-1905, p. 121.

<sup>24</sup> S. Eardley-Wilmot, "Our Navy --- Its Decline and Restoration," National Review, vol. 36 no. 215 (Jan. 1901), p. 651.

<sup>25</sup> Taprell Dorling, Men @ War (London, 1929), p. 227; cited Marder, op. cit., p. 121.

<sup>26</sup> F.W. Hirst, The Six Panics and Other Essays (London, 1913), p. 52; J.A. Spender, The Life of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (2 vols., London, 1923), i, 54, cited Marder, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

far short of the demands of the P.M.G. for an increase of four millions in each year's expenditure. Thus the paper's theme of naval strength remained a constant one, and it attempted the following session in particular to start a second naval scare.<sup>28</sup>

The combined effect of the paper's crusades undoubtedly hurt the Liberal government. A contemporary critic attempted to assess the effect upon the paper. He concluded that in both instances the paper had persistently identified itself with popular sympathies. The P.M.G.'s campaign on behalf of the Navy in particular had helped to rally to it the support of rank and file Liberals, amongst many others.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, neither campaign had produced the tangible result of increasing the paper's average circulation.

In contrast to its earlier successes, the P.M.G.'s great crusades of 1885 were destined to have long term disadvantages. The crusades of this year included the paper's obdurate stand in favor of arbitration with Russia in the spring, and soon after, its famed exposure of child prostitution, designed to bring opinion to bear against the hesitancy of Salisbury's minority government to act on the matter.

The Pall Mall attempted to intervene and once more dictate government policy in May of 1885 when war threatened at Penjdeh in Afghanistan. Stead attempted to calm the strong feeling rampant in England in favor of armed intervention, and he consistently appealed to the administration to resort to arbitration. The Pall Mall's independent stand rendered it the only Metropolitan journal not

<sup>28</sup> "The Truth About the Navy Once More," P.M.G., 13 March 1885, p. 1; "Is Our Navy Ready for War?" P.M.G., 13 March 1885, pp. 1-4; "What Should Be Done for the Navy," P.M.G., 14 March 1885, pp. 1-3.

<sup>29</sup> Special Correspondence: "A Bull in a China Shop," The Nation (N.Y.), vol. 41 no. 1049 (6 Aug. 1885: July-Dec. 1885), p. 111.

to condemn Russia. The paper published the opinions of many experts, including on the spot observers. It also rendered public the official Russian position in result of its having been favored by diplomatic sources.<sup>30</sup> Opinion at first greeted the paper's stand with great hostility. The P.M.G.'s popularity and circulation sank sharply in the face of persistent rumor that Stead and Thompson had sold out to the Russian government for a purported ten thousand pounds.<sup>31</sup> A knowledgeable observer thought that the ill-will shown the Gazette during this crisis surpassed in extent anything he had experienced in English politics.<sup>32</sup> Thus at the cost of having almost temporarily ruined itself, the Pall Mall assured a fair hearing for both sides and furthered an atmosphere that was amenable to the course of peaceful negotiation that the government eventually elected to follow.

The Pall Mall conducted its greatest crusade soon after in the summer of 1885. In its famous series "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," that appeared during July, it published the details of the widespread traffic in young females for sale into prostitution. Stead gained his extensive information firsthand, aided in his investigations by Bramwell Booth of the Salvation Army and by Mrs. Josephine Butler. The trio drew their inspiration from parliament's having allowed proposed legislation concerning the evil to relapse almost beyond revival.

The series provoked a great storm of publicity in light of the rigid standards of propriety that prevailed in Victorian England. Stead had not sketched

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<sup>30</sup> see W.T. Stead, ed., "Penjdeh and the Afghan Frontier," The M.P. for Russia; Reminiscences and Correspondence of Mme. Olga Novikoff, ii, Ch. IX, 201-35.

<sup>31</sup> "Bull in a China Shop," The Nation, p. 111.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

his articles in merely general terms; he described the lurid details of his revelations with pictorial precision, and he all but named a number of prominent men associated with such activities.

Not all opinion was hostile. The cabinet, which had not heeded Mrs. Butler's earlier confidential warning, soon responded to the reactivated interest and brought in a Criminal Law Amendment Bill which raised the age of consent; the executive extended the powers of related legislation as well. Genuine indignation extended far beyond parliament. Churches and reform organizations, particularly those of the lower middle class, called mass meetings and undertook extensive moral crusades.<sup>33</sup> The great furor extended as far as America where it soon influenced legislation in a number of states.<sup>34</sup>

Though it took its inspiration from humanitarian aims, the Pall Mall's crusade eventually cost the paper and its editor dearly. Stead served a jail term of three months when he was subsequently convicted on a technicality arising out of his transporting a young girl without her parents' permission. The Pall Mall's editor would also testify at a much later date how his action had injured the paper despite a temporary boom in its sales to between eighty and a hundred thousand during the peak of its revelations.<sup>35</sup> The effect of this adverse reaction was to make the Pall Mall's management much more cautious about such risks in the future.

The Pall Mall's sensationalism and absolute independence of any official or party control soon rendered it persona ingrata to the larger part of the

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<sup>33</sup> the series' influence on the lower-middle class in particular is mentioned in "Bull in a China Shop," The Nation, p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> B.O. Flower, "W.T. Stead: A Journalist with Twentieth Century Ideals," The Arena (Boston), vol. 25 (1897), p. 628.

<sup>35</sup> "The Parnell Commission," P.M.G., 20 Feb. 1889, p. 4; J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook, p. 64; Stead, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" p. 154.

official, semi-official and social world of London.<sup>36</sup> A facetious individual even undertook to organize a limited liability company for the suppression of Mr. Stead.<sup>37</sup> The whole or greater part of the London press, in addition to a number of the monthly and quarterly reviews, imposed their own boycott on mentioning the Pall Mall. This quiet taboo affected the Pall Mall in a direct sense. Mrs. W.H. Smith, the owner of the principal news agency chain in England, and a member of Salisbury's cabinet, took the most serious action. His stalls pursued a persistent scheme to hinder the circulation of the paper by giving it minimal display. After the "Maiden Tribute," Smith, eager to preserve public morals, excluded the Pall Mall from all of his stalls and agencies.<sup>38</sup> The news agency's continual harassment accounted largely for the paper's declining circulation outside of London by the end of Stead's editorship.<sup>39</sup> Yet the hostility of Smith and one or two other agents did little directly to curtail Metropolitan circulation. Here, the P.M.G. continued to be sold by street-newsboys, as it always had been.<sup>40</sup>

#### V. THE PALL MALL OPPOSES GLADSTONE'S FIRST HOME RULE BILL

The Pall Mall played a distinct part in the events that preceded Gladstone's first Home Rule measure, which was introduced in 1886. In late 1885 the P.M.G. was one of the Liberal newspapers that helped fly the prime minister's famous "kite" to test the direction of the wind of opinion. Almost a year in advance

<sup>36</sup> "Bull in a China Shop," The Nation, p. 111.

<sup>37</sup> Cyril Waters, "'Steadism' in Politics," Westminster Review, vol. 137 (1892.1), p. 618.

<sup>38</sup> "Bull in a China Shop," p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> Frederick Whyte, The Life of W.T. Stead, i, 288.

<sup>40</sup> "The Street News-boys of London," Chamber's Journal, vol. 51 no. 530 (21 Feb. 1874), p. 114.

of this first wavering move, the journal had predicted that some form of self-government would prove necessary as the ultimate outcome of franchise extension in Ireland.<sup>41</sup> The P.M.G. refrained from defining any measure, but it began a concerted effort to stimulate constructive comment in its columns. In this way, it, in addition to the Northern Echo, acted as the only Liberal journals that dared run ahead of any official party declaration.

Immediately preceding Gladstone's officially declaring his conversion to Home Rule in early 1886, the paper conducted its own poll. The results that the P.M.G. printed indicated that Home Rule would prove popular with the English electorate, at least in urban centres.<sup>42</sup>

The P.M.G. at first strongly welcomed the prime minister's decision, but it soon declared itself unalterably opposed to his method. The plan that Gladstone put forward called for the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster, and provided for a separate legislature in Ireland. It conflicted with Stead's fundamental concept that the plan of Irish federation should set the model for a larger measure of Imperial Federation which would feature a common legislative assembly or Imperial Parliament at London. Thus the Pall Mall fiercely opposed the measure. It strongly decried the manner of relationship advocated by the prime minister. The arrangement put Ireland in an inferior, "dependent" or "contributory," position. In contrast, the mark of an ideal federation was that no part was subordinate to another; it should rightfully be an association of political equals. The Pall Mall published the opinions

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<sup>41</sup> "Programme 1885," P.M.G., 1 Jan. 1885, pp. 1-3.

<sup>42</sup> "The Liberal Intelligence Department, I --- Ireland, Foreign Policy, Cabinet Making," P.M.G., 28 Jan. 1886, pp. 1-2.

of several leading Liberal intellectuals to justify this argument.<sup>43</sup> It also conducted a second opinion survey of major centres, and claimed the results confirmed its own particular views.

Chamberlain and Trevelyan soon broke with Gladstone over the program to be followed in Ireland. Throughout the spring the Pall Mall continued to urge a reconciliation between the Radical recalcitrants and the prime minister. The paper regarded neither Chamberlain nor Gladstone as blameless, and it recommended that they should reach some compromise. The P.M.G. expressed the opinion that the first step should be the establishment of a parliament in Dublin. Then some middle ground would have to be arrived at between Chamberlain's position which would deprive this legislature of virtually all its functions, and Gladstone, who desired to invest the body with more extended powers. When the Radical leader continued to refuse to negotiate, the Pall Mall boldly challenged him. The encounter which ensued between Chamberlain and the newspaper ended in the P.M.G.'s questioning his "qualifications for higher statesmanship."<sup>44</sup> The Pall Mall modified this stand somewhat in several leaders that followed, but it had strongly estranged Chamberlain. All in all, Stead's traditional enmity had done little to assuage the Radical leader's recalcitrance, which soon rendered the split in the Liberal party permanent.

The P.M.G. played a particularly decisive role in early June of 1886. It printed the opinions of a number of Liberals, chief among them that of Chamberlain's Radical whip, which discussed Gladstone's prospects if he did not concede over the twenty-fourth clause of his bill. The paper's action concluded

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<sup>43</sup> Professor E.A. Freeman, "Ireland as a Tributary Dependency," P.M.G., 30 April 1886, p. 2; M. Emile de Laveleye, "A British Federation," P.M.G., 6 May 1886, pp. 1-2.

<sup>44</sup> "Who is Libelling Mr. Chamberlain?" P.M.G., 20 May 1886, p. 1.

the long and singular campaign that Stead had waged against the Home Rule measure. Nonetheless, it is impossible to state with exact certitude whether the Pall Mall's sustained campaign played as strong and direct a role in helping destroy the bill as several contemporary critics attributed to it.<sup>45</sup>

The P.M.G. elected to play a singular role in the general election which soon followed and which the parties contested solely on the issue of Home Rule. In contrast to Gladstone's hesitant and ambiguous platform, the paper issued its electoral extra "For Home Rule and Gladstone!" The booklet sold some seventy thousand copies.<sup>46</sup> It catechized the Liberal electorate in question-and-answer form that was designed to allay qualms about the measure, and it effectively complemented the several earlier extras that the P.M.G. had devoted to the Irish question. Yet, such a peripheral effort proved in vain, as the Liberals foundered and the Conservatives succeeded to form a strong composite government in concert with the Liberal Unionists led by Chamberlain.

Following this electoral defeat of the Liberals, the Pall Mall was destined to serve as an opposition newspaper for the duration of Stead's editorship. In this role, it continued to urge party reunification throughout the Round Table Conference that met in early 1887. When this effort at conciliation failed in result of Chamberlain's intractable stand, the P.M.G. adopted a long-range policy which called upon the prime minister to keep the door open for any erring brothers of Liberalism who wished to return, and called upon constituents to exclude Unionists at the polls. In the spring of 1887 the paper issued two little pamphlets of four pages each, dedicated to examining the "Irish Records" of

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<sup>45</sup> H.W. Massingham, "The 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" Leisure Hour, no. 41 (1892), p. 610. J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook, pp. 85-86.

<sup>46</sup> see P.M.G. index of "extras," July 1888.

John Bright and Chamberlain respectively. The booklets contrasted the latest departure of the two with their earlier stands, and attempted to discredit their performances in the eyes of the electorate. In its further efforts to foster a Liberal resurgence, the Pall Mall employed a new technique of Stead's as well. Thus between 1887 and 1889 it often appealed to the irrefutable evidence provided by detailed analyses of the results of by-elections to substantiate its claim that a Liberal resurgence was in the making.<sup>47</sup>

#### VI. THE IRISH COVERAGE OF THE PALL MALL GAZETTE

As Lord Salisbury stated in his famous dictum, "politics are Ireland." This remained the case throughout the late 'eighties as the question of Ireland supplied the main focus of politics to the general exclusion of domestic reforms. Against this background, the Pall Mall remained throughout Stead's editorship one of the very few English papers to give objective coverage to events in Ireland, especially following the Unionist administration's move to place the island under coercion in 1887. The policy established by the P.M.G. aimed at positive results rather than sensationalism. For, as Stead editorialized, the attitude of the English press only fostered the Unionists' repressive treatment of Ireland.<sup>48</sup> The Times in particular led the Metropolitan press to either ignore the Irish question, or else to bear it hostile witness through exaggerated reports of outrages.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the Pall Mall's unwavering devotion to Home Rule and redress for Ireland in the face of the government's policy of coercion, Stead noted in

<sup>47</sup> see especially: "A Liberal Majority in the Making. The Science of By-Elections," P.M.G., 6 Jan. 1888, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> "Making Ireland Ungovernable," P.M.G., 7 Jan. 1887, p.

<sup>49</sup> P.M.G., 18 Jan. 1888, p. 4.

later days that he never questioned the high character and public spirit of Arthur Balfour.<sup>50</sup> Yet, as Irish Secretary, Balfour himself had owned to Stead that no two persons could be more opposed. The editor also recorded his high regard for Lord Carnarvon, who as Viceroy represented Salisbury's government in Ireland until his colleagues demanded his resignation.<sup>51</sup> Thus, even allowing for the numerous political caricatures that the Pall Mall regularly featured, its concerted defence of Ireland tended editorially to concentrate upon facts rather than upon personalities.

The P.M.G.'s extensive examination of Irish conditions began even before the Conservatives had replaced the Liberal administration. In early 1886 the paper published a serialized account at first-hand of the early efforts to organize the National League, written by the pro-Irish poet William Blunt. Blunt's final article set forward his judgement that, despite the reforms of 1881, the most urgent question remained that of the land, and that the political question was of only secondary importance.<sup>52</sup>

In the fall of 1886 Stead himself investigated Irish problems at length when he led a Pall Mall "commission" to examine agrarian conditions. The paper published in detail its findings which made public for the first time the great fall in agricultural prices that was making it impossible to pay Irish rents.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> "The Rt. Hon A.J. Balfour, M.P.," Review of Reviews, vol. 4 (Nov. 1891), p. 460.

<sup>51</sup> "The Earl of Carnarvon," Review of Revs., vol. 2 (Aug. 1890), p. 125.

<sup>52</sup> Mr. W. Blunt, "Under the Protection of the National League," P.M.G., 29 April 1886, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> "Can Irish Rents Be Paid?" I --- P.M.G., 8 Nov. 1886, pp. 1-4; II --- 11 Nov. 1886, pp. 1-4; III --- 16 Nov. 1886, pp. 1-4; and IV --- 18 Nov. 1886, pp. 1-4.

As a sequel to this first study, the P.M.G. carried "The Story of the Woodford Evictions," a series that presented in graphic detail the beginnings of the Plan of Campaign designed to withhold rents. The articles took added strength from the fact that Lord Clanricarde, on whose estate the Plan was beginning, was one of the most callous of Ireland's absentee landlords. The paper ensured wider audiences than it commonly reached when it issued an extra compiled from the material which had appeared throughout the autumn in its daily editions.

Stead completed the paper's intensive treatment in January of 1887 when a series written by his own hand appeared under the title "What Should be Done in Ireland."<sup>54</sup> Here, the editor justified Home Rule on historic grounds, and made extensive reference to events that had undermined the traditional Irish Establishment during the preceding twenty years. His closing article called for a settlement that would improve material conditions as well as ensure nationality, religion and the development of political instincts.

In later years the paper supplemented its earlier detailed series by first-hand investigations that it made in mid-1887 and in early 1888. These augmented the numerous special reports of a more limited nature that were a regular feature of the paper. It would be inaccurate to claim that the P.M.G.'s reporting of Irish conditions led directly to ameliorative actions such as the legal reductions in rent recommended in 1887 by the Land Commission. At the same time, the effects of the paper's extensive publicity should not be disregarded entirely. It remained the policy of the Pall Mall to make available its Irish news to some half-dozen Liberal papers in the provinces in order to enlarge public

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<sup>54</sup> "What Should Be Done in Ireland," I --- 18 Jan. 1887, p. 1; II --- 20 Jan. 1887, p. 1; III --- 22 Jan. 1887, p. 1; IV --- 26 Jan. 1887, p. 4.

comprehension of Irish affairs.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to its constant call for Home Rule, its opposition to the policy of Coercion and its defence of the proscribed Land League, the Pall Mall mounted a strenuous campaign against The Times which unwittingly published the falsified series written by Richard Pigott on "Parnellism and Crime" in 1887. The P.M.G. argued against narrowing the Irish question to the alleged criminality of Parnell and his associates, as the Unionist press was doing. Later, when the Parnell Commission cleared the Irish leader in early 1889, the Pall Mall issued a popular extra devoted to "Pigottism and The 'Times.'" It was designed and advertised freely as an "effective electioneering weapon," and it presented the lengthy and confused testimony in a "concise and consecutive" narrative for popular consumption.

The Pall Mall defended the Irish cause in all the above ways in addition to opening its columns in many an instance to enable Irish leaders to express their stand. Stead must have considered it a fitting accolade when, in his final year as editor, an overseas reader wrote to commend the paper's unflinching stand on Ireland and stated: "Other Liberal papers simply drive on; you are ever and anon found in front and on the flanks, pointing out the dangers and regulating the pace."<sup>56</sup> This succinctly summed up the paper's involvement --- an involvement which contrasted in strong manner with the "mirror journalism" of the day.

#### VII. THE P.M.G. AND COLLECTIVISM

Officially, the P.M.G. was a Radical journal, but it also extended gener-

<sup>55</sup> e.g. P.M.G., 2 June 1887, p. 8.

<sup>56</sup> "The Irish Question and Party. A Voice from Greater Britain," P.M.G., 9 April 1889, p. 3.

ous space to opinion of all shades. Thus in a broad sense the paper furthered the entire range of thought that was exerting its influence to lead the new Radicalism to the "new Collectivism" of the 'nineties. It is not inconceivable that the less-knowledgeable reader, of which even so august a journal as the Pall Mall must have possessed a few, failed sometimes to distinguish between Stead's position and that of many an advanced "guest" of the paper whose views appeared in a prominent position.

The paper's "open door" policy attracted from the beginning the views of advanced social reformers. Within a month after Stead assumed control of the paper, readers found themselves treated to the views of the Democratic Federation as detailed by its chairman, H.M. Hyndman. Throughout the years that followed, he continued to set out a more definitive position for his movement than did William Morris for the activities of his rival Socialist League. The teachings and activities of the American Henry George, the voluble prophet of the single tax on land, received more frequent elaboration in early years than did those of either of the forementioned. Other more moderate land reformers appeared frequently in the paper's pages. The P.M.G. served as a major venue for the writings of Ruskin and Frederic Harrison, as traced in the following chapter. Additional reformers appeared on occasion and outlined the tenets of Fabianism, Christian Socialism and Co-operation. Always, the paper extended good coverage to the workingmen's representatives in parliament and it made them personally known to the public.

In the late 'eighties, the growing strength of the New Unionism and of the Progressive and Eight Hours movements increasingly made their influences felt in the paper's news columns and interviews. Most prominent among the

many names were Arnie Besant, Thomas Burt, John Burns, H.H. Champion and George Bernard Shaw.

Nevertheless, the Pall Mall remained firmly within the bounds of conventional Radicalism. As Stead wrote in 1886 in the paper's pages: "The only Socialism possible in England is honest Socialism, 'Socialism plus the Ten Commandments' --- and the first step thitherward is municipal socialism plus compensation for vested interests."<sup>57</sup> Despite this, the specific economics of Stead's socialist Utopia remained unstated and inexact. Bernard Shaw contributed a rare guest column to the paper in 1886 in which he elaborated upon the nature of the Pall Mall's collectivism as it struck a stronger believer. He conceded a "generous impulse" to the journal, even though in his estimate it sanctioned the seizure of labor "behind a rampart of the Ten Commandments...." Shaw concluded that the P.M.G. followed ... "a policy making at random for righteousness through a dense economic fog."<sup>58</sup>

Even after 1886 the Pall Mall's collectivism developed in only minor respects. In the shadow of the depression of that year, the paper suggested serious consideration be given the idea of establishing a certain "irreducible minimum" in order to guarantee a subsistence level of human existence.<sup>59</sup> The same month, in marked contrast to the attitude it had assumed the preceding year, the paper endorsed the need for eight hour legislation.<sup>60</sup> Finally, in the spring of 1887 the paper published in detail its own plan for social re-

<sup>57</sup> P.M.G., 30 March 1886, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> Mr. George Bernard Shaw, "A Socialist on the Unemployed," P.M.G., 11 Feb. 1886, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup> "Lessons From the Book of Life," P.M.G., 26 March 1886, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> "Leisure for Labour," P.M.G., 11 March 1886, p. 1; c.f. "A Coronetted Socialist," P.M.G., 29 Sept. 1885, p. 1 and "Lord Rosebery's Revised Version," P.M.G., 21 Oct. 1885, p. 1.

generation postulated on a system of rural co-operation designed to relieve the over-crowding of the cities.<sup>61</sup> Still, Stead hesitated to declare any "war on capital" such as Shaw was urging him in private to adopt in order "to lead the press to meet the twentieth century."<sup>62</sup>

For its inspiration, the editor's reluctance to endorse any plan that advocated outright confiscation of property looked beyond the more immediate limits imposed on such an action by the paper's politics, considerations of practicability and any immediate personal interest in the maintenance of the status quo. It found its greatest sanction in Stead's strongly-developed sense of ethics. His fundamental belief in the brotherhood of men established on a moral basis closely paralleled the teachings of Ruskin and especially Tolstoi.<sup>63</sup> To Stead, the empathy necessary to bring this condition about could only come from within the individual human being to encourage him to freely associate with his fellow humans in forming a society of volunteers who would take as their goal the service of mankind. As elaborated in Chapter IV, the editor's appeal for a "secular church" appeared on a number of occasions in the later Pall Mall.<sup>64</sup> Stead's attitude lent credence to his own claim that he was one-half a visionary socialist and one-half a practical optimist.<sup>65</sup> His visionary side could

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<sup>61</sup> "The Future of Co-operation," P.M.G., 31 May 1887, p. 1; "Co-operation Past and Future," P.M.G., 31 May 1887, pp. 11-12.

<sup>62</sup> Correspondence: G.B.S. to W.T. Stead, 8 June 1887, cited Dan H. Laurence, ed., Bernard Shaw: collected letters, pp. 171-173.

<sup>63</sup> Ernest Rhys, Everyman Remembers, p. 56; see below Chapter VII, p. 137 as well.

<sup>64</sup> Chapter IV, p. 83.

<sup>65</sup> B.O. Flower, "W.T. Stead: A Journalist with Twentieth Century Ideals," The Arena (Boston), vol. 25 (1897), p. 617.

look ahead to the Utopia described in Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, which the paper enthusiastically reviewed during Stead's last year at the helm.<sup>66</sup> But Stead could not suggest a practical means to reach such a goal. The nearest approach to a practical transition to Socialism that his comprehension acknowledged appeared in an editorial of 1886 which predicted ... "the strength of the movement will ... lie, not in ... numbers and agitation ... but in the slow growth of socialistic ideas which is taking place in the minds of well-to-do people ... and in the gradual passing over of advanced Radicals into the ranks of avowed Socialists."<sup>67</sup> At the same time, the Pall Mall played a very practical role in the social sense, as is traced in the chapter that follows.

#### VIII. DEFENCE OF SOCIALISTS' RIGHTS OF FREE SPEECH

The foregoing has indicated Stead's own views on collectivism as well as the great range of other opinion finding regular expression in the Pall Mall. A closely-related activity of the paper was the service it rendered the Socialists during the mid-'eighties in defence of free speech.

The paper moved from an early wariness of the movement to become the sole defender of the Socialist cause among upper class newspapers. It first championed the rights of "free speech" and "public meeting" following the initial clashes between Socialist demonstrators and the police in the autumn of 1885. Stead regularly attended the outdoor meetings and at an early date he correctly forecasted that they would end in trouble.<sup>68</sup> In the wake of further disturbances, the editor appeared in court and gave testimony favorable to the Social-

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<sup>66</sup> "A Socialist's Vision of the Millenium," P.M.G., 6 June 1889, p. 1; "Life 2000 A.D. Some Account of the Socialist's Millenium," P.M.G., 13 June 1889, p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> P.M.G., 23 Nov. 1886, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> John Boon, Victorians, Edwardians, and Georgians, i, 39.

ists arrested in early 1886 in Trafalgar Square. His action in this instance as well as his "vigorous advocacy of free speech" soon received grateful recognition in an open note penned by the Secretary of the Fabian Society.<sup>69</sup>

Beginning in early 1887, the paper committed generous amounts of space to accounts of the growing demonstrations of both Irish and Socialists, who were coming together to make common cause against the Unionist administration. From this time forward, many a Gould caricature lampooning the Unionists over their treatment of both problems gave the Pall Mall a style more reminiscent of the vitriolic journalism of the late eighteenth century rather than of the staid Victorian period. The paper's tone became most vigorous in the fall in direct response to increased restrictions imposed by the authorities and the strong opposition they engendered.

Stead's dogged publicity reached its peak following "Bloody Sunday" in November when several demonstrators were trampled to death and a large number of persons were beaten and arrested. William Morris wrote soon after in Commonweal to commend the isolated stand taken by the Pall Mall. He claimed that it had "for the time at least become almost a Socialist journal."<sup>70</sup> Following the events of that notorious weekend, the editor had personally taken the initiative to enunciate his suggestion of a "Law and Liberty League."<sup>71</sup> It enlisted the immediate support of a large number of prominent Radicals and Socialists, and proceeded to raise funds for the defence of the jailed demonstrators. The paper also publicly reproached Gladstone and Morley for their

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<sup>69</sup> Correspondence: "The Silencing of Socialists," P.M.G., 10 April 1886, p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> Commonweal, cited May Morris, William Morris: Artist, Writer, Socialist, ii, 259 and 269.

<sup>71</sup> "What Must Be Done Now?" P.M.G., 14 Nov. 1887, p. 5; for an account of the founding meeting see: "The Establishment of the Law and Liberty League for London," P.M.G., 19 Nov. 1887, pp. 1-4.

detachment. In addition to extending such strong journalistic support, Stead had acted as a pallbearer for one of the slain demonstrators.

The effect of the Pall Mall's publicity did much to turn many Liberals against the paper. As one regular reader complained, Stead's articles had made constant reference to "massacre, usurpers, heroes, bayonets, and liberty ...."<sup>72</sup> During the height of the campaign the paper had abdicated its sense of responsibility, departed from its good work in defence of English liberties, and attempted to dictate to the authorities. Radicals in particular were disturbed by the paper's action since it rendered their own position so suspect.

Stead remained impervious to criticism, and proceeded to keep the cause of the Socialists alive even after feelings had cooled and the demonstrations abated. Among the Pall Mall's decisive acts, it soon issued its extra "Remember Trafalgar Square; or, the Tory Terror of 1887." Upon the release of the jailed Socialists in early 1888, the paper marked the occasion with an issue given over to the "Heroes of the Square."<sup>73</sup>

Thus the enthusiasm of its editor eventually carried the Pall Mall beyond the bounds of propriety. Until this happened, it had strongly defended traditional English liberties and it had served as the one venue for acquainting the upper classes with the realities of Socialist demands. Nonetheless, the fact that even workingmen were by mid-1887 beginning to read the once exclusive paper,<sup>74</sup> must have rendered its politics often suspect with its own class

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<sup>72</sup> Arnold White, "Why He Became a Special Constable," P.M.G., 2 Dec. 1887, p. 2.

<sup>73</sup> "Honour to the Heroes of the Square," P.M.G., 21 Feb. 1888, pp. 1-3.

<sup>74</sup> Correspondence: G.B.S. to W.T. Stead, 8 June 1887, cited Dan H. Laurence, ed., Bernard Shaw: collected letters 1874-1897, p. 173.

even before it committed its greatest outrage against public opinion.

#### IX. COLONIAL AND EXTERNAL POLICY

From the time Stead assumed the P.M.G.'s editorship, the themes of internationalism and Liberal Imperialism became strong planks in the paper's external policy. Beginning in the mid-'eighties in particular, the paper pursued these themes with increased fervor and made a strong attempt to forward public thought along such lines. Stead's unique contribution lay in his attempt to combine the two policies. Radical Liberalism had always contained the seeds of internationalism. Cobden gave the doctrine a definite program. But that statesman would have found the editor's additional stress on Imperialism and his insistence on strong defences, philosophically untenable. The apparent disparity did not bother Stead, who was a pragmatist, and not a consistent theorist. He looked to the immediate challenge provided by the new national states of Europe; he also believed that in light of improving communications the future would lie with the large states.<sup>75</sup>

The Pall Mall fulfilled a leading role in popularizing the movement that suddenly emerged during the 'eighties to argue that Britain must keep her remaining colonies and must federate the entire empire. In particular, Stead labored to widen the horizons of the Liberal party, whose interest in empire continued to lag throughout the decade. At the editor's death, The Times would record: "A Younger generation should remember that there was no man who had done more in the press to popularize the Imperial idea...."<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> e.g. P.M.G., 3 March 1885, p. 3.

<sup>76</sup> "Death of W.T. Stead," The Times, 18 April 1912, p. 12; for Stead's later pro-Boer attitude during the Boer War see Joseph O. Baylen, "W.T. Stead and the Boer War: the irony of idealism," Canadian Historical Review, vol. 40 (1959), pp. 304-14.

In late 1883 the Pall Mall inaugurated its program to give extensive attention to colonial affairs. In the autumn it enthusiastically reviewed Seeley's Expansion of England in its leader page.<sup>77</sup> From this time on, the paper devoted many definitive articles to the colonies and featured frequent special contributions from correspondents throughout the empire, especially on subjects of current interest such as affairs in South Africa. The P.M.G.'s extensive coverage contrasted greatly with the relatively meagre space that other newspapers, The Times included, regularly devoted to the subject.<sup>78</sup>

In early 1885 the P.M.G. took a step to stimulate Liberal thought concerning colonial affairs when it precipitated an extended discussion on the topic of Imperial Federation. The paper noted that Federation had been talked about for some time, and that it was being written about during past months with growing strength. Still, if the movement did not soon assume a practical shape, it might "end in smoke." The P.M.G. provided a practical plan when it interviewed Earl Grey on the question and soon after published his suggestions in detail.<sup>79</sup>

Concurrent with the appearance of Grey's outline, the P.M.G. itself attempted to provide additional arguments of a historical and philosophical nature which justified a Liberal program of Empire. It published a critique on "The Doctrine of Midlothian," that examined respectively Gladstone's Imperialism and his colonial policy.<sup>80</sup> The paper's articles deplored the habit followed

<sup>77</sup> "The English Beyond the Sea," P.M.G., 4 Oct. 1883, p. 1.

<sup>78</sup> P.M.G., 16 June 1884, p. 4.

<sup>79</sup> "A Practical Suggestion," P.M.G., 9 Jan. 1885, p. 1.

<sup>80</sup> "The Doctrine of Midlothian," I --- P.M.G., 6 Jan. 1885, p. 1; II --- P.M.G., 10 Jan. 1885, pp. 1-2.

by so many advocates of the disruption of the empire to justify their position in making appeal to the prime minister's campaign platform of 1880. The journal made extensive references to his speeches to illustrate that the program of Midlothian in fact advocated a strong attachment to Britain overseas. The P.M.G. concluded by stating that the time had now come to accept in a wider sense Gladstone's original call that the colonies be extended a full title and the right to share in government. In light of the implicit changes that the third Reform Bill had brought about, the paper called for a full extension of the privileges and responsibilities of Imperial citizenship.

The P.M.G. series stimulated much debate, and the paper encouraged contributions representative of all points of view. Ideas flowed in from all parts of the empire, and gave weight to Stead's proud contention that each colony split itself into a pro-P.M.G. and an anti-P.M.G. faction concerning the colonial issue. Among the many views that the paper published was that of John Bright, the leader of the older Cobdenite faction, and the supreme antagonist of the expansionist school.<sup>81</sup>

The Pall Mall continued in its path-blazing efforts for the remainder of the decade. Its attitude to the Colonial Conference, held some two years later in the spring of 1887, contrasted strongly with the position of the Conservative administration then in office. On this occasion, the paper strongly criticized Salisbury for ignoring the issue, and for allowing the Conference, in the shadow of Stanhope's stepping down as Colonial Secretary, to become a purely consultative meeting. Throughout the latter half of the 'eighties, the paper strongly

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<sup>81</sup> "A Canadian View of Imperial Federation," P.M.G., 5 March 1885, pp. 1-2; The High Commissioner for South Africa, "Lord Grey's Proposed Colonial Council," P.M.G., 9 March 1885, pp. 1-2; The Rt. Hon. John Bright, M.P., "My Reply to the 'Pall Mall Gazette,'" P.M.G., 30 Jan. 1885, pp. 1-2 all provide a number of views.

supported the Liberal-Imperialist, Lord Rosebery, against the more hesitant attitudes of Gladstone and Morley and, among the press, particularly the recalcitrance of the Spectator. The Pall Mall also continued to offer frequent rebuttal to Bright who, though a Unionist concerning Ireland, steadily maintained that stronger bonds would only serve to drag the colonies into wars, and that differences in tariffs would continue to keep them apart.

A number of additional activities of the P.M.G. helped underscore Stead's contention, overstated as it might have been, that he "ran the British Empire from Northumberland Street." As shall be seen in the next chapter, the paper played a leading role in advocating emigration. It lent strong publicity to the movement that prevailed upon the Colonial Office to set up an Emigrant's Information Office in 1886. The paper also regularly championed the need for cheap telegraphic and postal communications within the empire. Another self-appointed function of the P.M.G.'s was the constant watch it kept over the welfare of native populations.

Stead's ideal of an international community where arbitration was the rule constituted the Pall Mall's foreign policy. The editor drew his initial inspiration in this direction from Salisbury's successes in maintaining the status quo in the 'seventies.<sup>82</sup> Stead's views were later reinforced by the conference convened by the great powers in 1884-85 at Berlin to delimit spheres of influence in Africa.

The editor wanted to make the P.M.G. an instrument to educate the public on foreign policy and foreign affairs. Under Stead's direction, the paper soon regained the excellent reputation it had enjoyed in Greenwood's day. Most

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<sup>82</sup> "War or Peace on the Continent --- VI," P.M.G., 21 June 1888, p. 1.

of its material came from Paris, where Robert Donald supervised the Pall Mall's news services on the Continent. Beginning in 1886, the work of Mrs. Crawford, the noted foreign correspondent, supplemented these efforts from the same venue.<sup>83</sup> During the latter half of the decade in particular, the P.M.G.'s coverage of international affairs reflected Stead's increasing interest in the furtherance of international accord. From late 1887 onwards, the paper assumed a particularly international flavor when Stead sent Henry Norman on an around-the-world tour as the P.M.G.'s "travelling commissioner." Norman's task, which he carried off with great success, was to interview knowledgeable persons on international and colonial affairs.<sup>84</sup> His extensive itinerary took him across Canada and into the Far East. A notable side excursion took him to the United States, a country whose friendship Stead always had great interest in promoting.

In the summer of 1888 the Pall Mall featured a series of articles based on Stead's extensive tours on the Continent. These concluded with a number from the Russian capital. They formed a point-by-point examination of the differences outstanding between Britain and Russia.<sup>85</sup> Stead obtained the material that appeared in the Pall Mall from Alexander, III who conducted his own diplomacy, and it took the form of a number of lengthy interviews. In his own enthusiasm, the journalist painted the Czar, who in turn wished that a better understanding could be reached between Britain, Germany and Russia, as the "Peacekeeper of Europe." After Stead had returned the Pall Mall once again turned at length to the subject of Russia in a second series. The paper suggested that Russia offered a great opportunity for lagging British trade if a

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<sup>83</sup> "The Life and Adventures of a Lady 'Special,'" P.M.G., 5 May 1888, pp. 1-2.

<sup>84</sup> "An Interviewing Tour Round the World," P.M.G., 12 Sept. 1887, pp. 1-2.

<sup>85</sup> "War or Peace on the Continent," P.M.G., 30 June 1888, pp. 1-3; 2 July, pp. 1-4; 3 July, pp. 1-4.

more friendly diplomatic accord could be reached.

Stead's wariness of Germany increased as he grew increasingly friendly to France and Russia. The editor's ingrained liberalism recoiled from the autocratic controls that Bismarck was imposing upon Germany, and which he had witnessed at first hand. In Stead's estimate, Germany's network of informers and her extremely effective press censorship rendered her incomparably more autocratic than Russia.<sup>86</sup> The policy increasingly favored by the Pall Mall ran exactly counter to the current practice of the Conservative government, which backed the Central Powers to the extent that it followed an active foreign policy. As such, it clearly anticipated the diplomatic revolution that the Liberals were to lead Britain into early in the twentieth century.

At the end of 1889 the paper's energetic and idealistic editor again journeyed to the Continent, this time to test the new spirit of the Vatican under the reforming Pope, Leo XIII, and report on it to the readers of the P.M.G. Stead inquired about the Papacy's potential role as an international mediator. The official response was favorable but guarded, and certainly did not match the great ardor with which Stead reported it. For by 1889, his interest in the feasibility of international brotherhood was running high, very possibly as a result of the conference that England, France and America had convened to discuss difficulties arising between them.

#### X. CONCLUSION

The Pall Mall served during Stead's editorship as a Liberal newspaper, if in an irregular and independent manner. While the party remained in office,

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<sup>86</sup> "War or Peace on the Continent," P.M.G., 23 June 1888, pp. 1-2.

the paper promoted a consensus and program despite its avowed Radical tendencies. At the same time, it highly embarrassed the Liberal party over its stand on the colonies, its determined role concerning the Sudan, its exposure of naval weaknesses and the attitude it assumed on the question of Penjdeh. The paper's "Maiden Tribute" crusade brought great pressures to bear on Salisbury's minority government, but undoubtedly did much to embarrass Liberal members as well. It must be suspected that this active program did much to to alienate the paper from the innermost councils of Liberalism even before it fell out of grace with the party on the question of Ireland. Despite Stead's constant early attacks on Gladstone and the moderates within the Liberal cabinet, the paper did not accord any favoritism to Chamberlain's increasingly independent Radicalism, and it played a prominent part to sustain the public's suspicion of Dilke arising out of his involvement in the Crawford divorce. This eventually led him to elect a second trial, which in turn ruined his promising career.

The paper's position on the dominating question of Ireland was conspicuously positive and constructive. At the same time, the P.M.G.'s early actions caused it to stand accused of helping to wreck Home Rule and, as a result of Stead's intense personal dislike for Chamberlain, of having aided to alienate him from the Liberals, with destructive consequences.

The P.M.G. continued its earlier independent explorations in the field of domestic political theory even after the Irish question began to exert its dampening effect on political reform. In no way did the paper demonstrate its liberalism in fuller degree than in the way it served as a venue for all the ad-

vanced political creeds of the day. The paper's action was most important and instructive during a decade when the major issue of collectivism was still in a state of great flux, and the public still highly ignorant on the matter. Stead's Radicalism remained conventional but ever ready to adapt to new tendencies so long as they did not threaten traditional social organization. The P.M.G. thus helped lay the theoretical groundwork of the "new Collectivism" that Liberalism was to embrace in the 'nineties. In theory, of course, the editor's ideas went much farther, and on occasion his aspirations emerged in the paper's pages to give it a highly visionary flavor.

In a more specified way, the P.M.G. functioned in the best tradition of English liberalism when it defended the Socialists' rights of free speech and of public meeting. Stead's good services in this respect suffered only from his over-enthusiasm, which took the paper eventually beyond the bounds of objectivity.

The paper rendered constructive work in other fields as well. It actively promoted Liberal Imperialism and internationalism, and could by Stead's final year point to evidence that its policies were reflected increasingly in the channels that British thought was following. Especially evident was the growing appreciation at large for the revived concept of empire.

At all times, the Pall Mall strove to fulfill an elaborate role in respect to opinion in the new age of mass democracy. It actively encouraged debate on party policy in its columns. It conducted frequent polls of opinion and, in later years, published frequent analyses of by-elections. During the years that the Liberals were in opposition, the paper strove particularly to

both close the party ranks and to promote morale.

The P.M.G.'s stands on the above issues rendered it distinct among the Liberal press, but the paper's political program alone did not account for all of its influence. Stead's paper derived a good deal of its reputation from its constant campaign to expose social abuses and to educate the public in all the mainstreams of human improvement.

## CHAPTER VII

### "SOCIAL POLITICS"

#### I. GENERAL SOCIAL EMPHASIS

Stead's Pall Mall may be said to have existed at several levels. On one level it was a friendly centre and bell-weather of the Liberal party --- on another, a crusader for social reform. Thus George Bernard Shaw could state that the P.M.G. owed its unique position neither to its campaign for Home Rule nor to its stand on Russia, but rather to its resolution to attack social abuses.<sup>1</sup> The paper's crusades, because of the energy with which they were pursued, carried much farther than the limited objects of the official Liberal party and even farther, in some instances, than those of the Radical wing.

Stead justified his position editorially on the social issue by showing how contemporary movements, including the Conservative party; were by late 1883 abandoning laissez faire. "The plain truth of the matter is that 'the condition of the people question,' as Mr. Carlyle used to call it, is coming to the front with a rush...."<sup>2</sup> The Pall Mall echoed these thoughts again a year later. Once general household suffrage and redistribution of seats according to the principle of population were realities, there would be a shift from purely political issues and from the old game of Ins and Outs.

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<sup>1</sup> Correspondence: G.B.S. to W.T. Stead, 8 June 1887, cited Dan H. Laurence, ed., Bernard Shaw: collected letters, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> "Lord Salisbury's Plunge," P.M.G., 25 Oct. 1883, p. 1.

The home politics of the future will be social politics. The land laws, the condition of our towns, the further development of national education, the utilization of the vast resources of the Church --- these, and others like them, are the problems before us.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, at least in Stead's early years, the Pall Mall looked to the same bright future envisioned by the Radical movement at large. The editor's own background brought to the newspaper an additional strong element of Nonconformist temperance. Following 1886, the paper was to reflect the somewhat declining importance given the considerations of general land reform and Disestablishment, due to the sidetracking effect of the Irish question.

Even allowing for these exceptions, the Pall Mall's program did not suffer during later years as much as might be imagined, in light of the Radical movement's setbacks. These included Chamberlain's defection from the Liberals as well as the demise of Lord Randolph, his Conservative counterpart. Throughout these difficulties, the Pall Mall's very vitality and independence of party program rendered it remarkably oblivious to the limitations imposed by such events. Stead was predominantly a moral rather than a political thinker, as a later acquaintance noted.<sup>4</sup> As earlier, he continued to follow a pragmatic policy of exposing all manners of social abuses as well as publicizing needy causes. The paper also looked to a large number of practical social activities in addition to the thought of outstanding social philosophers. At the same time, it made little attempt to work out a system from this plethora of material. It remained content to function in the truly liberal sense by offering

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<sup>3</sup> "The Social Upheaval in Politics," P.M.G., 15 Nov. 1884, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lord Snell, Mén, Movements, and Myself, p. 181.

all views for serious consideration.

To a limited extent, the Pall Mall adhered to one constantly identifiable school of social philosophy; it might be said to have possessed distinct Ruskinian overtones. A contemporary suggested that Stead, along with William Morris and Oscar Wilde, "might all be counted as Ruskinian reformers, artistic or moral with a difference."<sup>5</sup> Stead never met Ruskin, but the similarity of their views is unmistakable. Edward Cook, who in time became Stead's deputy, could tell Ruskin that the P.M.G. staff was applying his philosophy in the paper.<sup>6</sup> On one notable occasion the paper wrote: "At present Ruskin's fame stands on his achievements as a writer. Twenty years hence he may best be remembered as a social reformer."<sup>7</sup> The judgement possibly did not take into account the great reputation he already enjoyed as a critic, but the paper's strong endorsement of his teaching was distinctly evident. The Pall Mall drew much of its Ruskinian tone directly from the writings of the artist, since during Stead's day Cook's intense interest ensured that the paper served as a main outlet for the artist's thought. Ruskin's lengthy autobiography appeared serialized in the paper as did other articles inspired by him, and Cook wrote a detailed examination of his philosophy.<sup>8</sup> All of these agreed with the paper's stress upon a program that advocated education, overseas emigration, the removal of surplus population to the countryside, fair remuneration of labor, the development of womankind, the development of the individual and which strongly opposed social

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<sup>5</sup> Ernest Rhys, Everyman Remembers, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> "The Gospel According to Ruskin --- III," P.M.G., 17 Feb. 1888, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> see especially "The Gospel According to Ruskin," P.M.G., 26 Jan. 1888, p. 1; 9 Feb., p. 2; 17 Feb., p. 2.

"levelling." Like Ruskin's philosophy, the program derived its inspiration from a strong moral foundation.

## II. THE PALL MALL'S IMPLICIT PROGRAM OF SOCIAL REGENERATION

Indeed, it remained the first three of the above points that Stead especially looked to for relief from the troubles that plagued English society in the 'eighties. In light of the depression of 1886, the editor drew the more dominant of these themes together on one of the few occasions that he developed his social thought in detail. In the long-run, improvement would depend, he suggested, on: first, better education; second, the removal of surplus labor to the countryside; and, third, overseas emigration.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it is to the paper's constant treatment of these topics that attention must first be directed. For these themes provided the backdrop to the P.M.G.'s manifold activities and, in Stead's thinking, offered alternatives to the increasing collectivism that he waited upon public opinion to embrace.

### Education

Throughout its two preceding editorships, the Pall Mall had customarily extended to education a prominent place in its columns, but under Stead emphasis on the topic grew even more comprehensive. This reflected the increased role that the paper's editor desired to see education play in the new age.

The Pall Mall looked initially to improved primary and technical education to improve England's standard of living in result of the direct and growing challenge provided by foreign competition.<sup>10</sup> Thus, from the time that he first

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<sup>9</sup> "The Truth About the Distress. IV --- Permanent Causes and Remedies," P.M.G., 15 March 1886, pp. 1-3.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

assumed the position of editor, Stead had worked constantly to publicize the practical work of agencies that included the London School Board schools, numerous churches, University Extension and also technical education centres such as the People's Palace in the East-End.

At another level, the P.M.G. looked ahead to the day when education would serve as a true social leveller and moral influence in the new democracy that was developing. To this end, Stead paid increased attention to the work of secondary education, especially from 1886 onwards. From this date, the paper featured a yearly comparative review of the scholastic attainments of all public schools in England under the title "The Public School Record." The Pail Mall expressed its decided preference for the new type of day school or municipal high school, and justified its support by the increasingly better record that such types were making.<sup>11</sup> To the paper's way of thinking, it was this type of school, in contrast to the traditional public school, that would shape the democracy of the future. In assuming this advanced stand, the P.M.G. foreshadowed struggles that were not to come until much later, in the twentieth century.

### The Land Question

Despite its Radical politics, the Pail Mall remained highly cautious on the land question. It examined all of the main authorities and their respective teachings on the subject in detail between 1883 and 1885. Yet it was reticent to endorse fully any of these schemes. The paper featured its most

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<sup>11</sup> "The School of the Future," P.M.G., 17 Oct. 1888, p. 1.

extensive critique of the ideas that were constantly appearing in its pages when in early 1885 it printed a serialized comparative study of the various schools of thought. In the articles' studied judgement, the plans of Morris and Hyndman were far too sweeping; those of George and Wallace, while not so thorough-going, still savored of undue compulsion; and those of Chamberlain and Jesse Collings were far too vague.<sup>12</sup>

In contrast, the journal frequently expressed its inherent approval of the moral experiments that were under way on a small scale in the practical work of Ruskin as well as of the philanthropist, Samuel Morley.<sup>13</sup> Stead would at a later date endorse the ideas of Tolstoi on the subject of peasant holdings as well. But the Pall Mall was not so short-sighted as Ruskin, and it could occasionally allow doubts about the ability of the countryside to solve the great problems of the cities.

Only in 1887 did the Pall Mall outline its own tentative plan based on the idea of rural co-operation. The paper expressed its views that both the problems of Ireland and of many a British city might be solved by promoting a return to the land conceived on a communal basis. Income derived from a land tax on individual holdings would compensate expropriated landlords, and the surplus would provide necessary community enterprises.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The Hon. Auberon Herbert, "Some of Our Land Prophets," I --- P.M.G., 11 March 1885, pp. 1-2; II --- 17 March 1885, pp. 1-2; III --- 25 March 1885, pp. 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> e.g. "'St. George's' Cloth. Another Revived Village Industry," P.M.G., 8 Feb. 1886, p. 4; "The Truth About the Distress --- IV," P.M.G., 15 March 1886, pp. 1-3; "Mr. Ruskin's Appeal to the British Public," P.M.G., 25 Feb. 1886, p. 6; "'St. George's' Museums," P.M.G., 14 May 1886, pp. 1-2; P.M.G., 24 Dec. 1884, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> "The Future of Co-operation," P.M.G., 31 May 1887, p. 1; "Co-operation Past and Future," P.M.G., 31 May 1887, pp. 11-12.

## Emigration

Though Radicalism at large remained highly suspicious of the subject of emigration, because it threatened to postpone needed reforms, the Pall Mall played a predominant role in publicizing the issue. In the summer of 1885 the paper published its series "The Diary of An Amateur Emigrant," which recreated in realistic detail the experiences that a working-class emigrant would face.<sup>15</sup> As emigration increased in popularity in the years that followed, the Pall Mall opened its columns to many philanthropic organizations both to publicize their work as well as to right misconceptions and apprehensions. While the paper cooperated in this manner, it never ceased to recommend larger schemes organized on national and municipal levels.

The above principles, then, formed the ever-present background to the paper's exploration of the social problem. At the same time, they were not to prove as effective in a direct sense as many other activities traced below.

### III. URBAN PROBLEMS

The Pall Mall soon attained a reputation as being foremost among newspapers for the attention it devoted to the great problems of London and other British cities. It directed an unwavering solicitude to the subject, despite the fact Radical philosophy lacked any comprehensive urban agenda during most of the 'eighties, save Chamberlain's statements on artisans' housing.

Once he assumed editorship of the paper, Stead turned his focus on London problems with a vengeance. The P.M.G. issued its first major manifesto when in the autumn of 1883 it published extracts from "The Cry of the Outcast Poor of

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<sup>15</sup> The articles appeared in ten installments between 30 April 1885 and 7 Aug. 1885.

London," a pamphlet which had been compiled by the Nonconformist body, the London Congregational Union.<sup>16</sup> The article portrayed in intimate detail life in London's tenement "rookeries." The paper continued to stimulate the immediate interest the story raised by publishing the extensive correspondence it received. The following month, Stead arranged to feature Chamberlain's paper on "The Housing of the Poor" in advance of its scheduled appearance as a part of The Radical Programme that was appearing in the Fortnightly.

Against the background of intense interest that such articles evoked, the P.M.G. conducted its own careful and scientifically exact survey of a small district of London, and published the results in a number of installments in early 1884.<sup>17</sup> The paper's extensive publicity bore results when a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into London housing. Little came of this commission itself, but the heightened interest that the paper had first stimulated carried over into a number of worthwhile endeavors which included the founding of the Mansion House Council, and greatly increased activity on the part of voluntary and religious groups.

Throughout this time, the paper continued to keep urban problems to the fore. It featured protracted series devoted to the "Rebuilding of London" and "Social Wants of London," which were particularly designed to stimulate individuals and charities to assume an increased interest in the alleviation of Municipal problems. The paper did not restrict its attention to London alone; it carried many a lead item on conditions in other major cities. Beginning

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<sup>16</sup> "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," P.M.G., 16 Oct. 1883, p. 11.

<sup>17</sup> "The Housing of London Workmen --- Not in the Slums," P.M.G., 31 Jan. 1884, pp. 11-12; 4 Feb., pp. 11-12; 5 Feb., pp. 11-12; 11 Feb., pp. 11-12.

in 1883 and continuing down to 1885 the P.M.G. also devoted much attention to the less colorful but equally important problems of public health in London and other British cities.

In the autumn of 1885 the paper undertook a survey which was to aid greatly the shaping of opinion about the administrative problems of the Metropolis. From the results of a circular of inquiry it submitted to London candidates in the general election, the Pall Mall forecast with considerable accuracy the London Programme launched some four years afterwards. The proposed outline for the reconstruction of local government listed as its central considerations: the formation of a central municipality, lease-hold enfranchisement, taxation of ground values and the erection of workmen's dwellings.<sup>18</sup>

Soon after this, in early 1886, the Pall Mall published what was without a doubt the most extensive and scientific study that a British newspaper had ever undertaken on the social question. In its series "The Truth About the Distress," the Pall Mall printed the findings of a nation-wide inquiry it had conducted into the depressed condition of the economy.<sup>19</sup> The paper had conducted its study by enlisting the support of knowledgeable persons both within and without the government. Its study extended two earlier ones similarly conducted into the depression in the north within the preceding year. The investigation embraced some seventy-eight provincial towns and cities, but its most sobering conclusion concerned conditions in the Metropolis. The P.M.G. concluded by verifying what many had suspected: that at least a quarter of the population

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<sup>18</sup> see especially P.M.G., 2 Jan. 1890, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> "The Truth About the Distress," I --- P.M.G., 24 Feb. 1886, pp. 1-2; II --- 26 Feb. 1886, pp. 1-2; III --- 9 March 1886, pp. 1-2; IV --- 15 March 1886, pp. 1-3; V --- 18 March 1886, p. ; and VI --- 26 March 1886, p. 1.

of London was always on the verge of distress. There existed a state of chronic poverty in the capital.

Stead's study had taken its inspiration from a conversation with H.M. Hyndman, the Socialist leader. As a result, the Social Democratic Federation was to adopt this initial research into London's poverty, undertaken by sociological methods, as its own. It was this study that Charles Booth of the Salvation Army undertook to prove to be "grossly overstated" when he undertook his multi-volume work on London Life and Labour, which appeared from 1889 to 1902. Yet, instead of succeeding to prove anything to the contrary, Booth's more extensive study only confirmed the Pall Mall's initial accuracy.

The Pall Mall returned to its explorations of London's unknown underground throughout the several years that followed. Its story "Where London's Homeless Wanderers Sleep" of September 1886 brought to public attention for the first time the plight of the homeless, who, unknown to respectable Londoners, slept on the Embankment or in Trafalgar Square and disappeared before morning.<sup>20</sup> A year later, the paper ran its "Five Nights in the Streets of London" which indicated that conditions had changed but little.<sup>21</sup> Several months following this, the P.M.G.'s first-hand investigations challenged the statements made by complacent officials to the effect that the casual wards were adequate and that no person need starve or be shelterless.<sup>22</sup>

The above instances touch upon only the paper's more obvious campaigns. From 1886 onwards the paper's pages bore an increasing number of similar sto-

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<sup>20</sup> "Where London's Homeless Wanderers Sleep," P.M.G., 21 Sept. 1886, pp. 5-6.

<sup>21</sup> "Five Nights in the Streets of London," P.M.G., 9 Sept. 1887, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> "Round the Casual Wards at Night," P.M.G., 12 Nov. 1887, pp. 1-2.

ries about London conditions as regular fare. The Pall Mall directed many of its accounts against landlords, but it also bore a large number of vestry scandals, school board frauds, instances of the ineffectuality of poor law guardians and complaints about the police. Always Stead stressed the need for a higher personal and civic morality. In 1887 the paper exposed abuses in the Metropolitan Public Works Department, and in the fall of the following year it ran a notable series on the widespread prevalence of crime in London and the inability of the police to combat the problem.<sup>23</sup> This general background inspired the Pall Mall's efforts to ensure that Socialists be allowed the right of free speech and that newspaper space be granted them in which they might state their demands in orderly fashion.

The paper earlier reached a doctrinal peak in its campaign on urban problems when in late 1887 it carried what amounted to the first English manifesto on town-planning. This was Frederic Harrison's Toynbee Hall address, "The Present and Future of Great Cities." Although the paper remained hesitant to endorse the amount of government intervention that would be necessary to effect such a sweeping plan of renewal, it gave the program generous coverage and it published Harrison's speech in full in the Budget.<sup>24</sup>

In all of the above ways the Pall Mall played perhaps the most prominent role of any newspaper to stimulate the increased interest in civic problems that arose in London to follow the apathy of the first years of the decade. At least one critic traced the public awareness first awakened by the Pall Mall's

<sup>23</sup> "The Police and the Criminals of London," I --- P.M.G., 8 Oct. 1888, pp. 1-3; II --- 9 Oct., pp. 1-3; III --- 10 Oct., pp. 1-3; IV --- 11 Oct., pp. 1-3; V --- 12 Oct., pp. 1-4; VI --- 13 Oct., pp. 1-3.

<sup>24</sup> Frederic Harrison, "The Future of Great Cities," P.M.G., 20 Dec. 1887, pp. 11-12; the speech appears in full in the Budget, 22 Dec. 1887.

initial article on the Outcast Poor of 1883 through successive stages until it culminated in the overwhelming victory of the Progressives in the London County Council.<sup>25</sup>

Certainly, to credit the Pall Mall alone with having maintained and encouraged this concern would be shortsighted. Yet the Pall Mall did play a strong role in direct relation to the initial movement to set up London County Council. From the time of Michael Davitt's first enunciation of "Home Rule for London" in early 1888, the paper directly aided the program of the Progressives during the stages of its successful prosecution by Robert Cunningham Graham and John Burns, the plan's sponsors. Thus the paper could record how, at that time and for many months afterwards, it upheld alone, in the London press, the cause of the London toilers. It did this unaided by even the new Radical organ, the Star, and independent as well of the Liberal leaders, who remained recreant to the popular cause for some time.<sup>26</sup> Throughout the final months, the Pall Mall's publicity did much to stimulate sagging interest. On the eve of the election the paper circularized the large slate of candidates and tabulated their replies in an extensive assessment it printed. In this way, the paper strongly underscored its independent policy of "Men before measures" on this occasion.

The Pall Mall continued its policy of strong support following the London elections. Shortly afterwards, it issued a directory of the successful candidates which appeared as one of its famous electoral extras. This supplemented the paper's earlier special, devoted to "The New Local Government Bill" passed

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<sup>25</sup> B.O. Flower, "W.T. Stead: A Journalist with Twentieth Century Ideals," The Arena (Boston), vol. 25 (1897), p. 626.

<sup>26</sup> "The Genesis of the London Commune," P.M.G., 19 March 1889, p. 1.

in 1888, which had discussed the ramifications of county reform. From the elections onwards, the P.M.G. carried regular and detailed reports of the activities of both County Council and the London School Board. For, as Stead would later note: "The reports of proceedings of the local council, the School Board, or the board of Guardians are more efficacious than university lectures in rousing interest and retaining the attention of the community."<sup>27</sup> This summarized the motivation behind the Pall Mall's constant attention to Metropolitan affairs.

#### IV. THE CONDITION OF LABOR

As traced in the preceding chapter, Stead remained in his personal politics a middle-class Radical. Though he was an early convert to the eight-hours movement in theory, he hesitated to endorse any method of artificial interference with traditional economics in respect to labor. In order to deal with inhuman working conditions, he preferred rather to invoke the indirect weapon of publicity. As the Pall Mall editorialized on one notable occasion, the "force and power of public opinion" was the "best if not the only remedy" to deal with the problem.

The Pall Mall conducted inquiries into a number of commercial activities during the mid-'eighties in result of the widespread depression. The paper prophetically anticipated the coming strike of the London dockers when it published a detailed description of their predicament in "A Day's Work at the Docks. By One Who Has Done It" as early as 1885.<sup>28</sup> In the summer of the same

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<sup>27</sup> "The National Social Union," Review of Reviews, vol. 10 (Sept. 1894), p. 291.

<sup>28</sup> Arnold White, "A Day's Work at the Docks," P.M.G., 17 Feb. 1885, pp. 1-2.

year the paper launched a protracted campaign against one of the most exploited activities of all, that of the tramcar operators, who worked sixteen hours a day.<sup>29</sup> The paper also turned its attention to the plight of male wrapper-writers, waiters, clerks and mineral water bottlers in a series of articles, and, in addition, exposed the most exploited workers of all --- the exiled Jews who had fled Poland and who were now working in London.<sup>30</sup> Such studies effectively publicized the labor question well in advance of the official inquiries into sweating that followed, in the latter half of the decade.

The instances cited above were only the most overt actions of the paper in its work to render the state of labor known to the public. The Pall Mall supported similar, if not as colorful, actions to ameliorate the condition of artisans at all times. In this spirit, it welcomed warmly the Industrial Remuneration conference of 1885 and the reorganization of the Labour Bureau of the Board of Trade in 1886, which both held the promise to further mitigate the problems of labor through the publicity they directed to the topic. In like manner, the paper regularly reported, in contrast to the many London papers that ignored the matter, the figures of the unemployed during 1887 and 1888 which were discovered by the census conducted under the charitable aus-

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<sup>29</sup> Mrs. James Reaney, "The White Slaves of the Tramcar," P.M.G., 30 July 1885, pp. 1-2; "Sixteen Hours a Day on the Tramcar," P.M.G., 6 Aug. 1885, pp. 1-2; "Who Are the Real Slave Drivers?" P.M.G., 28 Aug. 1885, p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> "Wrapper Writing," P.M.G., 21 Aug. 1885, p. 4; "My Experiences of Waiting," P.M.G., 27 Aug. 1885, p. 4, and 8 Sept. 1885, p. 12; "The Serfdom of Clerkship," P.M.G., 12 Sept. 1885, p. 4, 16 Sept., p. 4, 22 Sept., p. 4; "Soda Water 'Hands,'" P.M.G., 15 Oct. 1885, p. 4; "Among the Jews At the East-End," P.M.G., 7 Aug. 1885, p. 4.

pices of the Waterbury Watch Company.<sup>31</sup>

#### V. THE WOMAN PROBLEM

The Pall Mall showed an intensive interest in the condition of labor in women's trades. During the first two years of Stead's editorship the paper ran a systematic series of articles that examined working conditions in some thirty trades and professions. The opening article introduced the reader to the work of the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women. Subsequent pieces discussed the many occupations that were open to women and informed the public about the training required, working conditions and pay. The large number of favorable responses to the series indicated that the Pall Mall was being read by an appreciable proportion of professional women.

In the spring of 1886 the paper returned to the subject of working women following its exposures of sweating in male trades. Thus it called attention to the state of the Army Factory workers, and encouraged them in their successful effort to organize. About the same time, the paper directed its readers' attentions to the sad position of the independent needlewomen in London. In both instances, the Pall Mall alone broke the strict silence that the "respectable press" had maintained.<sup>32</sup> The paper soon turned its attention to the equally dismal circumstances of the London flowergirls. This same year, the paper mounted an effective campaign against the efforts of labor representatives in parliament who selfishly wished to exclude women workers from safe above-ground work at mines. The Pall Mall also unofficially sponsored several unsuccessful

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<sup>31</sup> see especially "About the 'Workless Workers' Census," P.M.G., 24 Dec. 1887, p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> "The Royal Army Clothing Factory," P.M.G., 29 March 1886, p. 2; Correspondence: P.M.G., 9 March 1886, p. 6.

attempts to form a domestic servants' union.

During the early years, the P.M.G. had been content to acquaint an unaware public with the problems of women's labor at large. In later years the Pall Mall sharpened its focus to expose numerous abuses in many a specific shop or firm. Not infrequently, the paper departed from the normal journalistic conventions to promote the good work of "enlightened" employers or co-operative undertakings. The paper's growing partisanship took inspiration from the increased sensitivity on the part of the public that was making it more responsive to such stories. For inquiry into the far-reaching problems of women's labor was both focused and stimulated by the conference convened in 1887 under the chairmanship of Professor Henry Fawcett, and at which the Pall Mall's editor had appeared as a featured speaker.

Under the influence of Stead's intense interest, the Pall Mall looked beyond the problem of labor. The paper editorialized on one occasion: "The woman question includes every question --- morals, religion, socialism, and over and above all justice."<sup>33</sup> The paper's practical support of the cause made it the most able of the serious Victorian journals that devoted a portion of their coverage to women. Its pages attested to the growing number of organizations devoted to the direct aid of women and to their campaign for equal rights. Thus the P.M.G. featured many articles that dealt with other aspects of the movement than labor alone, and that included such matters as morality, the franchise, the placement of women on boards of local administration as

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<sup>33</sup> P.M.G., 20 April 1887, p. 5.

well as the direct work of numerous agencies to aid young girls and indigent women. Next to the paper's famous campaign on the "Maiden Tribute," the second most prominent action that it involved itself in was the aid it afforded the successful campaign to abolish the Communicable Diseases Act during the year that followed.

In addition to the aid it rendered to specific causes, the Pall Mall fulfilled a more general role as intellectual spokesman for the women's cause. Its firm defence often helped offset the onslaughts of both The Times as well as the Nineteenth Century, the latter under the direction of its militantly anti-feminist editor, Mr. Knowles. On its stand in support of the women's vote, the P.M.G. went beyond even most Radicals. Many of them were convinced that if the movement were to succeed, women would exert influence to retard other measures. The paper put its implicit attitude into words when in 1888 it urged "all women's papers" ... [to] "be women's first and Liberal afterwards."<sup>34</sup> This was the editorial policy that it had always followed.

## VI. THE "NEW UNIONISM"

Stead's concern for the condition of labor and his support for the women's movement led him to play a prominent part during his last years as editor in aid of the increasingly militant role that labor unions assumed beginning in 1888 and 1889. For the "New Unionism" of the late 'eighties contrasted markedly with the calmer years earlier in the decade.

As elaborated in Chapter IV, Stead's extracurricular activities led him

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<sup>34</sup> P.M.G., 23 Oct. 1888, p. 4.

in 1888 to collaborate with Annie Besant to publish the underground newsheet, the Link. In its quest to expose instances of sweated labor, the Link published in the summer of 1888 information supplied it by several of the girls employed by the matchworks of Bryant and May. The firm soon suspended the girls involved, and the Link's further articles helped promote the strike of the matchworkers.

As a result of Stead's association with both publications, the Pall Mall often carried exposures akin to those featured in the Link. During the crisis at Bryant and May, the P.M.G. carried detailed reports of the situation, and even suggested an economic boycott of the firm.<sup>35</sup> In this manner, the paper assumed the foremost position among the few respectable papers that aided the movement. The Pall Mall's sustained publicity and its direct appeal in aid of the Matchmakers' Strike Fund played a necessary part in the success of the strike. The girls possessed no union previous to the strike, and they could not have withstood their employer without newspaper aid to appeal for funds with which to supplement the help offered by various unions.<sup>36</sup>

The Pall Mall played a similar role to help ensure both financial and moral support in aid of the decisive strikes that followed during the ensuing year as unionism displayed a new solidarity. Several months after the strike of the match girls, the Pall Mall supported the striking women weavers in Leeds.<sup>37</sup> The next summer, the paper responded to the strike of the London dock workers

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<sup>35</sup> "Matchmaking and Matchmakers. An Example for Bryant and May," P.M.G., 31 July 1888, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> See the balance sheet for the Matchmakers' Strike Fund: P.M.G., 27 July 1888, pp. 13-14.

<sup>37</sup> "The Strike of Women Weavers," P.M.G., 26 Sept. 1888, p. 3.

with great enthusiasm. The paper hailed their action as "the most satisfactory sign that has appeared on the economic horizon for many years."<sup>38</sup> This attitude contrasted greatly with that of the many journals that pursued the line of argument that the strike was neither their business, nor that of anyone else. The P.M.G. also supported the strike committee's eventual call for a general sympathy strike. This cry found little response, but once again the paper's publicity had done much to promote public understanding. From this time on, the New Unionism asserted itself in strikes and threats of strikes, all of which drew strong support from the Pall Mall and its traditionally pro-union sentiments.

#### VII. MISCELLANEOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Throughout the slightly more than six years that Stead served as its editor, the Pall Mall carried a wide range of exposures and appeals. Its more specialized investigations ranged from a series that appeared in mid-1884 on "My Experiences in a Madhouse" to the paper's exposures late in 1888 of the "Waste and Jobbery in the Law Courts."<sup>39</sup> The former took its style and method from Greenwood's "Amateur Casual." The P.M.G.'s "Amateur Maniac" outlined the malpractices of asylums from his own first-hand experience, gained after he had feigned madness in order to be admitted. The latter series described in detail the sinecures and scandals that had been only vaguely referred to in parliament, but which were obstructing justice in British courts.

A social issue that reoccurred sporadically throughout many of Stead's

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<sup>38</sup> "A Striking Strike," P.M.G., 22 Aug. 1889, p. 1.

<sup>39</sup> "My Experiences in a Madhouse," I --- P.M.G., 26 Aug. 1884, pp. 1-2; II --- 30 Aug. 1884, pp. 1-2; III --- 2 Sept. 1884, pp. 1-2; "Waste and Jobbery in the Law Courts," I --- P.M.G., 29 Nov. 1888, pp. 1-2; II --- 5 Dec. 1888, pp. 1-2.

years was the plight of the Scottish cottars and crofters whom landlords were removing from their holdings. The paper's resolute campaign on their behalf eventually resulted in the government taking action to set up a Commission in 1888 "for the Colonization in the Dominion of Canada of Crofters and Cottars from the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland." The government took its inspiration from Henry Norman who had first breached the issue in early 1888 during his visit to Canada as the paper's "travelling commissioner."<sup>40</sup>

#### VIII. THE P.M.G. ACTS AS A VENUE FOR THE "WISE ONES"

The Pall Mall sought to bring together the ascertained results of human experience in a form accessible to all men. It published the work and ideas of all persons and associations that sought the betterment of human life. It publicized the work of social, religious, moral, philanthropic, administrative and recreational efforts, in addition to the purely political. A main feature of the paper was the space it gave to resumes of official blue-books. By the 'eighties, a multitude of governmental bureaus were turning out such figures and facts, and the Pall Mall sought to present the results in a form that could be readily mastered.<sup>41</sup> Among the many activities of a non-governmental nature that the paper examined, its most outstanding series remained the one on "Centres of Spiritual Activity." The articles appeared for over a year commencing with Stead's editorship, and examined both the religious and charitable activities of the entire range of religious bodies that existed in later-Victorian England. The good works of the paper also included its especially favorable

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<sup>40</sup> "How to Help the Crofters. Special Telegram from Our Commissioner in Canada," P.M.G., 14 Jan. 1888, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> see for example: "Wanted: A Government Gazette," P.M.G., 21 Jan. 1887, p. 1.

treatment of the work of the Salvation Army. Stead believed it to be the most efficacious agency among those that worked for social betterment.<sup>42</sup> These, and similar practical activities accounted for the vast majority of extraneous material on social issues that found expression in the paper's pages. As one recent critic has written, the Pall Mall, as well as Stead's later Review of Reviews, were "social and religious documents of the turn of the century."<sup>43</sup>

Neither did the paper's work on the practical plane preclude it from functioning at the intellectual level. It examined the theoretical implications of a number of social philosophies, and attempted to present them in a manner that would appeal to the public. From the beginning, the paper served as a regular outlet for Frederic Harrison's Positivistic doctrines, which stressed the need to found a "church of humanity" to deal with practical social problems.<sup>44</sup> In the months that followed Stead's extended visit to Russia in mid-1888, the paper did much to acquaint its readers with the social doctrines of Tolstoi. Stead expressed a strong interest in Tolstoi's teachings, which advocated a "purified" Christianity, and taught the doctrines of non-resistance and the sanctity of simple labor.<sup>45</sup> The P.M.G. also published serialized studies in later years on the social philosophies of Ibsen, the moralist of individualism, as well as Low-

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<sup>42</sup> "Short Cuts to High Ideals," P.M.G., 29 May 1886, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Warren Sylvester Smith, "The Astounding W.T. Stead," Christian Century, vol. 80 (3 July 1963), p. 855.

<sup>44</sup> "Centres of Spiritual Activity. The Positivist Society," P.M.G., 29 Nov. 1883, pp. 1-2; in same series see "The Church of Humanity," P.M.G., 17 Jan. 1884, p. 1. Frederic Harrison's New Year's Addresses were a regular feature of the paper.

<sup>45</sup> "The Gospel According to Count Tolstoi," P.M.G., 29 Oct. 1888, pp. 1-2; "Count Tolstoi as George Fox Redivivus," P.M.G., 13 Nov. 1888, pp. 2-3; "Count Tolstoi as a Social Reformer," P.M.G., 21 Nov. 1888, pp. 1-2.

ell and Pope Leo XIII.<sup>46</sup> Stead's on the spot investigation in late 1889 of the papacy's altered stand on the questions of labor and property did much to make the paper's English audience aware of the ways in which the Church of Rome had moved to adapt to the altered political environment of Europe, in what the editor termed the "New Age." In later years the paper also reviewed in detail the philosophic implications of the work of both Darwin and Huxley, with its promise of liberal reform. In all these respects, the Pall Mall served as a remarkable forcing-house of late-Victorian social liberalism.

#### IX. CONCLUSION

The Pall Mall thus assumed a leading role among Metropolitan newspapers in its work to publicize the problems of London and of other large cities as well as the related ones of labor, the women's movement, the New Unionism and numerous more minor questions. Concurrently, the paper worked to publicize the constructive activities of all social thinkers and movements, and to bring their views into the public domain. Stead was to continue this latter aspect of the newspaper's work in his later publication, the Review of Reviews. The P.M.G. also continued to put forth its own program of social regeneration based upon the concepts of education, a return to the land in the form of simple industrial villages and emigration. The editor's stress on emigration complemented his aspirations for an increasingly autonomous and strengthened Britain overseas. Only in 1890, the year that followed Stead's last association with the Pall Mall,

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<sup>46</sup> "The Gospel According to Henrik Ibsen," I --- P.M.G., 7 June 1889, pp. 1-2; II --- 17 June 1889, pp. 1-2; "The Gospel According to Russell Lowell," P.M.G., 31 March 1888, pp. 1-2; see as well Stead's series in eleven pieces: "Letters from the Vatican," which appeared in the P.M.G. between 31 Oct. 1889 and 16 Dec. 1889 inclusive.

did he draw his three concepts of the land, emigration and education together in an elaborate plan. The philosophy of regeneration that had been so intermittently stated in the daily journal at last found detailed and statistically-documented explication in the "farm colony," "overseas colony" and "city colony" that formed the thesis of William Booth's In Darkest England and the Way Out. The unnamed friend that its nominal author thanked for his unceasing labors in its preparation was William Stead, and the basic Ruskinian pattern took its origin from the Pall Mall Gazette of Stead's days.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

The Statesman and the Capitalist, the Country Gentleman, and the Divine, will be amongst our readers, because our writers are amongst them. We address ourselves to the higher circles of society; we care not to disown it --- the 'Pall Mall Gazette' is written by gentlemen for gentlemen; its conductors speak to the classes in which they live and were born. The field preacher has his journal, the radical free thinker has his journal: why should the Gentlemen of England be unrepresented in the Press?

- Thackeray, Pendennis, Ch. XXXII

The odd thing about the real paper was, that it was in turn the organ of all three --- Gentlemen, Radical Free thinkers, and Field Preachers. But this would have seemed too improbable for romance.

- W.T. Stead

#### I.

By 1889 Stead and Yates Thompson reached the end of what had been, by uncorroborated evidence, an increasingly trying association. A dispute which arose between Stead and his assistant, Edward Cook, in June 1888 over the paper's treatment of Stead's dispatches from St. Petersburg considerably weakened the editor's position. He resigned at the end of the year that followed to accept an offer from George Newnes to edit a monthly "Tit-Bits" of the magazines. The venture later became Stead's own Review of Reviews, which featured

on a grander scale the epitomizing which characterized the Pall Mall.

The relationship between Thompson and his editor had often been strained. The Pall Mall's owner had been much distraught at the role played by the paper throughout the Socialist demonstrations, and which culminated in its being "held aloft in Trafalgar Square on Red Sunday."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps as serious a consideration was the P.M.G.'s inability to render until the end of Stead's days a healthy return on Thompson's investment. By the year 1889, Cook recorded in his diary that this caused Stead to hanker after fresh sensations despite the fact that the paper's undertakings had lately resulted in several libel suits.<sup>2</sup>

In particular, the important issue of the paper's format brought editor and proprietor into conflict. One critic has written: "He ... [Stead] tried to educate and enlighten. He had not grasped the truth revealed to Northcliffe that the public preferred to be entertained."<sup>3</sup> Thompson, in contrast, proved rather more perspicacious than his editor, and insisted that the paper should continue to evolve to meet the new challenges of its competitors. During Stead's last year at the helm, the Pall Mall thus underwent considerable modifications to give it a more popular appeal. Such alterations were made at the cost of increasing the difficulties between Stead and Thompson, in light of the editor's resentment at the latter's interference in his editorial domain. Yet the paper's new characteristics exerted little immediate effect to increase its circulation. The sundering of the party had naturally weakened the Liberal press, and the readership that could afford such a newspaper or that was interested in its lev-

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Fremantle, This Little Band of Prophets, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> J. Saxon Mills, Sir Edward Cook, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Hamilton Fyfe, Press Parade: Behind the Scenes of the Newspaper Racket and the Millionaires' Attempt at Dictatorship, p. 68.

el of discussion proved to be relatively inelastic.

## II.

What, then, is the judgement on the place of the Pall Mall? To answer this, it is necessary to survey in detail all three editorships.

It is certain that Frederick Greenwood should be given much more credit than has been allowed him for his part to create in the early P.M.G. innovations which were to prepare the way for the first, tentative emergence of the "New Journalism." Among these were the paper's general format and tenor as well as its early stress on the interpretation of news. Greenwood also bequeathed to the later paper the basis of its elite readership, the reputation it enjoyed for the large amount of original material it carried and its excellent network of foreign correspondents. Even in its early days, the paper supplied much content to the provincial press. The first editor also established a unique tradition of experimentation.

Stead built his lively journalism on this heritage. But Morley's intervening editorship proved fortuitous as well. For in the beginning, before he became one of Radicalism's foremost defenders, Morley stressed considerations other than the purely political. This allowed a "rest period" during which problems that stemmed from the paper's change in party could be resolved in a more gradual and sedate manner than if Stead had succeeded immediately. Most important among the changes made were the management's moves to build up a new readership and to acquire an exceedingly able staff to replace the one that had departed en masse.

During these first two editorships, the Pall Mall established certain general characteristics that were to continue under Stead, if in varied degree. From the beginning, the paper enjoyed a recognized reputation for its front page political leaders. The paper established in time a reputation as a literary journal of a high level of attainment. This was particularly true of Morley's days, for the paper was destined subsequently to suffer some slight diminution in this respect when Stead became editor. At all times, the Pall Mall adhered to the well-defined policy of free expression that its prospectus first enunciated.

Under Stead's direction, the Pall Mall continued the experimental program that its first editor had established. Its departures included advances in layout, coverage and style that were somewhat innovational. The paper achieved a more popular presentation by its use of the signed article, shortened occasional notes, increased epitomizing, larger headlines as well as cross-heads, illustrations and cartoons as well as extras. Its use of the interview and opinion poll aided it greatly in its quest to extend its coverage to include all aspects of human life. The Pall Mall's style took on a highly personalized tone, aided by Stead's forceful language, as well as his skilful co-ordination of the day's news and opinion and his employment of his best writers in all parts of the newspaper to help sustain its general readability. Yet Stead's innovations were not entirely unique. They marked only a "Revival of the Power of the Press" from the long rest that followed the passing of the descriptive and personalized press of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> This was recognized by the Pall Mall's contemporaries; for the opinion of the press world, see: "The Antiquity of the 'New Journalism,'" P.M.G., 26 Aug. 1887, p. 12.

At the same time, Stead's journalism marked the culmination of a transition period that was to lead to the real "New Journalism." From its beginning in 1865, the Pall Mall had been brought closer by its capable staffs to the ideal of being a daily reporter of opinion than most of its contemporaries, yet the growing trend from the 'nineties on was toward accommodation to a new reading public --- one that was less ready and able to digest exhaustive considerations of serious subjects. Indeed, it was Thompson, rather than Stead, who sensed this, and attempted, during Stead's final year as editor, to modify the Pall Mall in accord with this new trend.

The most distinctive work of the Pall Mall during its most impressive editorship derived from its activities to activate the social conscience of the upper classes on a number of gross injustices. The most memorable of its many crusades remained that which it waged against child prostitution in its "Maiden Tribute" series. It also campaigned successfully to publicize the work of the group that secured the abolition of the Communicable Diseases Acts. At all times, the paper conducted manifold campaigns in support of education, land reform, emigration, the women's movement, religious freedom, the improvement of urban conditions, labor and the Socialist cause and the very real problems of Ireland. The central theme that underlay all of these activities was the dignity and freedom of the individual.

Related to the above policy, the paper worked constantly to publicize a wide variety of thinkers and reformers and bring them to the attention of the public. The majority of the many social movements that characterized the 'eighties --- including the various forms of Socialism, Fabianism, University

Extension as well as the work of a large number of secular and religious organizations, chief among the latter the work of the Salvation Army, first found their way to the classes that really mattered through the Pall Mall of Stead's day. The paper introduced its readers to the social ideas of Frederic Harrison, Ruskin, Tolstoi, Ibsen and Pope Leo XIII. The P.M.G. thus played an appreciable role to stimulate the general public and the Liberal party to explore the new lines of social action and collectivism.

Understandably, the paper was less effective in its direct efforts to shape the political life of the time. Aside from the "Maiden Tribute," and the additional celebrated campaigns concerning Gordon and the Navy, the Pall Mall did little directly to influence parliament, the cabinet or elections. Stead's own ideals of municipal socialism and rural co-operation differed but little from the accepted political creeds of the time. Even had he subscribed to a stronger policy concerning state intervention, the editor would have exerted little influence to effect parliament's thinking on this important issue. The paper promoted the strong views of its editor in support of Irish Home Rule conceived on completely autonomous and federated lines, but it is questionable whether the defeat of Gladstone's first measure can be traced to the Pall Mall's studied opposition alone, as several critics claimed. The leading role that Stead assumed in furtherance of the revived interest in empire that characterized the 'eighties identified the paper with a policy that held a good deal of appeal in the imagination of the public, though the paper's policy ran ahead of a large section of the Liberal party. All the same, the Pall Mall's great vision of an Imperial Federation was not destined to attain reality, and the idea

at large had come to little a decade hence. It is more difficult to estimate the influence of Stead's strong belief in international co-operation. Most probably, the paper's editorials were lost on British ears. The main emphasis centred on imperialism and the nation still continued to pursue a foreign policy, described in the 'nineties as "splendid isolation." Only in the growing accord between Britain and America did the editor's great dream receive any tangible encouragement, and this was of a belated nature.

The Pall Mall did much of its best work of a political nature in a more generalized manner than characterized its specific stands on the above issues. At all times it served as a centre of Liberal opinion and policy, and it actively encouraged the manner of open debate from which much of the party's vigor derived. The strong editorial support the paper extended to the Liberals must have done much to encourage sagging morale throughout the difficult years that the party was in opposition during the late 'eighties. All points considered, though, the Pall Mall fell considerably short of fulfilling the aspirations that Stead envisioned for the press in the New Age. Yet, could or should a newspaper be expected to do more than the P.M.G?

### III.

The early Pall Mall became a legend in its own time and in the years that followed. Its independence was a byword in the minds of English journalists.<sup>5</sup> In its general excellence and dedication to the public welfare it served through-

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<sup>5</sup> A group of English journalists drew Emile Zola's attention to the Pall Mall's history when he had disparaged the role of the press: E.A. Vizetelly, Emile Zola, p. 330, cited Lucy M. Salmon, The Newspaper and the Historian, p. 267.

out its first three editorships as a school for able men. A number of its personnel went on to distinguished newspaper careers, and the paper supplied the Liberal press in particular with outstanding leaders. John Morley and Alfred Milner became statesmen of the first order following apprenticeships at the paper. The spirit of Stead's Pall Mall in particular was conspicuously broad, liberal and humanitarian. It evinced an active sympathy with the working class. Its temperate, balanced and intelligent advocacy of higher personal, civic and national morality contrasted strikingly with most of the great newspapers of Europe and America. The essence of Stead's paper received lasting documentation in the plan of William Booth's In Darkest England, and in the bound volumes of Stead's own monthly Review of Reviews, which continued much of the P.M.G.'s program, though the magazine never aspired to quite the same crusading Liberalism.

Indeed, there was much in Stead's program that aspired to a universal validity. The record of a daily newspaper is at best transitory, yet the larger themes of Stead's paper attest to his great perception in the social sense. For in the final judgement, many of his policies, including those on the general amelioration of social abuses, the democratization of English society through secondary education, the status of women, the ecumenical nature of religious belief, the British Commonwealth, the European and Atlantic communities and international mediation are still highly topical.

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