THE GUARDIAN ARCHIVES IN THE JOHN RYLANDS UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF MANCHESTER*

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The John Rylands University Library of Manchester is perhaps still not regarded, in the academic world, as a major repository of archival resources for the history of the last two centuries. Yet of all the Library’s archive collections, by far the most substantial in terms of physical quantity, and arguably one of the most important, is that of the Guardian (formerly Manchester Guardian) newspaper. All but a small proportion of this massive accumulation of material was acquired as a gift from the Guardian in 1971. As might be expected, the Library’s limited staff resources have meant that a great deal of this collection is unlisted; much remains virtually unsorted or even unidentified, and most of the listing carried out to date has been of a fairly superficial nature. Nevertheless, enough arranging, listing and research has been carried out on the Guardian archives to confirm initial impressions that they constitute an invaluable primary source for the student of nineteenth- and twentieth-century British journalism and of the political, social and cultural history of the same period. This survey does not claim to present a comprehensive picture of the Guardian archives: it aims to illuminate the range and depth of the collection and, above all, to encourage further enquiries and study.

For the purpose of this review, I propose to divide the collection into three categories, while acknowledging that the allocation of material to one rather than another of these groups may be regarded in many instances as a matter of subjective judgement. First, there are the ‘hard copy’ newspapers, related publications, and newscuttings. Secondly, there are archives which relate more or less directly to the history of the Guardian as a business concern. Thirdly, there are those – consisting mainly of correspondence and dispatches – which inevitably overlap with the latter category but which are, to a greater or

* This article represents a much revised and expanded version of a lecture given to the Manchester Bibliographical Society in November 1983. I am grateful to my colleagues Dr Dorothy Clayton and Mrs Jacquie Sen for their helpful comments and advice during its preparation.

1 The Manchester Guardian became the Guardian on 24 August 1959. Except where the context makes it obviously inappropriate, the newspaper will be referred to throughout this article as the Guardian, regardless of whether the reference is to before or after that date.
lesser degree, of more general interest to the student of the years between about 1870 and 1975.

In terms of simple bulk, the newspapers take pride of place. Although by definition already in the public domain, newspapers are nevertheless a rich and still under-exploited resource for the study of political events and the attitudes of those who shaped them, and of social and cultural developments. The twin modern criteria of space and conservation have increasingly meant that newspapers, with their unwieldy bulk, their vulnerability to user damage, and their tendency to deteriorate in all but the most favourable of environmental conditions, are most usually made available in microform. While the above considerations may dictate that the titles in the Guardian collection will not remain accessible in hard copy for ever, readers at present have the opportunity of handling newspapers in a form which offers a number of advantages to the researcher. The foundation of the Library's collection of hard copy newspapers, perhaps one of the best outside the British Library Newspaper Division at Colindale, was the material donated by the Guardian. That newspaper is available from its founding by John Edward Taylor in May 1821 to 1991.2 From 1822, the bound volumes remain in remarkably good condition, their growth in size reflecting the newspaper's expansion from a weekly publication to its twice-weekly appearance from 1836 and the adoption of the present 'daily' status in 1855. As is the case with most nineteenth-century newspapers, the use of close print and the absence of banner headlines and photographs presents a somewhat 'worthy but dull' image to the modern reader. As the following extract from early January 1822 shows, this initial impression is not necessarily justified:

Two men were brought up, on separate charges of breaking windows on New Year's Day. It appeared that they had both, as might reasonably be expected at such a time, got delightfully drunk; but the liquor seemed to have affected them in different ways. One was incited to valorous deeds, and whilst exhibiting his pugilistic powers on the flags in Piccadilly, was knocked through a hair-dresser's window, to the . . . grievous disarrangement of certain toupees, pots of pomatum, and squares of Windsor soap . . . The other man...was satisfied with describing certain mathematical curves and spirals in his progress through the streets, until at length he finished his devious course by plunging head foremost thro' a grocer's window, where he stuck fast like a pig in a gate. As it did not appear that the mischief had, in either case, been wilfully committed, the men were both discharged, with injunctions to pay for the broken glass, which they promised to do . . .3

The main set of the Guardian is supplemented by duplicate, and for

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2 Wanting September 1980. A microfilm (MX 53) is also available from 1982, and current copies are held from the date of the latest reel of microfilm. For the newspapers in general, see: a catalogue of newspapers and related materials held in the John Rylands University Library (Manchester: J.R.U.L.M., 1984), and the Library's General research guide, 2nd edn. (Manchester: J.R.U.L.M., 1992), section 2.9.

3 Manchester Guardian, 5 January 1822, page 3 column 5.
some years even triplicate, volumes. A valuable research tool which can be used in conjunction with this newspaper is the card index covering the years 1929 to 1985. This is arranged year by year in alphabetical order of subject-matter: persons are not included unless they have been considered sufficiently significant to merit the status of 'subjects'. From 1986, the Library holds an index to the Guardian published by University Microfilms International of Ann Arbor, Michigan. The catalogue for the years prior to 1929 is held in book form in Manchester Central Reference Library in St Peter's Square, Manchester. It may be worth making the obvious observation that both these indexes, which are unique, can be of great value in gaining access to information in the Guardian even if one intends to consult the actual newspaper elsewhere.

While the Guardian may be consulted in other institutions, there are a number of subsidiary publications of that newspaper which are, to varying degrees, less easy to obtain. Although the Manchester Guardian did not generally share the propensity of some newspapers for producing regional issues, a Welsh edition is available in the Library's collection for the years 1897 and 1899–March 1941. The still flourishing Guardian Weekly is held for the years July 1919–December 1974 and 1978–90, and there is a Central European Edition for 10 November 1922 to 25 June 1926. Other discontinued publications include the Manchester Guardian Commercial, published from 1920 to 1939. Soon after the First World War, the Guardian's editor C.P. Scott persuaded the leading political economist John Maynard Keynes to edit a series of supplements to the Commercial entitled Reconstruction in Europe. These were issued between 1922 and 1923 in English, French, German, Italian and Spanish, and they have all been preserved in the collection. A later publication on a similar theme was entitled Manchester Guardian Surveys of Industry, and is held for the years 1951 to 1957. Individual Guardian supplements listed in the 'archival' part of the collection include issues dealing with commerce, finance, shipping and allied themes (for 1903–07 and 1910); China (1915); Russia (the revolutionary year of 1917); America (1920); France (1920); road transport (1920); and industrial relations (1927). There is also a Commercial special issue devoted to the U.S.S.R. in 1932. Finally, the collection contains an example of almost total failure in Guardian publication. The magazine The New Weekly, launched optimistically into a market which was presumably already saturated with longer-established rivals, only managed to survive from January 1894 to May 1895.

The Guardian, as will be noted later, was transformed in the

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4 Unpublished Handlist of Guardian archives Part I, nos. 259/1–16. This finding aid has been reproduced on microfiche as part of Chadwyck-Healey's on-going project National inventory of documentary sources in the United Kingdom (hereafter NIDS UK), where it is numbered as document 0.063.040.
1880s and 1890s from a largely provincial publication to a newspaper of national and international standing. It is therefore an enduring major source for the study of events of the last hundred or so years. Its sister newspaper the *Manchester Evening News*, founded in 1868, has remained primarily devoted to local news. It is thus a highly significant source for the history of north-west England, where it remains the best-selling evening newspaper. The Library holds a virtually complete set, unfortunately not all in the same good state of preservation as the *Guardian*, from July 1870 onwards. It is of course well known that while 'morning' newspapers usually have only one daily edition, evening newspapers appear several times from mid-day onwards under such titles as 'last edition', 'late night extra' and 'late night final'. These variant editions, which can enable an investigator to chart the breaking of a news story, are all to be found here, as are the Saturday sports editions, represented in the case of the *Evening News* by the still flourishing *Football Pink*. The growing interest in the history of sport is particularly well served by such publications. The 'local' researcher is also able to consult another long run of an evening newspaper: after the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* was taken over by the *News* in 1963, its archival volumes from May 1897, with only a few months' omissions, came into the *Guardian* group's possession. There are also a number of short runs of early Manchester newspapers, long discontinued and, especially in hard copy, now very scarce. Best represented among these is the *Manchester Evening Mail* covering 1885, 1886 and 1894–1902. Smaller holdings include the *Manchester Mercury and Tuesday's General Advertiser* (1826, 1828–29); *Wheeler's Manchester Chronicle* (1835); *Manchester Chronicle and Salford Standard* (1839–40); *Manchester Weekly Express and Guardian* (1860–61); and *Manchester City News* (1884).

Furthermore, the Library has benefited from the fact that the *Guardian* had retained and bound an archival copy of *The Times*, thus providing a hard copy text of this newspaper, with a few early omissions, from 1846 to 1975. Two earlier London newspapers represented are the *London Chronicle* (28 June–30 December 1794 and 30 June–31 December 1795) and the *Courier* (1805–15, 1818–22, 1825–28), while there are also the first six months of the London *Morning Chronicle* for 1845.

One special category of newspaper in the collection offers a significant contribution to the political history of its period. In 1920, the widespread industrial unrest which followed the war affected the newspaper industry, and the archives contain strike bulletins for the *Manchester Guardian*, *Manchester Evening News* and *Daily Dispatch*. For the General Strike of May 1926 there are many more emergency

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5 Some of the earlier volumes are in a fragile condition. It should be noted that the Library also holds *The Times* in microform for the years 1785–1844 and 1965 onwards (MX24).
6 NIDS UK. 0.063.040, nos. 256/1–3.
publications. Apart from the printed government propaganda sheet the *British Gazette*, the collection contains the *British Worker*, strike 'publications' from the *Manchester Guardian, Manchester Evening News, Daily Dispatch, Daily Mail* and *The Times*, and many special or occasional publications relating to the strike.7

The newspapers are accompanied by a large collection of news­cuttings, not all taken from the *Guardian* group of newspapers but all originally intended as research material for its journalists. These cuttings cover the years from about 1940 to 1988, and are at present held in four alphabetical sequences which overlap in dates and subject-matter, together with a number of biographical files. Although still far from being adequately arranged and recorded, they are sufficiently accessible to be of value to researchers in a vast range of topics. It is worth noting that these cuttings, and indeed the newspapers themselves, are complemented by the vast Labour Party newscutting collection, which extends back to about 1908.8 At present all the material mentioned above is housed in an outlying store of the Library, and notice needs to be given in order that it can be transferred to the Main Library for consultation. Supervised access can be arranged in the relatively few instances where such a transfer is not feasible.

The second category of archives comprises those relating to the management of the *Guardian* as a business concern. As such, it must rank as one of the finest sources for the history of British journalism. There is, of course, already a major work on the history of the *Guardian* by David Ayerst which takes the story up to 1956.9 It should be mentioned that the Library has acquired a collection of Mr Ayerst's working notes for this book, and these may in themselves yield further information. However, even though this book runs to well over 600 pages, it can only deal in outline with the more specialized areas of journalistic history which could be studied through a detailed examination of the 'business' archives donated to the Library. This section of the collection has undoubtedly been treated as the 'poor relation' of the archives so far as arranging and listing have been concerned. There is a vast quantity of material, mainly dating from the middle years of the present century, which has only been perfunctorily examined or sorted. However, much of the nineteenth-century material, and a selection of important documentation spanning the whole history of the newspapers, is recorded in the outline list which accompanied the original gift in 1971, and this information alone furnishes ample evidence of the collection's range and value.

Perhaps the items most central to the history of the *Guardian* group are the partnership contracts and other legal documents which

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7 Ibid., 256-26.
chart the key transactions of John Edward Taylor, father and son, and the eventual proprietor Charles Prestwich Scott. The archives contain the original agreement between the elder Taylor and a group of Manchester merchants and gentlemen for the financing of the launch of the *Guardian* in 1821. Then follow the partnership agreements of 1839, 1879, 1892, 1898 and 1905, the last involving the younger Taylor, Scott, and G.B. Dibblee. The relationship between Taylor and Scott, which was not always harmonious after Scott’s entry into politics created a potential conflict of duties, can be studied in more detail in the extensive collection of correspondence between the two men. When Taylor died in 1905, Scott found that his expectation that he would inherit the *Guardian* had not materialized, and he was obliged to purchase the business in order to retain it. The archives contain documents relating to this purchase, including valuations made for Taylor’s executors and correspondence and other papers concerning the raising of the £242,000 needed to secure the ownership. The *Manchester Evening News* had passed into different hands in 1905, but as the documents record, it returned to the *Guardian* group when Scott purchased it in 1924. Other legal documents include a collection of leases of properties to and from the *Guardian* group extending from 1887 to the 1960s. A somewhat different set of legal issues is covered by a file relating to libel and other legal problems of the *Guardian* between 1938 and 1953, and a more general file on ‘newspapers and the law’ covering the years 1932 to 1947.

Records dealing with the finances of the *Guardian* group include data from the very earliest days of the *Manchester Guardian*’s publication. Five ‘ledger account books’ cover the years 1821–23, 1828–34 and 1839–1900, and four ‘cash books’ 1827–28, 1830–32, 1838–41 and 1845–48. Twentieth-century documents include details of profits and losses in the late 1920s and early 1930s, balance sheets and annual reports for 1943–54, and a collection of miscellaneous correspondence on financial themes, which dates from about 1948 to 1966 and is arranged alphabetically. Closely linked to the financial records of the *Guardian* newspapers are those dealing with circulation and distribution. There are detailed sets of statistics, which appear to be circu-

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10 *NIDS UK*, 0.063.040, nos. 260/42.
11 Ibid., 260/5–8.
12 See below, note 51.
13 See e.g. Ayerst, 308–19.
14 *NIDS UK*, 0.063.040, nos. 260/29/1–10.
15 See e.g. Ayerst, 482–4; *NIDS UK*, 0.063.040, nos. 260/31–4.
16 Ibid., 303/15.
17 Ibid., 223/15.
18 Ibid., 148/4.
19 Ibid., 269–73; 265–8.
20 Ibid., 260/52; 148/6, 344/2; 277. See also the index to *NIDS UK*, 0.063.040, and the unpublished *Handlist of Guardian archives II*, passim for further financial material.
lation figures for the *Manchester Evening News*, for the comparatively early dates of 1883–86 and 1888,21 and files of miscellaneous papers relating to circulation from 1894 to 1959 and 1935 to 1965 respectively.22 There are several groups of documents dealing with the overlapping themes of circulation, distribution and sales, including statistics for the *Manchester Guardian, Manchester Guardian Commercial* and *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, graphs and machine room records, providing between them a broad coverage of the years 1928 to 1953.23 More specific distribution data includes ‘daily distribution summary books’ for 1928–47,24 details of the dispatch of newspapers by road, rail, sea and air,25 emergency distribution plans (1944–62) to cater for such contingencies as rail strikes,26 lists of north-western newsagents and London roundsmen,27 and information on distribution overseas.28

A quantity of virtually untapped material deals with those aspects of newspaper production which normally remain firmly behind the scenes. Payment books and similar documents provide details of the employment of machinists, electricians, cleaners, cooks, plumbers, watchmen and other ‘backstage’ workers.29 There are numerous photographs depicting staff, working premises and equipment,30 while a more specific collection of papers relates to a legal case, concerning patents for the improvement of printing machines, which extended from 1881 to 1905.31 The middle years of the twentieth century saw the greatest revolution in the production of text since the invention of moveable-type printing in the fifteenth century. This development is reflected in these archives in documents which cover the related themes of new technology and the preparations for the transfer of the main printing of the *Guardian* from Manchester to London. From the later 1940s onwards there are letters and reports on the new processes which were being developed in Britain and the United States, described under the now somewhat quaint headings of ‘study of methods for reproducing a newspaper at a distance’ and ‘picture telegraph transmission system’. There is correspondence with suppliers of the newly-developed equipment, data on ‘web-offset’ printing, a file on the trade unions’ role in the projected scheme,32 and

21 NIDS UK. 0.063.040, nos. 240 1–4.
23 Ibid. 287/1, 3–12.
24 Ibid. 287 1.
25 Ibid. 283 1, 2: 284 1, 2, 4, 5.
26 Ibid. 283/6.
27 Ibid. 284 3,11.
28 Ibid. 283 7, 284 7
29 *Handlist of Guardian archives II*, passim, especially nos. 354–85. Most of this material relates to the *Manchester Evening News*, c.1874–1930.
31 Ibid. .321.
32 Ibid. 292–8.
a scrapbook of promotional material relating to the first London printing in September 1961.33

The 1960s also saw the Guardian group newspapers preparing to move from their famous premises in Cross Street to a new building in Deansgate. There are plans and specifications for the Cross Street building dating from 1878 to 1885, including designs rejected by the city council in 1878, specifications (1881) for the erection of the new offices by the architects, Messrs Barker and Ellis, and papers relating to the payment of the builders and architects.34 Far more numerous are the records of the move which was completed in 1970, most of which remain largely unexamined.35

Members of the journalistic staff of the Guardian may be traced among the thousands of letters and dispatches which are considered in some detail below in the more general ‘historical’ section of this survey. However, there are also weighty files and ledgers which provide records of ‘payments to contributors’ covering the years from about 1890 to 1963, especially the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.36 Literary contributions figure prominently in these records, and may be studied in conjunction with the volumes listing books received for reviewing, which cover the greater part of the period 1926 to 1968.37 More details of staff activities are provided by the long series of ‘reporters’ diaries’ covering the years 1868–1961 and 1963–78.38 There is a small file devoted to the military service and other wartime duties of staff during World War II.39 Specific collections of material on the operation of Guardian staff abroad include correspondence and other documents concerning the New York office between about 1930 and 1963, mainly in the immediate post-war era.40 For the last-mentioned period there are also letters and papers relating to Ewald Schmidt de Simoni, the Manchester Guardian Weekly’s agent in Hamburg, and other documents which throw light on the attitudes of British and Germans towards one another as well as on practical publishing arrangements.41 Other items relating to staffing include various copies of the Guardian’s house journal dated between 1918 and 1932,42 and a set of directors’ newsletters for 1953–60.43

C.P. Scott was renowned for his insistence on the highest standards of English style and vocabulary in the Guardian newspapers, and the rigorous monitoring of the quality of the writing in these

33 Ibid., 287/2.
34 Ibid., 304/1-4.
35 Ibid., 303/6-14 represents the only listed material.
37 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, no. 236; Handlist of Guardian archives II, no. 398.
38 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 1–73.
39 Ibid., 223/18.
40 Ibid., 148/5; 286/2; 295/4.
41 Ibid., 148/10; 286/1.
42 Ibid., 324/8.
43 Ibid., 288/19; 344/3.
publications continued long after his death. There is a large quantity of correspondence and memoranda on style dating from about 1928 to 1956. Other discrete themes in this section of the archives include advertising, with statistics and other documents ranging from about 1918 to 1956 and a special file (1934–56) of protests against alcohol advertisements; and insurance, relating to such diverse areas as buildings and other property, libel, and flying.

The division between the business papers, and the correspondence, dispatches and files which make up the third category of Guardian archives, is bridged very effectively by the towering figure of C.P. Scott, described by David Ayerst as ‘a uniquely great editor’. Scott joined the Manchester Guardian in 1871, and became editor in the following year at the age of twenty-five. It is probably not too cynical to suggest that he owed at least something of his youthful rise to prominence to the fact that he was the cousin of the newspaper’s owner, John Edward Taylor junior. Taylor’s choice, however, was not misplaced. Scott was to develop into an editor of increasing distinction during the next fifty-seven years, until he took a probably reluctant retirement at the age of eighty-three.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, most of the British press was, as it is now, positively Conservative in its political stance. As Scott raised the national profile of the Guardian, it acquired a distinctive reputation for championing liberal or radical causes. These causes were frequently ones over which the Guardian was at least initially at odds with the majority of the public opinion of the time, and the continuing popularity of the Conservative press was perhaps, at least in part, an indication that Scott and his sub-editors did not always succeed in converting the British public to its point of view. They did, however, establish the Guardian as the most influential mouthpiece of liberal and radical political and social thought in Britain, with an international reputation for journalistic accuracy, honesty and integrity.

The history of Scott’s editorship may be followed both in the volumes of the newspaper itself and in two series of correspondence. The first to be acquired by the Library contains a number of chronological sequences of correspondence to and from Scott.

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44 Ibid., 319.
45 Ibid., 325.
47 Ibid., 223 30.
48 Ibid., 140 7–9, 280 13–17.
49 Ayerst, 167. See also the volume of essays commissioned by the Guardian entitled C.P. Scott, 1846–1912, The making of the Manchester Guardian (London: Frederick Muller, 1946).
50 NIDS UK, 0.063.040. nos. 118–32, 135, 332–6; listed alphabetically in the unpublished list The correspondence of C.P. Scott. NIDS UK, 0.063.043. There are nearly 4,400 letters to or from over 1,100 individuals.
including separate sequences for John Edward Taylor (nearly 600 items), Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse (over 300 items) and George Binney Dibblee (over 100 items). The greater part of this series, however, consists of a sequence of miscellaneous letters dating from 1872 to the late 1920s which may be used not only to trace Scott’s correspondence with individuals but to obtain a continuous overview of the whole period of his editorship. Many of these correspondents may also be found in the second series, which comprises Guardian editorial correspondence, mostly of a rather less personal nature than the earlier acquisition, arranged in alphabetical order of correspondents. This series contains about 13,000 items from over 1,300 correspondents. Both series contain letters to and from well-known political figures. A general impression of the editorial policy of Scott and the Guardian, for the years 1898 to 1931, may be obtained from the bound volumes of Scott’s leading articles and other journalistic writings, which have the additional advantage of being indexed.

It was in 1898 that Scott and the Guardian began to be a serious force in British politics. Scott’s move towards a truly radical political stance may be said to have begun in 1886, when he began a life-long commitment to the cause of Irish Home Rule, but the Guardian’s characteristic approach to controversial national issues appeared in earnest with its campaigns against what it perceived to be the excesses of British imperialism in the closing years of the nineteenth century. A series of critical reports of British treatment of the wounded Sudanese enemy at the battle of Omdurman, and the condemnation of Lord Kitchener’s subsequent desecration of the tomb of the Mahdi, served as a prelude to the Guardian’s sustained opposition to British policy in South Africa immediately before, and during, the Boer War of 1899 to 1902. These years were a very testing time for Scott, and many regular readers were lost. By the end of the war, however, the Guardian was firmly established as the mouthpiece for those who had reservations about British imperial policy, and had acquired new readers who were to remain loyal to its political stance in the future. Something of the course of these events can be charted in a separate file of correspondence devoted to the Guardian’s Boer War policy. A Liverpool correspondent was fulsome in his praise for the newspaper’s integrity:

51 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 129, 130.
52 Ibid., 132. Hobhouse was a Guardian leader writer and was Professor of Sociology at London University from 1907 to 1929.
53 Ibid., 131. Dibblee was manager of the Guardian from 1892 to 1905.
54 Listed in the unpublished Guardian archives: general correspondence, mainly under the editorship of C.P. Scott, 1872–1929, NIDS UK, 0.063.041.
55 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 75–78A.
56 See e.g. Ayerst, 266–72.
57 Ibid., 273–86.
58 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, no. 324/7.
I cannot refrain from saying how much I admire the stand you have taken in condemning a most iniquitous war. It is refreshing and invigorating to find at least one paper which still has an unseared conscience, and which is unblinded by lust of conquest, and greed of gain . . . The bulk of the country—classes and masses, are practically insane at this moment, wilfully blind, and led by blind leaders to their doom. For any one paper to take such a stand, shows real grit, and strength of purpose and principle; which regards Truth as a higher thing than personal profit . . .

Others were less convinced:

I have given up taking your paper, and a large number of my friends have done the same, and my advertisements and theirs will go to other papers. This may not trouble you much, but as you are not in the Transvaal I dare not shoot you, or blow up your premises, as you deserve, so will punish you in the only way I can. I believe your name is Scott. If it is you are a renegade bastard, and not a true Scot, as the Scotch are loyal men to the backbone.

During these years of crisis, Scott had been fighting for the liberal cause on two fronts, in the Guardian and from the Liberal Party benches in the House of Commons. After he had failed in three attempts (in 1886, 1891 and 1892) to be elected as member of parliament for North-East Manchester, he entered the Commons as the member for Leigh in 1895. A volume of newscuttings records his somewhat acrimonious election campaign of 1891. Scott's correspondence furnishes evidence of his close personal and political contacts with many of the leading statesmen of his time. These contacts became even more significant after the coming to power of a Liberal ministry in 1906, even though this development coincided almost exactly with the death of John Edward Taylor and Scott's withdrawal from parliament to concentrate his energies on editing and managing the Guardian. Notable among these figures were the two war-time prime ministers, H.H. Asquith and David Lloyd George; Winston Churchill; Lord Haldane; Lord Grey of Fallooden; and Robert Threshie Reid, Earl Loreburn. The correspondence records how Scott championed a number of 'causes', including women's suffrage, Irish nationalism and a cautious approach to the increasingly perilous issues facing the makers of British foreign policy.

Scott developed a close political relationship with Lloyd George and other Liberal supporters of the women's suffrage movement, but another member of Asquith's cabinet, Winston Churchill, retained more reactionary views. In accepting Scott's invitation to speak on the Budget at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester in 1909, he expressed the following reservations:

With regard to the presence of women . . . I think it would be very regrettable
if interruptions occurred. I do not wish to prescribe any conditions, but I think that every precaution should be taken. The building should be carefully searched beforehand. [no women] should be allowed in who do not sign a promise at the door to refrain from interruption, or who are not guaranteed in some effective way by people we can trust. These women should have a special part of the gallery marked off for them where they can sit together, so that in the event of disorder the offender can be easily removed.\textsuperscript{62}

One is left wondering what Churchill would have regarded as 'real' security conditions.

There are also important sequences of correspondence between Scott and Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughter Christabel, including details of the suffragettes' campaigns and their treatment in prison.\textsuperscript{63} While this battle was won within Scott's lifetime, another—that of Irish nationalism—represents one of several issues featured in the Guardian archives which are of particular contemporary interest because they are yet to be resolved to the satisfaction of all, or indeed any, of the interested parties. A small group of letters which remains largely unknown is that from Sir Roger Casement to the Guardian dating from 1912.\textsuperscript{64} In that year, Casement wrote thus about the intransigence of the Ulster Unionists:

\begin{quote}
Irish Nationalists claim, and claim rightly, that we are one people and that the differences due to religion are transitory and can be effaced by direct contact and converse. Irish Unionism says under no circumstances will I ever enter the same room with you or discuss on terms of equality with you the affairs of our common country. Rather than that I would be governed by Germany, by any country, so long as my "religion" prevails.\textsuperscript{65}
\end{quote}

The supreme irony of this outburst lies in the fact that four years after implying that Ulster Protestants would rather be ruled by the Germans than recognize the claims of the Nationalists, Casement was executed as a result of his attempt to raise support in Germany for the Nationalist cause in the middle of the war. That war, which Scott and his political ally Loreburn had hoped and tried to avert, received the Guardian's full support when hostilities broke out. The archive contains bound volumes of the newspaper's History of the War,\textsuperscript{66} which is of special value in that it provides a near-contemporary narrative of the conflict as it developed from year to year. In addition to Scott's correspondence for this period, there are files relating to particular people and topics, including material on the controversial

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 128/126.

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., to and from Christabel, 128/80, 82, 86, 87, 100, 102, 103, 128, 171-3, 178, 190, 332/15, 16, 18, 333/7; to and from Emmeline, 128/86, 85, 121-5, 130, 170, 195, 198, 224, 332/3, 14; and to and from Emmeline's other daughter Sylvia, 128/49, 50.

\textsuperscript{64} NIDS UK, 0.063.041, nos. A C25 1-20.

\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., A C25 5.

\textsuperscript{66} NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 258/1-2.
First Lord of the Admiralty Lord Fisher of Kilverstone; on the distribution of British propaganda in Russia in 1917 under the supervision of John Buchan, better known as a patriotic novelist; and on censorship prohibitions. The typescript version of Scott’s political diaries, which covered the period 1911–28, is also important for these years.

The second major cause espoused by Scott which continues to provoke controversy and conflict was that of Zionism. The Guardian archives are an excellent source for this subject from the Balfour Declaration of 1917 to the setting up of the state of Israel in 1948. Early material includes correspondence with the Manchester scientist and pioneer Zionist Chaim Weizmann. Politicians from the post-war era – when Scott was acquiring the status of the ‘elder statesman’ of British journalism – who figure in the correspondence include Ramsay MacDonald, who offered Scott a knighthood in 1924, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Beveridge, Sir Samuel Hoare and Leslie Hore-Belisha. Notable figures from the world of literature who appear in Scott’s correspondence include George Bernard Shaw, William Butler Yeats, John Masefield and Arthur Ransome: the latter, now known almost exclusively for his books for children, was a Russian correspondent for the Guardian in the years after the Revolution.

Scott finally retired in 1929, and the archive contains a substantial file of personal tributes to his long career. Three years later Scott died, and his death was followed within months by that of his son Edward, who had held the editorship since his father’s retirement. That post now passed outside the Scott family to two outstanding journalists, W.P. Crozier (1932–44) and A.P. Wadsworth (1944–56). Wadsworth contributed leading articles during Crozier’s term of office as well as his own, and cuttings of the writings of these two editors are preserved in bound volumes which continue the series begun under Scott’s editorship. For the era of Crozier and Wadsworth, there is a huge collection of correspondence to and from the editors, comprising about 45,000 items relating to over 6,600 individuals and arranged very accessibly in alphabetical order of correspondents. There are less ‘big names’ here than in the Scott correspondence: Sir Lewis Namier, the historian and Zionist, is one of the most eminent in terms both of status and of quantity of material. Of particular importance in

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67 Ibid., 223–34.
68 Ibid., 244.
69 Ibid., 243.
71 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 334 98, 138, 335 4, 8, 56; 0.063.041, nos. A W35 1–24.
72 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 336 120–1.
73 Ibid., 135 233–591; see also the collection of newscuttings, ibid., no. 79.
74 Listed in the unpublished list Guardian archives: general correspondence under the editorships of W.P. Crozier (1932–44) and A.P. Wadsworth (1944–56), NIDS UK, 0.063.042.
the Crozier and Wadsworth correspondence are the large groups of letters and dispatches by some of the great names from the history of mid-twentieth century journalism. Alistair Cooke, of ‘Letter from America’ fame, is the most prolific, with 772 items to and from the *Guardian* between 1945 and 1956. Other prominent figures are Neville Cardus, cricket and music correspondent; Gerard Fay; R.H. Fry; Darsie Gillie; J.L. Hammond; Arthur Koestler; Malcolm Muggeridge, a Russian correspondent at the height of the Stalinist era; Terence Prittie; Cyril Ray; C.J.S. Sprigge; and Guy Wint.

However, it is perhaps the accumulation of journalists’ dispatches which fall outside the main sequence of correspondence which provide the richest source material for the historian. The largest of these, designated simply as ‘Foreign Correspondence’, contains letters, telegrams and dispatches from the *Guardian’s* major European correspondents, some of whom figure to a minor degree in the general sequence but whose main contributions are to be found here. These men include Robert Dell in Paris and Geneva; Frederick Voigt in Berlin; Alexander Werth in Berlin and Paris; and M.W. Fodor in Vienna. The Foreign Correspondence was received from the *Guardian* in a single chronological sequence; retained in that format, it provides a compelling narrative of the years leading to the outbreak of World War II. Although it dates from 1912, the coverage is erratic until 1929, when the volume of documents increases steadily. The dispatches include eye-witness accounts of the rise to power of Hitler’s Nazi Party and its early acts of terror and persecution, and give insights into the treatment of these events not only by the *Guardian* but by the British press in general. In the light of subsequent suggestions that the worst excesses of the Nazis were not generally known in Britain at the time, it is instructive to note the graphic accounts of Nazi atrocities from the very first days of Hitler’s assumption of power. The following extract from a telegram from Frederick Voigt to Crozier, pleading for a stronger line from the *Guardian* and the withdrawal of the *Guardian’s* Jewish Berlin correspondent Alexander Werth, illustrates the tensions facing such journalists:

Werth says in Saturday’s Guardian that the [German] Government is not responsible. It is wholly responsible. Hitler, Goering, and the others have for years preached these methods at meeting after meeting. . . . Not enough atrocities are being committed to suit Goering. . . . I don’t doubt that Werth was trying to be severely. . . . fair to both sides, but by printing that one sentence [he] has done the Hitler Government an incalculable service. MacDonald, who feels uncomfortable about the Times because it might trouble relation with a “friendly Power” may be only too grateful. He only wants an excuse to do nothing. . . . What is the good of having a man in Berlin if he cannot establish the truth? . . . A Terror is an organised thing. . . . it is systematic, and while there are individual outrages too, it is a war and a particularly ferocious one, a war against everything the Guardian has ever stood for. . . . It is not possible for Werth

76 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, nos. 204–21.
to write as a Berlin correspondent of the Guardian should be writing just now . . .
Even if he were to speak up the argument . . . against him would be “He is a Jew” . . .
The Guardian should not be represented by a Jew in Berlin now, least of all a Jew of
Russian origin . . .

Werth’s response to this is both enlightening and, in retrospect, profoundly disturbing:

I really do not think it’s as bad as all that! . . . The general atmosphere was distinctly
unpleasant last week, but it seems to be calming down . . . I shall certainly stick to it.
for, apart from anything else, I shall find it extremely interesting to watch the
development of the whole German process . . . And then, when all is considered, we
shall probably, before long, have to recognise the fact that they are the Government of
Germany, and deal with them accordingly . . . The “atrocity” side is, of course, a
serious matter; but it is not the only thing; the historical process is enormously
interesting, and should, I think, be given objective treatment.

As the 1930s proceeded, the emphasis in the Foreign Correspondence shifts from domestic conditions in Germany to the manoeuvring for alliances throughout Europe and the growing threat of
war. The dispatches of M.W. Fodor, Vienna and Balkan correspondent, are especially valuable in charting the situations evolving in the
then more ‘obscure’ countries such as Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, as well as the ‘front-line’ states such as Austria and Czechoslovakia. Many of these dispatches are in effect meticulously condensed essays on the political process in each of these Eastern states.

Meanwhile, Voigt, now withdrawn from Germany, continued to comment to Crozier on Continental developments. In 1936, he
expressed opinions which typified the suspicion which prevented any
joint action between the Western powers and Russia before the
outbreak of war:

Russia is a terribly barbaric country, and can never really belong to Europe, whereas
Germany and Italy are half Europe – no matter what systems they are under, they
belong to our civilisation. Russia is always remote – more so now, even than in Tsarist
days. Germany under the blackest despotism would be nearer to us than Russia under
the most enlightened rule . . .

About a year later, however, he returned to his theme of warning that
the democratic powers were in danger of relaxing their vigilance
against Nazism:

It is very interesting to see how Hitler and his Nazis have sized up this country, how
they play up to the pharisaism of the English, how they explore their weaknesses, how
they get allies in this country and put them to work “behind the front” . . . Hitler can
go on persecuting the Jews and the Church, and the Terror can rage unabated – all

77 Ibid., 207, 145.
78 Ibid., 207, 153.
79 Ibid., 216, 376.
these things have either been forgotten here or they evoke no more than conventional
protests . . . [Hitler] has got away with everything at home and is getting away with
everything abroad. 80

The Foreign Correspondence as a whole provides detailed observations on the worsening international situation from the German Anschluss with Austria and the Czech crisis of 1938 to the outbreak of war in September 1939. There is a separate file of editorial correspondence and related documents which deals with the first few months of the war. 81 Parallel developments in the deteriorating world situation are recorded in the correspondence and dispatches of H.J. Timperley, the Guardian's China correspondent, dating mainly from 1936-40 and charting the Japanese invasion of China through Timperley's own reports from Shanghai and the detailed eye-witness accounts of people caught in the conflict. 82

The events of the war itself may be followed in two collections which, like the Foreign Correspondence, are separate from the main sequence of Guardian letters. One block of material dates mainly from the years 1942–43, when the tide of war was beginning to turn in the allies' favour. 83 It contains dispatches ranging over many aspects of the conflict but focusing particularly on the prospects for a post-war settlement and the possible attitudes of both combatant and non-combatant countries. Russo-Polish relations and the complexities of Yugoslavia's external and domestic problems alternate with comments on the political outlook of neutral states such as Spain, Turkey and Sweden. There are also periodic reports on the bombing campaigns, including comments on the rumours that the Germans were about to develop a revolutionary long-range weapon. In October 1943 Eric Wigham reported:

... the two leading scientists who advise the government have agreed on no single point since the war began—except this rocket gun. They are agreed it won't work. Nobody seems quite to believe in it, but the government dare not fail to take precautions. 84

It is not completely clear whether Wigham was referring to plans for the 'V3' weapon which failed to materialize before the end of the war, or the 'V1' and 'V2' missiles, which certainly did.

The second, and larger, war-time 'special' collection deals especially with the Middle East. The principal theme running through this material is not so much the war as the fate of the Jewish people as refugees from Nazi Europe and as residents and prospective settlers in

80 Ibid., 218/292.
81 Ibid., 223/50.
82 NIDS UK, 0.063.042, nos. B/T124A/1–119.
83 NIDS UK, 0.063.040, no. 324.3.
84 Ibid., probably 14 October (unnumbered item in chronological sequence).
an increasingly troubled Palestine. Much of it consists of letters from, or documents forwarded by, Sir Lewis Namier. Although there are a few items dating from between 1930 and 1937, the sequence begins in earnest in 1938 with papers relating to the proposed partition of Palestine and the Arab agitation against it, and the plight of Austria's Jews under the Nazis. There are letters from, and documents about, Chaim Weizmann, soon to be the first president of Israel, and several lengthy papers from Moshe Shertok, executive of the Jewish Agency, a Zionist organization founded by Weizmann to encourage and assist Jews to settle in Palestine. From 1940 to 1942 the emphasis shifts towards reports of the war and of diplomatic manoeuvres between states, with extensive coverage of the possible wider implications of domestic political upheavals in Iraq and Turkey, and similar material concerning Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iran. Interspersed with this, however, are documents describing in detail the attempts of Jewish refugees to migrate to Palestine, the attitude of the British authorities there, and the transfer to Mauritius of illegal Jewish immigrants. The preponderance of 'Zionist' material increases again until these files come to an end in 1944.

Apart from these special 'foreign' and 'war' collections, there are a number of smaller files covering a wide variety of contemporary issues. Two of the larger categories deal with refugees (281 items from 1940-47), and the Irish horse trade (364 items), the latter dealing with the campaign in 1952 to halt the trade in live horses for eventual slaughter abroad. Perhaps the most fascinating to the general reader is the file on the abdication of Edward VIII in 1936. The importance of this compilation of newscuttings and correspondence lies in the fact that it includes material from the United States, on the relationship between the king and Mrs Simpson, which dates from several weeks before the crisis broke in Britain in December. The following extract expresses the vigorously-held and not entirely coherent views of a British expatriate:

American women can take no pride or pleasure in the notoriety this woman has attained, she has shown she has no regard to the marriage vow, the foundation of the home, and of the nation. Brit. born and Americans, who had a warm regard for the Brit. Throne and the high pinnacle to which that Throne had been raised to as a home, by the influence of that kindly voice we heard last Christmas addressed to his great family, are mortified to see that Home and Throne dragged down into a Baltimore gutter.

If the King were an overlord in a Chicago or New York White Slave ring, he could not be regarded with more contempt by decent thinking people . . . If any King wished to bring Brit. Law and Justice, and its fairness, into the gutter, Edward E.R.

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85 Ibid., 145:30-44.
86 Ibid., 223:5
87 Ibid., 223:4
88 Ibid., 223:3.
has done it. The Labor Press may rave about his "democratic action" in busting the Blue Blood precedent, but he did not need to be so rotten in his choice. 89

At the time of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953, Guardian readers found themselves deeply divided over an issue in a way which almost echoed the great conflicts over the Boer War of more than fifty years earlier. The issue at stake was incomparably more transient and by most criteria far more trivial, but it might be argued that some of the underlying allegiances and emotions were not dissimilar. On the day after the coronation, the Guardian published a cartoon by the leading cartoonist of the time, David Low, presenting a 'morning after' view of the festivities which could be taken as suggesting both that an unnecessarily extravagant amount of money had been spent and that the country needed to return from a mood of frivolity to one of hard reality. The following extracts from letters to the Guardian reflect remarkably succinctly several of the underlying political and social issues in British society at this time:

Your . . . cartoon . . . is the most disgraceful, disgusting and contemptible thing I have ever seen in a British newspaper. It appears to be a vile and calculated insult to our Queen and all [her] subjects when the Crown was never more a binding influence for good throughout the world.

"The £100,000,000 spree" has helped to avert a tragic depression in the Cotton trade, and has found employment in many other branches of industry when it was needed.

Your miserable cartoonist should offer his talents to "Pravda" - or perhaps he has done just that. 90

The political leanings of another correspondent are equally evident in this rather different assessment:

Why in a democratic state should a monarchy, notoriously Tory in outlook and undemocratic constitutionally be allowed to spend public money on whipping up a frenzy of loyalty which helps to confound the opponents of the present government? Why should the monarchy, a social parasite with which most of the democratic states have dispensed without any noticeable detrimental effect to themselves, waste so many of the country's resources when millions are inadequately housed . . . Why the celebration when our national independence is sacrificed to the Americans and when the colonial peoples have, or are attempting to throw off British rule? 91

Further insights can be gained from a perusal of the whole file, containing in all 360 hostile responses and 170 favourable reactions. 92

There remain two major collections of correspondence, files and notes which are well listed but which have not received significant attention. These overlap almost exactly in that they cover the years

89 Ibid., 223 3 14.
90 Ibid., 223 1/112.
91 Ibid., 223 2 70.
92 Ibid., 223 1 2.
when Alastair Hetherington was editor of the *Guardian* (1956–75) as successor to A.P. Wadsworth,93 and the similar period of Patrick Monkhouse's term as Northern editor.94 The Monkhouse material was acquired with the main *Guardian* donation; the Hetherington papers were presented by the newspaper ten years later. The fact that both collections contain material relating to politicians and journalists who are still very much alive means that it may prove necessary, in some instances, to consult the *Guardian*, Mr Hetherington, or even the subjects of the researcher's enquiry before archives are made available. Here, as in the case of earlier periods, are documents which will eventually make important contributions to the study of British political history and of British journalism.

The Hetherington papers, listed as the 'C' sequence of correspondence and related documents, are of the greater consequence. Prominent correspondents in the section of the collection devoted to 'staff and contributors' include Neville Cardus, Alistair Cooke, Gerard Fay, Darsie Gillie, David Low, Patrick Monkhouse, Hella Pick, Peter Preston, Brian Redhead and Laurence Scott, as well as contributors better known for their achievements outside journalism. In the latter category are the Liberal Party leader Jo Grimond, the Labour politician Richard Crossman, and the solo yachtsman Francis Chichester.95 There is, as the above list indicates, much continuity with the Crozier and Wadsworth era; perhaps Arthur Ransome, for whom there is material here dating from 1936 to 1961, and whose contributions throughout the *Guardian* archives date back to 1919, is the outstanding example of this phenomenon. A series of documents entitled 'internal files' contains material on such themes as advertising; the 150th anniversary celebrations of the *Guardian* in 1971; circulation; expeditions; the history of the *Guardian*; and the London printing project.96 Wider-ranging 'reference files' cover topics including aviation, churches, defence, the European Economic Community, the police, and the Suez crisis of 1956.97 Perhaps most valuable, however, are the political interview notes for the period 1958 to 1975. Most leading British political figures appear, along with many international statesmen. Particularly prominent are the Labour politicians George Brown, James Callaghan, Richard Crossman, Hugh Gaitskell, Roy Jenkins and Harold Wilson, while Jo Grimond represents the Liberals and Edward Heath and Reginald Maudling the Conservatives.98

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93 Listed in the unpublished list *Guardian archives: correspondence and documents from the editorship of H. Alastair Hetherington (1956–75)*, NIDS UK, 0.063.135.
94 Listed in the unpublished *Handlist of Guardian archives: correspondence of Patrick James Monkhouse*, NIDS UK, 0.063.184–5
95 NIDS UK, 0.063.135, section C1.
96 Ibid., section C4A.
97 Ibid., section C4B.
98 Ibid., section C5.
The Monkhouse papers are inevitably more parochial, although journalists of national standing such as Neville Cardus, Gerard Fay, Alastair Hetherington, Bernard Levin, A.P. Wadsworth and Guy Wint figure prominently,\textsuperscript{99} and material relating to Monkhouse’s special interests extends well beyond the confines of north-west England. Education in Britain and in Africa; economic planning; and the welfare of Britain’s grey seals all feature here.\textsuperscript{100} The largest single topic is that of National Parks, and more especially the Peak District, reflecting Monkhouse’s work with the Peak Park Planning Board.\textsuperscript{101}

This survey of the \textit{Guardian} collection is, in two important respects, a partial one. First, it makes virtually no reference to the vast files of almost untouched material which may yet yield valuable research data. Secondly, even in its treatment of the archives which are to a greater or lesser degree already listed, it reflects the knowledge, the interests, and probably also the prejudices, of its author. Any researcher into any aspect of late nineteenth- to mid-twentieth century life should make a thorough investigation of the extensive lists which record the names of thousands of men and women who were actively involved in the affairs of the last 120 years. The process of discovery has only just begun.

\textsuperscript{99} NIDS UK, 0.063.184-5, ‘Staff: individual files’, nos. D/1838-59.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., D/3319-34.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., D/3329, 3331-2. The Library also has an unlisted collection of Monkhouse’s papers relating to the Peak Park Planning Board dating from c.1969-71.