

HACKS AND DONS

TEACHING AT THE LONDON UNIVERSITY JOURNALISM SCHOOL
1919-1939: ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND INFLUENCE

FRED HUNTER

KULTURA PRESS

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HACKS: 'A COMMON DRUDGE ESPECIALLY A LITERARY DRUDGE; HENCE A POOR
WRITER, A MERE SCRIBBLER (1700)
DONS: 'TUTOR OR FELLOW OF A COLLEGE AT OXFORD OR CAMBRIDGE.'
'SOMETHING WITH A LOUD, AFFECTED VOICE, AIRING ITS KNOWLEDGE' - JOHN
CAREY

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

This book is dedicated to two remarkable women: Joan Skipsey Galwey (1915-1999) the first woman to run the Diploma for Journalism Course at King's College, University of London, from 1937 to 1939, and to Barbra Evans (1958-2008) who unwittingly benefited from Joan's approach to teaching practical journalism while I was writing this book and running the radio journalism course at the London College of Printing where Barbra became the first student to win a national radio award in 1985.

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Acknowledgements

As the first doctoral candidate in the fledgling journalism department at The City University under Tom Welsh, in 1977, I was fortunate to secure Alan Lee (1943-1981), lecturer at the University of Hull, as my supervisor to guide me through the jungle of press history, and, after his premature death, by David Jenkins then head of the Centre for Arts and Related Studies where journalism studies found its first home at The City University. Lord Briggs and Sir Harold Evans were my external examiners in 1982 and agreed the award of the doctorate in 1984. Since then I have reviewed subsequent literature on the subject up to 2011.

I am indebted to numerous archivists and librarians at the colleges of the University of London: Bedford (now Royal Holloway), King's, University, Queen Mary (formerly East London), and the London School of Economics, and to Richard Temple, archivist at the Senate House Library, for unflinching support over many years. Librarians at the Royal Borough of Kingston upon Thames and Kingston University provided me with useful reference material, as did archivists at the universities of Birmingham, Reading, Sheffield and, for the archives of the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), Warwick. I was fortunate in having the London local libraries specialist journalism collection nearby at Southwark Library in Walworth Road (now at Dagenham), which was a storehouse of rare journalism books and journals, as was the Newspaper Library at Colindale and the Round Reading Room of the old British Museum Library. Staff at the National Archives at Kew provided excellent service as did those at the Guildhall Library of the City of London, especially its Fleet Street outpost, the St. Bride Library where the librarian Nigel Roche was a mine of information. My thanks are due especially to the staff of the library of The City University, then under S. J. Teague, where Ralph Adams was also prominently to the fore in seeking out hidden treasures in the arcane area of study known as 'educating the Journalist', and tracking down a mass of obscure references. Archivists at the BBC Written Archives Centre provided career information regarding former LUJS students and its first director, Tom Clarke.

The archives of the Newspaper Society and of the first Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-49, were invaluable in defining the relevance of the diploma for journalism to the newspaper industry. The Oral Evidence of the Commission revealed close questioning of newspapermen about the course and its working papers disclosed the importance attached, by the Commission, to the subject of "educating the journalist".

My thanks are also due to George Viner (1912-1983) former education officer of the NUJ, a sympathetic reader of earlier versions of this book;

Professor John Herbert for support, criticism and encouragement over many years; Professor Oliver Boyd-Barrett, whom I first met in 1980 at a meeting of the British section of the International Press Institute, who helped me rewrite my first, 1982, thesis and was an invaluable consort through the maze that surrounds the debate about what journalism education, was, is or might be. Professor G.B.Harrison in retirement in New Zealand and several former King's College students, especially Joan Skipsey Galwey (1919-1999), who eloquently answered questions regarding the day-to-day operation of the London course. Many academics, broadcasters, journalists and journalism educators offered advice and constructive criticism. My post-doctoral research benefited greatly from my friendship with Jo Baylen (1920-2009) when he retired from the Regius Professorship of History at Georgia State University and joined his second wife, Margaret Pringle, in Sussex to be near her family. For nearly twenty-five years he shared his knowledge of the byways of Victorian journalism in Britain. I hope that his research on W. T. Stead (1849-1912) will some day be published. I am also grateful to Leila Berg and Ruth Tomalin Ross for enlightening me on their experiences on the last course, 1938-39. Among others I recall the assistance of Willard Bishop (1926-2005), Ray Boston (1928-2010), Peter Brock (1936-1987), Edward [Harry] Butler (1913-93), Dave Cardiff (1944-2003), Henry Clothier (1931-2000), John Dodge (1930-1985), David Dunhill (1917-2005), Ian Higham (d.2008), Sir Tom Hopkinson (1905-90), Philip Marsh (1916-98), Eric Stadlen (1917-95), Peter Thornton (1945-2002), and Eric Winter (1920-2000).

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Foreword

Frederic Newlands Hunter is a pioneer of broadcast journalism education who originated the teaching of the subject at the London College of Communication (formerly London College of Printing) and is responsible for introducing to the profession many of the leading journalists and editors in Britain's media. Hunter alumni include the BBC's director of journalism, Helen Boaden, its American editor Mark Mardell, the leading political correspondent Carole Walker, the *Independent's* political editor, Steve Richards, and many others. While Fred was recruiting new generations of the country's broadcasters he was also academically fathoming the origin and foundations of journalism education as a PhD student at the City University with his thesis examined by the legendary Sunday Times editor Sir Harry Evans and broadcast and social historian Lord Asa Briggs. He was the first PhD student at the fledgling journalism department and his thesis is the basis of this book, a body of evidence and investigative research offering us the forgotten and neglected history of predecessor pioneers of journalism teaching at King's College and the University of London in the early decades of the 20th century.

I willingly declare an interest; Fred Hunter enabled my admittance to the profession of broadcast journalism, equipped only with an A level in Sociology, some experience in radical community journalism and performance poetry – and working as a dustman for the Corporation of London to pay the bills. Fred was a genuine working class hero in being the only child of Abraham Dawson (Peter) Hunter, coal miner, and Elsie Norcliffe, hairdresser in Wallsend-on-Tyne. After national service in Korea, commissioned into the 5th Royal Tank Regiment, Fred's intellectual gifts and hard work got him to Cambridge University. There he studied moral philosophy alongside the playwright Michael Frayn.

In Korea, Fred's tank slid down a hill bending its gun barrel in the process and legend has it that his was the only tank capable of firing round corners. This experience of commanding a 20-ton Centurion tank on the winter permafrost of the Korean peninsula would later help him survive in commercial radio journalism; when in 1973-74 he was an assistant editor and director of LBC/IRN. He also would need the ability of a tank that could fire round corners, together with his creativity, charm, ingenuity, intelligence and organisational tenacity when he was endeavouring to establish the pioneering training course for radio journalism outside the BBC at the London College of Printing, when few people in Further or Higher Education believed it should, or could, be done.

The more he researched about the Diploma for Journalism at the University of London between 1919 and 1939, the more he realised there were honoured forebears, namely Dr George Harrison, Joan Skipsey and Tom Clarke at King's College forty years earlier.

Hacks & Dons is an odyssey in every sense of the word. It is a journey of discovery, human experience and educational enlightenment that is becoming historically cyclical. The development of radio journalism teaching at the London College of Printing was influenced by the Diploma for Journalism, and has subsequently influenced the exponential expansion of broadcast journalism university education in the United Kingdom that I myself have experienced while teaching journalism at Goldsmiths College, University of London from 1990 to the present day. I wish I had had *Hacks and Dons* for inspiration, guidance, commiseration, research and enlightenment. Hence my enthusiasm, encouragement and determination that Fred should take on the Herculean task of transforming his thesis, completed in the days of typewriters, into this fascinating book. It bridges the ages of journalism teaching between the 20th and 21st centuries, bringing to life the characters of students and the excitement of interpolating training for the trade with education for the profession of journalism. As with Fred's pioneering radio journalism course at the Elephant and Castle in the late 70s and early 80s, the London University Diploma for Journalism at King's College in the Strand gave groundings to some of the leading journalists, national newspaper editors and authors from the 1920s until the millenium.

Fred has become one of the most reliable and important historians of the education of journalists including some pioneering women. He is a stalwart contributor to the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and its American counterpart, and is often consulted by the national media. His biography is rich with diversity and Renaissance endeavour. In the 1960s he created Stream Records with his friends Helen and John Cassidy and recorded the leading poets of the time on LPs, some of whom featured in a BBC Radio 4 programme, 'Fred's Archive', broadcast on March 30, 2008. Fred also had the pleasure of cutting Ms Yoko Ono out of her Brown Paper Bag Happening – before she became Mrs John Lennon – when she appeared at a Carnaby Street gallery as part of the Destruction in Art Symposium in 1967, which they also recorded for posterity. He brought an equality of opportunity to the recruitment of students on his courses. In his research on the role of women in journalism, the feminised perspective and narrative is always a solution and never a problem. *Hacks and Dons* is the work of an outstanding researcher and a magnificent chronicle of a vital chapter in the history of British journalism education.

Tim Crook, Head of Radio, Goldsmiths, University of London, 2011.

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Chapter One

Tom Clarke – Pioneer of Teaching British Journalists

This book asks questions about attitudes, value judgments and awareness among journalists and educators involved in the early development of journalism education within British academia.

Thus references to the University of London Diploma for Journalism, from 1919 to 1939, caught my attention and I started looking for material on the subject, only to discover there was nothing detailed, although careers books mentioned it and Tom Clarke (1884-1957), who was the first Director of Practical Journalism from 1935-39. So I looked him up in the Dictionary of National Biography, which I later rewrote, *The Times* obituary columns and *The Journal* of the Institute of Journalists (IoJ). Then I went to the Library of the University of London and examined the Senate Minutes from 1919 to 1939, following up the development of journalism education noted in the minutes of the Journalism Committee. One of the older librarians was interested in my research and told me that there had been a donation of Tom Clarke's lecture notes to the university, (now in King's College archive), and these were the first major find. That librarian directed me to King's College where another retired librarian was acting as archivist. He had been working in King's College in the 1930s and remembered the staff, Mr. Clarke and Miss Joan Skipsey, and he thought there might be papers from that period in existence. After a long search Miss Joan Skipsey was discovered as Mrs Joan Galwey (1915-1999) and she pointed me towards Dr. G. B. Harrison (1894-1991), living in retirement in New Zealand after his academic career in American universities. Dr. Harrison had been tutor to journalism students in King's College and closely involved with Clarke in developing the course once it centred in King's after 1937. Joan Skipsey's own archive of her work at King's survived and provides many of the documentary illustrations in this book. This material was cross-referenced in the 1970s with surviving records left in a box-file in a cupboard at King's College, undisturbed since 1939. Eventually these were examined and revealed the pattern of operations undertaken by the journalism teaching staff, together with many internal memoranda, minutes, letters, and reports on students' progress. Subsequently the names of former students became living people, and several were interviewed, although some did not want their names mentioned as having attended the course.

The role of the IoJ in developing the groundwork for this London University course was examined by reading various *Journals* of the Institute

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from the 1880s onwards. Other trade and professional journals revealed the existence of the lectures given to the students by prominent journalists in the first years of the course, published as 'Hints to Journalism Students by Those Who Know', and the textbook 'The Complete Journalist' by F. J Mansfield (1872-1946) of *The Times*, was evidence of his part in the development of the teaching up to 1935 when Tom Clarke was appointed the first full-time Director of Practical Journalism financed by some of Fleet Street's newspaper magnates. The evidence of their underwriting of his salary was confirmed in the King's College archives in a letter from Fred Lawson to Dr. Halliday: 'I have been fairly successful. I have not clinched the matter with Lord Rothermere, but I imagine that I shall probably get his £100. I have also got £100 a year for five years from Sir Emsley Carr, and also £100 a year for five years from Mr Elias. Mr Elias has further promised me that if we are a little short, he would increase that amount. I have got Major Astor to tackle, and I think I shall probably get the same from him.'¹

Research has revealed how closely the loJ followed American practice, inviting early American professors of journalism to their deliberations in 1908 and 1919. This continued under Clarke, although never mentioned by him. His letters to American journalism departments indicate his interest, evidenced in three University brochures heavily marked in his hand.

To help establish the educational climate of those earlier times several Reports of Commissions on Universities were examined, as were the archive papers of the first Royal Commission on the Press, to help establish opinion on the London University course among witnesses, given in both oral (and unpublished) written evidence.

In an attempt to pinpoint the development of certain journalistic changes numerous books and articles were read, as well as the Northcliffe archives in the British Library, for the light they throw on the genesis of modern journalism. Northcliffe's letters are mines of information and are often a more correct version of events and developments than many autobiographical books by journalists.

In an effort to place the development of journalism education within a cultural and epistemological context the author found much of interest in the writings of Sir Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) and on developments of historiography in the writings of Lawrence Stone. His colleague, Professor Robert Darnton, is of interest by virtue of his journalistic background prior to turning historian.²

Former students of the London course were contacted or interviewed, as were former members of the staff of King's College who taught on the course. Historians working on papers of people connected with the course, like Hugh Gaitskell when a lecturer at University College, or Sir Roderick Jones as a member of the Journalism Committee, kindly searched papers but found little to add to existing archives.

Turning to the journalism teaching of Clarke it is interesting to note his attitude towards reporting, as being 'objectively describing what you see – not your emotions on seeing it. Leave that to the reader's imagination.'³ In setting a reporting test Clarke had not 'anticipated a hard news story...only thoughts of general scenes outside the Palace' whereas 'the visit of the new King to St. James' Palace for the Accession Council...was the main

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story of the day. How many of you noticed? Two. Both ladies. All these facts were presented to you on a plate and only a handful of you thought it worthwhile...to mention them.⁴ Clarke stated that this was an example of when reading history and adding a 'few lines explaining the significance of the historical meeting' would have been better than reporting the presence of people who were not there, like Lloyd George. 'What was going on in the street and palace' was what Clarke said was wanted, although he also devoted a lecture to 'Names and Titles' and all the reference books needed for achieving this. So reporting of facts went hand-in-hand with a need for accuracy in reporting which was a measure of powers of observation allied to having 'a gift of words, a sense of colour, and a lively sympathetic imagination.' This description removes journalists from the role of 'lower grade clerks' which the sociologists Harry Christian and Jeremy Tunstall assign to them, although it neatly aligns with Harold Evans's requirements that reporters should 'tell a straight story plainly'.⁵

Andrew McBarnett described the initiation into journalism as being one of 'accustoming themselves to a routine acceptance of official versions of reality'.⁶ This inbuilt bias towards factuality is usually cited as evidence of intellectual weakness on the part of journalists, ignoring as it does, similar trends in present day historiography 'with its preference for the quantifiable, the statistical...'⁷ Lawrence Stone describes the French 'new historians' undertaking 'storytelling...based on the testimony of eyewitnesses and participants' as an attempt at recapturing something of the outward manifestations of the *mentalité* of the past - a description some journalists would not argue with in describing their own activities.

Like so many aspects of British journalism the emphasis on observing the external world, and systematically recording and analysing such observations, springs from unacknowledged American practices and, in this example, illustrating the social science basis for such attitudes. While such a background itself remained unacknowledged by British journalists on a workaday level until the 1990s, in America it became institutionalised in textbooks (with titles like 'Precision Journalism') that needed to serve the vast numbers of journalism undergraduates, or more precisely, undergraduates undertaking practical journalism as a part of their liberal education on the American pattern of vocational/professional journalism education. This pattern developed strong traditions, which British journalists adopted surreptitiously not wishing to be seen to be influenced by such - to British journalistic eyes - uncommon practices as journalism degrees.

In the best account of the philosophical development of American journalism education Wilbur Schramm (1907-87) details how that system developed and illustrates what Britain failed to achieve until recently, though it might well have done so earlier if London University's journalism course had not closed its doors in 1939.⁸

Earlier commentators on American journalism education document these developments further, filling in the intellectual background of two journalists-turned-sociologists, Max Weber (1864-1920) and Robert Ezra Park⁹ (1864-1946), as decisive figures in these developments. Such historical antecedents would come as a surprise to many British journalists,

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if not to sociologists. The importance of both these men relates to their estimation of what a journalist does when reporting.

For Weber 'a really good journalistic accomplishment requires as least as much "genius" as any scholarly accomplishment...'¹⁰ and Park saw news as acquaintance with something, rather than knowledge about something. This is the 'distinction between news (acquaintance with something or orientation) and truth (knowledge about something, or information)'.¹¹ While to many journalists 'facts' are synonymous with 'truth' and the gathering of facts amounted to a scientific method of reporting, there were also strong demands for putting the reporting of events into context, which gave them meaning. This interpretative reporting (as one textbook entitled it) brought forth investigative reporting 'digging out facts beneath the surface' with its stress on the 'truth-seeking role' of the journalist.

From its nineteenth century definition as 'literature in a hurry' ascribed to Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) journalism has become 'social science in a hurry'.¹² But this alone does not enable the journalist to 'wrest meaning from the torrent of events rather than acting as mere transmission belts'.¹³ Because they had a better concept of what a story 'is' according to Grant, journalists now ask better questions, and we have to remember this is American journalism under discussion.

Just as Stone's 'new historians' were 'asking new questions, trying out new methods, and searching for new sources'¹⁴ while implicitly denying 'any deep-seated meaning to history except the accidental whims of fortune and personality,' so the American 'new journalists' of the 1970s became 'active truth seekers'.¹⁵

A British critic and innovator of postgraduate journalism courses at university level, Sir Tom Hopkinson (1905-1990), described journalism's aim as the 'quickest possible disclosure of whatever information is available'¹⁶ while the academic's aim is 'certainty; the quarry, truth'.¹⁷ The combination of these seeming contraries must impose a strain on any human activity, not least the development of a syllabus to satisfy the extremities. Here the development of the London University Diploma for Journalism illustrates the uneasy alliance that was attempted under old-fashioned academia, and an old-style journalism neither of which is the same animal today.

The relevance to the British experience is more to illustrate what was lost by the absence in Britain of a university-based journalism curriculum while its unstudied elements developed haphazardly. Popular estimates of journalists perpetuate stereotypical views but there does exist a strain in British journalism which does entail the journalist in long-running research (in some newspapers, television documentaries and radio documentaries). While this can be criticised as 'social science in a hurry' it, nevertheless, does exemplify Max Weber's point that, even though journalists are often required to respond under pressure of time, this concept is central to scholarship. In this respect, Weber suggests journalism is normal and it is the academic discipline – with its ever-extending periods of research – that is exceptional.¹⁸

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If Sir Ernst Gombrich can state that an academic scholar 'can acquire the skills to investigate nearly any question that arouses his curiosity'¹⁹, it is just this similar claim by journalists that often draws academic criticism of their methods. If a part of 'scholarship consists in knowledge of how to use dictionaries' then what Gombrich describes as the 'distortions' implied in academic disciplines need a synthesis which well-organised student activity can create. While the University of London Diploma for Journalism had but a short season one of the reasons for studying it is to examine how earlier attempts to combine the disciplines was implemented, long before it became academically fashionable.²⁰

I completed the PhD thesis on this subject in 1984 and I was surprised that this unique British experiment, in combining practical vocational training with relevant academic subjects, remained largely ignored and neglected by academics and journalists. Indeed some academics disputed its very existence stating that 'the "technical elements" of journalism were too lacking in academic rigour to be included in even a sub-degree course and [when practical journalism did appear as a curricular subject in 1937] it gained a reputation...for being "too theoretical" and was never highly regarded, closing within two years.'²¹ Another reported that 'journalism education in the United States preceded its British counterpart at the university level by nearly a century'²² which in the light of the research in this book could be informed by the fact that pioneering American journalism professors were present at the Institute of Journalists 1908 annual conference to discuss journalism education and also in 1919 at the inauguration of the London University Diploma.

Since then an honourable exception has been Heather Purdey, Programme Director of International Journalism at the City University in London and a journalist since 1976. In her excellent 2001 unpublished master's thesis *Button Pushers or the Fourth Estate? Journalists in the 21st Century* she credits Tom Clarke for forming 'the foundation of modern-day training for Journalists.'²³

The history of the University of London Diploma for Journalism course has much to offer those interested in the evolution of British journalism: how it is now and how it might have been different had not this course disappeared with the advent of the Second World War, in 1939. The following pages explore its origins in the nineteenth century and how it developed between 1919 and 1939 and its continuing influence into the 21st century.

Purists may object to the reference to the title to the London University Journalism School as it never achieved that status but the Principal of King's College referred to it as such in a letter to the Principal of London University in 1930. Had the course continued it would have been as a fully-fledged school of the university.²⁴

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Endnotes

- ¹ Journalism Department, King's College, London Archives. KDJ 2 in KDJ Box 16. Letter from Fred Lawson to Dr. Halliday, 9th May 1935.
- ² Robert Darnton, 'Writing News and Telling Stories' in *Daedalus* 104 (Spring, 1975)
- ³ Tom Clarke, TSS of King's College lecture notes, KDJ/18/1-45: Reporting Test, 21st January 1936.
- ⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁵ Harold Evans, *Editing and Design Book One: Newsman's English*, (London: Heinemann, 1972).
- ⁶ Andrew McBarnett, 'Disciplining the journalist: an investigation of training methods', *Media, Culture and Society*, 1, (2) (1979), 181-93.
- ⁷ Le Roy Ladurie quoted in Lawrence Stone, 'The revival of narrative: Reflections on a new old history' *Past and Present* No. 85, (1979).
- ⁸ Wilbur Schramm, 'Education for Journalism: Vocational, General, or Professional?' *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 24, (1947).
- ⁹ See *Journalism Monographs*, number 64: P. Jean Frazier and Cecilie Gaziano, 'Robert Ezra Park's Theory of News, Public Opinion and Social Control', (Lexington, Kentucky: Association for Education in Journalism, November 1979). Park (1864-1944) studied under John Dewey and William James, published his PhD in German in 1904 but not translated into English until 1972. He is also mentioned, along with Robert Darnton, in *Journalism Educator* for Winter 1987, vol. 41, No. 4, in articles discussing 'journalism and anthropology'.
- ¹⁰ David H. Weaver & Maxwell E. McCombs, 'Journalism and social science: a new relationship?' *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44 (Winter, 1980) 477-91.
- ¹¹ *ibid.*
- ¹² Philip Meyer, *Precision Journalism: A Reporter's Introduction to Social Science Methods*, (Bloomington, Indiana, USA: Indiana University Press, 1973).
- ¹³ Gerald Grant quoted in Weaver, David H and McCombs, Maxwell E., *op. cit.*
- ¹⁴ Stone, Lawrence 'The revival of narrative: Reflections on a new old history' *Past and Present* No. 85, 1979.
- ¹⁵ Weaver, David H and McCombs, Maxwell E., *op. cit.*
- ¹⁶ Tom Hopkinson, 'The Media and Academia. A Valedictory Lecture', lecture given on 4th June 1975 at University College, Cardiff.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*
- ¹⁸ Max Weber, *Politics as a Vocation*, (Philadelphia, (1918) 1972: Fortress Press).
- ¹⁹ Ernst Gombrich, 'Research in the Humanities: Ideals and Idols', *Daedalus*, (Spring 1973).
- ²⁰ A similar approach to Clarke's teaching was introduced at Middlesex University in the early 1990s as 'Work Based Learning' to promote teaching and guidance for established and establishing professionals. See *Media Guardian*, 8 June, 2009, p. 11, advert.
- ²¹ Bromley, M. (1997) 'The end of journalism? Changes in workplace practices in the press and broadcasting in the 1990s' in Bromley, M., & O'Malley, T., eds., *A Journalism Reader*.
- ²² Zelizer, B (2004) *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy*, Los Angeles, CA: Sage, p. 18
- ²³ Heather Purdey, 2001, 'Button Pushers or the Fourth Estate? Journalists in the 21st Century', (unpublished master's dissertation, Loughborough University, 2001) pp 16-17.
- ²⁴ KDJ/Box 16.3, letter dated 12th June, 1930.

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Chapter Two

The Evolution of the Modern Journalist 1880-1930

Two Distinct Roles: Journalist and Reporter

Any attempt to disentangle the multiple strands that make up the Victorian experience in journalism in its daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly appearances is hindered by the lack of 'any authoritative formulation of journalism in relation to its time (because) to look is to find none'.¹ The task is rendered more difficult when one attempts to identify 'major shifts or modification in its professional conception of news.'² To pinpoint the 'conception of news' it is necessary to rely on earlier career manuals, memoirs and autobiographies of journalists while appreciating that: 'not all autobiography is as unhearty and uncritical as the reminiscences of journalists; theirs seem to continue in relatively unreflective...uncomplicated sense of life they expressed as reporters.'³ Those who wrote on the subject of journalism during the Victorian era were usually what Altick and Kent call 'higher journalists'⁴ who contributed to, and wrote for, the weightier newspapers of the time, either as correspondents or contributors. They were quite separate from the ordinary reporters. The latter filled the 'Gossip' pages, while the former contributed to the 'Intelligence' columns, as some newspapers labelled them. The 'higher journalists' provided newspapers with what James Fitzjames Stephens described as 'samples of the conversation of educated men upon passing events'⁵ while the reporters wrote: 'accounts of public meetings, exhibitions, ceremonies and incidents of various kinds...prosaic employment for which no great ability is required and none displayed (by this) lower form of talent.'⁶ Writing from an American perspective Michael Schudson avers that 'reporters, and reporting, were inventions of the nineteenth-century middle-class public and its institutions...[T]he 1890s were the age of the reporter...[W]hat reporters report on, how they report, what they aim for, and how they go about their work varies from one era to another. [They] make stories. Making is not faking, not lying, but neither is it passive mechanical recording. It cannot be done without...imagination [and D]escription is always an act of imagination.'⁷

Reporters rarely mixed with the: 'leading journalists...who might be barristers waiting for a brief, or resigned to the lack of them; clergymen whose conscience forbade them to practice or men of independent means who wished to increase their incomes.'⁸

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This implies some element of schooling beyond the ordinary elementary education available over the age of twelve, whether at public school, grammar school, or, in many instances, at university. Also implicit was the close connection between journalism and literature, with career manuals parading the names of the masters before the neophytes, with Charles Dickens well to the fore. Two words combine to bring the 'literary journalist' forward in the perspective of Victorian journalism. One of them Wilfrid Meynell (1854-1948), published a career guide in 1880 (using the pseudonym of John Oldcastle) in which he noted that leading journalists on *The Times* had salaries 'into four figures'.⁹ Meynell himself averaged about £1,000 a year by his, anonymous, freelance contributions by: 'paragraph-writing...half a column in *Pall Mall Gazette*, two columns in the *Illustrated London News*, three in the *Athenaeum* and two-and-a-quarter in the *Academy*, as well as a page in *Tablet* and thirteen paragraphs in the *Daily Chronicle*...headed "From the Office Window."¹⁰

Reporters considered themselves lucky if they received £2 or £3 a week, between £100 and £150 p.a. as did J. Alfred Spender (1862-1942) when working for his uncle on the *Hull Morning News* in 1886¹¹ or the budding dramatist, James Barrie (1860-1937) who received £3 a week in 1887.¹²

By the early 1900s reporters were firmly classified as lower middle class, with earnings between £150 and £200 p.a., in a review of family budgets undertaken in 1901 when the reporters were grouped with bank clerks and skilled mechanics.¹³ The article went on to reveal that a young reporter on a metropolitan daily newspaper received the same as a senior reporter on a provincial daily newspaper. Small, weekly, newspapers attracted very little prestige, while the highest centred on the London newspapers published in Fleet Street.

The early years of the 1880s witnessed a widespread concern among reporters about the need for some kind of professional body 'for the purpose of forwarding the legitimate interests of the profession'¹⁴ and, after an informal meeting held at the 1883 agricultural show at York, a committee of nine was formed: 'to take prompt and energetic measures for the establishment of a League or Association of reporters, sub-editors, and others engaged on the Press of this country.'¹⁵

The Manchester Press Club members referred to themselves as 'pressman' or 'reporters' and not as 'journalists' but it was the National Association of Journalists that was formed in 1884.

Some of those attending the founding conference of the National Association of Journalists wished to enrol in membership 'gentlemen engaged in journalistic work' while others wished to restrict it to 'gentlemen engaged in the literary work of newspapers'.¹⁶ At that time the 'literary work' of the newspaper was seen to include reviewing, leader-writing, and special correspondent, because: 'following the rapid increase of provincial newspapers in the 1860s and 1870s there was a tendency for well-established men to denigrate newer recruits by using a distinction between "journalists" – worthy of high prestige; and reporters – worthy of little.'¹⁷

The work reporters were expected to undertake, as the nineteenth century neared its close, was described in one career manual as being

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'simply an apt notetaker and transcriber'¹⁸ or a paragraph-hunter scouring his neighbourhood for 'four paragraphs chronicling life, or death, or "high jinks" in the parish'. His responsibility was to provide the public with graphic accounts of important incidents¹⁹ and his work was rooted in the reality of describing daily events: what the eye takes in and the mind retains. Working on a provincial newspaper the reporter could expect, in one day, to describe: 'the opening of a public building...the next (day) giving an account of a boat race. Now he attends an agricultural show, then a volunteer review...in addition...he has to pen: "Violent Snow-storm", "Railway Accident", "Concert at the Assembly Rooms", "Exhibition of Pictures."²⁰

In 1861 William Hunt (of the *Eastern Morning News*) tells us he had to provide his reporters with 'Hints to Reporters' telling them what to look for, and note down, when passing through the streets in the days when reporters often had to travel on foot to their destinations.²¹

The Role of the Sub-editor

As the numbers of provincial newspapers increased five-fold between 1837 and 1887²² it is not surprising that there was a substantial increase in the numbers working on newspapers.²³ Indeed Lord Northcliffe reckoned twenty men were needed in place of the one required under the older style of journalism. Just how dramatic that increase was can be deduced in this extract from a letter from Antony J. Mundella (1825-1927), a sub-editor in the London office of the *Manchester Guardian* (a nephew of the Liberal Cabinet Minister of the same name), written to George Armstrong (1870-1945) in 1902: 'there is fierce competition among the papers...in order to miss nothing they have to employ an army of sub-editors to fly through tons of matter at lightning speed, fastening instinctively on any "point" worth a paragraph... and crystallize it into a few lines... it is spoken of with amazement by journalists as the most startling development of work in a newspaper office brought about by the appearance of the *Daily Mail* and then the *Daily Express*.²⁴

Armstrong described this as 'a quite accurate description of what goes on... a revolution in the old style of sub-editing.' Armstrong's career had involved a year of studying at University College, Liverpool, which Edward (late Lord) Russell had recommended he follow before applying for journalistic positions. His first job was as an unpaid trainee, then junior reporter, progressing to sub-editor during the 1890s working on papers like the *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Nottingham Daily Express*, the *Middlesborough North Eastern Gazette*, the *Bradford Observer*, and the *Bolton Express* – where a colleague was (Sir) Mortimer Wheeler (1890-1976). When he received the letter from Mundella, warning him about sub-editing in London, Armstrong was about to take up a sub-editorial position on the *Morning Leader* in London. From that he obtained the editorship of the *Northern Echo* in Darlington where W.T. Stead cut his journalistic teeth from 1904 to 1908, at £400 a year. Then he moved to be managing director of the northern edition of the *Daily News*, and later a director, between 1908 and 1922. This illustrates the way the provinces-to-London route was followed,

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and also points to the way the provinces kept abreast of London developments because, when he moved to the *Echo*: 'It had been agreed there must be a revolution modelling the new paper on the *Morning Leader* itself, with the leading news on the front page and sharing many features of the *Leader* (especially) its magazine pages.'²⁵

The 'old style of sub-editing' referred to above had captured the popular imagination and become 'the popular ideal of a newspaper editor'²⁶ and, to the newspaper reading public, the roles of editor and sub-editor were interchangeable²⁷ as, indeed, they often appeared in the situations vacant, and wanted, columns of the newspaperman's recruitment agency, *The Athenaeum* (a role the *Daily News* eventually inherited). The popular phrase was the 'Scissors and Paste' aspect of the sub-editor's job: 'in the course of a few minutes, by aid of his pen, scissors, and paste-pot, he has produced a neat condensed account, in the space of half-a-column or so'.²⁸

W.T. Stead described the work the following year as the: 'newspaper précis... an attempt to construct an intelligible narrative... from an undigested mass of material (like Government Reports)... which not one in a hundred ever reads.'²⁹

As nobody could be bothered to read dull Government publications then it was the sub-editor's function: 'to make an interesting column of news by reducing a voluminous narrative (which he had) improved, modified and animated'.³⁰

The 'New Journalism': Interviewing

These descriptions of journalistic work have not included anything about one aspect of modern journalism, that of interviewing. This brings us to the dividing line between the old-school of journalism and the 'new journalism' which became the 'conventional term for developments in the press after 1880'.³¹ One journalistic critic, speaking at the annual conference of the Royal-chartered Institute of Journalists (successor to the early National Association of Journalists) in 1896 commented on the degeneracy of the new journalism with its 'plague of interviewers which allow the showman in our midst'.³² Another even made it a condition of his employment that he should not have to undertake interviews and Jerome K. Jerome gave up interviewing as he 'usually fell to arguing with the interviewee'.³³

According to Dr. Alan Lee 'the classic, if rather obscure origin of the term was in 1887' when Matthew Arnold described the New Journalism: 'which is full of ability, novelty, variety, sensation, sympathy, generous instincts; its one great fault is that it is *feather-brained*. It throws out assertions at a venture because it wishes them true; does not correct either them or itself, if they are false; and to get at the state of things as they truly are seems to feel no concern whatever'.³⁴

Arnold went on to link the growth of new voters, in industrial centres where newspapers flourished and the classes had least contact with each other, to 'the *democracy* as people are fond of calling them... disposed to be, like this journalism, *feather-brained*'.³⁵

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The object of Arnold's attack was the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, W.T. Stead, whose use of the American import, the interview, contributed one aspect of the style of the New Journalism.

Even this, as well as other techniques associated with it, can be found in earlier years, but it is convenient to use this time scale as indicative of the major changes which did take place at first in London, and then in provincial newspapers: 'the most conspicuous [change] was typographical innovation aimed at making the paper more readable. Cross-heads, shorter paragraphs, larger and more informative headlines, and the use of illustration... the increasing use of the front page for news... as well as the increasing emphasis upon news as against opinion (with) the news... shorter, more "snippety" and often trivial, and lacking guidance to help its readers understand... and concentrated on what the Americans... called the "human interest story"'.³⁶

While provincial newspapers were still employing 'reporters-compositors'³⁷ in 1889 they were no longer expected to reside on the premises and have their wives look after the 'shop'.³⁸

At another level the 'popular fallacy' that 'shorthand writing and reporting are synonymous'³⁹ persisted in the popular imagination but it was deplored by some provincial newspaper editors who obviously suffered from the 'more mechanical and less intellectual reporter who can do little else than write shorthand'.⁴⁰ Yet there had been increasing complaints from politicians, throughout the 1880s, that inadequate attention was being paid by the press to their speeches (even though one of them, Lord Rosebery, speaking to the London Press Club in 1913, doubted the public ever read them.) Professor Stephen Koss (1940-1984) described 'the cutting down of speeches... as the single most striking development in late-Victorian journalism',⁴¹ and, Lee adds that, by the 1890s 'verbatim reporters of these occasions were rare'.⁴² It is important to remember here that the 'old journalism' was more firmly tied to party political groups, whether Tory or Liberal, while the reporter, in Koss' words, 'has nothing to do with the political side of his newspaper'.⁴³

The Role of the Descriptive Reporter

The almost mechanical function of verbatim reporting gave way to what has been called 'interpretative reporting'⁴⁴ while London editors used the phrase 'descriptive writing' to cover the reporting and its written appearance – which did change.⁴⁵ The change was noticeable in the language used. The: 'old journalist would write "commence" when they mean "began" and refer to grouse as the "feathered denizens of the moor"... the journalist of today should avoid taking their work as his model'.⁴⁶

This new form of journalism replaced the: 'old-fashioned, three-decker leading article and monopolized the best engagements in the Reporters' Diary. (It was) the pleasantest work... (he) sees new sights and enlarges his knowledge of the world (going) by nights to the House (of Commons), political meetings, great fires, to pit explosions, railway accidents, ship launches'.⁴⁷

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The byproduct of this New Journalism imposed 'a harder, more delicate task on the journalist. His triumph may be greater but there are more chances of failure, more opportunities for abusing his power.'¹⁴⁸

One small example of the change involved can be illustrated by the editor's instructions to a reporter, writing about a Royal Academy Summer Exhibition, 'Don't give too much attention to the pictures. Send a couple of articles...chiefly about the smart people.'¹⁴⁹ But even this is really a hangover from the old journalism when 'nobody would be an ignoble newspaper-man who could be a highbrow litterateur.'¹⁵⁰ For the 'higher journalist' (leader-writer, special correspondent) of those days had looked down upon news unless it 'began with politics and ended with literature, art and music.'

As the first news editor of the *Daily Mail*, Lincoln Springfield (1865-1950) experienced at first-hand the difficulty these journalists faced in trying to understand that the essential fact of any report had to be given in the opening line of the reports and not unfold chronologically, as in a story: 'I deemed it was desirable to say at the beginning of a report (of an inquest) that a verdict of murder was returned against a man... rather than giving a column of the inquest, and then disclose the sensational verdict at the close...'

Springfield saw reporting as a more creative role than that of the leader-writer, who could only express opinions on other people's presentation of affairs, because the reporter could 'undertake the collection of his own facts and impressions.'

The pre-eminence Lord Northcliffe (1865-1922) gave to news indicated a change of status for the news-gatherer and it was this, in Springfield's opinion, which made it possible for university graduates to consider the reporter's role as one worthy of a career. The effect was evident at other levels: between 1919 and 1939 many English writers, and novelists, could agree on one thing: the importance of accurate reporting and its beneficial effect upon whatever form the writing took. So Somerset Maugham (1874-1965) could advise the young graduate, Godfrey Winn (1908-1971), to: 'become an accurate reporter, and try your hand at writing profiles... you will find journalism a far less degrading mode of existence... than other forms of literary activity.'¹⁵¹

The author of the *Bengal Lancer*, Francis Yeats-Brown (1886-1944) wrote: 'I strongly advise any budding author to avoid reviewing – not other kinds of journalism, which are all good practice for the masterpiece everyone hopes to write one day...'¹⁵²

Neil Bell (alias Stephen Southwold), a less successful writer in monetary terms, estimated that he made an average of £1,300 a year between 1927 and 1954¹⁵³ after allowing ten to twenty per cent for his agent's commission, 'For my publishers I have made about £100,000 net.' Bell wrote over 70 books and numerous reviews, ignoring Yeats-Brown's advice about avoiding reviewing.

For other writers, growing up between the First and Second World Wars, Cyril Connolly (1903-1974) stated that: 'the idiom of our time is journalistic and the secret of journalism is to write the way people talk. The best journalism is the conversation of a great talker.'

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The poet, W.H. Auden (1907-1974) 'always believed that a good writer must first be a good reporter.'⁵⁴ The young Christopher Caudwell (1907-1937), who died in the Spanish Civil War, wrote that 'Journalism becomes the characteristic product of the age.'⁵⁵

Philip Elliott (1943-1983) has stated that 'journalism has become the pre-eminent form, both as a means of reaching an audience and as a means of expression.'⁵⁶

Those who have used reporting as a stepping stone on the way to writing fiction and drama are legion, and include: James Barrie, Arnold Bennett, Philip Gibbs, Robert Harling, C.E. Montague, Henry Williamson, and Michael Frayn. Returning to Connolly, we find him donning his more mandarin manner when he writes: 'Nothing dates like a sense of actuality than which there is nothing in journalism more valuable... of the admirable journalism that has appeared in the literary weeklies, how little bears reprinting.'⁵⁷

Whoever the writer was he had to remember that 'he must conform to the language which is understood by the greatest number of people, to the vernacular.'⁵⁸ This statement succinctly leads us into consideration of the great change that came over the commercial press as it sought ever-larger readerships. It was also expensive because: 'nurturing the public appetite for perishable news was an expensive and resource-demanding hunger (for) the "true" stories told in newspapers (which) also provided information essential to making one's way in a complex world.'⁵⁹

To accommodate this hunger, newspapers had to become magazines offering wares normally found in a different kind of periodical. As early as 1902 the *Morning Leader* had its 'magazine pages'.⁶⁰ This additional element in newspaper content owed much to Northcliffe's interpretation - and extension - of news as 'talking points... the topics people are discussing... and developing them, or stimulating a topic oneself.'⁶¹ This, it has to be remembered, came after the first element of hard news, that of surprise.

These topics 'people are discussing' rarely matched the old journalism's conception of importance - the 'journalism of opinion' as it liked to regard itself. What these topics included was outlined by London University's first part-time, journalism lecturer from 1925 to 1934, F. J. Mansfield: 'All those things that affect home life are in the Press. For the housewife: home and fashion notes, topical recipes, film and book notes, the finest fiction, advertisements that make her shopping range unlimited... houses, furniture, insurance, the car, the wireless, clothes, tobacco... where the family should spend the holidays, discover what it costs and fix it all in a flash.'⁶² This quote amply illustrates the vast range of topics that came within the remit of the modern newspaper. What it could never be was dull.

This description matches the content offered to his readers by one of the novelists listed on the previous page: Arnold Bennett (1867-1931). A former assistant editor of *Woman*, Bennett could charge the London *Standard* £300 for printing his regular contributions. His successor on the *Standard*, J.B. Priestley (1894-1984) writes: 'What such popular journalism did do was to give him a thorough understanding and appreciation of the topics, the situations, incidents, and characters that have the firmest hold

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upon the popular imagination...when he introduces into the novel a new kind of house... he gives us an exact description of the labour-saving devices in the house.⁶³

As a paragraphist in his native Burslem and a contributor to *Tit-Bits* in 1889, before becoming *Woman's* assistant editor in 1894, Mr. Bennett is described by academic critics as 'no more than a good journalist' which earned him £22,000 a year by 1929.⁶⁴

The Reporter as Observer of Facts

Priestley's description of Bennett's approach equates with Connolly's belief that: 'to write a novel an author must have experience of people as they are, and have resolved the contradiction in his own nature: *he must be integrated, a machine for observation.*'⁶⁵

In this, as in so many other things, it would appear as if the British writers and journalists were imitating their American counterparts, described by Michael Schudson as: 'writing in a self-consciously realistic vein growing out of their experience as newspaper reporters... The word "observe" was all-important to the reporters and realistic novelists of the 1890s (who) praised powers of observation and the realists sense that the newspaper story, the magazine article, and the novel could be, and should be, photographically true to life.'⁶⁶

Just as a 'foundation of fact'⁶⁷ was imperative for factual reporting, so 'the good observer' – as Henry James described Anthony Trollope⁶⁸ – was vital for fictional realism. Literature, as much as journalism, stressed factuality, and this, as the career manuals and autobiographical anecdotes reveal, was one of the basic occupational ideals of journalism. But it was wider than that for Americans, according to one academic critic who believed 'our faith in facts grew with every succeeding century... we have cherished faith in the beneficent influences of facts.'⁶⁹ Schudson interprets the 'unashamed empiricism' of the period as a belief that a 'democratic vision, and empirical inquiry... fit most comfortably.'⁷⁰ In England it was enough to state 'facts were all',⁷¹ but there were some English journalists who wanted to see more evidence of American-style 'democratic vistas' in their own experience 'when uninteresting speeches by politicians will be replaced by more space for questions affecting the welfare of the people.'⁷²

Schudson also equates the growing popularity of science with 'the rise of realism'⁷³ and posits the 'idea of science as a process of data collecting' which fits in with Walter Lippmann's (1889-1974) concern about 'data... and the machinery of record'⁷⁴ so integral to the role of journalism. This is raised to underline the close nature of the transatlantic journalistic connections, illustrated by (Sir) Norman Angell (1872-1967), editor, under Northcliffe, of the *Continental Daily Mail*, 1905-1914, quoting Lippmann's desire to see: 'professional training in journalism in which the ideal of objective testimony is cardinal and... true (where journalists were) men who laboured to see what the world really is (and) good reporting requires the exercise of the highest of scientific virtues.'⁷⁵

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Some Possible Benefits of Education for Journalists

Lippmann wanted to see journalism turned from a haphazard trade into a disciplined profession where: 'the cynicism of the trade needs to be abandoned for the true pattern of the journalistic apprentice (as) patient and fearless men of science who have laboured to see what the world really is.'⁷⁶

It was Lippmann's belief that 'Schools of Journalism... (would) go quite far in turning newspaper enterprise from a haphazard trade into a disciplined profession.'⁷⁷ With 'academics committed to the paradigm of journalism as a professional enterprise and to journalism education's role in promoting this model'⁷⁸ then the fledgling journalism schools of the early 1920s in the USA were well ahead of British proposals, where only the London University ran a journalism diploma, from 1919 to 1939. This will be examined more thoroughly in subsequent chapters but the principle needs to be set within the debate about journalism and the changes evolving within it, to enable us to appreciate the differing attitudes towards education for journalism revealed in the British debates.

The discussion about education is even more relevant in terms of the emerging character of the New Journalism in England and the demands it brought for a style of writing which was 'bright, alert, efficient... (the) style snappy, and perky and button-holing'⁷⁹ the description given by J.B Priestley to Arnold Bennett. So, generally in English newspaper offices: 'everywhere the word "bright" was heard. To "brighten" the news, to have "brighter" features, to engage "brighter" writers... were the instructions daily repeated.'⁸⁰

You could not awaken a reader's interest with a dull, commonplace recital of events; reporters were advised to 'say what you mean directly in good clear English with short, sharp, clear-cut sentences.'⁸¹ This was the way the editor R.D. Blumenfeld (1864-1948) put it. Blumenfeld was an American who edited the *Daily Express* from 1904 to 1928, after working first for Northcliffe. He also favoured degrees in journalism: 'I want to back up the President of the Institute of Journalists in the effort to institute a Degree in Journalism, which will prove that the holder knows something more than the mere stringing together of words. It should be possible for young men and young women to come into a real profession properly equipped to carry on a calling which, when all is said and done, is the finest and most interesting of all professions.'⁸²

It was Northcliffe who bemoaned the lack of reporters who could 'write good clear English': 'We have Oxford men here and Elementary men. None of them can write grammatically or spell, and they are woefully ignorant of anything that happened since B.C. 42.'⁸³

Northcliffe himself was just as critical of 'the deficiencies of a purely Fleet Street education' and that was something which he was grateful never to have suffered.

The fact is, however, that newspapers, including Northcliffe's, assiduously courted talent from Oxford as catalogued in David Ayerst's 'biography' of the *Manchester Guardian* and as observed by Sir Ernest

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Barker (1874-1960) with his remark about 'Oxford men flowed onto the newspapers'⁸⁴ while Lord Beveridge (1879-1963) was one for whom 'the Oxford "Greats" course had its mundane uses... as a direct training for the more solemn forms of journalism,'⁸⁵ which he undertook as a leader-writer on the *Morning Post* from 1906 to 1908, before entering the civil service. By 1931 one provincial newspaper editor could comment that 'there never was a time when more university men were being attracted into journalism.'⁸⁶ The bright young men still sought entry to Fleet Street direct from Oxford after the First World War, which had seen nearly 5,000 Oxford and Cambridge graduates killed. Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966) was one who obtained a three months trial on the *Daily Express*, which he used to good advantage in *Scoop*, his fictional account of reporting the Abyssinian War.

Beverley Nichols (1899-1983) was another: 'Who wrote the article "Oxford on Slang"... (he) comes down in December and would greatly like to join the *Daily Mail*... he is much brighter than young George Binney, editor of *The Isis*, and is obviously a very witty writer. You should see him. He is at Balliol.'⁸⁷

Journalists interpreted the 'New Journalism' of the 1920s as extending journalism's 'purview to life as a whole... involved in the training of the new type of journalist'⁸⁸ to meet the new demands; even Northcliffe contributed a chapter on the subject to a career manual,⁸⁹ backed up with scholarships at the City of London School. Forty years later one of those pupils, Alan Pitt Robbins (1888-1967) represented the IoJ in the negotiations leading up to the formation of a national advisory body for journalism education, after the Second World War.

In 1910 eminent editors of the old school, like A.G. Gardiner (1865-1946), editor of the *Daily News* from 1902 to 1919, and Sir Robert Donald (1860-1933), editor of the *Daily Chronicle* from 1902 to 1918, could be heard drumming up support for the idea of education for journalism, echoing sentiments which took on concrete form in the shape of a postgraduate syllabus for journalism at the University of Birmingham, published in 1908 (but never implemented). Gardiner was firmly of the opinion that English universities: 'should give more definite encouragement to men to take up journalism (because) the ground the journalist is called upon to cover today is exceedingly wide... the more the Universities widen, modernize and humanize their culture the more they will benefit journalism.'⁹⁰

This extract from Gardiner's address to the annual conference of the IoJ was supported by Sir Robert Donald, speaking in Oxford: 'We need classes or schools of journalism which give prominence to the training and development of the journalist as a writer. The literary gift will show itself equally in small paragraphs as in a long descriptive report or in a leading article... the ability to express in simple, clear and direct language the purpose of the writer.'⁹¹ That year, 1908, the Institute of Journalists agreed a curriculum for a Diploma in Journalism at the University of London.

When British ex-servicemen returned to civilian life in 1919 they were able to undertake a diploma for journalism at London University, supported by State funds. One of the problems, however, was underlined by Walter

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Lippmann's statement, the same year, that education for journalism was a 'pedagogical problem requiring an inductive study.'⁹²

Subsequent chapters explore the development of this idea and attempt to overcome what one American sociologist deplored as the dearth of 'existing data on the educational process in the schools of journalism.'⁹³

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- ³² Dr. G.V. Patton, speaking at the annual conference of the Institute of Journalists in September, 1896, in *IJP*, 1896.
- ³³ a Sir William Beach Thomas, *A Traveller in News* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925). Thomas (1868-1957) was a protégé of Northcliffe's.
b Jerome K Jerome, 1893, 'The Younger Editors of Today. V' in *The Young Man* Vol. VIII, 340.
- ³⁴ Lee, *op. cit.* 118.
- ³⁵ *ibid.*
- ³⁶ Lee, *op. cit.* 120/1.
- ³⁷ *Sell's*, 1889.
- ³⁸ *The Athenaeum*, January 8, 1876 advertisement.
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- ⁴⁰ Charles Alfred Cooper (1829-1916), *An Editor's Retrospect: Fifty Years of Newspaper Work* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd, 1896).
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Some Aspects of Education and Training

Chapter Three

Some Aspects of Education and Training

Liberal Education

As the span of this research extends over nearly a century of rapid change and developments within British society it is difficult to determine precisely the causes of change within such a scholarly under-researched area as journalism education. It is even more difficult to be certain of the definitions, of education and training, proposed by the various protagonists in the debate. But in the late 19th, and well into the 20th, century the concept of university education, of the Oxford variety, was understood to be liberal education which trained the mind for the profession to be followed in later life. This experience was often referred to as 'university training' and dictionary definitions of training and education, at the beginning of the 20th century, were nearly interchangeable. The university was seen as the place where young men went to train themselves for the world outside, training the mind to meet the challenges of politics, administration, policy-formation and Empire-building. Such was the theory, but even during the first two decades of the 20th century the London School of Economics had staked a claim to a new concept 'training for a new learned profession... that of public administrator' as the School's Director, William Beveridge, phrased it in the first number of the journal *Economica*, founded by the School in 1921 to further its aims.

The dominant definition of liberal education, which Beveridge attacked in the title of his article 'Economics as a Liberal Education', was that undertaken by studying the great classics of two dead languages, ancient Greek and Latin, although mathematics and natural philosophy (as science was then labelled) were an element in the education - and that latter element was mainly Euclid. It was this definition that professions striving after professionalisation at the turn of the 20th century had to contend with. Such a definition excluded many from the poor working classes, as well as artisans and self-taught engineers and Dissenters who were unable to ascribe to the Church of England's Thirty-nine Articles - University College, London, became their 'Godless University' after its foundation in 1826.

Noel Annan highlighted the expansion of the professions, in the early 1800s, to 'include solicitors and apothecaries'¹ and highlighted the establishment in 1828 of the Institution of Civil Engineers to further the 'art

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of directing the Great Sources of Power in Nature for the use and convenience of mankind as marking the rise of a new kind of professional man.² He described 'these intellectual (middle class) families [becoming] the new professional civil servants (vide Matthew Arnold) [who] joined the Indian and Colonial service; or became school inspectors; or they edited or wrote for the periodicals [and] as journalists ceased to be hacks scribbling in Grub Street [and] joined the staff of *The Times*.'³

It was Cardinal Newman (1801-1890) who provided the rationale for the idea of liberal education with his 1859 essay 'On the Scope and Nature of University Education' which stated:

'When the intellect has been properly trained in all it will be a faculty of entering with comparative ease into any subject of thought, and of taking up with aptitude any science or profession (and it offered more than mere reception of knowledge)... seeing the world, entering into active life, going into society, travelling... coming into contact with the principles and modes of thought of various parties, interests, races... is called enlargement... the mind's energetic and simultaneous action upon and towards and among those new ideas rushing in on it.'⁴

It was this kind of education that Benjamin Jowett (1817-93) favoured at Balliol College, Oxford, especially for those aspiring to enter the journalism of the period. These were those whom Sir Ernest Barker described as 'flowing from Oxford' into the newspapers of the day.⁵ The founder/editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Frederick Greenwood (1830-1910) writing at the close of the nineteenth century, but writing about the 1860s, described journalism then as being at a turning point with 'a better order of things signalized...by the attraction of many fresh, bright, strong and scholarly minds to journalism as a power.'⁶ Of the journalism of the mid-nineteenth century Newman himself thought it would replace the authority of the university and he regarded this as:

'unsatisfactory... for its teaching is so offhand, so ambitious, so unchangeable... it increases the mischief of its anonymous writers (whose) random theories and imposing sophistries... carry away half-formed and superficial intellects... in the lucid views, leading ideas, and nutshell truths for the breakfast table.'⁷

This genuflection towards the 'popularity of the moment' was seen by some as inconsistent with the demands of a liberal education, the 'perception of truth and beauty', which enabled its practitioner to distinguish between the truth he knows from that he does not know. Provincial and metropolitan newspapers were themselves the witnesses for the prosecution in a book of essays edited by the founder of the *Saturday Review*, A.J. Beresford Hope which deplored the predominance of the Classics in English education.⁸

One of the 'signals' highlighted by Greenwood was the emergence of the *Saturday Review* and a journalism that 'had advanced to a far higher stage of authority and consideration'⁹ in the 1860s. These 'Higher' journalists were in abundant supply, as other scholars have amply demonstrated¹⁰ and one who contributed to this literature (as well as formulating the first university journalism syllabus in England at Birmingham University in 1908) had this to say about the flavour of education at Balliol under Jowett:

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'they attached themselves loosely to Balliol and rambled about the university browsing here and there on such lecture-fodder as they could find palatable, or likely to meet their needs. Sometimes they looked in on lectures on political economy, or on English history, or on art, or even on Greek philosophy. They were encouraged to visit museums and art galleries or to write essays and go on long walks with their patron or some other illumining pundit. This (Jowett) called giving them the flavour of Oxford life.'¹¹

Professor John Churton Collins (1848-1908) was professor of English at Birmingham University and his first journalism syllabus contained echoes of these ideas, down to the 'visiting Museums', and, even though this proposed course never actually started, because of Collins' death, his ideas were carried forward both by academics and journalists involved.¹²

While this might have been a peculiarly Balliol-inspired curriculum it would appear that Oxford tutors commended the style of the essayists of the journalism found in *The Spectator* and the *Saturday Review*.¹³

Technical Education

Some studies have demonstrated how 'important the ideological element is in our educational system which stresses the moral value of 'pure' as opposed to 'practical thinking',¹⁴ and trace Britain's failure to develop an educational system 'essential to national efficiency'¹⁵ as a contributory factor inimical to the country's industrial progress. The inability to realize the nature of the change in the competitive international system, as it developed after 1870, meant that continental and American efficiency outstripped British efforts. At a time when British industrial pre-eminence seemed assured British complacency formed the bedrock for future decline.¹⁶

This complacency can be seen operating in the painfully slow development of any comprehensive form of national education. Britain's hopes for an educated workforce contributing to national efficiency were seriously hampered by having a school-leaving age of ten, from 1870 to 1893, of twelve until 1922 and of fourteen after that and sixteen in 2009.¹⁷ What education there was was extremely basic and various nineteenth century institutions developed to help meet the need, from Sunday schools to Mechanics Institutes, themselves the forerunners of several technical colleges which eventually became university colleges.¹⁸ Introduction to occupational roles was usually achieved by apprenticeship to a trade for a fixed number of years for which, in return, the apprentice received instruction in the secrets of his master's trade. The implicit assumption of this method was that a coherent body of skills existed which could be 'learnt in the course of watching somebody already proficient in them, and by imitating his example.'¹⁹

Even 19th century critics realised that such schemes rarely fostered innovation, especially in a competitive market where fixed sets of skills rapidly became obsolete. *The Economist* deplored the fact that, in 1868: 'our manufacturing classes are at an unfair and dangerous advantage compared with the trained and intelligent operators of continental

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countries... (where) the preparatory stage of education can raise the intelligence and knowledge, and, therefore, the ultimate skill of the artisan.²⁰

The writer implied that the apprentice model, of passing on the tradition from the workman to his novice, had a 'narrowing influence upon the mind.' He declared that 'technical education was almost entirely new to this country' in 1868, but the next year the paper was calling for a commission to enquire into the moribund City of London Livery companies as an 'unexplored means for furthering technical and higher education' of the artisan and middle classes 'on the principles of their original formation: 'the furtherance of the art and mystery... of the several trades represented by them.' For this suggestion they had an ally in the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, when he addressed the Workmen's International Exhibition in 1869.²¹ It took another nine years before this actually materialised with the formation of the City and Guilds of London Institute, later incorporated in 1880, under (Sir) Philip Magnus (1842-1933) its founding secretary and first director until 1888. This Institute still operates today in the country's technical and further education colleges.

Further evidence of public concern was manifested in the appointment of a Royal Commission on Technical Instruction which sat under its chairman, (Sir) Bernhard Samuelson (1820-1905) from 1881 until 1884.²² The Commission members visited France, Germany, Denmark, Holland, U.S.A. and Canada and were, like their chairman, Samuelson, mostly technologists and self-made men. They advocated a unified system of elementary and secondary education, along the lines of *The Economist's* pleas for a 'preparatory stage' of education.²³ However, it was not until 1889-1891 that Technical Instruction Acts were introduced and, even then, many local government authorities used them to finance their provincial universities, especially in the natural sciences.²⁴ Instruction financed by the Technical Instruction Acts was supposed to be confined to 'technical education' but this was so defined as legally to include every subject of study except 'theology, Greek and Shakespeare', but even these could be taught if the expense was met from other sources of income such as fees or endowments.²⁵ The money for this legislation was taken from the 'whiskey money' duties on beer and spirits that local authorities could impose under the 1890 Local Taxation Act. This legislation also allowed local authorities to spend up to one penny in the pound on local museums, colleges of art and schools of science, some of which, in subsequent years, have been transformed into expensive residential apartments.

It is interesting to reflect on the fact that in the same year in which the loJ began discussing proposals for some form of entry examination, in 1884, *The Times* described the 'current fashion in educational ideas as technical education.' The discussions the loJ held with London University in the opening years of the 20th century included proposals for practical journalism to be included in the syllabus, listed as 'Technical Instruction'.²⁶ When the course actually opened, in 1919, this element was dropped from the syllabus.

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Professional Education: An English Overview

Inexorably entwined with the Victorian understanding of 'liberal education' was the conviction that it served the purposes of professional education as well. The apprentice model, whereby professionals learned their calling in chambers, if barristers, or as articled clerks to solicitors, and in their regiment if soldiers, was replaced by more systematic forms of education and training as the skills employed were themselves developed. The process was stated succinctly by the House of Commons Select Committee on legal education, in 1849, when it identified the requisite constituent as 'the ability to discipline the mind so that he can grapple with any problem.' Liberal education was important because it was firmly based in the classics: 'Greek and Latin literature, on mathematics, Meaning Euclid... (which) trained literary taste and the use of languages (while) mathematics trained powers of reasoning. Classical studies trained a man's mind so he could tackle any subject in later life.'²⁷

Mastery of the classics implied that the professional man could also master 'if he chose to be a clergyman, theology; if a physician, the writings of Hippocrates, if a barrister, the... English law.' These ancient professions built upon the liberal education received, and channelled initiates into their professional niches, after apprenticeships in chambers, hospital wards or regiment. It was these aspects that later occupations felt required to emulate in their march towards professional status while forgetting, or ignoring, the fact that the social foundations of the classical education system served class interests. In a way the ancient professions illustrate one aspect of the aristocracy maintaining its control over social prestige. 'Youngest sons to the church' was not just a convention of the novel, it was established fact for a long period. These conventions, in their turn, provided an obvious model for the sons of 'parvenu' Victorian industrialists keen to gain a foothold on the ladder of social ascendancy by aping the old gentry.²⁸

The 19th century saw the evolution of the concept of the professional man and the requirements of professionalism were crystallized into exhibiting: 'a professional organization to focus opinion, work up a body of knowledge and insist upon a decent Charter as a mark of recognition (with as) a final step, an Act of Parliament conferring something like monopoly powers on the duties of the qualified practitioner who had followed a recognized course of training.'²⁹

The training involved the 'practice and practical skill' while the university provided an 'extended view of more general knowledge in the sphere the practitioner is to work in.'³⁰

Some definitions of professionalism

As one writer on the subject stated, there are as many views on what constitutes professionalism as there are writers on the subject.³¹ However, there are some elements common to most, and these include:

1. The existence of a full-time occupation.

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2. The establishment of a training school or licensing of some form by the professional body.
3. The formation of a professional association with offices, journal, publications etc., i.e. professional culture/authority.
4. The formation of an ethical code of practice, either internally (with colleagues) or externally (with clients and public).
5. A recognizable body of professional knowledge.³²

Attitudinal attributes associated with professionalism can be diagnosed as including:

I: The use of the professional organisation as a major reference, or source of ideas from the profession in the work involved.

II: A belief in service to the public, which incorporates the view that work performed benefits the public as well as the practitioner.

III: A belief in self-regulation, including the view that the professional is best qualified to judge the work of another professional.

IV: A sense of calling which implies that practitioner would still do the work for few extrinsic rewards.

V: Autonomy, which implies the practitioner ought to be able to make his own decisions without external pressure from clients.³³

Of these listed elements, under definitions of professionalism, modern journalism would rate as a full-time occupation and could boast the existence of an ethical code but without any mechanism to regulate it from within the profession; otherwise it lacks the essential elements although the IoJ is a recognisably professional body, notwithstanding the fact that its offices and journal are hardly visible as aspects of professional culture. Yet both the Institute and the National Union of Journalists have tried to amalgamate on several occasions (the last in the mid-1960s) and, in 1949, even got as far as presenting a Bill to Parliament to incorporate the Association of Journalists.³⁴

Just before the Second World War the Institute tried to introduce a Register of Journalists in an attempt to regulate entry and raise standards, but without success.³⁵ While a reading of the columns of *The Journalist*, house organ of the National Union of Journalists, might indicate some support for the establishment of a training school (allied to the concept of a Press Institute raised in the late 1930s) these are isolated examples. However, the same columns, in the late 1930s, reflect some concern, illustrated by the coverage given to the idea of schools of journalism on the American model and to the London University Diploma for Journalism and the exhibitions awarded to members, or, in the case of the N.U.J., the children of members. Similar evidence is also available to us in the columns of the Newspaper Society's *Monthly Circular*, where biographical details of London University students looking for jobs were regularly listed under the heading 'University Students Available for Jobs'.³⁶ The question of a recognized body of knowledge has always bedeviled discussions on this subject among journalists and academics, but the negotiations leading up to the first London University journalism syllabus provided one answer by separating academic from technical and offering the academic as a 'necessary introduction to those professions and callings... where practice and progress are closely connected' as Sidney Webb (1859-1947) had

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phrased it in his evidence to the Royal Commission on London University (1909-1913).³⁷

The journalist's approach to the attitudinal attributes associated with professionalism would be, generally, a grudging acknowledgement of the relevance of the majority, although his interpretation of some might differ from that employed by other professionals. For instance, the journalist will take his source of ideas from his work but without reference to a recognized body of published theory. Likewise he would assert his belief in service to the public but, like modern doctors paid via the National Health Service, he would not be against withdrawing his services to support claims for higher salary. The journalist would also hold strongly to a belief in self-regulation, sometimes at the expense of the public he professes to serve; an example would be the refusal of the National Union of Journalists to occupy their places on the old Press Council because of their belief that only journalists could fully understand journalists' problems. The NUJ has not participated in the succeeding self-regulatory body, the Press Complaints Commission (PCC), set up in 1991 following the publication of a report by the Home Office departmental committee headed by Sir David Calcutt, to enquire into possible statutory regulation of the industry.

As with other professions the journalist would find problems associated with the notion of autonomy from the external pressure of clients, as he has little direct contact with his readers. He would, however, ascribe to the notion of autonomy which implied non-interference from non-journalists (vide the Press Council, above), as well as superiors, in determining what is news, which he would sometimes back with reference to ideas of objectivity and detachment, no matter how illusory this is in practice. In practice the journalist often plans his story production with pre-conceptions concerning what he thinks will please - or pass - his superiors who are usually senior journalists with their own ideas of autonomy.³⁸ Yet is as well to remember 'what passes for autonomy in one occupation does not... in another.'³⁹

The lack of clarity concerning these professional attributes, as related to journalism, has complicated the discussion surrounding the question of education (or entry examinations) and made resolution of the resulting conflict more difficult. The difficulties journalists encountered in their efforts to secure a recognizable educational scheme, especially after 1945, turned their efforts to a different level of educational institution, one more geared to the skills approach. The author believes that the major problem was the lack of something like a Press Institute, a professional forum for debate as well as education, and the resulting adoption - by both IoJ and National Union of Journalists - of roles, and activities, that more properly belonged within the aegis of an Institute, not a trades union or similar body.

The Development of Training as distinct from Education

The discussion so far about university education in England has revealed how that process was labelled 'university training' until well into the 20th century; it perpetuated an elitist base for recruitment to its ranks with the philosophy 'of training the pick of youth to be the leaders of the

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next generation.⁴⁰ This is in stark contrast to the immense growth in university places in the United States where higher education was defined as a place 'in which any person can find instruction in any study'- as Ezra Cornell (1807-84) phrased it.⁴¹ These Anglo-American connections are discussed in a later section of this chapter, but the different definitions need to be kept in mind as they illustrate how different university education has been in the two countries. We need to remind ourselves that Sir Charles Dilke (1810-69) remarked upon the significance of the 'elective' nature of American higher education as far back as 1868.⁴² Failure of the English universities to achieve a similar development in the teaching of the humanities, stressing breadth rather than the depth of single-subject degrees, was a contributory - if unacknowledged - factor in the journalistic educators turning to other areas of the English educational spectrum in their attempts to introduce education for journalism.

Some of these other forms of education, still common today, were revolutionary at the beginning of the 20th century, but they seemed to easily find a place in colleges below the university level. So in 1912, the Gas Light and Coke Company of London introduced a part-time day release course for its gas fitters; such developments were supported by the Lewis Committee, sitting during the First World War, and later enshrined in the 1918 Education Act.⁴³

Such training took upon itself those aspects of apprenticeship that had been dropped by the ancient professions as they developed and systematized their entrance examinations and educational standards; those aspects can be summed up in the phrase 'learning by watching and then imitating by doing', which was raised earlier.

It was this practical aspect of training which was banished from English educational thought, providing another illustration of the difference between English and American perceptions of what could be labelled 'education'. The pragmatic philosophy of a C.S. Peirce (1839-1914) or the educational theories of a John Dewey (1859-1952) were slow to percolate through the English system of university education. Yet there were hospitable corners to be found where German ideas of science teaching were used to enable the children of London Board Schools to discover things for themselves by the heuristic method - which appears strikingly modern and appropriate to the teaching of journalism.⁴⁴

Academic research into another method of educational progression, through attendance at evening classes requiring up to three nights a week, has revealed how unsuccessful such schemes are⁴⁵ with large numbers dropping out. Success was not made any easier by the failure of professional institutions to adapt their requirements to the limited conditions under which students were forced to work.⁴⁶ The advantage to the Americans, for example, in doubling the number of engineering and technical students in the last quarter of the 19th century, contrasts with the difficulties placed in the way of English students trying to improve their chances of better pay, or position, through attendance at evening classes after a full day's work.⁴⁷

The English system of teacher training provides an example both of the scale of the problem (for both teacher and journalism education) and the

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possibilities that existed in the 20th century for some form of journalism education in higher education. By 1899 more than half those employed in English schools had never experienced the training college system of education because there were no courses before 1885. The majority had reached teacher status through the system whereby they took on a 'monitor' role in the classroom, eventually replaced by the 'pupil-teacher' method, illustrating the operation of apprentice-type of training. (Sir) Michael Sadler (1861-1943), who was professor of the Theory of Education at the Victoria University (later Manchester University) in 1908, addressed the annual conference of the IoJ on the subject of 'The Education of the Journalist'. He outlined how both journalism and teaching then stressed open access for recruits of promise coupled with a belief in the importance of recruits learning some essential elements through practical experience, such as that provided at Manchester's demonstration, or practicing, schools. The acquisition of knowledge, in both spheres, was regarded as less important than the ability to be able to put such knowledge to practical use, quickly, so apprenticeship was appropriate for both teacher and journalist - some scheme to enable beginners to learn to avoid making mistakes, while introducing them to some preliminary skills and knowledge to help them make a good start. Even so Sadler thought that 'liberal education was the best basis for subsequent professional skill in any calling'⁴⁸ although he did recommend a post-graduate course of study for journalism and outlined what a new 'Honours' school would have to combine in areas of study usually kept apart in English universities (Appendix VIII).

Journalism had to wait 62 years for the post-graduate course to open at University College, Cardiff, in 1970, and 57 years for the first pre-entry course for school-leavers, under the aegis of the National Council for the Training for Journalists, founded in 1952; but only 11 years passed before the Diploma for Journalism started in 1919 at the University of London, combining two years study for school-leavers, or a one-year element for graduates (later discontinued). The N.C.T.J. courses were centred mainly in colleges where such skills as shorthand and typing were available. These technical, or further education, colleges had benefited from the 1944 Education Act and, later, from Government White Papers in 1956 and 1961 which improved the opportunities provided by such institutes. These colleges provided the other, educational, elements and included the basic journalism skills training on the one-year pre-entry courses.⁴⁹ The evolution of these courses, and their relationship to the continuing history of journalism education in Britain, is discussed in Chapter Nine. In the context of education and training the further education sector is usually aligned closely to the requirements of industrial training, yet the lines of demarcation between general education and vocational training are both ambiguous and variable so that there is 'no standard model of education and training which delimits each component and defines its relationship with the other.'⁵⁰ The N.C.T.J. was included, for the purpose of the Industrial Training Act of 1963, under the wing of the Printing and Publishing Industry Training Board between 1968 and 1982 and this increased the tendency to regard the basic requirements of journalism

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education as skills training, or rehearsal in skills and techniques, where the educational input was minimal. Thus the separation from higher education was institutionalised, and it was not until 1990 that British universities attempted to develop journalism education within the university context.

The Growth of Provincial Universities in England

It is difficult to realize that even in 1902 England could boast only four universities for its 35 million population.⁵¹ The following year Sidney Webb was stating 'we are actually engaged... in the business of making universities'⁵² and that must have seemed a flavour of the times. London University had been re-organised on a teaching basis between 1898 and 1900 and the conglomerate Victoria University (founded in 1880) split into individual Universities: Liverpool and Manchester in 1903, Leeds in 1904 and Sheffield in 1905: Bristol gained its Charter as a University in 1906 (with the loJ among its founding fathers.) The transformation of Masons College into Birmingham University (Chartered in 1900) was accompanied by a spate of foreign travel by some of its professors. They visited America and returned saying 'it was only then the committee arrived at some conception of what was required of them'⁵³ and the first Chancellor of the new University, politician Joseph Chamberlain, was reported as saying that this committee's report opened his eyes as to the role the university should adopt in a modern society.

Further impetus to transatlantic travel followed the Education Act of 1902, which imposed some semblance of order on the chaotic state of English Education and, in theory, made it possible for a ladder of education to stretch from the elementary school to university by way of the scholarship system. Representations from the newly-formed education authorities in the major cities (some of them listed above), from universities and from industry toured the United States publishing reports in 1904.⁵⁴ The industrial report commented that: 'the reason the American worker is better than his British contemporary was that he has received a senior and better education.'⁵⁵

By 1908 Birmingham University had published the first journalism syllabus at an English University (Appendix VII), although the death of its proposer cut short any experiment at that time. The following year London University underwent another Royal Commission under Lord Haldane which lasted until 1913 and, because of the First World War, it was not until 1926 that the Report was acted upon. This underlined the transformation from the examining to the teaching, and research, model of university education with the University encouraged to jettison its supervisory role of the teaching at London Polytechnics where the teaching 'was much the same kind of instruction as at school.'

The idea was not to imitate Oxford or Cambridge with their 'leisurely curriculum' but to organize courses: 'in such a way as to turn out the graduate fully equipped; not only as a cultivated citizen, but also, so far as may be possible, as a trained professional... (with) London University taking on the character of a technical school for all brain-working professionals (including) journalism...'⁵⁶

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Once again it would appear that here was fertile ground for a novel approach to educating the journalist and this will be examined in the next chapter on the 'Emergence and Development of Education for Journalism, 1880-1910.' Just two years after the Birmingham University syllabus there was another and this one was the joint effort of the IoJ and London University (see Appendix X a & b).

Some Anglo-American Connections, up to 1880

Although it may appear simplistic to state that 19th century America was nearer to the cultural ambience of the home of its mother tongue, than is at present the case, there were indications of the close relationship. English women writers visited America and wrote books about their visits: Mrs Trollope (1780-1863) in 1832 (her son's *North American* appeared in 1862); Miss Harriet Martineau (1802-76) in 1837; and Mrs Mary Howitt (1799-1881) published a three-volume history of the United States. British periodicals, and much of the literature carried within their pages, were widely distributed throughout America; Dickens' *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, between 1850 and 1895, had special early printings for the American editions, while the feminist journal, the *English Woman's Journal* (one of the first companies registered with women shareholders), found its way into receptive American hearths.⁵⁷ Boston publishers vied with each other for their friendship of Dickens⁵⁸ and poets like Longfellow applauded his American readings. The American poet Emerson had his English tours to counter-balance the novelist's. Emerson's transcendental writings were seen as a threat to Anglicanism, while Whitman's conviction that democratic America would renew civilisation horrified Matthew Arnold.⁵⁹

The antipathy of the Arnolds and the Newmans was no doubt fanned by the Americans' needling insistence that 'the high born of England are too much inclined to regard the lower orders as an inferior race of beings'⁶⁰ but, of course, there were Englishmen who supported the American view. One of these was Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), who was educated at Eton and Oxford, held various fellowships, while attacking the clerical ascendancy of the ancient university and agitating for acceptance of reform within the university. This led to a joint-secretary position on the Royal Commission which investigated Oxford University between 1852 and its report in 1857. During this period he also joined Douglas Cook's staff on the *Saturday Review* when it started publication in 1855. He further committed himself to the 1858 Commission on national education, this time as a full Commissioner, and found himself offered the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, from 1858 to 1866.

Corresponding with the President of the new Cornell University in America, Andrew Dixon White (1832-1918), Smith highlighted the underlying difference between the British and American versions of higher education: 'On this side of the water the question of academical education is mixed up with historical accidents and with political struggles. What I would say is this - adapt your practical education to the practical needs of

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the American people, and for general culture those subjects which are most important and interesting to the citizen and the man.⁶¹

When White visited England, in 1868, on a recruiting drive for lecturing staff for the new university Smith accepted the position as professor of English and Constitutional History; he had resigned his Oxford professorship two years earlier and inherited a 'moderate competence' on the death of his father, following a railway accident. In his inaugural lecture at Cornell, in 1869, Smith said 'there was a special class of men connected with politics who needed a training in political philosophy and history to enable them to perform entirely the duties of their calling...he meant the class of journalists⁶² and that 'shorthand-writing and printing might be connected with this department'.⁶³ There is a certain irony in finding an Oxford don recommending journalism courses in universities in 1869.

The difference between the citizenry on the two 'sides of the water' was the subject of comment by the Reverend James Fraser, later Bishop of Manchester, after six months in Eastern America, for whom the Americans were 'if not the most *highly* educated, certainly the most *generally* educated and intelligent people on earth.'⁶⁴ English critics, like Matthew Arnold, disliked intensely the intention of Ezra Cornell to found a university 'in which any person can find instruction in any study.'⁶⁵ Whether or not Arnold was aware of President Andrew White's plans to offer a form of education for journalism is a moot point, but it enables us to examine early American attempts at journalism education and how they started.

Early American Experiments in Journalism Education

It is always useful to compare the similarities of British and American experiences but, in the case of university education, it is the stark contrast that is educative. By the turn of the 20th century the university in America was on its way to becoming a major source of authority within society with its clientele already expanded into the middle classes while its patrons included the wealthiest of the new industrialists.⁶⁶ Universities had annexed science and many of its technological derivatives while pursuing an institutional rationale that incorporated social organisation, production and application of knowledge. For most occupational groups in America the key to professionalisation was a university connection. The number of students undergoing university education illustrate the difference of approach between America and Britain: in 1900 British universities had 20,000 students and American universities 237,000.⁶⁷ The American press also benefited from its allies within higher education who saw the task of helping to shape a professional identity for the press as something akin to a moral mission. From the newspaper side one American editor, Whitelaw Reid, (1837-1912) believed such a process would reduce the likelihood of personal attacks on editors.⁶⁸

The earliest reference to the subject of higher education for journalists was in 1857 at Farmer's High School, now Pennsylvania State University, and Mr Reid made his observations at New York University in 1870. However, it was Cornell University's President, Andrew Dickson White, an acknowledged pioneer of professional education in America, who proposed

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that a certificate be offered to students who engaged in journalism training outside the formal curriculum while still meeting general course requirements. His rationale combined his general philosophy of education, that it was the function of the university to provide appropriate means for career preparation, with his perception that the press as a whole was deficient in meeting its responsibilities. Although the course was listed in the University catalogue for 1875/6 it never materialized, perhaps in part due to the legal loss of a large legacy to the University from the family of one of the course's advocates.

Most early American experiments in journalism education found their original base in departments of English, as at the University of Missouri in 1878 under David Russell McAnaley, son of an editor, who later left to work on the *St Louis Globe Democrat*.⁶⁹ However, 'practical procedures' in journalism were not adopted until 1885, and classes in news writing continued, in the English department, between 1893 and 1900. The Missouri University School of Journalism gained its independent status in 1908. Similar stories could be unfolded for the evolution of journalism education at the Universities of Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, and Nebraska. At Kansas the course was introduced at the suggestion of the sociologist, Frank W. Blackmar, whose research into society included an analysis of journalism as a social force with the potential for both responsible and pathological influence.⁷⁰ By 1899 the University of Chicago had a correspondence course in journalism.⁷¹

Yet journalism education entered the twentieth century with barely a toe-hold in American universities. No compelling rationale had evolved within journalism education, while professionalism offered only a vague focus of intent because journalism, as an occupation with professional prospects, deviated too widely from the norm within other professional schools, such as law and engineering and medicine. It was left to the Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911), publisher of the *St Louis Evening Dispatch* and the *New York World* who introduced the nation to mass communication 'to negotiate its perception as a professional entity'.⁷² His proposals, in 1903, for an endowed School of Journalism, gave American journalism education dramatic publicity and prominence and his argument for university involvement in the professionalisation of the press gave journalism educators a clear expression of their groped-for purpose in academic life. He sent an emissary to both Columbia and Harvard Universities and, although it was at Columbia University, New York, that the School of Journalism actually opened in 1912, many of the ideas were those raised in correspondence with Charles W. Eliot (1834-1926), President of Harvard University.⁷³ In his later negotiations with Columbia University Pulitzer fought for an open admissions policy but was forced to compromise and fought for control of the educational programme by a board of practitioners but, again, lost in substance to the university officials.

The difference between Pulitzer's and Eliot's approach to the question of professionalism typified the views of journalists and academics: Pulitzer's notion of a profession: 'was drawn in terms of a social interpretation of the press (as a complex institution) but it was with a different sense of professionalism that Eliot offered his prospectus of studies geared to the

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profession of journalism as a livelihood in a world of economic realities (where) questions of journalistic expertise and career progression were critically important for university participation. He sought the "vertical vision" that best represented success and power in the occupation for the individual practitioner [...] he insisted that the journalist master techniques (which) included expertise in management and business administration of newspapers (while) Pulitzer specifically advocated a trained incapacity for them to do so.⁷⁴

Pulitzer combined a desire to see the 'romance of the occupation... professionalised' with a view of 'professionalisation as a means of raising the status of the press.'⁷⁵ The prominent academic figures, like White of Cornell and Eliot of Harvard, saw things differently: 'the university promoted professional authority in society, and itself, by training experts with prospects for functional power. They shared a common vision of a meritocratic society managed by university graduates.'⁷⁶

Pulitzer had turned to the university to cultivate a notion of journalism as a responsible profession, but not to negotiate new lines of authority and control within the press. He felt the press had become a public service institution, fighting off its own baser instincts: 'Nothing less than the highest ideals, the most scrupulous anxiety to do right, the most accurate knowledge of the problems it has to meet, and a sincere sense of its moral responsibility will save *journalism from subservience to business interests seeking selfish ends, antagonistic to the public welfare.*'⁷⁷ (emphasis added)

Pulitzer's fear was that once the public regarded the press as exclusively a commercial business then its claim to any moral power was suspect. 'Its influence cannot exist without public confidence (which) must have a human basis. It must reside, in the end, on the character of the journalist.'⁷⁸ This character could be fostered in general education courses found in universities whose: 'by-products would meet the needs of the journalist. Why not direct, extract, concentrate, *specialize them for the journalist as a specialist.*'⁷⁹ (original emphasis)

An early editorial critic of American journalism teaching, Irish-born and college educated E.L. Godkin (1831-1902), himself the recipient, in 1899, of Oxford University's first honorary degree awarded to a journalist, had accused the journalism educators of a kind of professional conspiracy and hiding behind 'mere mechanical knowledge' of what 'writing a stickful' means⁸⁰ which hid 'the intellectual poverty of too many of the young men who enter the calling.' He described the ridiculous importance attached by schools of journalism to what he described as 'knowledge' of little office tricks.⁸¹

There was just as much of a struggle for identity among the academicians at the turn of the 20th century as there was for the acceptance of their subject: 'In economics, the effort involved a break with theology and classic moral philosophy. Psychologists sought a distinction between their discipline and rational philosophy, and attempted to achieve a scientific social utility. Sociology moved to reject the metaphors of Darwin and Spenser and to invent a methodology. Journalism education turned from practical English writing to the professional education model of

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medicine and law, and to a lesser conscious extent engineering, but the effort had little actual effect on curriculum development.¹⁸²

Journalism educators turned from the difficulties inherent in organizing a university discipline of specialization and turned to the professional argument for the press as their own justification for acceptance and recognition.

Professor Birkhead described this as 'adopting a leadership role in the professional project as the rationale for its own academic existence.'¹⁸³

The Early Twentieth Century Schools of Journalism in America

The Pulitzer-inspired debate sparked off a remarkable surge in the numbers of journalism schools so that, by 1912, thirty were in existence, and their message was carried to England by Professor Walter Williams (1864-1935) of the University of Missouri School of Journalism, founded in 1908.¹⁸⁴ The journalism workshop, complete with time-cards and a punch clock at the University of Illinois¹⁸⁵, or laboratory, attempted to duplicate newspaper offices, if not actually produce newspapers themselves. But there was a: 'relentless warfare against the imps of rumour, laziness, guessing and ignorance and students not up to the task were dismissed at the end of the term.'¹⁸⁶

Parallel with this workshop concept was a campaign to use university resources to provide journalism students with a broad liberal arts education as a basis for the proper preparation of newsmen with background knowledge. Allied with this campaign was the development of the theme of professionalism, evidenced in the *Journalism Bulletin*, between 1924 and 1927, and in the early volumes of its replacement, *Journalism Quarterly*. But they did not question the values reflected in their technical instruction which were that: 'News was essentially information to be handled in an accurate, precise and timely manner. The reporter was a neutral observer guided and supervised by an editorial manager. Journalism consisted of a process accomplished through the news organisation with organizational skills, routines, terminology and principles to be learned. Although journalism educators criticised the moral tone of some newspapers and saw themselves, indeed, as leaders in a moral uplifting of the standards of the press, they did not press a critical interpretation... and their professional defence of the press... bordered on apology from a vested interest establishment.'¹⁸⁷

The pragmatic concern of journalism educators became the production of qualified professionals protecting society and government against the 'unfit, unscrupulous, journalist.'¹⁸⁸ The essential proof of professional legitimacy for journalism education was in the employment of the journalism graduate; that was the way, according to Professor Birkhead, that professionalisation was seen to have taken place, which he describes as 'the ideological captivity of professionalism.'

This section has provided a background to the way British ideas on journalism education developed which will be examined in depth later. The ideas and beliefs expressed on the other side of the Atlantic became part of the mental fabric of some of the British actors in the journalism education

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debate, even though an essential ingredient was missing in the British scene - the enshrining of a concept of the freedom of the press in a written constitution.

Review and Summary

This brief survey of English and American attitudes towards the education and training of journalists provides the background against which later comparisons can be made between the English and American versions of journalism, as we know them today. For a time it appeared as if the two countries would pursue the same path of journalism education, especially after the introduction of the Diploma for Journalism at London University in 1919. The inability of universities and journalists, to follow that path in England has had results which are discernible every time we read an English newspaper, but the reasons for that underlying difference are rarely traced to the educational differences in the two countries' systems of provision of education for journalism. In America 'professionalism came with academic authentication'⁸⁹ whereas, in England: 'there was a sort of suspicion from the academics that we (i.e. the London University Diploma for Journalism department) were too 'popular' and from the professional journalists that we were too highbrow and impractical,'⁹⁰ as Dr. G.B. Harrison, one-time tutor to journalism students at King's College, London, put it in a letter to the author.

We have seen how Goldwin Smith, an ardent campaigner within Oxford University for reform of the system, gravitated to an American University, and this migratory aspect of the products of Oxford into other, newer, English universities might account for the difficulties English journalists faced when trying to secure their co-operation with educational schemes for journalists in the 1920s.⁹¹ It is doubtful if most of those migrating into the newer universities in England were as radical as Smith was in his career. As one who experienced the life of a university lecturer in the early decades of the 20th century Dr. Harrison's version of how the newer provincial universities were staffed provides an insight into a system whereby: '... most appointments were the result of private deals between professors and heads of colleges at private talks in the Athenaeum or - in Oxford - at All Soul's College.'⁹²

Although Dr Harrison (Appendix XVIIc,d.) admits he was 'biased, vindictive...' he was also one of the few 'survivors' of the team that managed the nucleus of England's first school of journalism. Back in the 1940s there was not much scope for academic progression and he had to emigrate to Canada to achieve a professorship; writing as a Cambridge man Dr Harrison's experience was that the plums went to Oxford men, in English universities, hence his departure from these shores.

The distinct difference between the American and English experience of universities is the proliferation, within the American model, of professional schools which combine education and training, based on the liberal arts, allowing a specific concentration on technical instruction (in the case of journalism, in all aspects of news-gathering, selection, and writing.) In many cases it would appear that one outcome of the American system of

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journalism education has been the emergence of a standardized formula of news-writing, allied to a critically-anaesthetising sense of objectivity, whereas the English model tends towards sensationalisation, trivialization and personalization, if not downright fabrication.⁹³ As Dr Harrison commented after his last visit to England, from 1973 to 1976, 'the general (press) standard of responsibility seemed lamentably low and far lower than the U.S.A.'⁹⁴

Endnotes

¹ Annan, Noel, 'Writing on "The Intellectual Aristocracy' in Plumb, J.H. ed., *Studies in Social History. A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan*, (London: Longmans, 1955) p. 244

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

⁴ John Henry Newman, *On The Scope and Nature of University Education*, (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, originally published 1852, Everyman's Library Edition published 1965).

⁵ Sir Ernest Barker, *Age and Youth: Memories of Three Universities* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1953).

⁶ Frederick Greenwood, 1897, 'The Newspapers: Half a Century's Survey', *Blackwood's*, CLXI, 704-80. In the same issue an article entitled 'Mr Jowett and Oxford' states: 'A little army of Oxford men has within the last fifteen years invaded the realm of London Journalism.'

⁷ Newman, *ibid.*

⁸ W. G. Clarke in A.J. Beresford Hope ed., *Cambridge Essays: Contributed by Members of the University* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1858).

⁹ Greenwood, *ibid.* 'the "higher" journalism... took the town by storm.'

¹⁰ Greenwood uses the term 'higher journalism' and Christopher Kent, *Victorian Studies*. 1969. *Higher Journalism and the Mid-Victorian Clerisy*. Walter E Houghton's *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900*, provides the necessary data.

¹¹ L.C. Collins, *Life and Memoirs of John Churton Collins*, (London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, 1912).

¹² *The Journalist* (N.U.J) 1925.

¹³ Sir William Beach Thomas, *A Traveller in News* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1925).

¹⁴ a David J. Lee, 'A Study of Apprentice Training and its Effects upon the Attitude and Achievement of Students at Local Technical Colleges' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birmingham University, 1964).

b Roderick, Gordon W. and Stephens, Michael D., *Education and Industry in 19th Century England*, (London: Longman, 1978). In 1870 Britain produced one-third of world output of manufactures and in 1913 it was only one-seventh.

¹⁵ Professor Margaret Gowing, 1976, Notes and Records of the Royal Society No. 32, *Science, Technology and Education*.

¹⁶ Roderick, Gordon W., and Stephens, Michael D., 1978, *Education and Industry in 19th Century*, London: Longman

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¹⁷ Report of the Departmental Committee on the Training of Teachers for the Public Elementary Schools, Cmnd 2409. 1925. in Willem Van Der Eyken, *Education, the Child and Society. A documentary history 1900-1973*, (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Education, 1973).

¹⁸ One London example: Finsbury Technical College became East London College and, later, Queen Mary, London University.

¹⁹ Lee, *ibid.*

²⁰ *The Economist*, January 25th, 1868. 'What is the true technical education?' Also, Walter Harry Green Arnytage, *The Expansion of Higher Education: The American Exemplar. Being the 23rd George Cadbury Memorial Lecture at the George Cadbury Hall, at Selly Oak* (Birmingham, England: Central Council of the Selly Oak Colleges, 1962) The number of undergraduate and technical students per million of the US population doubled between 1872 and 1900.

²¹ *The Economist*, December 17th 1870, and January 14th 1871: 'Ample but Unexplored Means for Furthering Technical and Higher Education.'

²² Michael Argles, 1959, 'The Vocational Aspect', Vol. II, No. 23. The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-84.

²³ *The Economist*, 1868, *ibid.*

²⁴ Fabian Society (Sidney Webb), 1901, *The Education Muddle and the Way Out*, Tract No. 106, in Van Der Eyken, *ibid.* London, Manchester, Nottingham, Bristol and Newcastle used money for this purpose.

²⁵ Webb, *ibid.*

²⁶ *The Times*, May 6th 1884.

²⁷ W.J. Reader, *Professional Man. The Rise of the Professional Classes in Nineteenth Century England* (New York: Basic Books, 1966)

²⁸ Kenneth William Richmond, *Education in England* (Harmondsworth, England: 1945). His point here is the English attitude towards education being coloured by class... 'the first class compartments... the Public Schools... its third class, the elementary schools for the (lower order) artisans.' Also, compare Anthony Trollope's *Can You Forgive Her?* 1864-65, 'one of the younger brothers always used to be about.' (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Edition, 1972), p. 249.

²⁹ Reader, *ibid.* p. 71.

³⁰ Kitson Clark (1900-1975), *The Making of Victorian England: being the Ford Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford* (London: Methuen, 1962).

³¹ Philip Elliott, *The Sociology of the Professions: The Recruitment of Professional Elites* (London: Macmillan, 1972).

³² a Reader, *ibid.*

b Philip Elliott, 'Media Organisations and Occupations: an Overview,' in James Curran et al., *Mass Communication and Society (Open University Reader)* (London: Edward Hodder Arnold, 1977).

c David John Leroy, 'Measuring Professionalism in a Sample of Television Journalists', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1971).

³³ a Richard T Hall, 1966, 'Professions and Bureaucratisation,' *American Sociological Review*. 33.

b 1969. *Occupations and Social Structure.*

c Compare the contrasting view on the profession of journalism in Christopher Andrew Kent, *Aspects of Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England: A Study in the Politics of Thought and Action with Particular Reference to Frederic Harrison and John Morley*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sussex, 1968) pp. 356-81.

³⁴ A Summary of a Bill to Amalgamate the Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists 12 & 13 GEO. 6. Session 1948-49. Appendix B, in H C Strick, 'British Newspaper Journalism 1900 to 1956 - a study in industrial relations' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London University, 1957). Strick refers to the IoJ's 'pseudo-professional institute' p. 492.

³⁵ Political and Economic Planning, *Report on the British Press: A Survey of its current operations and problems with special reference to national newspapers and their part in public affairs, April 1938*, (London: P.E.P., 1938).

³⁶ Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*: October 1931; January 1933; October 1934; March 1935; March & September 1936; August 1937; March & August 1938. For Exhibitions see Appendices XX and XXI.

³⁷ Haldane Report of the Proposed Re-Organisation of London University. 1913. Cmnd. 6717/8.

³⁸ The argument over journalistic autonomy is from Herbert J. Gans, *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979) John Hohenberg, *The News Media: A Journalist Looks at his Profession*, (U.S.A: Robert Maynard, International Publishing, 1968) p.176, instances the problem of coping with gross misconduct.

³⁹ Birkhead, *ibid.* A more recent discussion of journalism and professionalism is to be found in Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini *Comparing Media Systems. Three Modes of Media and Politics*,

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) although the authors believe that 'until the 1980s relatively few British journalists had college degrees' pp 217-27. See pp 21, 41 above, regarding 'armies of Oxford men.'

⁴⁰ A. E. Morgan, 1934, 'What is the Function of a Modern University?' *The Listener*, September 26th 1934, pp 516-7.

⁴¹ Armytage, 1962, *ibid.* See note 17, above.

⁴² Sir Charles Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travels in English-speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867*, (London: Macmillan, 1868).

⁴³ David J Lee, *op cit.* The promise of the 1918 Education Act was cut short by financial cutbacks in the 1920s.

⁴⁴ Edmund Burke, quoted in Harry E Armstrong, 1898, *Special Report on Educational Subjects*. Cmd 8943 (TNA XHC/1/6049). See also letter: *Education Guardian*, May 17th 1983, by Dr. K.B. Everard.

⁴⁵ a P.F.R. Venables, 1959, 'British Technical Education- Limitations of Part-time Day-release as a preparation for professional responsibilities,' in Lee, *ibid.*

b Also, J. R. Lukes, 'The Formation of Government Policy on Further Education 1939-1965' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford University, 1975).

⁴⁶ Lukes, *ibid.* quotes the Institutes of Civil, Electrical and Mechanical Engineers and the Institutes of Chemistry and Physics.

⁴⁷ Armytage, 1962, note 17, above. US numbers per million population (engineering/technical students) doubled from 573 in 1873 to 1,233 per million in 1900. Lukes (*ibid.*) has a figure for Britain, of half of one per cent in 1939; also Balfour A.J., 1902, who quotes the predominance of the Americans in Willem Van Der Eyken's, *Education, the Child and Society: A Documentary History 1900-1973* (England, Harmondsworth: Penguin Education, 1973). This book contains Balfour's opening speech introducing the 1918 Education Bill on March 24th.

⁴⁸a. Balfour, *ibid.*,

b. Dr. M. Sadler, IJP, September 1908.

⁴⁹ Norman Cattanch, 'A History of Journalism Training in Britain up to the Formation of the Printing and Publishing Industry Training Board' (master's thesis, University of Wales, 1977).

⁵⁰ K. Evans, 1980, *Day Release - a Desk Study*. Further Education Unit. Quoted in Boyd-Barret, O., 1984, *Management in Post-Compulsory Education*, Block IV, Part 1. External Control and Institutional Response, p. 42, Open University Course E324.

⁵¹ Lord Haldane, 1929, *An Autobiography*, p. 139-47 in Van Der Eyken, *ibid.*

⁵² Sidney Webb, 1902, *The Making of a University*, in Van Der Eyken, *ibid.*

⁵³ Armytage, 1967, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ *ibid.* Mosely Educational Commission to the United States of America Oct-Dec. 1903, published 1904.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*

⁵⁶ Webb, in Haldane above (note 34). Here one needs to understand Webb's belief that labour was being professionalised through specialization (see, *Industrial Democracy*, 1902, p. 825. Also, *New Statesman* Supplements on Professional Associations, April 21st and 28th 1917.)

⁵⁷ Mrs Caroline Healey Dall (1882-1912) was an American reader of the *English Women's Journal* and corresponded with its founders Bessie Rayner Parkes (1829-1925) and Barbara Bodichon (1827-91). Mrs Dall's in-letters are in the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe College. See also the Parkes and Bodichon papers at Girton College, Cambridge.

⁵⁸ T. James, and Annie Fields, papers in the Huntington Library, California, and Houghton Library, Harvard.

⁵⁹ Walter Harry Green Armytage, *The American Influence in English Education* (London: Routledge, Kegan, Paul, 1967) The editor, J.A. Froude (1818-94) lapsed from the Church of England and resigned his Oxford Fellowship after reading Emerson. Froude was, at one time, a member of the Oxford Movement.

⁶⁰ Jacob Abbott, quoted in Armytage, 1967, *ibid.* Newman attacked Abbott in one of his Tracts.

⁶¹ Armytage, 1962, *ibid.*

⁶² Smith, Goldwin, 1869, 'The intellectual training of journalists' *The Newspaper Press*, February 1, p.50. Christopher Kent's entry on Smith in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography reveals he left his fortune to Cornell in 1910.

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Armytage, 1967, *ibid.* In Trollope's 'Can You Forgive Her?' (1864-65) Lady Glencora says of her American visit: 'I didn't come across a cab-driver who wasn't a much better educated man than I am.'

⁶⁵ Armytage, 1962, *ibid.*

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⁶⁶ Douglas Herbert Birkhead, 'Presenting the Press: Journalism and the Professional Project' (doctoral dissertation, University of Iowa, 1982) Chapter IV: 'The Professional Argument in Journalism Education' provided me with valuable insights I had missed in earlier attempts to tackle this subject. I am grateful to Professor Ken Starck for this reference.

⁶⁷ Armytage, 1962, *ibid.* Also Sir Ernest Simon, 1944, 'The Number of University Students', *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 15. U.S.A. population in 1900: 75.9 million; U.K.: 41.1 million.

⁶⁸ De Forest O'Dell, *The History of Journalism Education in the United States* (New York City: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1935) is used in this section.

⁶⁹ Sara Lawrence Lockwood Williams, *20 Years of Journalism Education for Journalism: A History of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A.*, Columbia, Mo: The E.W. Stephens Pub Co., 1929).

⁷⁰ Frank W. Blackmar (1854-1931), and John Lewis Gillin (1871-1958), *Outlines of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916).

⁷¹ O'Dell, *ibid.*

⁷² Birkhead, *ibid.*

⁷³ Birkhead, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ *ibid.* p 250-5

⁷⁵ *ibid.* p 253

⁷⁶ *ibid.* quoting Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976)

⁷⁷ Joseph Pulitzer, 1904, 'The College of Journalism,' *North American Review* 178, May, p. 658

⁷⁸ *ibid.* p.659

⁷⁹ *ibid.* p.649

⁸⁰ E.L. Godkin, 1890, 'Schools of Journalism', *Nation*, March 6th, Quoted in Birkhead, *ibid.* Godkin took a degree at Queen's College, Belfast, in 1851.

⁸¹ *ibid.*

⁸² Birkhead, *ibid.*

⁸³ *ibid.* p.265/6

⁸⁴ IoJ Annual Conference, Plymouth, 1908, The Professional Education of the Journalists Session.

⁸⁵ Birkhead, *ibid.*, quoting H.F. Harrington, 1919. 'Teaching Journalism in a Natural Setting; An Application of the Project Method.' In *Educational Administration and Supervision* 5 (March 1919).

⁸⁶ Harrington, *ibid.*

⁸⁷ Birkhead, *ibid.* p. 272/3

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, quoting Bleyer Willard, 1931, 'What Schools of Journalism are Trying to Do', *Journalism Quarterly*, 8 (March 1931): 37

⁸⁹ Walter J. Ong, 1979, 'The Human Nature of Professionalism', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Volume 94, No. 3, May. Presidential Address of MLA for 1978.

⁹⁰ Dr. G.B. Harrison to the author, August 10th 1979.

⁹¹ See Chapter 4 for further details.

⁹² Harrison, to author, November 14th 1979.

⁹³ a 'Formula writing' see *Journalism Educator*, 1982. Vol. 37, No. 3, Autumn. New J-writing approaches needed, educators are told. By William J. Roepke, Editor.

b 'critically-anaesthetising objectivity' illustrated in *The Observer*, 14th August 1983. p. 6. Peter Pringle wrote: '...journalists admit that in a strange reverse subjectivity brought on by the push for journalistic ethics, they feel obliged to let (President) Reagan manipulate the stories because the journalists themselves do not agree with him politically. It is one of the perils of America's rules of 'objective journalism' that reporters trounce their soulmates and treat their political enemies with kid gloves.' ('Reagan charms Press into letting him off lightly')

(c) *The Sun* newspaper's supposed interview with the widow of a Falklands Campaign hero, Sgt. McKay, for which the paper had to apologise (August 8th 1983, p. 6). (Example of fabrication)

⁹⁴ Harrison to the author, May 30th 1979.

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Chapter Four

The Emergence and Development of Education for Journalism in Britain: John Churton Collins and the Birmingham University Scheme for Educating Journalists

The editor and historian of English newspapers H.R. Fox Bourne (1837-1909) neatly describes one method of entry into journalism in the late 19th century when he states: '... no apprenticeship is needed for entering it, and no preliminaries are required for participation in its highest rewards... any one... with enough influence or intellect, or with a name likely to prove useful, may slip into an editorship or be made a principal leader writer in preference to men of long standing in the office, who perhaps have to teach him his duties and correct his blunders.'¹

While the usual career pattern was progression through the ranks of small weekly papers to provincial daily newspapers and, possibly, on to London weekly and daily papers, few ever made the full course.² Others, like J. Alfred Spender managed by freelance journalism, writing 'notes'-sometimes six a day - and articles for the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Echo*, as well as lengthy reviews for monthly magazines.³ In this he followed Wilfrid Meynell's advice for aspiring journalists by 'contributing timorously and obscurely to the newspaper and periodical press.'⁴ He believed 'the main difficulty in journalism... is the start. The very uncertainty of the final acceptance... disciplines the unenterprising man for the effort.'

These quotations, all referring to the 1880s and 1890s, illustrate the most important factor it is necessary to understand before attempting an examination of the emergence of ideas about the education of the journalist: that there was no specific, centrally-regulated means of entry and no system of examination for entry.

The appearance of guides and manuals of journalism during these two decades at the close of the 19th century indicates that the subject was worth an effort by publishers who wished to meet public demand or help to create it.⁵

Looking back at this era several writers remark on the surge of graduates, especially from Oxford,⁶ entering newspapers, but detailed figures are virtually impossible to assess, although the take-over, by graduates, of the serious journals of the day is available in the well-researched volumes of the Wellesley Index of Periodicals.⁷ Whereas the 1841 census showed 459 newspaper editors, proprietors and journalists (plus 167 authors) by 1881, (with authors and shorthand writers combined with the other three groupings) the total was 6,111. Ten years later the

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figure was 8,272 and 14,406 in 1921,⁸ (though the shorthand writers were not included in the last two years.) That 1841 census was the first to show separate figures for journalists and editors, and, in 1846, there were 472 newspapers listed in the first edition of the Newspaper Press Directory.

Even allowing for the tentative nature of these early figures they would appear to illustrate the small numbers of people required to run small provincial newspapers. The editor often had to double up as compositor in the printing room, if not as his own reporter as well, as advertisements in the *Daily News* and the *Athenaeum* indicated in their job descriptions. The figures quoted above also lend credibility to the view, attributed to Lord Northcliffe, that twenty men were needed, in the 1920s for every single man who used to be involved in the production of the old kind of small-circulation newspaper outside London.

Even though we have seen references to the large inflow of Oxford graduates into newspapers, when the first school to offer training in journalism opened its doors in 1887 it was just these people who were its first students. A *Daily Telegraph* journalist, David Anderson (1837-1900) was the founder and Director of the School in the Strand.⁹

This is the first known commercial school of journalism actually to open its doors to students in Britain, and, (though unknown to us today) one of its former students remarked, in later life, that it was so well-known that it needed little introduction. Its place has been taken in the minds of later generations by the School of the same name instituted by Max Pemberton (1863-1950) in 1919, supported by Lord Northcliffe.¹⁰

First London School of Journalism

Students paid one hundred guineas (£105) for a year's tuition, a very large sum indeed in those days, and, in return, students might expect the occasional lecture from Anderson (described as a brilliant lecturer by another student.)¹¹ Anderson's introduction to the course was unusual in the eyes of this student, when he said: 'You are at liberty to come and do absolutely nothing, Ink is here. You will bring your own manuscript to prepare... I shall be sitting here (in David's Sanctum, as students called it, an inner office off their own room) ready to share the store of my journalistic knowledge with you... there is nothing about journalism I do not know. I have written hundreds upon hundreds of descriptive and leading articles... nothing has escaped my purview: murder trials, art exhibitions, Royal processions, concerts, Academy private views...'¹²

According to one of his students attending the third year of the course, Francis Henry Gribble (1862-1956), David Anderson had been one of Dicken's young men on *Household Words* and had served as a leader writer and special correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph* for many years.¹³ He was also a dramatic critic from 1874-79 on *The Sportsman*, and later on *Bell's Life In London* from 1879-82 as well as writing regularly for *The Theatre* and *All The Year Round*.¹⁴

Anderson's philosophy was that the student's future was in his own hands and, in Hichen's words, 'he was no driver.'¹⁵ His teaching method, as such, was simple: 'He gave me subjects to treat, articles, parodies,

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epigrams, criticisms of plays I had seen... sent me out to public events, such as sports meetings, processions, and changing of the guard at St. James's Palace... I attended the Law Courts and heard a few trials.'¹⁶

Anderson read, criticised and amended stories submitted and encouraged students to contribute to London newspapers. One evening paper, *The Globe*, always had an article, over a column in length, which turned over the page, called the 'turnover' and Hichen submitted regularly, though rarely saw his work printed. To enable this to happen Anderson and Hichen combined to start a paper called *Mistress and Maid*, sold door-to-door by women, which, while it provided an outlet for students' work, did not make money and folded.¹⁷

Gribble and Hichen name fourteen students who were on the course in its first year but it is not clear if the School had set terms, or whether students were able to join at any time - and several did pursue careers in journalism and one, H. Greville Montgomery (1864-1951), became a Member of Parliament.¹⁸ Several of these students were graduates, mainly Oxford with at least one from Cambridge who never entered journalism. But it is doubtful if they matched up to Anderson's ideal entry requirements that they: 'should have English History at (their) fingers' ends; know constitutional law, political economy and a large fund of general knowledge to draw upon.'¹⁹ Gribble, for instance, had a first-class degree in Lit. Hum. from Oxford, where he attended Exeter College (and that was after four other colleges rejected him.)²⁰

Although reference books show the course operating between 1887 and 1897 Gribble states that students did not last out the year and 'did not recommend it to their friends, with the result that he closed it and returned to the *Daily Telegraph*.'²¹ Anderson's view of journalism was very much that of a *Telegraph* man, although he held trade journalism in high regard, he had a very low opinion of papers like *Modern Society* and *Tit-Bits* with their flippant content. Nobody could seriously want to be a sub-editor and learning shorthand could be a 'fatal impediment to advancement',²² and Anderson followed his own advice about dressing well, 'his silk hat was always glossy'- reminding us that this, together with the black frock coat, was an essential element in journalistic wear in Fleet Street then, and right up until at least the 1920s.²³

The *Daily Telegraph* returned the compliments in a concrete way when a marble medallion was placed in Richmond cemetery in 1902 with an inscription by his former editor on that paper, Sir Edwin Arnold (1832-1904): 'Possessing high intelligence, wide education, a clear and just judgement of men, events and literature, he gave these powers for many years to the daily press; and afterwards employing a large experience, brilliantly and successfully trained many good men to the honourable service of journalism, which he himself adorned and upheld'.²⁴

Even though he was engaged on the editorial side of the paper, Anderson was not himself a university man, being a 'journalist of the self-educated type'.²⁵ He promised that anyone who mastered journalism would be able to earn between £300 and £1,000 a year - quite a sum for those days. Gribble's mastery of the 'leaderette' under Anderson's direction earned him a place 'out of a multitude of applicants' on the *Observer*, as

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well as the offer as assistant editor of a Yorkshire paper. Gribble's junior, H. Greville Montgomery (1864-1951), became assistant editor of a weekly called *Arrow*.²⁶ Hichens worked on the *Pall Mall Magazine* before turning to writing novels, one of which, although published anonymously to attract speculation as to its author, brought him fame. This was *Green Carnation* based on Oscar Wilde, whom he had met. It was after his fifth novel *Flame* that the *Daily Telegraph* offered him £2,000 a year if he would join them. Even though this was more than he was earning at the time, he refused and became wealthy enough to purchase his villa beside the Italian Lakes.²⁷

Proposals for an entry examination for Journalists

At the same time as Anderson was initiating his experiment in journalism training, the fledgling National Association of Journalists had indicated it should look at the question of instituting entry examinations for young candidates wanting to enter the Association, as well as awarding certificates of competence. The following year, 1888, a wording on the syllabus was agreed but never implemented, and it stated: (Appendix I): 'Candidates to undergo a *viva voce* examination in English literature and general knowledge; to condense a column speech into two or three sticks; to write a short essay on some selected subject; to make paragraphs of three incidents narrated by the examiners; to correct twenty-four incorrectly constructed sentences; to summarise a balance sheet.'²⁸

The next year the National Association of Journalists gained a Royal Charter and became the Institute of Journalists. This change reflected a novel development in the affairs of the Association: attracting into membership proprietors and editors whose experience helped obtain the Charter, the first object of which was: '... the devising of means of testing the qualification of candidates for admission to professional membership of the Institute by examination in theory and in practice or by other actual and practical tests.'²⁹

Correspondence in the Institute's *Journal* and *Proceedings*, indicated that working journalists themselves favoured something that the sixteen-year old, of average ability could reasonably be expected to pass on leaving school. Thus his knowledge and capability for writing English clearly and accurately should obviously be tested. They also wanted tests to ascertain whether his general intelligence was such that the entrant would succeed in, and do credit to, the profession he wished to enter. Consequently the first elementary examination scheme proposed testing candidates' ability to write essays, condense supplied newspaper reports or comment on a given subject (see Appendix II). It is possible to assume that the element attracting credit to the profession was included under the other two papers: Language (Latin, French or German translations); or mathematics, which included Book 1 of Euclid, as well as questions on simple and compound arithmetic, vulgar fractions and percentages, interests, and balance sheets. The oral examination would obviously provide an opportunity to ascertain the candidates' willingness to do credit to their proposed profession by testing their knowledge of spelling, current

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events and notable persons. Failure in English, the first paper, 'will be fatal to the candidates' chances' and 200 marks, out of a possible total of 275, were needed to receive the certificate. Exemptions were provided to those who had passed the Oxford or Cambridge Local Examinations, but they still had to attend the Oral Examination.

The first paper also proposed 'Elements of English History' and 'Outlines of Geography, political and commercial'³⁰ and 'in reference to History, groups of facts and broad issues should be understood' while 'minor details' like 'lists, dates and names' would not be insisted upon.

Although this scheme, prepared by the Birmingham District of the IoJ, appeared in the Institute's *Proceedings* it had originally seen the light of day ten years earlier, in 1889. It is difficult to ascertain the reason for this delayed publication. However, four years elapsed between the formation of the Institute, in 1889, and the first detailed examinations scheme, submitted in 1893 (see Appendix III.)

'Division 1- for the Pupil-Associateship' combines the three papers of the 1889 scheme (Appendix II) and includes a general knowledge component similar to the current events paper in the oral examinations of that scheme. It adds shorthand as an optional subject and outlines areas, in Division II, for Membership. 'Law of Newspaper Libel and Copyright' is a new element, while a *viva voce* is retained to test general information.

The introduction of 'Special Certificates' enabled assessment of more vocational aspects of journalism, like verbatim and descriptive reporting, condensation (or *précis*) and a legal paper.³¹

The columns of the Institute's *Proceedings* were soon reverberating to comments from those who had never used any Euclid in thirty years of journalism, and were not going to spend their working lives learning the A.B.C of examinations, and so such schemes lapsed. The Chartist, Thomas Frost (1824-1908), expressed the view that proprietors were only interested in hiring cheap, illiterate boys, taken as apprentices to cheapen labour - a view that later affected the thinking of many working journalists *vis-à-vis* the union limitation on the ratio of junior to senior journalists in provincial newspaper offices. Frost questioned whether journalists would ever be able to prevent unqualified men from competing with them, especially when they did not have any minimum agreed salary. It was this particular aspect, wages and working hours, that sparked off the formation of the National Union of Journalists, in 1907, to fight for better wages. This the Institute, with its proprietors and editors as members, had carefully avoided, emphasizing the professional aspects of controlling entry and maintaining standards (although this is also a concern of the trade unions.)

In fact it was not until 1908 that the Pupil associateship entry examination re-appeared, with another 'Syllabus' (so named for the first time) including the usual ingredients: English Language (so named for the first time); Mathematics, Geography, History, Latin or French or German grammar; and General Elementary Science (see Appendix IV.) A list of 17 examinations whose candidates were exempt from this entry examination was published for the first time. These were mainly Leaving Certificates or Matriculation exams, although the First Examination of any British, or Colonial University also carried exemption. The most important fact for this

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research was revealed in later discussion when it was announced that the next annual conference of the Institute, in 1908, would include a session on 'University Teaching for Journalists.'³² This apparently dampened enthusiasm on the question of entry requirements, and they disappear from view. The University debate will be considered later.

De Blowitz of *The Times*

S.H.O de Blowitz (1825-1903), the 'Prince of Journalists',³³ as his biography is titled, wrote about a grandiose scheme devised by himself with another six friends around Europe, that needed a federation of Journalism Schools in which journalistic aspirants could learn the history and literature of Europe in the first two years (after they had taken a degree)³⁴ with the study growing more detailed as it approached the most recent past. Political constitutions, climate, manufacturing, means of communication, armed forces, budgets and the most remarkable contemporaries in every country would be the basis of the study. Boxing, horse-riding, pistol shooting and drawing would round-off the fuller man. Sophistication would come with a further three years traveling around the world on scholarships.

De Blowitz's descriptions of what the novice journalist should have, reflects, in many ways, his biographer's assessment of his character:

'... the love of danger... a boundless curiosity and love for truth... a marked facility for rapid assimilation and comprehension... good health... sees and hears accurately and knows how to express quickly what he sees and hears.'³⁵

This novitiate would then be able after conversation with a specialist - having first familiarized himself with the theoretical and practical elements - to understand the special explanations well enough to reproduce them in general intelligible language. This remarkable *protégé* would obviously stand head and shoulders above 'the common stream.' The keen feeling coming across is on de Blowitz's ability to project himself into any situation - even that of novitiate journalist. Needless to say, little was heard of this scheme, although the scholarship idea might have fallen on friendly ears.

Journalism Scholarship at City of London School

The City of London School had unveiled a memorial to a former student, George Steevens (1869-1900), who had died of disease while a correspondent for the *Daily Mail* covering the Boer War in South Africa. Known as the 'Balliol prodigy'³⁶ Steevens had been a Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, before committing himself to journalism, joining W.E. Henley (1849-1903) of the *National Observer* - a nursery of journalistic talent according to other journalists.³⁷ Between 1893 and 1896 he worked on the *Pall Mall Gazette* where Henry Cust (1861-1917) was editor and joined the *Daily Mail*, when it opened in 1896, as a special correspondent. He served in USA, India and France covering the Dreyfus trial, as well as South Africa. The first news editor at the *Daily Mail*, Lincoln Springfield, regarded him as a brilliant reporter who could have made a reputation on the strength of his descriptive writing.³⁸

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According to William Hill (1852-1932), then on the *Westminster Gazette*, the idea for journalism scholarships came when he and Lord Northcliffe were walking past the school, just after the unveiling of the memorial to Steevens.³⁹ They were discussing the need for improving the supply of first-class journalistic material and Northcliffe asked: "What can be done?"... instantly (Hill replied) came the unpremeditated answer: Here is the City of London School in our midst (one of the leading public schools) - why not offer a scholarship that will assist in the discovery of first-class journalistic material.⁴⁰ "A capital idea," was the response. "Was not that George Steevens's School?" was the next question. "Yes; they recently unveiled a memorial portrait of him at the School". "Well then, for an experimental period of three years I am willing to provide a travelling Scholarship in Journalism, to be known as the George Steeven's Scholarship.'

Northcliffe donated £3,000 of which £400 was to be awarded to the best journalism scholar, for foreign travel, in each of three years, running consecutively, with the first being awarded in the summer of 1903.

The balance of the money went to subsidise lectures by journalists and Hill, self-styled Director of the course, organized his friends and colleagues to support him in this 'entirely new field of activity... upon a comparatively unworked 'claim' in the arena of technical instructions'. Hill's introductory lecture, in the rhetoric of the time, includes some high-flown sentiments in providing: '... a more complete preparation for the exercise of the profession, and a wider grasp of its mission, a readier conception of its avenues of enterprise, and a keener regard for its standards of propriety, intelligence and patriotism.'

Hill's first lectures introduced students aged between 16 and 18 to the work of various newspaper departments, then went on to cover 'The Practices of the Printing Office, Reporting, Sub-Editing, News-Editing'. Two former colleagues provided expertise in reviewing: Dr. (later Sir) William Robertson Nicoll (1851-1923) on 'The Responsibilities and Qualifications of Reviewers' and Mr. Frederick Greenwood, former editor of *Cornhill Magazine* and founder-editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, talked on 'The Higher Aspects and Practices of Journalism.'

As well as visits to newspaper officers Hill indicated he would consider some of the lectures 'practical tests of the capacity of the students... to produce at their next meeting a summary of the lecture' which was not to exceed in length a half-column of *The Times*. His introductory lecture included the statement that he hoped this scheme would have an important part to play in discovering 'a number... of journalists in embryo... who may, by a few sessions training, qualify themselves to take rank in a newspaper office' with every hope for future distinction.

While an exaggerated claim to make, it might reflect Hill's approach because, as another editor later wrote, his 'ability to persuade other people to take him at his own flattering estimation was amazing,'⁴¹ and he obviously persuaded Northcliffe, who made him news editor of the *Weekly Dispatch* in 1906, although he was fired after six months.⁴² However, Hill re-appears at later dates to remind the world of his experiment.

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One of the lecturers on Hill's course, J.W. Robertson Scott (1866-1962), possibly writing about Hill in 1912 when it was still fresh in his memory, records that 'he did not think much of the students.'⁴³ Yet we know that three of the students progressed in journalism: Laurence Briggs became assistant editor of the *Sunday Chronicle* in 1929 and, in the opinion of Tom Clarke, former news editor of the *Daily Mail* 'he would have been the future editor of the paper, but he died in mid-career... in a motor-cycling accident.'⁴⁴ The second was William Hill, the lecturer's own son. The third, Lawrence Spero, graduated from Cambridge in 1910 and went straight onto the sub-editor's desk at the *Daily Mail*. As someone writing five years after the end of this experiment put it, 'special training for a journalist should not begin too prematurely.'⁴⁵ He favoured the 'good *sound general* education' available at public schools like City of London School, but he was optimistic when he thought that 'with the experiment successfully tried there, a School of Journalism for all London might then be considered', possibly reflecting feelings about only one school being involved in the experiment.

Northcliffe would have been reminded of this experiment in 1907 when a Mr. J. Lulham Pound wrote to inform him that £700 remained, of his £3,000 gift towards a 'Journalism Class and Steevens' Scholarships at the City of London School' with the advice that 'the second scholar will be starting in a few weeks on his journey around the world. The writer sought Northcliffe's approval to spend the remaining money on money prizes 'of not less than £10 each.'⁴⁶ Northcliffe's reply is not recorded. However, in 1903, Northcliffe had said that he favoured the idea of education for journalists, admitting his donation to the City of London School,⁴⁷ although he subsequently gave no financial support to the London University Diploma for Journalism Course.

John Churton Collins and the Birmingham University Scheme for Education for Journalism

As we have seen in the previous chapter John Churton Collins, Professor of English Literature at Birmingham University, was a Balliol man, with what can only be described as a passionate attachment to Greek thought and culture and to the ideals of a human liberal education⁴⁸ and he never lost touch with his old college, even keeping rooms in the town long after he graduated. Collins made valiant, some might say foolhardy, attempts to persuade Oxford and Cambridge Universities to provide courses in English Literature, in its own right, and, when these failed, took up the Chair of English Literature at Birmingham in 1904. A man of fantastic energy and drive, as his diary for 1906 reveals (Appendix V), Collins soon had the Birmingham journalists organized into seeking concrete expression of their earlier attempts at syllabuses for the education of journalists.

Birmingham University passed his proposals, for a School or Diploma for Journalism, without opposition and appointed a sub-committee to help it on its way.⁴⁹ Collins' diary records that journalists, editors, and academics got together for what he hoped might be: 'the beginning of a "big thing"- the first

The Emergence and Development of Education for Journalism in Britain: John Churton Collins and the Birmingham University Scheme for Educating Journalists organized University instruction in Journalism in England. *Deus sit propitius*.⁵⁰ This was less than a month after he first introduced the scheme on 5th June 1907, to the editor of the Birmingham *Daily Post* and three other journalists. The local newspapers record the progress of the scheme over the next year.⁵¹

Collins outlined his proposals in the February issue of the *Nineteenth Century* in the following year.⁵² He formulated a postgraduate course (with a possible option of its leading to a degree at some later stage), having a general and a technical element. (See Appendix VI) The specific training in the techniques of journalism involved descriptive article writing, which could provide opportunities of acquiring miscellaneous information 'from visits to museums, art galleries... (as well as) to departments of the University.' Leader article writing, leaderettes, and notes would be taught as would 'the management of paragraphs... and deciphering telegrams with shorthand 'not... perhaps... compulsory.'

The University-approved version of the syllabus (see Appendix VII) is not so detailed, leaving out any mention of the technical elements. The Birmingham *Evening Despatch* for May 20th 1908, records that the subject had been the topic of a meeting the previous evening, at Birmingham University and that several journalists present had joined a committee to 'confer with Professor Churton Collins as to future arrangements.' One of those joining the committee, Mr A.H. Mann (1876-1972), later became editor of the *Yorkshire Post*.

Collins mentioned in his *Nineteenth Century* article that the editor of that journal, Sir James Knowles (1831-1908), had earlier suggested a scheme of education for journalism to Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College, Oxford, but no reference exists in Jowett's papers in the College library.

I have referred earlier to Collins being a Balliol man, just as Steevens was to become known as a 'Balliol prodigy' when he entered journalism. Collins spends more than five pages of his article on 'The Universities and Journalism' discussing the general state of the two older English universities and makes a strong plea that they should be the homes of a 'course of instruction essentially modern' yet he outlines Jowett's policy for encouraging those who wanted to take up journalism being one in which they attached: 'themselves loosely to Balliol and ramble about the university browsing here and there on such lecture-fodder as they could find palatable, or likely to meet their needs. Sometimes they looked in on lectures on political economy, or on English history, or on art, or even on Greek philosophy. They were encouraged to visit museums and art galleries or to write essays and go walks with their patron or some other illumining pundit. This he called giving them the flavour of Oxford life.' 'Oxford training left me with a range of interests too extended to go very deep' was Ernest Barker's view, who was at Balliol College from 1893-98.⁵³

While Collins allowed that we might consider smiling at the 'very rudimentary conception of a course of "modern" education at a university'⁵⁴ he infers that about a third of newspaper journalists might have enjoyed a similar kind of education while 'at least two-thirds of what claims to be journalism... is not only a national disgrace... to us, but simply unintelligible.'⁵⁵

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Collins' method of engaging support for his proposed course is worth our attention and we are fortunate to have in his *Life and Memoirs*, edited by his son, copies of letters from leading journalists, and editors, on the subject of education for journalism. Writing in June 1907, J. Alfred Spender commented on how surprised he was by the way journalists got stuck in the lower departments of a newspaper and had no power or ambition to rise out of them. What a school of journalism might do is to give men who 'begin that way the backing of general knowledge and interest which would enable them to raise... without it they get stuck...'⁵⁶ He was more specific about what should be included in the syllabus:

'What the young men who came into the Press from the schools and universities chiefly lack is a knowledge of recent history. From the Reform Bill up to the time when they themselves begin to take an interest in affairs, they know practically nothing. The schools and universities don't teach it for fear of politics, and that I suppose is a great difficulty. But a school which is to be useful to a political journalist must brave this... Next to this is a fair general knowledge of foreign countries and their constitutions... also, an outline of colonial history. After this, leading facts about population, territory, trade etc... thoroughly learnt in statistical form and their meaning realised. Then all the time some reading in political philosophy Burke, Mill, Tocqueville, Bagehot, etc. Political economy... stress should be on economic history rather than theory... the most useful man for literary critics... I suggest Hazlitt.'⁵⁷

After all this Spender added a note of warning 'that editors, I'm afraid, do not believe in schools of journalism' and apologized for his rambling letter with the pleas that 'journalism is a rambling subject.'⁵⁸

Clement Shorter (1857-1946) exemplified this warning when he stated categorically 'journalism cannot be taught... the best university is a newspaper office.'⁵⁹

However, H.W. Massingham (1860-1924), editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and literary editor of the *Daily Telegraph* and W.L. Courtney (1850-1928) offered their whole-hearted support: the former had worked his way up through the ranks, while the latter had been fellow of an Oxford College.

For William Hill, on the other hand, Collins laid too much emphasis on leader-writing, reviewing, and not enough on training 'the rank and file, the news-editor, the descriptive writers, and reporters, the sub-editors, etc.' Possibly Collins heard from Hill about the Steevens' Scholarships: if not, Sir William Robertson Nicoll definitively enlightened him on the subject. Nicoll said his lectures on reviewing had attracted eight boys, and 'in the first class at least six were immediately provided with situations.'⁶⁰ He favoured anything which would 'save the editor the trouble of training a new recruit' and he suggested 'practical journalists should be largely employed in the teaching and that men and women should be admitted to the course, which should offer some form of authoritative Certificate or Diploma... countersigned by practical and successful journalists.'⁶¹

This scheme, the first to attempt an analysis of the subject to cater for both the academic and technical, never materialized because of the death of Professor Collins in the same month that the loJ were to discuss the education of the journalist in Manchester, September, 1908.⁶²

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Proposals for University Education for Journalism

As a life-long London correspondent for the *Birmingham Post* Sir Alfred Robbins (1856-1931) [His son Alan 1st secretary of Press Council 1954-60] was most likely aware of the discussions being held with Birmingham University and, prior to the Conference, he had circulated a memorandum 'for the consideration of the relations of the Universities and schools to the educational training of journalists' to various members of the teaching staffs of Universities who had expressed an interest in the subject. He pointed out that this attempt to establish educational standards for journalism did not involve any attempt to make journalism a 'closed profession.'⁶³ A practical test of aptitude and the opportunity to make some acquaintance with professional techniques of journalism - which Robbins likened to medical students 'walking the wards' - would have to be incorporated into any professional diploma that might be instituted.

In his Presidential address to the IoJ on 31st August, 1908, traditionally given at the end of the year of office, Robbins chose the status of the journalist as his theme. He defined a journalist as: '... one who earned his living by editing or writing for a public journal, which, by excluding the amateur, the casual and the dilettante, embraces the whole body of true workers in our craft.'⁶⁴ Using a phrase much-used in the early years of the 20th century, he referred to journalists' 'brain-product' being as much entitled to financial rewards as the judge, or bishop, to his stipend, or the doctor, or lawyer, to his fees. In effect Robbins was stating that the public had a right to know that journalists were well-trained enough to elicit the true state of facts and able to report them faithfully. In stating this he was implicitly criticizing those who snatched for success and passing popularity in a 'good story... dearly purchased at the expense of truth.'⁶⁵ Whereas, if the public could look to the journalist as:

'... a man who, respecting himself inspires respect in others as the watchdog of its liberties, and the guardian not only of its interests but its honour, the Press will serve the best and most lasting of ends. However... the Press will make for degradation and not development, for evil not for good... if it regards its journalists merely as hack-writers for hire and its journals as only a medium for sensation mongering, for money-making or as a springboard to social advancement.'⁶⁶

Whatever the future held, would depend upon the journalist not upon journalism. With that prescient phrase, the Presidential address ended and the following day, 1st September, 1908, was devoted to the special session 'The Education of the Journalist.'

Professor Michael Sadler's Comments on Education for Journalism

In a paper specially prepared for the conference and circulated beforehand Dr. (later Sir) Michael Sadler, Professor of the Theory of Education at the Victoria University, Manchester (later to become Manchester University, with Sadler as its Vice-Chancellor), drew on an analogy with education for teachers. Oxford University had started special

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courses in 1885, for London's elementary school teachers, followed, five years later, by King's College, London, instituting a Day Training College, with Cambridge University having Oscar Browning (1837-1923) as Principal of its first Day Training College. (Here we need to remind ourselves that the forerunner of the National Union of Teachers had started in 1870). By 1893 Oxford had introduced a Diploma in Education for secondary teachers.

Sadler saw these as providing some measure of experience about what he felt was the particular problem of instituting specialized education. Then, in 1908, both teaching and journalism stressed open access for recruits of promise, regardless of previous training; they also shared a belief in the importance of recruits learning some essential elements through practical experience – like Manchester's practicing, or demonstration schools. Sadler regarded the acquisition of knowledge, in both spheres, as of less importance than the ability to be able to put knowledge to practical use, quickly and so apprenticeship of some form was appropriate for both teacher and journalist. Similarly, both callings were afflicted with problems in the middle years of life - such as Alfred Spender had pointed out to Professor Collins writing in 1907 - and neither had much chance of an adequate retiring allowance after long years of service.

Sadler felt that the journalists could support both callings if they educated the educationalists' masters - the ratepayers or local taxpayer - into regarding education of national importance for either occupation.

Both education and journalism required some scheme to enable beginners to avoid making mistakes, while introducing them to their calling with some preliminary skills and knowledge to help them make a good start. But 'liberal education was the best basis for subsequent professional skill in any calling,' and the main part of professional training should be postgraduate study. However, he did believe Universities should develop a new Honours School to amalgamate areas of study usually kept apart, and Appendix VIII tabulates those subjects - most of which he also felt should be in any postgraduate course of study.⁶⁷

Even someone who disagreed with Professor Sadler's specialized course of instruction stated that the IoJ should approach the Universities boldly and ask that proposed courses be wide, and the requirements for degrees elastic, so that students should be able to choose for themselves among subjects useful to them, in the long run, in their perceived profession.⁶⁸ This speaker, Professor D.J. Medley, represented the Glasgow University Appointments Board, of which he was chairman, and he had welcomed the Institute's approach to the universities instead of going it alone. He also declared that Glasgow students wanted to know more about journalism than about business opportunities indicating that students, even in those days, possessed definite occupational intentions about future careers, even if journalism offered no specifically designed method of entry for them. Professor C.E. Vaughan of Leeds University deplored anything which would herd students into a professional pen when they should be widening their experience.⁶⁹

The University of London had sent along Mr T. Lloyd Humberstone (1876-1957) and he disagreed with Professor Medley's answer. Speaking from the benefit of experience with Board of Education civil servants he

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London University Proposals

Humberstone, like Professor Churton Collins a year earlier, thought it was the duty of the universities to consider the needs of special classes. Just as London University offered classes in engineering, so it might be able to provide a two-year course something like the B.Sc degree in economics at the London School of Economics, which allowed undergraduates to study modern, instead of medieval, history.

This was the impetus that the Institute had hitherto lacked: the willingness of a University to actually sit down and discuss what was needed. By the Spring of 1910 Mr Frederick Miller, (1863-1924) assistant editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, was able to announce details of discussions that had been held with London University. A two-year curriculum for students between 17 and 21 would provide an academic and technical training combined with practical experience to be gained by running a University newspaper. There would be between 20 to 30 subjects for students to choose from and it would be possible to progress from the Diploma to a BA or BSc degree in their faculty. Enrolment would be 20 students and staff would include a 'full-time Director to look after the efficient training of the students.'⁷¹ This would include classes in the law of libel, précis-writing and condensation of reports, although the suggestion was put that these should be organized by journalists. (See Appendices Xa and Xb)

Mr A.J. Mundella (1859-1933), another member of the IoJ, had assisted Mr Miller and Mr Humberstone in their discussions, and was able to report that they might expect financial support from the London County Council as well as the Board of Education, and 'other financial benefactors... private as well as institutional - like the City of London.'⁷²

Although the 'Technical Course' was subtitled 'Suggestions for further Consideration' most journalists would have been satisfied by the elements represented therein: 'Journalistic Shorthand, Press Law, Principles of Descriptive Reporting, Practical Reporting, Parliamentary Procedure', to name a few (See Appendix Xb.). Whether the proposed morning sessions in journalism with a first hour lecture followed by practical work would have fitted in with all the other, academic, lectures does not appear to have been discussed.

The implications for journalism were discussed at later meetings of the Institute in 1910, and Sir Robert Donald, editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, made two points: firstly: '... we need classes or schools of journalism which give prominence to the training and development of the journalist as a writer... the ability to express in simple, clear and direct language the purpose of the writer,' secondly, apart from requiring a sense of public duty: 'the journalist must be able to sift facts quickly and present them clearly.'⁷³

Another editor, A.G. Gardiner appointed editor of the *Daily News* at 36, shared Donald's dislike of the technical training (saying there were too few graduates of English in journalism) being done in the University. Yet there

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was 'not one subject I would blot out of that course.' Gardiner deplored the modern journalists 'lack of respect for what is beyond his depth' and called on universities themselves to 'widen, modernise, and humanise their culture' to help combat the 'smart cynicism that has taken the place of the sober, pedestrian virtues of the old school'⁷⁴ of journalism. As if to rub home this point, the report states that 'six Institute members took the chair for luncheon in their old Colleges'- the meeting that month was held in Oxford.

Some Other Schemes for Education for Journalists

Various courses, for working journalists, were initiated under the banner of the loJ co-operating with local universities, but details are sparse. For instance, Trinity College, Dublin, jointly organized a series of lectures with the Institute's Dublin and Irish Association District. These were more by way of being public lectures, by prominent figures, to arouse the interest of undergraduates who, in their turn, had asked what protection the Institute was prepared to offer them should they practice their new profession (Appendix IX).⁷⁵

The loJ also called upon people with expert knowledge to share their thoughts on the subject of education for journalism. One approached was a former editor of the *Schoolmaster*, Dr. Thomas Macnamara, who had been elected President of the National Union of Teachers in 1896, before becoming a Member of Parliament in 1900. Details of a syllabus he prepared in 1905 are unavailable. Even though he became the country's first Minister of Labour, in 1902, none of his papers are extant.

The Leeds District of the loJ ran a series of lectures for working journalists, with the co-operation of Leeds University,⁷⁶ but details, again, are patchy, although we do know that the President of the Institute for 1908, Sir Alfred Robbins, presented his son, Alan Pitt Robbins (1889-1967), with one of the prizes awarded to eight, out of the 35, journalists participating who submitted essays at the close of the course, which ran throughout 1908.

Review and Summary

As the purpose of this chapter has been to try and set the scene before we examine the original concern of this research, the University of London Diploma for Journalism (1919-1939), it only remains to fill in a few details pinpointing attempts at starting specific educational courses for journalists.

Interesting ideas about education were in circulation during this period prior to the start of the London University course. The German import - heuristic methods of teaching - was introduced into chemical teaching in London in 1897 by Dr Harry E. Armstrong, and he quoted Edmund Burke in relation to this 'new' method: 'I am convinced that the method of teaching which most nearly approaches to the methods of investigating is incomparably the best since, not content with serving up a few barren and lifeless truths, it leads to the stock on which they grow, it tends to set the

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learner himself on the track of invention and to direct him in those paths in which the author has made his own discoveries.¹⁷⁷

A few years later, in 1904, Professor Michael Sadler was noting in his Extract Book some thoughts of John Ruskin's, written in 1865:

'all education begins in work. What we think, or what we know, or what we believe, is, in the end, of little consequence. The only thing of consequence is what we do, therefore... the first point of education is to make (people) do their best... you do not learn that you may live... you live that you may learn.'¹⁷⁸

In 1908 Professor Walter Williams (1864-1935) was telling the IoJ conference on education that: 'The journalist will learn to write, as the painter learns to draw. He will learn to choose his words with loving care, as the painter picks his colours. Accuracy, clearness, terseness and vigour will sum up his style.'¹⁷⁹

At the same time the Hon. Harry Lawson (1862-1933, 2nd Baron Burnham) said the best advice for a journalist was to: 'specialise in some... group of subjects because they had no room in a great newspaper office in London for the old-fashioned, all-round reporter who had no particular knowledge of anything,¹⁸⁰ which may explain why, around this time, the former student of the *Telegraph's* David Anderson, Robert Hichen, was offered (but turned down) an offer of £2,000 salary to write for the paper.'⁸¹

Innovation: Commercial School of Journalism and University Courses

With the benefit of hindsight this tortuous approach to the development of a system of education for journalism might appear curious to the modern eye, but it is necessary to remind ourselves that: '... nothing in life is ever isolated... an event and any creation of a period is connected by a thousand threads with the culture in which it is embedded.'¹⁸² Yet it was left to two individuals to take the first steps, one commercially, the other within a university, to develop systems to meet the needs of the time.

David Anderson's London School of Journalism was the first journalism education experiment in England to adopt the 'learning by doing' just referred to. Anderson's method of immediate feedback to students on their journalistic progress was an example of guided learning which had its origins both in the idea of the university tutorial and in the journalist's requirements for 'accuracy, clearness, terseness and vigour' just elaborated.⁸³ Described as 'one of the brightest writers on the *Daily Telegraph*... he was a competent teacher... but his most notable pupil made a success in literature.'¹⁸⁴ Anderson's students, many the products of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, still thought his teaching method worthy of note and, Watson's comment notwithstanding, many went on to senior positions in the journalism of the time. So unusual was this scheme of Anderson's that: 'he was much "ragged" when he went to his club... because he never produced any of this pupils for inspection.'¹⁸⁵

On the other hand Professor John Churton Collins appears quite unlike Anderson, whom Watson described as 'peculiarly gentle, soft-spoken and lively-witted.'¹⁸⁶ Writing about literary men, John Gross describes Collins as 'liable to seem a mere irritable chalk-dusty pedagogue.'¹⁸⁷

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Collins combined a passion for the railways with another passion, being a University Extension Lecturer (see Appendix V for a typical week of such lectures in 1906.) Yet Gross calls some of his attacks on literary figures as 'out of proportion... pedantic, crusty, unbalanced,' referring here to Collins' bouts of severe depression which might have contributed to the mystery surrounding his death in 1908, when he was found drowned in a stream.

In modern terms Collins, like de Blowitz, would be described as a 'workaholic,'⁸⁸ with a ready view on everything and anything, *vide de Blowitz's* grandiose deliberations on the subject of education for journalism, which emphasise de Blowitz's self-esteem above all else.

The appearance of a National Association of Journalists was, in retrospect, quite an outstanding achievement for the provincial working journalists who wanted to band together for mutual benefit. The feeling, reading the columns of its semi-official journal, *Journalism*, is one of concern at the influx of untrained amateurs, fly-by-night proprietors, and of poor wages and conditions. Even the role of the local reporter was still combined with working 'at case' in the printing shop, or managing the printer's shop, if not living above it. Some, like Thomas Frost, believed proprietors wanted the lowest possible wages and so preferred existing open access to the job. The working journalist feared the casual amateurs, refugees from other professions, who could announce to the world their new roles as journalists, or proprietors, without any control exercise to maintain standards, or wage levels. The early calls for entry exams between 1887 and 1888 (Appendix I) reflect working journalists' ideas about the abilities needed to perform the work of a local reporter. Yet these undergo radical changes, gradually giving way to something quite different in content, and intent. The content reflected the change within the loJ as it evolved out of the National Association of Journalists in 1889.

Aspects of Professionalism

The direction of the National Association of Journalists changed after its founding, in 1884, by working reporters living outside London. First, there was the admission to membership of editors and proprietors, then the introduction of what were now considered archetypal aspects of an occupation seeking to enhance its status as a profession. These were as simple as finding premises, and a secretary, to founding a library, then a journal and seeking to defend the professional interests of members against infringement, in Parliament or elsewhere.⁸⁹ The loJ had as a regulation in its Royal Charter of 1889 the introduction of entry examinations. Yet the people who, apparently, made the running in changing the Association into the Institute were not the early members but the later entrants, editors and proprietors, people who combined those jobs with being members of Parliament (unpaid, of course) and so able to steer the Association into gaining a Royal Charter - no mean achievement in itself. Obviously the titles such people chose to indicate the different grades of membership revealed their aspiration: so entrants were Pupil-associates with Members and Fellow in the upper reaches, all adding to the

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impression of offering an incentive for the less professional among its members to become more professional.⁹⁰

The original membership must have welcomed attempts to enable journalists to exercise 'a larger measure of autonomy in choosing colleagues and successors,⁹¹ by being able to stop the entry of those, unqualified in journalism, who had 'influence or intellect' enough to gain entry while working journalists saw their own careers blighted by the entry of such people, whom *they* then had to train.

As soon as entry examinations, requiring knowledge of Euclid, were introduced then the working journalist members wrote into their journal saying they had never had to use Euclid in thirty years in journalism. By the time the Institute had discussed ideas of university entry, in 1908, the National Union of Journalists had been in existence for a year, devoted to improving the pay and conditions of working journalists.⁹² Table II on page 61 illustrates how NUJ membership overtook that of the IoJ.

If we compare this progress towards professionalism in journalism with that of teachers we find that the forerunner of the National Union of Teachers, founded in 1870, had seen courses for teachers started, in Oxford, in 1885, with a Diploma by 1893. Another professional association, the Library Association, founded 1877, gained its Royal Charter in 1898, with the examinations starting in 1896. As a general rule all those associations which had arranged university-style entry requirements before 1914 had to wait until the end of the First World War for these to be inaugurated, even though some may have been agreed as early as 1910.⁹³ The School of Librarianship, for instance, had to wait until 1919 to open at University College, London, in the same year that the Diploma for Journalism was inaugurated. The difference was that the Librarianship School had a full-time director and several staff lecturers, while the Journalism Diploma had none.

In discussing these topics regarding professionalism we have to remember that writers on the subject advise caution in using lists to try and describe what counts towards the definition of a profession.⁹⁴ Another modern writer also provides useful insight into one of the problems for combining the practical and academic:

'the professional schools may be accused of being too "academic": and the academics accuse the practitioners of failure to be sufficiently intellectual.'⁹⁵

Early Examination Syllabuses

The early attempts at formulating examination syllabuses (Appendix I) were very basic and comprised an oral test in English literature and general knowledge, with another written paper involving condensation of articles, or speeches, writing a 'short essay on some selected subject'⁹⁶ and 'paragraphs' of three incidents narrated by the examiner. There were also 24 incorrect sentences to be corrected and a balance sheet to be scrutinized. Such a syllabus is remarkably simple, and direct, and reflects its origins in the National Association of Journalists in 1887/8, when it was still in the hands of those working provincial reporters responsible for founding the association. Even by that date, the influx of editors and

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proprietors had begun, as if there was a concerted take-over bid for ascendancy by this new group. With the expertise of these new members the Association quickly became the Institute of Journalists, complete with Royal Charter listing the introduction of an entry examination among its aims.

With the change of name to the Institute came a change in entry examination proposals. What the average 16 year-old could reasonably be expected to answer became something more complicated. The ability to write clear, accurate English, with a test of general knowledge, became something else: more a general education designed to transmit a basic store of knowledge upon which the trainee journalist might graft other specialisms. It can be interpreted as either a far-sighted move to provide the journalist of the future or as a determined effort to institute dramatic changes in the calibre of the profession by imposing entry requirements to a degree which might exclude many of those already employed as journalists.

So there is a distinct correlation between the changing power basis within the re-named Institute and the kind of entrant specified in the curriculum for the entry examinations. The *kind* of general knowledge the journalist is deemed to possess is defined: knowledge of Euclid (Appendix II) enters the arena; Latin, French and mathematics, history, geography, 'facts in English literature' (at a time when Oxbridge did not attempt to define, let alone teach, it.) The change of content is an indication of intention to shape the future of journalism. That is one conclusion. Another interpretation is that this can be seen as a final attempt by the managers of the press to fight off the revolution that journalists, apparently, were anticipating (as A. Arthur Reade had indicated): an attempt to fight off the curse of the 'new journalism' which would change the political map of press power. That it was increasingly seen in this light by working reporters could well be a contributory factor in the eventual dissatisfaction that led to the formation, in 1907, of the National Union of Journalists by dissident Institute members, and others.

The feelings of such members can only be surmised when looking at the next, 1893 syllabus (Appendix III) which introduced further examinations for Members, indicating the determination to push the Institute that way, if possible. Subjects which the 16 year-old would have had little chance of learning in the State education system of the time, constitutional and political theory, appeared. The ordinary reporters seemed to be forgotten, or relegated, to 'Division II a' codified 'Special Certificates' which 'general reporters' might sit. Yet this designation does not appear as a grade of membership in the Institute.

This scamper after qualifications also involved seeking exemptions for ordinary examinations obtained in schools, and elsewhere, so that, by 1908, nine English and a further nine Welsh, Irish and Scottish paper qualifications were recognized as exemptions from the Institute's own exams. It is as if the search for respectability (or status) rendered the Institute prostrate in front of any qualification. Yet ordinary members wrote letters commenting that they had never once used any Euclid in thirty years of journalism. It is difficult to know how to assess the value of all this

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activity, which suddenly ceased when the possibility of establishing university courses in journalism appeared on the horizon. By then the National Union of Journalists was nearly a year old, and its number multiplied as the Institute's fell dramatically away (Table II, page 61).

Professor Collins' syllabus, published in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1908, (Appendix VI), was itself the result of wide correspondence with editors of the day, as well as with local journalists in Birmingham. They had been in the forefront of preparing examination schemes (like Appendix II) and one of their members, Mr. Arthur Mann, served on the Birmingham examinations committee of the Institute of Journalist. Mr Mann later became editor of the Birmingham *Despatch* and served as editor of the *Yorkshire Post* from 1919-1939, before moving into a trusteeship of *The Observer* and a seat on the Board of Governors of the BBC.

These personal proposals of Collins differ from the University's syllabus (Appendix VII), being plans for a postgraduate scheme where graduates would take four or five out of a possible eight subjects covering 'the last 50 years' in history, literature, politics, or colonial affairs. Training in journalistic techniques such as descriptive writing, leader-writing, 'make-up' of newspapers, deciphering telegrams, as well as law and copyright were offered. Shorthand was included, but as an optional extra.

The contrast with the University-approved scheme (Appendix VII) is obvious when we realize this is an evening course for working provincial reporters and journalists; hence the footnote: 'Fees £3.13.6d for a minimum of 12 students. Before the University would approve Collins' scheme they wanted to see money: £10,000 was the figure quoted in 1908⁹⁷ as being enough to endow a professorial chair in journalism. The evening course approved by the University would have cost £100 to operate: and Birmingham journalists themselves subscribed more than that amount to enable the scheme to get off the ground. This never did happen because, after Collins' death, his replacement as Professor, de Selincourt (1870-1943), expressed the opinion that the academics thought an evening course would be too much for those who had been working all day. So the professors suggested that the journalists should attend during the day, with all the other students; that is, when the journalists themselves were working. It is difficult to assess whether this was an early attempt to introduce day-release training by the University or merely an unwillingness to participate in the proposal, in what other professors may have regarded as yet another of Professor Collins 'crackpot ideas,' dressed up as naivety about journalistic conditions of work.

London University Negotiations

With the achievement of negotiations on a possible syllabus at London University it must have appeared that the Institute of Journalists timetable for upgrading the status of journalism had received some recognition. When that happened, in 1910, it was just 22 years after Sir Algernon Borthwick (1st Lord Glenesk, 1864-1943), a former President of the Institute, had announced that the Institute's object was to 'maintain the

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profession of journalism... by instituting examinations for young candidates.⁹⁸

Looking back over the century at what appear as distinctly positive approaches to the question of trying to analyse the relevant education required for the journalist, it is sometimes difficult to determine the conditions under which those early experiments operated. Our view is coloured by our present experiences so that, for instance, the comment of the Haldane Report on the University of London as it appeared during the period of the review, 1909 to 1913, looks slightly odd: 'the great majority of students who take the bachelors degree of London University do not receive a university education at all.'⁹⁹ Set in context, it assumes a semblance of actuality when we understand that the main purpose of the commission was to examine the attempts to change the university from an examining, into a teaching, body. The University of London at that time hardly taught any of its own students, most of whom studied for the London external degree. The University was in the invidious position of having to give some form of recognition to those who taught students in these other institutions, yet unable to effectively exist as a teaching institute in its own right. Constituent colleges of the University obviously undertook their own teaching and their students took the London degree.

That comment, from in the Haldane report, carried an implicit criticism of the University's purely examining function, with no control over teaching in other institutions, which was described as:

'note-taking for examinations (instead of) learning the methods of independent work carried on in an enquiring spirit... (with) time for independent reading... and reflective thought...'¹⁰⁰

While recommending the introduction of a properly-constituted teaching university, complete with professors, departments and staff representation on the governing body, the Haldane report also recommended the extension of the university education: 'to all those professions and callings of which it may be said that practice and progress are closely connected and constantly reacting on each other.'¹⁰¹ With this as a backdrop to the discussions about the possibility of university education for journalism which were held with the Institute of Journalists, between 1908 and 1912, the introduction of the Diploma for Journalism here, rather than elsewhere, is explained. The whole exercise must have seemed tailor-made to produce graduates with a sympathetic understanding of the ideas that guided the work of other men, as well as increasing the awareness of how other branches of knowledge bore on individual specialisms; this was seen as the proper work that could be fostered within the university ethos. The projection of these ideas, onto the recommendation that prospective journalists need only taste of the several branches of knowledge offered by the university and were, as a result, regarded as educated for journalism, ignored totally the demands of all the schemes expounded in the preceding years. (Appendices I-VIII)

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Table I

Year	Summary of Dates Relating to Journalism Education Event
1887-97	David Anderson's London School of Journalism at 200 The Strand.
1887-88	National Association of Journalists first steps towards entry examinations.
1889	Birmingham District, Institute of Journalists, propose Elementary Examination Scheme.
1893	I.O.J Revised Examinations Scheme. De Blowitz's Scheme
1902-5	G W Steevens Memorial Journalism Scholarships at City of London School with £3,000 donated by Lord Northcliffe.
1905	Dr. Thomas Macnamara, M.P. prepared a scheme of Examination (no details extant.)
1908	Professor John Churton Collins Birmingham University postgraduate one-year course in journalism proposed and approved, but never implemented.
1907-8	Leeds District, Institute of Journalists, lectures for practicing journalists.
1908	I.O.J conference on the theme 'Education for Journalists, with visiting American professors of journalism.
1910	Academic syllabus and proposed 'technical timetable' for journalism agreed between I.O.J. and London University.
1919	Diploma for Journalism inaugurated at London University with American journalism professors in attendance.
1932	National Union of Journalists requests London University to extend the journalism diploma so that it can be awarded to External students.
1935	Mr Tom Clarke appointed first full-time Director of Practical Journalism at King's College, London University.
1939	Course closes with the outbreak of the Second World War.
1944	Journalists' Advisory Committee to the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour and National Service recommends re-starting London University course- and other courses at universities outside London- but this is not included in the Second Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Further Education and Training, chaired by Lord Sankey.
1952	National Council for the Training and Education of Junior Journalists established.
1965	First pre-entry journalism course recognized by the National Council for the Training of Journalists at Harlow College.
1966-8	Tom Hopkinson a Senior Research Fellow at Sussex University, sponsored by newspaper groups. Proposal for a one-year post-graduate course in Journalism Studies were not implemented at Sussex.
1970	Tom Hopkinson opens post-graduate course in journalism studies at University College, Cardiff.
1977	London College of Printing inaugurates first broadcast journalism training course in radio which leads to a UK wide network of postgraduate courses with eventual accreditation by the Broadcast Journalism Training Council.
2006	BBC consolidates and expands its journalism training into a College of Journalism following the Neil Report into the lessons to be learned from Lord Hutton's enquiry into the death of Dr. David Kelly.

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The appearance of Britain's first university course for journalism coincided with the introduction of Government financial support for students attending approved courses of which journalism was one. With this innovation the immediate problems of financing such a course were overcome, not only by these scholarships from the state, but also by Government financial aid to colleges and universities to provide, in some cases, temporary extra accommodation.

To oversee planning for the post-war period the Government formed a Ministry of Reconstruction and they initiated numerous pamphlets, and created numerous committees, to oversee the transition from war to peace. The next chapter outlines the nature of this innovation.

Table II

**Membership Figures:
National Association later Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists, 1886-1975.**

Year	Institute	N.U.J.
1886	250	-
1892	3,114	-
1900	2,930	-
1907	2,575	738
1910	2,400	1,907
1915	1,989	3,127
1920	2,119	4,888
1925	2,036	4,827
1930	2,164	5,574
1935	2,465	5,919
1940	2,758	7,092
1945	2,878	8,400
1950	2,653	11,648
1955	2,619	13,364
1960	2,660	15,244
1965	2,400	19,621
1970	2,300	24,801
1975	2,396	28,274

Adapted from Christian, H. 1980. *Journalists' Occupational Ideologies and Press Commercialisation.*

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Endnotes

- ¹ H.R. Fox Bourne *English Newspapers* (1887). He was a student of Henry Morley's (1822-94) English classes at University College London.
- ² Alan Lee, *Training, Status, and Early Schools of Journalism*, (1977).
- ³ J.A Spender, *Life, Journalism & Politics*, (1927).
- ⁴ Written under the pseudonym of John Oldcastle, *Journals and Journalism*, (1880).
- ⁵ a Oldcastle, op.cit
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- c Pendleton, John. 1890. *Newspaper Reporting in Olden Times and Today*.
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- ¹⁴ Boase, op.cit.
- ¹⁵ Hichen, *ibid*.
- ¹⁶ Hichen, *ibid*.
- ¹⁷ Hichen; Gribble, op.cit.
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- ¹⁹ Lee, op.cit.
- ²⁰ Gribble, op.cit.
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- ⁴⁷ Lawrence, A., *Journalism As A Profession*, 1903.
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- ⁵⁰ Collins *op. cit.*
- ⁵¹ *Birmingham Evening Despatch*, May 20th 1908. *Birmingham Daily Post*, July 9th 1908.
- ⁵² Collins, John Churton, 1908, 'The Universities and Journalism', *Nineteenth Century*, February 1908, and next five quotes.
- ⁵³ Ernest Barker, *Age and Youth: Memories of Three Universities*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953) p.184
- ⁵⁴ Collins, 1908, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Collins, 1912, *op. cit.*
- ⁵⁸ *ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *ibid.* Shorter founded *Sphere* and *Tatler*, but is possibly better known for his role in the Wise forgeries.
- ⁶⁰ Collins, *op. cit.*
- ⁶¹ *ibid.*
- ⁶² Collins died on September 12th 1908 in what are usually referred to as 'mysterious circumstances,' An open verdict was recorded.
- ⁶³ IJP September 1908, Sir Alfred Robbins Presidential talk.
- ⁶⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ IJP September 1908.
- ⁶⁷ *ibid.* Professor Michael Sadler.
- ⁶⁸ *ibid.* Professor D.J. Medley, University of Glasgow.
- ⁶⁹ *ibid.* Professor C.E. Vaughan, Leeds University.
- ⁷⁰ *ibid.* T. Lloyd Humberstone, University of London.
- ⁷¹ IJP. May 1910.
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- ⁷⁴ *ibid.* A.G. Gardiner, Editor, *Daily News*, 1902-19.
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- ⁹² a Strick, H., *British Newspaper Journalism 1900-1956. A Study in Industrial Relations.* Ph.D Thesis, University of London.
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- ⁹³ Millerson, 1964, *ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ a Elliott, Philip, 1972, *Sociology of Professions.*
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- ⁹⁵ Lynn, *ibid.* Everett Hughes, *Professions.*
- ⁹⁶ *Journalist*, September 1888.
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- ⁹⁸ Borthwick, (later Lord Glensesk) *Journalist*, September 1888.
- ⁹⁹ Royal Commission on University Education in London 1909-13. (Haldane Report). Cmnd. 6717, 1913.
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Chapter Five

The Introduction of Government Education Grants for Students on Further and Higher Education Courses

The end of the First World War provided government with its first experience of large-scale demobilization and the resulting return to civilian life of former servicemen. As men had been conscripted into service during the later stages of the war there was felt to be responsibility for seeing that they got back into their jobs as easily as possible. Of course many of them had been apprentices or at universities and the Cabinet Demobilization Committee, under General later Field Marshall, Jan Christian Smuts (1870-1950), accepted a memorandum from the Officers' University and Technical Training Committee, chaired by Lieutenant General Sir Alfred Keogh (1857-1936), of Imperial College, recommending the establishment of government-subsidised education and training schemes for returning officers and men.

Establishing the scheme involved the Board of Education, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Pensions and H.M. Treasury to name only the major ministries. Records illustrate the vastness of the operation and the occasional confrontation caused by inter-departmental boundary rivalries. Committees were set up around the country, to interview applicants from all the Armed Services. Institutions across the country, including Ireland, were contacted and informed of the existence of funds for students and, if necessary, for temporary accommodation required to house the influx. These included the older universities as well as teacher training colleges, polytechnics and technical schools and colleges.

'Training of Ex-officers and men like educational standing in preparation for Civil Life' was how Mr. W.R. Davies of the Board of Education described the scheme in the title of one of his memoranda.¹ The officers and men eligible for support totaled 275,000 with more than half in the Army, 37,000 in the Navy, 32,000 in the R.A.F., not forgetting 42,000 in the Dominions Forces. An estimated 153,000 may have to be dealt with, was one of Mr. Davies' early guesses, but the Cabinet approved £6 million for the scheme to run until the end of the academic year, 1925/26.

By 6th September, 1919, 9,467 awards had been approved, and up to 13,800 were 'approved and under consideration'.² By 9th November, 1919, this number had grown to 21,000 and was increasing at the rate of 400 a week. By the end of the year the figure was 22,805 applications received.³

Word of the scheme spread via the press (press release dated 14th December, 1918) and Ministry Reconstruction pamphlets 12 and 27

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entitled 'The Re-Settlement of Officers. Army and R.A.F.' and 'Officers' Guide to Civil Careers', both published in 1919. Departmental rivalry surfaced when one press report, in the *Daily Chronicle*, gave all the kudos to the Ministry of Labour and ignored the Board of Education. The President at that time, H.A.L. Fisher (1865-1940), wrote to his opposite number at the Ministry of Labour, the Rt. Hon. George H. Roberts, on December 19th deploring the leaking of the estimated costs of the scheme and the claim that the Ministry would have 'a very large measure of control over the selection of the beneficiaries, selection of the educational institutions and administration of the scheme.' All of these, Fisher reminded Roberts were the province of the Board of Education and Roberts replied in contrite manner. He revealed that one of his staff quoted in the *Chronicle*, Mr Home McCall, had held 'a private conversation with a well-known novelist, whom he did not know to be in any way connected with Press.'⁴

There were other strands to the scheme including short three months courses of training in anything from hairdressing to commercial subjects and, although no figure was mentioned in the early stages, another £3 million was estimated for this training, as well as the £6 million for higher education, plus another £300,000 for agriculture training.⁵

Receiving institutions were graded A to E, beginning with Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, Group B was provincial universities, Group C had member Colleges of London University down to Group E for Art Colleges and Technical Colleges. These included Polytechnics, like Northampton, now the City University, for engineers, Regent Street, now the University of Westminster, for photographers, and the six on the sanitary inspectors course at Battersea.

One of the safeguards built into the system of devising courses was that 'they should be devised by experts' and that 'more or less expert advice must be provided for each candidate in the selection of courses of training best adapted to the circumstances.'⁶ Once selected the Board of Education expected institutions to make quarterly returns of students' 'progress, attendance and conduct' as well as providing a 'discriminating personal record of the educational career of each student.'⁷ Form 0.65 also had to be completed annually and was not to be regarded as a substitute for the quarterly returns. Students realised that 'continuance of awards... was conditional on satisfactory progress'⁸ and should they fall ill during the course then other procedures had to be followed.

By 7th January, 1921, the 'weeding out of students' had resulted in 'diminution of expenditure by £100,000 even though there was 'between 500 and 600 (possible) cases... for recovery of overpayment.'⁹ Indeed, by 31st December, 1919, total commitments had risen to £6,032,141 and estimates for the financial year 1919 to 1920 meant that a supplementary vote was needed of £1,425,500.¹⁰ In October, 1920, the estimate for 27,311 students had risen to £81/2 million.¹¹ Attempts were made to simplify and streamline the payment of maintenance grants because of complaints that it was taking up to 30 days before students received their grants, although ten to fourteen days was considered normal.¹² Maintenance was not to exceed £175 per man, according to the early estimates, with a child allowance of £24 per annum up to a maximum of

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£96.¹³ The Ministry of Labour, however, wanted verification that the children were still living!¹⁴ Wives were allowed £19.10s.0d 'if living with the trainee' or £34.5s.9d if living away,¹⁵ although wives of disabled servicemen could receive £50 per annum. The wife's income was disregarded in assessing the grant¹⁶ and no enquiries were made 'as to the financial circumstances of the parents of married students...' and those unmarried men who were 'over 25 years of age at the commencement of the course.'¹⁷ Those under that age had to complete form 0.37, showing the gross annual income of parents and the number of other children they had to support.¹⁸

So it was that returning soldiers were able to undertake their studies without any financial worries, and it was against this background that the discussions about a course in journalism could begin in London.

Endnotes

¹ The National Archives file ED47 is the basis for most references in this chapter.

² ED 47/4

³ ED 47/6

⁴ ED 47/2

⁵ ED 47/10; memorandum: on Government Scheme of Assistance for the Higher Education and Training of Ex-Service Officers and Men by S.H.Wood.

⁶ ED 47/2 Interim Report of the Army Demobilization Sub-Committee, Report of the Resettlement of Officers Committee. W.O. Paper 127/93, p. 8 'Training.'

⁷ ED 47/16 on Form 0.42

⁸ See Form 0.470/21, 'Notes' (on cancellation procedures) in ED 47/8

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ ED 47/4 Memorandum of 12/9/19

¹¹ ED 47/7 Answer to Parliamentary Questions in the House of Commons.

¹² ED 47/5

¹³ ED 47/1

¹⁴ ED 47/3

¹⁵ ED 47/1

¹⁶ ED 47/7

¹⁷ ED 47/4

¹⁸ ED 47/9

The University of London Diploma for Journalism: The Educational Background and Aims of the Course

Chapter Six

The University of London Diploma for Journalism: The Educational Background and Aims of the Course

The nine-year gap, between drawing up the journalism syllabus by the Institute of Journalists and the University of London and its implementation in 1919, was due mainly to the interruption of the First World War. Most professional associations agreeing syllabuses before 1910 did not see them in operation until 1919, at the earliest.¹

Between 1909 and 1913 London University had been investigated by a Royal Commission chaired by Lord Haldane.² This had been set up because of the desire to have a teaching, as opposed to an examining, university in London. Previous Commissions, Selborne in 1888 and Gresham in 1892, had tried to overcome the imbalance between the teaching colleges and the examining university.

The Final Report is a very comprehensive survey of how university education was viewed at the turn of the 20th century and, one has to remember, this was only just emerging as a force outside the older universities of Cambridge, Durham, Oxford and the Scottish seats of learning. Indeed in 1910, the universities outside that charmed circle, supported by Government funds, boasted a total of 370 Bachelors of Arts, with Wales adding another 94.

At a conference in 1919 representatives of London University,³ the Institute of Journalists, the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labour appointments branch agreed a two-year course of study in any four of the seven branches of knowledge (see Appendix Xa), leaving out instruction or practice in the technical side of journalism e.g. shorthand, type-writing or press-correction (see appendix Xb). Lectures would be provided by the various constituent colleges, in their ordinary curricula for degree students, but there would be supplementary courses, including composition, general criticism and the history of journalism, as long as these did not interfere with the academic studies. As Mr F.J. Mansfield pointed out, on May 6th, 1919, when writing to complain about the course description as a 'Diploma *in* Journalism', the diploma 'could well be taken by persons not intending to adopt journalism as a profession'. So the title became 'Diploma *for* Journalism.'⁴

The willingness of the University of London to house an experimental course in journalism matched the mood of the Haldane Report; when it

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stated: '... a university in a great centre of population must be prepared to provide advanced instruction of a specialized kind of all classes of the community who are willing to receive it.'⁵ While wavering over the question of whether the professional outlook of some modern universities was consistent 'with the wide intellectual training university education had always been understood to imply',⁶ the report went on to state that any branch of knowledge that was developed and systematized could and should be taught, and studied, in such a way as to form part of a University education. However, when the University came to start the course in 1919 the only element in the syllabus was the academic; the technical instruction part was omitted. (see Appendix XI).

The University Journalism Committee had no money to pay its secretary, T. Lloyd Humberstone, in its early stages but the estimates for 1919-1920 show him receiving an honorarium of £8 1s. (£8.05), allocated from 'war measures' funds. Thirty civilian students paid the full fee of £21 in advance of the opening session in October 1919, while fifty-four of the seventy-two ex-servicemen had their first term fees paid by the Board of Education. For their part University staff had to compile quarterly returns of students' progress, attendance, and conduct together with a discriminating personal record of each students' educational career. There was another form to be completed annually to enable students to realize that continuance of the awards was conditional on satisfactory progress. With ex-Servicemen and civilian students there was an estimated £2,142 income for the University of London, for 1919 to 1920.

In 1919 journalism was included in the list of careers for ex-servicemen who could seek central government funding for fees and subsistence. According to the Board of Education this scheme of financing the education of ex-servicemen with state funds was 'wholly novel and there was no machinery in existence for working it. An organisation had to be created.'⁷

The thoughts behind this innovation are expressed in a booklet 'Reconstruction Problems, 27; Officers' Guide to Civil Careers' of 1919: 'In almost every industry we are today, as it were, 'starting afresh'. Never were there better opportunities for research, for ideas, for technical developments, for enterprise. The war has opened the eyes of the country to the fact that in many industries we allowed foreign competitors to outstrip us by our too persistent adherence to conservative methods... there are grounds for hope that we are starting on a new era... training indeed, is the passport to success... the day has passed when we can be content to fall back complacently of the phrase about "England muddling through". The war has made us realize that "muddling" is an expensive progress, especially when it comes into competition with scientific preparation.'⁸

The booklet went on to outline various careers, journalism included, and the Institute of Journalists assembled a group to debate the issue of 'Journalism and the Universities' at a special conference in December, 1918.

The former Oxford don, editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and staff writer on the *Daily Telegraph*, W.L. Courtney, and a member of the Institute of Journalists Committee on University Courses for Journalists, took the chair of the University's Journalism Committee in the absence of the chairman,

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Sir Sidney Lee. The Director of the School of Journalism at Columbia University, New York, Professor J.W. Cunliffe, with two other Americans, contributed to the debate by outlining the syllabus at Columbia and advised the London journalists to 'first catch your millionaire,' because that was the way his department had begun, sponsored by Joseph Pulitzer, the newspaper proprietor.

William Hill was on hand to remind the meeting of his experiences, teaching schoolboys at the City of London School, several years earlier. Distinguished journalists like Sir Edward Cook, Sir Sidney Low (1893-1972), Sir Edmund Robbins, as well as Miss Mary F. Billington (1862-1925) of the *Daily Telegraph*, were in attendance. Numerous others, like Arnold Bennett, Lord Bryce, J.L. Garvin, J. Alfred Spender and Professor Spencer Wilkinson (1853-1937) wrote in support of the idea of university education for journalism.

The conference agreed that the Diploma course would be two years study in any four of the seven branches of knowledge then on offer at the university: history, political science, economics, natural science-biological, natural science-physico-chemical, modern languages and English Literature (see Appendix Xa). The object was to offer students a wide range of subjects in each branch of knowledge and even encourage those taking modern languages and sciences to familiarize themselves with two languages and two sciences instead of one. As appropriate courses of study were already provided by various colleges in their curricula for intermediate, final pass, and honours students of the University, then the Diploma for Journalism students needed no special provision. However, it was proposed, at the Conference of Representatives of the University (of London) with Representatives of the Institute of Journalists, of the Appointments Branch of the Ministry of Labour and of the Board of Education in December 1918 that supplementary courses might be offered in the following:⁹

[a]under the natural sciences: general history of scientific principles;

[b]with English literature: general criticism, composition and the history of journalism;

[c]with modern languages: the addition of courses in conversation and composition.¹⁰

With up to nineteen hours a week devoted to lectures, including time spent in the laboratories in the natural sciences, there was little or no time for students to 'devote themselves in the intervals of the course to such experimental practice of journalism' as they might elect 'without prejudice to the pursuit of their academic studies.'

We have now seen it was the groundwork prepared by the Institute of Journalists which underpinned this first university-based course in journalism. It was not until Mr. Mansfield's letter of May 6th, 1919, that the National Union of Journalists was admitted into membership of the Journalism Committee of the University of London. This, in itself, is an interesting development considering the evolution of the N.U.J., in 1907, when discussion in *The Clarion* had been critical of the Institute of Journalists for its lack of progress on pay and conditions and its over-

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emphasis on education, status and professionalism. Mr Mansfield went on to state that the N.U.J. already had between '70 or 80 of our ex-service members unemployed... and the question of entry into an already over-crowded profession... is at this moment engaging the attention of our executive.¹¹

But it was not only the N.U.J which objected to the proposed syllabus: one prospective candidate for membership of the course wrote to the Institute of Journalists *Journal* to announce his disappointment with the course which 'instead of being a course in journalism is one in Arts and Science. Useful in perfecting one's general knowledge, but hopelessly out of place to a student of journalism.'¹² The correspondent contrasted the London University of scheme with the titles from the University of Missouri School of Journalism, in the U.S.A., prospectus: 1. Newspaper make-up. 2. Comparative journalism. 3. Newspaper direction. 4. Editorial policy and writing. 5. News gathering and editing. 6. Principles of advertising. 7. The country newspaper. 8. Agricultural journalism. 9. Advanced news writing. 10. Feature writing and illustration. 11. Rural Newspaper management. A member of the London University Journalism Committee admitted that he could not disagree with these criticisms, adding that such a course as then existed at London University could never be a substitute 'for practical training in the real work of journalism.'¹³

In their search for status for their profession the members of the Institute of Journalists sought the respectability accruing from academic accreditation without foreseeing the possible consequences of their initiative. By submitting to the University's insistence on the purely academic approach to their problem, with no department to organize the teaching, the journalists perpetrated a basic, craven, mistake from which the Diploma never really recovered. Trying to recover this lost ground took the Journalism Committee fifteen years and the practical innovation of Clarke's period as Director of Practical Journalism, between 1935 and 1939, has usually been overshadowed by this earlier reputation.

The lack of a departmental structure for the Journalism Diploma reduced its authority within the University of London and this can be attributed as the most serious basic mistake in attempting university education for journalism. That the money was there to fund such a department, at least in its early years, is beyond doubt. But the idea that this Diploma was just a temporary measure for returning ex-servicemen could also have been a factor. With no Department, and with no guiding light to steer it, the Diploma was doomed, in University terms. Apart from listing those who were awarded the Diploma, constituent College Year Books (or annual reports) make no mention of the course.

The Opening of the Course

The University of London Diploma for Journalism was inaugurated in the University building, then in South Kensington, with a lecture on 'The Art of Parody' given by the editor of *Punch*, Sir Owen Seaman. As over 100 students were reported as attending we can assume that all 102 students were in attendance, even though the Board of Education had only

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welcomed the training of between twenty and thirty men and considered such numbers excessive. Board officials expressed the view that the educational standard of many of the applicants was poor and that they would not be up to taking an ordinary degree.¹⁴

The University saw this scheme as an 'extension of University teaching' and, as such, able to recruit onto it non-matriculated persons: those who had not passed Matriculation, regarded as the necessary qualifying examination for those seeking degree status. Many entered university education this way who, otherwise would not have received a university education and this could have been one reason for the five-fold increase in anticipated enrolments. Students themselves described how quite a number were using the course to fill in time while waiting for proposals of marriage, or were 'eternal' students who had got a degree and could not bear to leave the academic world.¹⁵ On this last point it has to be noted that a special dispensation allowed graduates (until 1937) to sit for the Diploma after one year, which three did in July, 1920 and one of two who passed was Miss Muriel Jaeger.

In those early days of the course there appeared to be no one person responsible for the journalistic endeavours that might fill 'intervals in the course' but someone on the Journalism Committee reported that the Speaker of the House of Commons had generously agreed to admit journalism students to debates.¹⁶

Various reports mention the student publication *New Journalist*, subsidised by the Secretary of the Institute of Journalists, Herbert Cornish, but these do no mention it beyond 1920.¹⁷ The first Report of the Journalism Committee also mentions that Miss C. Spurgeon (1869-1942) was allocated £30 for ten lectures on 'The Art of Writing' and Mr. Thomas Secombe (1866-1923) £120 for 24 lectures at East London College on the 'History of Journalism'. There were four other colleges accepting students for the Journalism Diploma: Bedford, King's, London School of Economics, and University College, and each appointed a tutor for journalism students and, by meeting three times each term hoped to 'ensure that all students devote an approximately uniform amount of time each week to their course of training.'¹⁸

Injecting Journalism into the course

In the first two years, 1919-21, the journalism side of the course consisted of quarterly lectures from shining stars of contemporary journalism: Sir Philip Gibbs, Sir Robert Donald, J.L. Garvin and Hartley Withers (editor of *The Economist*). After 1920 second-year Journalism students received more practical instruction with the introduction of a course of lectures entitled 'The General Principles of Writing for the Press' given by Mr. E.G. Hawke, M.A., of *The Spectator* and *Daily Telegraph* for which he received £120 during the academic year 1921/2. He also received a similar sum for lectures on the history of journalism, even though an earlier minute had noted that these lectures were to be deleted on economy grounds.¹⁹ To make up for the lack of practical instruction Mr.

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Fred Miller, M.A., then Assistant Editor of the *Daily Telegraph* (although some memoirs say he was titular editor as well), gave freely of his time teaching methods of reporting public functions.

This practical reporting must have been in stark contrast to Sir Philip Gibbs' comments about the work of a Special Correspondent needing: 'the ordinary knowledge and make-up of a gentleman, graced with any easy way with people of his own class yet able to speak to peasants, thieves, politicians, murderers, statesmen and Kings, crowned with an ability "to write at any old time" and "in any old place."²⁰ Hawke was joined on the course by his assistant editor at *The Spectator*, R.A. Scott-James (1878-1959), lecturing on the Principles of Criticism course, which he later published in 1930 as 'The Making of Literature.' Another Oxford scholar, of Brasenose College, he had joined the *Daily News* in 1902, serving as literary editor from 1906 to 1912. Then he edited the *New Weekly*, from 1914 until 1919, when he joined the *Daily Chronicle* as a leader writer from 1919 to 1930, holding a similar post at *The Spectator* from 1933 to 1935. Later he edited the monthly *London Mercury*, 1934-1939, and *Britain Today*, 1940-1954.

Another element was introduced under Dr. J.A. Strahan (1858-1930), author of a book on Press Law, who received £40 for lectures on 'Law for Journalists', while the Journalism Committee appointed a sub-committee to consider the opportunities for practical journalism experience and how students could obtain this experience 'both before or during the attendance at the Course.'²¹

Sir Sidney Lee (1859-1926), who had been appointed the course director, and chairman of the Journalism Committee, resigned, and his place as chairman was taken by Mr. Valentine Knapp (1860-1935) a former editor of the *Surrey Comet* and President of the Newspaper Society. With his arrival the committee passed a resolution that Practical Journalism lectures become part of the course with attendance at lectures being compulsory. The post of course director lapsed.

The files of the Board of Education for this period contain an interesting note regarding the excessive numbers on the course: 'If, in fact, Sir Sidney Lee is recommending unsuitable students for this course, it is surely for the University Committee of which (he) is chairman, to take some action in the matter.'²²

Estimates of the number of students attending between 1919 and 1921 vary between 102 and 109 and, in the latter year, only twenty-nine actually gained their diplomas, of whom four were women students, with 2 women and 15 men referred. The Committee were surprised by the numbers of ex-servicemen failing and the Institute of Journalists persuaded the Government to provide training grants so that a few of them could gain some practical experience on newspapers.²³

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The First Graduates

One of those graduating in the summer of 1921 was Norman Robson, who became a reporter on the *Norfolk Chronicle* in Norwich, moving on within a year to work for the Starmer Group of newspapers.

Progressing from chief reporter to chief sub-editor Robson entered the Parliamentary Lobby in 1929 as the Group's Political Correspondent and lectured to the course, in 1938, when the Group was reformed under Westminster Press Provincial Newspapers Ltd. Trevor Allen and C.E. Phillips both got jobs on the *Westminster Gazette*, while R.R.C. Jameson went onto the Associated Press. Among the others Ernest Betts eventually became film critic of the *Evening Standard* before going to the *News Chronicle* as a columnist. Succeeding generations of graduates from the course also managed to gain entry to both provincial and national newspapers in increasing numbers except for the depression years of the early 1930s.

Another ex-Serviceman graduating that year has recorded his experiences on the course as then structured. Between October 1921 and March 1923 *The Writer* magazine published thirteen articles in a series entitled 'The Making of a Journalist. By One in the Making' who highlighted what he saw as 'the remarkable freedom of choice in the matter of studies [which] struck me as ideal, yet it was continually abused and grumbled at by many for not being "practical" [but] neglected the important subject of shorthand.' He concluded that 'professional success in journalism can only be made possible by a university; the winning of it must be accomplished by the individual.'

Widening Newspaper Co-operation

The Journalism Committee itself was strengthened by gaining members from the group representing provincial newspaper managements, the Newspaper Society, which Mr. Knapp had helped re-organise into the only national newspaper organisation in the country, while he was president.

During that same year, 1922-23, East London College, a former technical college, now Queen Mary, University of London, announced its intention of withdrawing from the Diploma, possibly reflecting the drop in ex-servicemen once the Government stopped providing scholarships, and the estimates show a sharp drop from the £2,542 of 1919-20 to £1,470 in 1922-23. Student numbers were also greatly reduced: only 57 compared to the previous year's 89 and the opening year's 102. With the complete stoppage of Government grants in 1925-26 something had to be done to attract fee-paying students, or to raise money to subsidise them on the course. By 1st July 1924 the Committee could report donations of £1,100 towards Exhibitions with £200 each from the Norfolk News Company, one of the first to take graduates of the course, the Surrey Newspapers Association, Sir Roderick Jones of Reuters, and Colonel Sir Joseph Reed (1867-1941) of the *Newcastle Chronicle*. Sir Roderick Jones (1877-1962) was impressed by the high educational standard of young American

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journalists from universities training men for newspaper work. The Press Association and Exchange Telegraph each donated £50 while Mr. Fred Miller of the *Daily Telegraph* contributed £100 for an Exhibition tenable for two years. Between 1922 and 1932 Mr Knapp was credited with raising over £6,000 for the course.²⁴

In 1925 £200 each was subscribed by Sir Edward Hulton (1906-68), the *Liverpool Post & Echo*, the *Bolton Evening News* and the *Northern Daily Telegraph* gave £50 each. That year the Committee also announced the intention of adding a practical test to the Diploma examinations and the journalists who gave occasional lectures were allowed to claim traveling expenses.²⁵

For the academic session 1924-5 there were 74 students in both years: 47 first year and 26 in the second and 43 were women. Nearly a third were from overseas: one each from China, South Africa, Sweden and Switzerland, four from India, six from the U.S.A. and seven from Russia. During the year John Buchan lectured on 'Style and Literature' and the first examiners were appointed for the Practical Journalism papers. Compared with the original proposed course members, of 20 students, this number was excessive, as the practical journalism lecturer often pointed out. The numbers of foreign students, as well as women in large numbers, took the course away from its intended purpose of educating journalists for the British Press and possibly reflects the academic view of the course as a useful general education course which might prove useful to people hoping to become journalists.

The following year 29 students entered for the final Diploma examinations of whom 15, six women and nine men, were awarded the Diploma. In 1927, 37 entered and 28 diplomas were awarded, with women outnumbering men, 18 to 10. That year 25 first-year students entered for one subject and 14 passed, repeating 1926's experiment when 40 first-years entered for one subject, with 27 passing.

More Graduates in Newspapers

In the summer of 1928 the Committee could report that of the ten men winning the Diploma in 1927:

'J.L. Garbutt*# is on the *Hull Daily Mail*,
E.R.C. Lintott*# is on the *Daily Mirror*, (His father edited a Hove paper.)
G.E. Powell* is on the *Western Daily Press*,
A.R. Prince is on a technical paper (*Power Laundry* until 1976),
M.A. Stephens* is on the *Eastbourne Chronicle*,
B.B. Wickstead is on the *Brentford and Chiswick Times*,
W. Elwood is on the *North Cheshire Herald*,
P.M. Fowler*# is on a London Trade paper,
There is no record of Mr. Khoo.²⁶

[* Newspaper Society Exhibition-holders. # Joined the course aged 18, after working on newspapers.]

When Mr. Knapp prepared a paper in 1933 on 'Short Histories of Journalism Students' five out of the eighteen women graduates for 1927 were also listed as being in journalism.

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Criticism of the Course

Criticism about the lack of practical journalism had started even before the course itself was under way, and these continued unabated. To try and see their way through this problem the Journalism Committee appointed a sub-committee to examine the whole question and, as a result, a course of practical lectures was introduced for first-year students.

These practical journalism lectures for first-year students were in addition to Mr E.G. Hawke's second-year practical session and Mr F.J. Mansfield was appointed in 1925. Additionally, a practical journalism paper was set for the examination in 1926, initially as an option, but mandatory after 1927. At the same time optional vacation attachments were introduced, so that students could work as members of newspaper staffs, carrying out duties under experienced journalists.

From the autumn of 1925 the session 'Writing for the Press!' known as the 'practical' course was extended and remodeled. Mr. Edward G. Hawke changed from teaching second year students to teaching the first year for two hours a week, with the second hour devoted to practical work, and Mr. Mansfield taught the second year, with both years practicing reporting, sub-editing, condensation, proof-reading, headline writing, and Mansfield coordinating visiting lectures on musical and dramatic criticism, law reporting, winter and summer sports, etc. The Journalism Committee had realised that the 'practical' side had not been sufficiently emphasised and implemented these arrangements.²⁷

First Practical Sessions Producing A Student Newspaper

In the academic year 1926-7 a special week of practical work was introduced during which students did news reports of various contemporary events of their own selection, wrote 'leaderettes' and criticism of drama, music, literary and artistic events and wrote pen-portraits as well as news gathering and sub-editing. One of the practical tests introduced involved producing, within an allotted time, news of one paragraph length on a current topic plus 'leaderettes' on topics suggested by the acting sub-editors. They also had to 'make up' newspaper pages and students were appointed as reporters, interviewers, sub-editors, proof-readers and editors. Then students had the opportunity of seeing their own work in print for the first time when the first issue of the *L.U.J.S. Gazette* was published, in June 1927, by Mr Valentine Knapp, printed by students at the London School of Printing, on paper provided by Mr Knapp. This featured the Principal of King's College, Dr Ernest Barker's views on secondary education, as given in the report of the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Education of which he was chairman.

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The First Examination Paper in Practical Journalism at London University in 1926

Part I A	General Knowledge Questions 15 to be attempted
1.	Name the last three Prime Ministers of Great Britain
2.	Give the various ranks of the British Peerage in order of dignity
3.	What is meant by a 'courtesy title'?
4.	Name the present Viceroy of India and say who was his predecessor (number order uncertain after question 4)
5.	What are the three estates of the Realm?
6.	Who is the First Commoner?
7.	Give short descriptions of: (a) George Lansbury (b) The Earl of Oxford (c) Mr. W.A. Carr
8.	How would you describe the forms of government in: (a) Great Britain (b) Italy (c) Russia
9.	Name the head of the English Judiciary
10.	What is a Coroner?
11.	What is a Privy Councillor?
12.	Local Government question unknown
13.	List the highest ranks in: (a) the Army (b) the Navy (c) the Air Force
14.	Name four main groups of railways
15.	Which railway group has the most mileage?
16.	What is the output of coal in this country?
	Questions 17 to 30 unknown
Part I B	Sub-editing test: re-write the 800 word story into 300 words, with a double heading.
Part II	(News writing tests) Two questions to be attempted
1.	A fire has broken out at the Houses of Parliament. Let the student suppose that he, or she, is sent to witness it and write an account 300 words in length.
2.	Write a letter applying for a post on the staff of a newspaper
3.	Write a 500 word report of a Test Match
4.	Write a 500 word critique of Macbeth at the Old Vic
5.	Write a 400 word leaderette on a subject of general public interest
6.	Write a review of a contemporary book

Note: These questions are culled from articles in *Newspaper World* July 17th to August 28th 1926. This examination paper was optional in 1926 and 24 students undertook it of whom 15 passed; 7 with distinction in the Practical Journalism Paper.

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The purchase of 13 acres from the Duke of Bedford was also noted: this provides the existing site of the University in Bloomsbury. Other items covered a lecture given to the London University Journalists Union by Mr Herbert Jeans, chief editor of Reuters in which he stressed that the first essential for journalism was a thorough knowledge of the English language allied to good general knowledge with a good working knowledge of French, German, and a little Italian also proving valuable. That was the news coverage on the front page of the four page paper. Inside pages included leaders, book review, gossip column, theatre notes, 'The Musical World', 'Sports Gossip', 'Filmland' notes and 'hints'.

Lord Jacobson's Memories

In 1929 another ten men gained Diplomas and the Journalism Committee report in the University of London Senate Minutes for 1929-30 shows they were successful in gaining a foothold in journalism, with five going to provincial papers (daily, weekly, and evening), one each to Reuters and a national paper and one onto a film weekly. One went to Oxford University, leaving one unaccounted for. The man going onto a national, the *Daily Sketch*, was Sidney Jacobson (1908-1988), later Lord Jacobson, while Maurice Lovell went to Reuters. Looking back on the course Lord Jacobson recalls: 'Journalism was taught by F.J. Mansfield of *The Times*, who had written some useful books on newspaper work. He covered subbing, reporting, proof-reading, newspaper organisation and practice, etc. set practical work and encouraged us to produce a publication of our own once a term. There was an advisory committee from the industry, headed by Mr. Valentine Knapp who took his duties seriously and was unfailingly courteous and kind. He helped us to get temporary jobs on country weeklies in the long vacation (and) the day after our diploma examinations, I landed a job on the *Daily Sketch*, mainly due to Mr. Knapp.'²⁸

However, Lord Jacobson's memory is at fault when detailing the books written by F.J. Mansfield, (the first of these was not published until 1931, the second in 1935), as being available during the course in his year. He could not have read these books on the course and most likely is confusing them with Mansfield's lecture notes, delivered from his appointment in 1925, as part-time lecturer and examiner in practical journalism at the University of London.

Placements during summer vacations, spent on provincial newspapers, were taken over by Mr. E.W. Davies, Secretary of the Newspaper Society, for which he was paid an honorarium of £25, equal to the payment to Mansfield for supervising three editions of the *Gazette*.

Mr V Knapp as Chairman, Journalism Committee

As chairman of the Journalism Committee, after Sir Sidney Lee's resignation from the post of full-time Director, Mr Knapp had taken the responsibility of fund-raising from newspaper interests and worked hard at

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gaining their co-operation on vacation attachments as well as seeking permanent places for those gaining their diplomas. With the collegiate structure of the University it was difficult for the Journalism Committee to press its recommendations to completion as they had first to pass the hurdle of the Collegiate Council, representing members of the Colleges of the University, before they could be submitted to the University Senate. So, as early as 1929, the Committee was recommending that 'Journalism students should be registered at King's College'²⁹ which reflected the facts of student registration that year when 43 were at King's, 25 at University College, 10 at the London School of Economics and 5 at Bedford College. The College Tutors for Journalism Students received an extra £25 each for their efforts.

However, the Collegiate Council at the University wished to preserve the Intercollegiate basis of the course and was prepared to limit registration of students to two centres: King's and University Colleges, and it called on these two to confer and report back. Meanwhile the Senate announced that the L.S.E. was withdrawing from the scheme in 1930-31³⁰ and Bedford College finally withdrew at the end of 1935-36.³¹

Student Demands for More Practical Journalism

Students were just as vocal in their demands for more practical instruction, considering their numbers were back up to 112 in 1930-31, and increasing in subsequent years to 113, then 115 and 119 in 1935-36. Students even went so far as to offer to pay for the extra costs involved in producing a twelve-page, instead of the usual eight-page, *L.U.J.S. Gazette*, otherwise: 'a large proportion would be unable to have any contribution provided (because) the total number of students will be so large.'³²

Two professors, A.W. Reed of King's and C.J. Sissons (1885-1966) of University College, submitted a report about the course to the Collegiate Council recommending their two colleges as centres for the journalism course but with extra practical journalism teaching. Mr E.G. Hawke had 72 in his first-year Tuesday class and Mr Mansfield 39 in his second-year Tuesday class. Later that year the Provost of the University College wrote to the Council, after he had held talks with the Principals of both Bedford and King's, suggesting the three colleges continue making their own arrangements about tutors and control of admission of students and arrange for the non-practical elements of the syllabus, as was the custom, but that King's should take over from the University the entire control and responsibility of the practical course, including the *Gazette*.

The Journalism Committee's response to this was to resolve that the ultimate direction of the practical courses should remain in their own hands. Notwithstanding their objections the Collegiate Council considered the Provost of University College's proposal as the one to follow and recommended it should operate from the 1931/32 session.³³ It was pointed out to the Journalism Committee that this scheme would not interfere with their work and would, in fact, simplify existing arrangements and cut out any unnecessary duplication of bureaucracy. Essentially it would simplify intercollegiate financial arrangements.

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The annual report of the Journalism Committee for 1930/1 simply states that re-organisation in the journalism courses had taken place and that eminent journalists had contributed lectures on special subjects, each followed by an hour's practical work. One of those lecturing was the foreign correspondent H. Wickham Steed (1871-1956), former editor of *The Times*. Others included J.A.H. Catton on 'The work of the sports reporter', Leonard Crocombe (1890-1948, 1st editor *Radio Times*, 1923-6), editor of *London Opinion*, and *Tit-Bits*, on 'Work for magazines and periodicals', W.E. Hurst on 'Reporting in the Courts' and T. Cox Meech (d. 1940) on 'Note and Leader Writing'.³⁴

A newcomer to the Journalist Committee in 1931 was Mr. Tom Clarke, and one of the first things he had to read was Mr. E.W. Davies' report on vacation work which declared that students' lack of shorthand was a serious handicap not only for their vacation attachments but also for their prospects of permanent employment.³⁵ Clarke had attended the 1908 meeting of the Institute of Journalists in Manchester when the education of journalists had figured prominently in the conference proceedings, and had given a series of lectures on news editing, in earlier years, to the London students.

National Union of Journalists Request on External Diploma

One of the first topics to attract Clarke's attention was an application from the secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Mr. H.M. Richardson (1874-1936), asking if it were possible for working journalists to obtain the University Diploma for Journalism without attending the course, but studying in their spare time, because they could not afford to leave work for two years. The Journalism Committee re-considered this application in February, 1932, and resolved to apply for an External Diploma for Journalism even though there might be difficulties arising from the requirement that candidates for such an External Diploma had to be Matriculated in the University. Preliminary discussions were held with the Principal of King's College, which Mr. Richardson attended, along with Dr G. B. Harrison, tutor for King's journalism students.

The N.U.J. wanted the External Diploma to rank with the existing Diploma and to be available to provincial journalists either through attendance at local universities or by means of a correspondence course. In lieu of Matriculation it was proposed that possibly a certificate from an editor stating that the applicant had been engaged on newspaper work for at least six months might be accepted as a qualification for entry. Statute 22 of the University did not allow non-matriculated students to sit for External Diplomas but such students could enter for a Diploma under the purview of the University Extension and Tutorial Classes Council, but this would not carry equal status with the full-time internal diploma.³⁶ To try and resolve the problem a special sub-committee was formed and it met in November, 1932, in the Newspaper Society's Council Room in Fleet Street and it had before it a memorandum from Mr. Frederick Peaker, an early supporter of the course. While he strongly desired to see an External

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Diploma for Journalism established by the University he felt considerable time was wasted on the internal Diploma repairing defects that would not have been there had Matriculation been a condition of entry to the full-time diploma: 'Nothing is ever gained by cheapening degrees or diplomas... and I do not like to feel that London is offering a soft option at a time when Oxford and Cambridge honours graduates were entering the profession in increasing numbers.'³⁷

The chairman of the Journalism Committee, Mr. Knapp, formed another sub-committee with Mr. Davies of the Newspaper Society and Mr. Richardson of the N.U.J. together with Mr. Peaker, who was also on the Committee, but they were unable to take it any further and recommended no further action in the matter.³⁸

With that out of the way the Journalism Committee then turned to re-examining the journalism curriculum, relating this very specifically to the need to appoint a full-time Director of the Course for Journalism, in the light of the impending resignation of Mr. Knapp from the chairmanship of the Committee.

With the arrival as Chairman of the Journalism Committee of Colonel G. F. Lawson (later 4th Baron Burnham, 1890-1961), of the *Daily Telegraph*, in October 1932, there appears to have been a determination to tackle the design of the course afresh.

Mr. Knapp's Valedictory Report

Mr. Knapp's 'Short Histories of Journalism Students' included a twelve-page typescript culled from letters sent to him by ex-journalism students. Although names, and newspapers on which they were working, were deleted from the paper it is possible, by cross-reference to the 'Histories', to see that Stanley Ellis (1927-28) was on the *Manchester Evening News* as sports sub-editor and writer, after first working on the *Lancashire Evening Post* between 1928 and 1930. Out of the twenty correspondents seven specifically mention Mr. Mansfield's lectures on practical journalism held in the second year of the course and four mentioned Mr Hawke's first-year practical lectures; these former students were working on papers as different as the *Huddersfield Examiner* and the London *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Express*.³⁹

These comments on the course, from former students, were presented to the Committee when it considered plans for improving the practical side of the course, and pointed to the need for their being someone in authority who would control the practical journalism side. All the former students laid special stress on the practical sessions under Messrs Hawke and Mansfield, calling for further developments along these lines. They also appreciated the way the course, in its general knowledge training, gave them a broader outlook on most matters. One who had gone straight onto the *Daily Mirror* in August 1927, as a reporter (E.R.C. Lintott) stated that the history course had been the most valuable, although he said he should have paid more attention to the methods of procedure of the governments of foreign countries. Even though employed as a caption writer he still thought that: 'a thorough knowledge of the workings of the Reichstag, the

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French Senate and Chamber and American system of Government would save the journalist from many pitfalls during times where there is spate of elections of all kinds.'

Review of Students views on the Course

Together with several other former students Mr. Lintott mentioned the value of instruction in the proper use of reference books for journalists and he also suggested that the course should also be expanded to include the work of the art editor and picture make-up.

Another, who said he was trusted with covering county and local councils, police courts and dramatic shows on his local paper, thought the course had been useful because it made him aware of his vast ignorance and had prompted his interest in all manner of things: 'The reading in literature has given me a valuable background for the hundred and one points and allusions that crop up in the course of my work. The study of government has been of considerable practical use.'

Although we do not have his dates of attendance on the course, it must have been later than the man who wrote that in his day, 1920-21, the quantity of academic material was so great that 'absorption prevented apprehension. Learning prevented thinking.' Even while they 'stood in the rain copying the names from wreaths in cemeteries' former students felt it had been worthwhile and saw the advantages of the 'advanced training', making them 'better equipped' than other members of staff when it came to 'doing special descriptive work, dramatic criticism, and other engagements which require more than mere common sense and a knowledge of shorthand.' This was said by a sports editor who added that he could hardly turn the academic side of his university training to account in that sphere. What they all appreciated was 'the mental equipment and good general education necessary to the journalist today.' Although some did state that the University must enforce the regulation that all those entering the course must possess knowledge of shorthand.

Others felt that students should work on newspapers *before* attending the course; one who did, and secured one of the first Exhibitions for Journalism sponsored by the industry in 1924, found the course of the greatest possible educational and cultural value while he thought the emphasis was too much on the more 'high brow' literary and academic side of the course at the expense of the more utilitarian subjects.

These thoughts also ran through the minds of others, most of whom had gone straight from school onto the course. Most wanted the two hours a week practical sessions doubled to four, or else students should give up an hour's spare time twice a week to work in the Journalism Room. For others the emphasis on book-reviewing and dramatic criticism was disproportionate, considering how few ever became reviewers or critics, and they wanted more practice in sub-editing using agency copy as well as subbing each other's copy. Not enough practice was given in headline writing in the various styles ranging from popular penny daily style to provincial weekly or picture paper, or even, *The Times*, (Mr. Mansfield's

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own paper). Another suggested that students should produce a weekly newspaper.

Former students also suggested that part of the practical work might involve students covering events of popular interest, in and out of the University, such as weddings, important speeches and writing up their stories which could be 'copy edited' by their fellow-students and subbed in the Journalism Room, with second year students taking turns to act as chief sub-editors. Others wanted these activities made compulsory with marks being given for the kind of work which would also be a factor in their examinations. This would appear to be an early call for continuous assessment. A letter in the May edition of the *L.U.J.S. Gazette* that year, 1932, also put the view that: 'We are given rather an exalted opinion of our future importance in the journalistic world, surely our training should begin at the bottom of the ladder? Our career, if we are lucky, will begin on a weekly paper, and yet we are trained as if we were going to drop straight into Fleet Street. The work of catering for the... country paper is a specialized art, involving plenty of hard labour.'⁴⁰

Yet another mentioned how the average staff journalist often harboured a desire to secure an education 'on the lines of the University course.' One correspondent, as a throwaway line, said that three other leading members of his newspaper, 'considered the brightest illustrated weekly in the north' were themselves 'all products of King's College.'

Knapp's report is a significant document in tracing the development of the course in its early years, as it indicates the status of former students within national and provincial newspapers around the country. Students obviously were the first to feel the absence of a central guiding hand in the administration of the course and wanted this rectified. There were criticisms also of the emphasis on what students saw as irrelevant elements of the course: book-reviewing and other forms of criticism. The call was for more practical journalism, covering events as they happened in the capital city of the Empire, and returning to college for an immediate feedback on their reporting and writing abilities.

At the same time some of the academic elements were essential in the provision of general knowledge, while others were too 'high brow'. Possibly this aspect contributed to the students' own views that the course was not fitting them for the jobs they might get: instead they had an 'exalted opinion of our future importance.'⁴¹ This mismatch of career expectations with job availability is another aspect of the problem facing recruits into journalism down to the present day: a lack of relevant career information for intending journalists, outside of practical guides and manuals published by commercial publishers.

As if to reinforce the students' criticisms about the lack of shorthand Mr. E.W. Davies of the Newspaper Society was quoted in the Committee's annual report for 1933/34 as stating that a great majority of students had not taken steps to make themselves efficient shorthand writers.

David Waite, a graduate of the class in 1932-34, was a sub-editor on *The Straits Times*, in Singapore, when he wrote an article in *The Newspaper World*, January 4, 1936, entitled: 'What College Diplomas Mean in Practical Journalism. An Old Student Advises the New Director.'

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Waite had experienced the original curriculum, with *lectures* in practical journalism by Hawkes and Mansfield and declared that he 'learned all about [the technical] branch of his subject, though the facilities for actually handling type and directing make-up on the stone were entirely lacking.' Against the background of such attitudes the University Journalism Committee considered a revised syllabus.

Revised Syllabus

By December 1933, the sub-committee had considered a revised syllabus and proposed that 'one third of the time available should be allotted to Practical Journalism' (JCM Minute 102,13 December). Dr Harrison saw benefits in the more general educational approach with students mixing with those in other departments and colleges, which they would not get if their 'lectures were solely intended for the Journalism Diploma'- an attitude he quite soon reversed, as we shall see later.

The University view was, since the course was unendowed and financed entirely out of students' fees, it might prove difficult for one college to support the course, whereas this was possible when it was spread around the other colleges. The general picture is of students receiving special attention in their colleges for the three English papers they had to sit, otherwise they attended University classes appropriate to their needs, i.e. depending on the options they took in the existing, 1933, syllabus. Two of these had to be selected among English Literature, history, one of six modern languages, economics, philosophy and psychology, or political science. The new syllabus (See appendix XIV) proposed one option from English literature, a modern language, philosophy and psychology and English composition was included as a compulsory subject with principles of criticism, social and economic theories of today, history of the modern world and modern literature, each having one hour a week to composition's half-an-hour a week.

This was in Section II which previously had only included one compulsory subject. Practical Journalism was also compulsory in Section I, but it was allocated three hours a week. Under Section II history of art was later added, with a footnote that students could offer other subjects under this heading if approved by the Committee. Graduates were still allowed to apply and they could omit Section II.

The Committee also considered its sub-committee's proposal 'that a Director of the Practical Journalism course was desirable... full-time at a salary of... £1,000 a year to be provided from an endowment fund... with the status of a Professor of the University.'⁴²

Since arriving as chairman of the Journalism Committee in 1932, Col. Lawson had spurred on changes in the course, and in its administration. He personally contacted newspaper owners to secure sufficient funds to attract a major Fleet Street editor to head the course. So he received promises of £200 a year each, for five years, from Lord Rothermere (1868-1940), Julius Salter Elias (1873-1946), created Baron Southwood in 1937, and Sir Emsley Carr (1867-1941), proprietors of the *Daily Mail*, *Odhams Press* and

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the *News of the World* respectively. Elias also promised more to make it up to £1,000 a year. So, on 9th May 1935, Lawson could advise the Principal of King's Dr. Halliday, that the way was set for a new Director which the course had not had since the resignation of Sir Sidney Lee in 1922.⁴³

A Full-Time Director of Practical Journalism

By February, 1935, the Journalism Tutors were also re-examining the syllabus with a brief to 'draw up a more detailed syllabus... in view of the undefined nature of some of the subjects.'⁴⁴ At the same time the heads of college attended by journalism students were also asked to 'consider the question of the proposed appointment of a Director of the Practical Journalism Course.'⁴⁵

It was not until June, 1935, that an informal conference decided to replace the two, part-time, lecturers in practical journalism with one full-time appointment and Mr. Tom Clarke, lately editor of the *News Chronicle* was invited to accept the post, with the title of Director of Practical Journalism.⁴⁶ The King's College Delegacy adopted this recommendation and Mr. Tom Clarke duly accepted the invitation. So the Diploma for Journalism in 1935 gained its first full-time Director who had worked his way up through the newspaper industry and who had widened his experience with a stay at Ruskin College, Oxford, and with editorial appointments in Australia, after his early days as Northcliffe's news editor on the *Daily Mail* (See Appendix XVIIa,b)

Throughout that summer Tom Clarke was thinking hard about his future role and in helping him decide how best to tackle the task of being London University's first full-time Director of Practical Journalism, Clarke had no hesitation in writing to American professors of journalism for their advice and assistance. Even though Dr. Harrison had announced there was no intention of aiming for a degree in Journalism when addressing the Institute of Journalists,⁴⁷ Clarke himself was avidly reading the bulletins of three American Journalism Schools at universities in the mid-western states.

From Rutgers University Clarke received a letter from Kenneth Q. Jennings, assistant professor of journalism, in reply to one he had addressed to Dr. Allen Sinclair Will (1868-1934), who had died, unknown to Clarke, the previous year, 1934. Another professor, Dr Walter Williams, who had himself attended the 1908 Institute conference on education for journalism, wrote to Clarke before he died in July, 1935. Clarke clipped his obituary form *The Times* of July 31st 1935, in which his approach to founding the University of Missouri School of Journalism, was outlined. Clarke pencilled a few marks against these words: 'He took the view that journalism could only be taught effectively by the University in co-operation with the actual newspaper office and he combined both sides of the necessary training... issuing a daily newspaper, *Columbia Missourian* prepared by the students and printed and published on the premises...'⁴⁸

Early in his tenure Clarke picked up these words and turned them into his own credo in the title of a talk he delivered to the Institute of Journalism in 1936. An article published in 1935 also has this title: 'Can Journalism be Taught?' and used, as an illustration of its thesis, details of what students

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on American journalism courses were expected to do: '...cover news stories like ordinary reporters, handle copy like ordinary sub-editors, and in some cases produce their own newspapers under real rush conditions. They practice the selection of news and the insertion of headlines, and, what is equally important, they are taught something of the work of the commercial, distributing, advertising and other vital departments of a newspaper organisation.'⁴⁹

Clarke's attitude towards his own students exemplified his approach to the subject of teaching journalism when he threatened to refuse to look at 'copy', the students written reports of events, which was not presented in correct newspaper style: with margins, on one side of the paper (quarto not foolscap). Included under 'Newspaper Style' he placed aspects of grammar, spelling, punctuation as well as 'best English', echoing Dr. Sinclair Will's belief that a well-conducted school of journalism should be one of the best of all English departments in the training in writing clear, simple, graphic English, 'embracing the judicious use of the right word in the right place.'⁵⁰

Clarke committed his thoughts (about the value of his future position in King's College) on the back of ten pages of lecture notes.⁵¹ In his eyes education for journalism was a public service, and improvement in intellectual qualifications, as well as professional fitness, was of as much value to the public as it was to newspapers: 'There is now a definite upwards tendency due to the broadening intelligence of the public... academic standards cannot be debased (because) the press generally must be committed to the spread of higher intelligence.'⁵²

One of the books on journalism education that Clarke admired was Dr. Allen Sinclair Will's *Education for Newspaper Life* published in 1931, and he turned the usual dictum of newspapermen, about the 'best newspaper university is the newspaper itself', to his own advantage by taking Will's line that 'you can't teach practical journalism by theoretical lectures.'⁵³

The apparent contradiction involved in teaching practical journalism was resolved, in Clarke's notes, in this way: '... Journalism... can be taught. The task a news editor gives a reporter can be given in a school of journalism as well as in an office and with more individual attention (because) editors are too busy.'⁵⁴

This explains Clarke's insistence on getting the atmosphere of the newspaper into the classroom by having the news agencies installed in the Journalism Room at King's College, with bulletin board, reporters' desks and typewriters. He was adamant that students must do the real things they would do as reporters and get away from the concept of 'playing at it.' His was not a course to merely study journalism, but one where you did it. 'Not how to. But do it.'⁵⁵ So the first year's instruction in practical journalism would be nearly all reporting work and he estimated he would need at least two, if not three, hours consecutively with the students each week. However, just as Professor Will had wanted two full consecutive days each week (but only got two afternoons) for his practical newspaper sessions in his American School of Journalism so Clarke had to make do with two

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hours each week. This expanded with the appointment of his assistant, Joan Skipsey, in 1937, who also arranged voluntary assignments.

To illustrate why Clarke considered Will's textbook the best one for journalism, a few extracts follow: 'Reporting and newspaper work in general... mean the acquirement of facility in trained thinking and writing in a great variety of ways to suit the special needs of newspapers. (They mean) the attainment of good style in writing different kinds of news in the only way in which the style can be attained- by practice in writing actual items, perceived in the making, winnowed out of a mass of useless details, visualized with professional scope, order and accuracy before the reporters takes his seat at the typewriter.'⁵⁶

'Newspaper work is trained thought. It is thought that makes a reporter and it is thought that makes an editor... If newspaper practice is carried out under the direction of thoroughly experienced newspapermen serving as teachers, it is equal in cultural value, that is, real educational value embracing the widening knowledge and the unfolding of innate capacity, to the most cultural courses taught in colleges. Only in a minor, a relatively inconsequential sense, is it methodistic, routine, mechanical or what is termed technical in academic circles. If the teaching is of the right kind, originality must be the chief aim, but the originality must be adapted to the purpose of the newspaper.'⁵⁷

Dr. Harrison on 'The Universities and Journalism'

Clarke must have felt some trepidation as he prepared to enter the academic world on a permanent basis for, as Dr. Harrison said in his address to the Institute of Journalists annual conference in London in 1935: 'the unkindest criticism that one academic can make of another's books is that it is journalism.'⁵⁸ As he went on to point out, the Press was not always kind to academics either, representing them as 'peculiar' in their habits and 'cranky in their views.' The bright, young reporter was someone of whom, Harrison said, many academics were suspicious because: 'like a magpie, he hopes to pick up some glittering fragment to line his own nest.' While he was on the subject, Harrison said: '...Why O why, must our women students always be labelled pretty girl students?'

The ideal Harrison preached was one which saw journalism as a serving profession because: 'journalists in the modern world provide one of the necessities of life: that is current knowledge, what is being done, taught, written and said around us. It is essential knowledge, especially in democratic times. No human occupation calls for a wider variety of powers of intellect and character.'⁵⁹

Yet what amazed laymen was that, although journalism was one of the most important influences in modern life, anybody without any particular education or recognized qualifications, could enter or just as easily be dismissed: 'To those outside the profession neither is a happy state.'

Even though he could quote examples of inane questions from the staff of great daily newspapers, 'did Shakespeare write any prose' was typical, he still felt that 'training in general knowledge and intelligence that a University can give' was sound and useful, even on such newspapers as

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he was quoting above. If, however, the Diploma was not giving them more competent recruits, they should say so and the University would do their best to improve it. Dr. Harrison also expressed the opinion that a large proportion of what was called English Literature was also English journalism, just as the history of the press played such an important part in the development of English political freedom. For these reasons Harrison thought it was worth the newspaper industry endowing a chair in the history of the Press. He also ventured that any newspaper doing this would gain enormous prestige over its rivals by putting up capital to found a University chair, or by establishing scholarships to enable children of registered readers to go to the University.

Returning to the revised syllabus proposed by the University he felt it would be more appropriate for journalism students to study the modern world from the French Revolution to the present, rather than the constitutional problems of Tudor Settlement. The same could be said of the course on which Hugh Gaitskell lectured: 'Social and Economic Structure of Today.' Because the Honours School of English Literature at London University in 1935 did not study English literature beyond 1875 the Journalism Committee had to provide special courses in the literature since 1850.

Since the underlying purpose for the revision of the syllabus was the desire to introduce students to the study of the modern world that can reasonably be covered in two years, it needed money to do it properly as 'students cost twice as much as they pay in fees' and London University was not well endowed with private funds 'unlike the two older universities'. '... herein lies a great opportunity if the profession of journalism believes in education, and is prepared to put up the necessary capital to endow professors, readers and lecturers to teach, and scholarship for its own chosen candidates, then it could have all it wanted.'

Until this was achieved Harrison said the Diploma for Journalism would never receive the priority it needed while it was regarded as something existing staff devoted as 'much time as... our honours work' allowed. The inference being that the financial basis of the course was still as precarious, and makeshift, as when it started as 'an emergency' after the First World War: 'with little special attention... given to the students.'

Harrison saw the next five years, up to 1939, as a last chance for the Diploma to prove itself, or disappear. He stated, that with Clarke's appointment, the course was beginning a five-year experimental period which would either mark a new stage in the development of English journalism or else see the end of the Diploma. It would be a new experience for Clarke, and not the least important of the posts he would have held, but he would need incredible patience, for it was easier to move a dead elephant than an academic body, although while it only took the academics three months to redesign the syllabus, it had taken three years before the Journalism Committee had been in a position to invite Mr. Clarke to become Director.

In his address to the 1935 conference of the Institute of Journalists Dr. Harrison referred to the need of newspaper money to endow the Diploma

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course allied to capital to provide scholarships 'for its own chosen candidates' in the hope that the industry would support 'its brighter stars' on the Diploma course. This did, in fact happen to some extent in the last few years of the course, when, on average, about a dozen applicants left jobs in journalism to attend the course, though only a few were supported by newspaper finance.

Dr. Harrison also mentioned that some members of the Journalism Committee felt that the existing Diploma should become a postgraduate Diploma making the course a 'special training in the rudiments of journalism and a knowledge of the modern world' to those who have already received a degree. This could be justified because a far larger percentage of young people who used to leave school at sixteen or eighteen were now spending three years extra in University training. The result was an increasing number of graduates entering all kinds of new posts and professions.

Clarke's First Year as Director of Practical Journalism

While Dr. Harrison was telling the Institute there was no desire for a degree in journalism Clarke himself was avidly reading, and marking, the facilities available to the journalism schools in America at Missouri, Illinois and Ohio States Universities. He corresponded with American professors and, later, met others while on a visit to his daughter who was then married to an American journalist. In place of the printing presses and newsroom of his American counterparts Clarke hoped to get waste-paper baskets, 25 desks for reporters, with typewriter tables and filing cabinets. Eventually the *Daily Telegraph* gave them one typewriter, which was later stolen. Blackboards would be used for posting diagrams of news pages and notices of lectures but he wanted a 'bulletin board' for pinning up newspaper schedules. File racks for current newspapers and a clippings service for reference (using 'one girl student on this') plus a library and a 'morgue' were also required.

This list is headed by a note that the equipment must make the classroom look like a newspaper office and there should be a motto: 'Accuracy. Facts. Report what you see not what you want people to see.'⁶⁰

By December, 1935, Clarke was thanking the newspaper industry for their co-operation when he was guest of honour at a luncheon at the Café Royal with Colonel Lawson, Sir Leicester Harmsworth (1870-1937) and Sir Harry Brittain (1873-1974) as his hosts. He thanked people like Henry Martin, editor-in-chief of the Press Association, for sending current news copy for students to work on, as did Reuters' Editor-in-chief, Mr. Rickatson-Hatt. A plea to Sir Roderick Jones of Reuters, for a teleprinter met with a hearty laugh and a pledge to supply one: it appeared in King's within a week; as the College would not accept liability, Reuters had to pay for the insurance as well.

For the lack of £2,000 a year the course was unable to proceed with 'a scheme nearer our ideals' which would enable them to hold up their heads to their American rivals. As it was, Clarke described himself as: 'Director,

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Organiser, Lecturer, Demonstrator, Guide, Philosopher, and (I hope) Friend, to 124 students. It really is more than a one-man job.⁶¹

Clarke soon discovered that students from University College did not wish to attend the practical journalism sessions because they had not entered the course with the intention of becoming journalists. Hence his remarks that University College authorities had not shown any disposition to consult him about the 'suitability for the practical course of the students they had enrolled. His requests to University College tutors for reports on their students' academic work 'had been, to say the least overlooked.'⁶²

These experiences spurred his efforts towards arranging for the course to be centralized in King's. This way control of admissions, and proper selection of students under a single and definite policy, would make for simpler tasks for lecturers and students. The lecturer's because he would be relieved of making special arrangements for University College students caused by their differing term dates, clash of lectures etc. Students' life would be easier centred in one college, able to look at the Journalism Bulletin Board daily for details of extra assignments which University College students missed by not being where the Journalism Room was situated, in King's College. Another problem was the sheer weight of numbers of students on the Practical Journalism courses. On top of that: 'the deplorable English of quite a number should have been an immediate disqualification for a course in which the power of expression in simple English is essential.'

Plans to Re-Organise the Course at King's College

Clarke and Harrison prepared a draft memorandum on how the course should be re-organised once in King's. There should be a Director of Academic Studies with the same responsibilities as the existing tutor for journalism students, and they also proposed a committee of all teachers meeting at least twice at term to consider the work of the students. Trying to run the existing Diploma, which had no departmental leader and no-one responsible for overseeing the co-ordination of academic instruction given by the different lecturers, was the root cause of many of the problems associated with the course, ranging from initial selection to isolation of some students from the ethos of the Journalist Room to which students were given their own key. To counteract the 'deplorable English,' tutorial sessions once a fortnight were proposed: this would raise the number of hours the lecturer spent with students from four to fifteen hours a week, so, obviously, another member of staff would be required, and Roger Fulton (1902-83) of *The Times* was appointed. Another proposal to relieve the workload on Clarke was the appointment of a part-time assistant, plus a secretary assistant. The memorandum saw the latter as being a woman with journalistic experience who could assist the Director of Practical Journalism with the lectures, 'copy' marking and preparation, organize vacation work and run an embryo employment bureau as well as acting as registrar and secretary to both Directors.

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Allied to the increase in staff was the need for more accommodation to house demonstration and lecture rooms with all the equipment, from typewriters to telephones, needed to provide a proper working environment for prospective journalists: from reference books to cuttings files, news agency teleprinters to reporters' desks. In the future, some kind of printing room would be desirable.

Harrison felt that a department which was not controlled could not be efficient and he, too, complained of being unable to get any report showing the progress of his students taking a compulsory subject 'in a sister College' and in a marginal note he added: 'in a department, the members are constantly in touch with the head of the Department... exchanging notes on their students.'⁶³

He also supported Clarke's plea for an assistant, saying was it was beyond the capacity of one man to be solely responsible for the practical work of 120 students. Harrison recommended that no student be admitted unless interviewed by both Clarke and himself and further suggested a new application form be used in which students would have to declare a serious intention to follow the profession of journalism, as well as undertaking to reach proficiency in shorthand before the end of the first academic year. Provision should also be made for students to withdraw if, in the opinion of the College, they were unlikely to make a successful journalist.

The reaction from University College underlined Harrison's assertion that the attitude of other colleges towards journalism students rested on an economic basis: that they brought in fees that were useful, hence, out of 100 students, 50 never intended to become journalists. University College stated it would not save money because there was little possibility of reducing staff members to compensate for the losses of students if the course was centralized in King's; University College had not appointed lecturers specially for the journalism students, preferring instead to strengthen the staff of various departments and so no saving could be made there.

Nevertheless, the King's College Delegacy approved the appointment of an Assistant to the Director of Practical Journalism who should be a woman who had herself taken the course and gained some practical experience after it, at a salary of £250 p.a. With this appointment at King's the way was set for the consolidation of the course in King's College. To offset the loss of income to University College, of no longer registering students from the Diploma, the paper on 'Social and Economic Structure of Today' would continue to be taught at University with King's College paying three guineas a head to University College for arranging it. An interesting footnote to this debate was provided in an interview with Mr. Geoffrey Pinnington, then editor⁶⁴ of the *Sunday People* (until 1982), who explained that the one time he mentioned having been on the journalism course to Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Mr. Gaitskell said that University College thought very poorly of journalism students and they were glad to be rid of them. This conveniently ignores the fact that University College were responsible for recruiting their own students onto the journalism course.

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The Assistant to the Director of Practical Journalism, 1937-39

The person appointed as Assistant to the Director of Practical Journalism, Miss Joan Skipsey (later Mrs Galwey), had herself attended the course as a student between 1934 to 1936. In that year she first of all helped Dr. Harrison when he was editing the Penguin Shakespeare series, before herself taking a job with Allen Lane of Penguin Books (in the official history of the company her name is mistakenly given as 'Skiptie.') Miss Skipsey (See appendix XVIII) had worked on printing trade and fashion papers for two years prior to joining the course as a student, and joined Clarke as his Assistant from Penguin Books.

Since Skipsey's first year as a student had been under the old teaching method and her final year was the first under Clarke's regime, she had experienced the impact of his teaching first hand and knew what to expect in her role as his assistant. Possibly a little horrified by the immensity of the task before her she wrote to Clarke and his reply dated 8th July 1935 said she 'need not fear any misunderstanding' regarding her 'appointment... and you will be responsible to me for all your activities in that position.' Skipsey was obviously worried about possible problems that might arise should Harrison's secretary be away.

Clarke assured her 'Things will be simplified in the matter of liaison by a weekly conference which Dr. Harrison and I proposed to hold every Thursday at which you will be present. This will give us the opportunity to coordinate our activities as we go along.'⁶⁵ Daily attendance would be necessary, as would sharing his office until one was available to her and 'one duty will be to answer any telephone enquiries and receive callers and, of course, in the absence of Dr. Harrison callers who wish to see him will be dealt with by you.' Clarke recommended that 'you might be turning over in your mind some aspect of the executive duties which I shall leave very much in your care. They are, for example:- attending to the register, arranging assignments, provision of the ticker [Reuters' news service] and delivery of Press Association copy, publicity for the courses, records of students... correspondence files, preparation of lecture lists, typing out all my lectures as required [and] assisting me in elementary instruction of First Year students and assisting also in the examination and sub-editing of copy.' Clarke ended by saying he was sure 'you are going to find it enjoyable and inspiring work' and gave her his private address and phone number 'in case you wish to get in touch with me.'

So it was that, at the start of the academic year in October, 1937, Clarke was able to operate the course nearer to his ideal than had earlier proved possible, with the immediate prospect of seeing the journalism course centralized in King's College and operating the revised syllabus first mooted in 1935. In effect, he was only to have two years operating the course this way before war intervened - far too short a time to have much effect, but just sufficient to show the way things might have developed had the London University School of Journalism materialized in the form he and Harrison had proposed (See Syllabus at Appendix XV).

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The Beginnings of a London University School of Journalism

In a way it might be said that many of the problems surrounding the course only surfaced when there was the possibility of someone being there who was responsible for observing them. For most of its existence, until 1938 in fact, the course remained the property of inter-collegiate interests whose main concern was to maintain their fee income at the highest level.⁶⁶

The attempt to simplify the syllabus, as instituted in 1935-36, and introduced chiefly with the aim of reducing the large number of optional subjects, had, in fact, led to an increase in the number of compulsory subjects to such an extent that it 'had proved beyond the capacity of the majority of the students.'⁶⁷

On top of the Practical Journalism taking up to one-third of the students' time they also had to prepare for five other compulsory subjects involving attendance at seven lectures each week; also another two hours a week were needed for one optional subject chosen. The *Syllabus for Courses* for 1938-39 shows the compulsory subjects as 'Practical Journalism' with two hours a week, 'English Composition' as one hour a week, along with 'Principles of Criticism' and 'Social and Economic Structure Today' and the paper on 'History of the Modern World from 1789.' The last compulsory subject, 'Modern Literature from 1850' is shown as occupying two hours a week.

Not surprisingly some students in attendance at that time considered it 'too academic'⁶⁸ and Miss Skipsey herself was of the opinion that the academic and practical should not co-exist in the same course.⁶⁹ Others still regard the time they spent at lectures by Mr. Hugh Gaitskell as the highlight of their time on the course.⁷⁰ The opportunity to 'taste the delights' of the academic richness of London University was something not to be missed, and even those from the early days of the course regarded the lectures available as 'the centrepiece' of the course.⁷¹

To describe the course as having 'supposedly dubious academic credentials'⁷² misinterprets the issue. Far from being 'early victim of the alleged incompatibility between the academic and the vocational'⁷³ the history of the course in its last three years illustrates a determination to grapple with this problem and to find a solution to it.

During the 1938-39 session the University Journalism Committee was in the throes of yet another revision of course content and its progress deserves attention, even though it was never to be put into effect.

It would appear that there had been very little attempt to relate the academic side of the course to the requirements of journalism; in fact, former students refer to lecturers 'despising the fact that we were journalists'⁷⁴ while others found them so irrelevant that 'we played cards or chatted.'⁷⁵ As someone who had been both a student and involved with running the course as Clarke's assistant from 1937 to 1939 Miss Skipsey commented: 'Nobody said, "Now if you're going to be a journalist you must understand the elements of economics as it is understood today." Nobody talked like that to us. If I were teaching economics to journalists, I would start off by arming myself with a bunch of clippings showing the kinds of

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story that could only have been written if you'd got some idea of what economics is all about. Nobody looked at it that way and I don't think we had any feeling that this really mattered to our success as journalists. And every subject in the academic course should be done that way, for a start.⁷⁶

Indeed, until 1935, students had attended the same lecturers as students on ordinary degree courses offered at the University taking the same subjects. After 1937 all the compulsory subjects had specially-arranged lectures.⁷⁷

Proposed New Syllabus for 1940 Start

With the re-organised course under King's College control there existed a College Journalism Committee, which met every term, prior to the University Journalism Committee meetings. Dr. Harrison's copy of the agenda for the meeting held on 21st January, 1938,⁷⁸ gives his detailed thoughts, committed to paper, including the topic: 'the general relation of academic and professional subjects with particular reference to English Composition and History... who is responsible for coordinating the instruction between the Practical and the Theoretical?'⁷⁹

Under the 'History' Harrison expressed his concern at the lack of personal contact between lecturers and students with no tutorials allowed. The lectures were 'frankly unsatisfactory' and he suggested that the 'department of journalism have its own history lectures.'⁸⁰

Dr. Harrison also wanted the university to recognize the validity of journalism students studying 'current events and their origins' as part of the course - and this sounds like a refrain from earlier attempts at journalism education. (See Appendix II Oral Examinations, item 7). The outcome was yet another sub-committee consisting of Harrison, Gaitskell, and Roger Fulford. They met on October 21st, 1938, and issued an amended version for the next full meeting of the King's College Journalism Committee on November 1st, 1938.

A view often expressed about the Diploma, by post-war critics, refers to its 'dubious academic credentials.'⁸¹ Yet, as we have seen, Diploma students for many years had no special lectures, attending those provided for under-graduates on Honours courses. One result of this subcommittee must have surprised the College lecturers: the Journalism students took as many exam papers for their two-year Diplomas as candidates for full three-year Honours degrees.⁸² If anything, the University should be criticised for not being aware of this fact. To criticize the course's 'dubious academic credentials' reflects both the ignorance and partisan nature of many such criticisms. The amount of work expected of Diploma students might go some way to explaining why there was a 50 per cent failure rate in Principles of Criticism and Social and Economic Structure papers. In the words of the memorandum: 'It would thus appear that the syllabus is too heavy and needs revising, especially when it is remembered that students in Art take only four subjects for the Intermediate Arts, and three for the General Degree.'

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Without any attempt being made to co-ordinate the different subjects the 'Course leaves much to be desired on the academic side.' Harrison also suggested they should: 'devise an academic course which should meet the needs of journalists, and at the same time avoid the very real danger of the Course becoming solely a Technical School for Reporters.'

While stating that it was undesirable to reduce the syllabus to mere 'popular knowledge' Harrison felt it must provide students: 'with an intellectual equipment especially designed for their needs, and different in degree, kind and quality from that considered suitable for students for a B.A. degree.'

As the Diploma was the only course for journalism available at any British University, and it was partly financed by newspapers, the expressed requirements of the newspapermen should be met so that the academic side would:

'a : Stimulate intellectual curiosity

b: give such knowledge of the modern world as will equip students to understand, to report and to comment intelligently on current events of all kinds

c: indicate the methods of approach in certain branches of modern knowledge.'

To meet these requirements Harrison proposed the following syllabus: (See also Appendix XV)

'Section I Practical Journalism and English Composition papers

Section II The Modern World

A: Current events and their origins (1 paper)

B: Social and Economic Structure Today (1 paper)

C: Discoveries, Ideas and Thinker who have influenced modern thought- (e.g. Darwin, Marx, Freud, Frazer, Lenin; Hitler (1 paper)

D: Literature and Drama (mainly English) 1850-1938, but particularly since 1900.

Section III An optional subject (as at present limited). This would be studied as part of the Intermediate Arts Course.'

The changes were not as great as might appear at first sight, suggested Harrison, with 'Principles of Criticism' being absorbed into Discoveries, Ideas and Thinkers' and the emphasis in 'History of the Modern World' to be laid on 'Current events, their causes and origins' instead of a course which began with the French Revolution and ended in 1914. Under the new syllabus, 'the present situation in Europe is traced backwards'. Above all: 'It is essential to the success of the Syllabus that there should be close co-operation in the teaching of all the Subjects in Section III.'⁸³

This was underlined in the memorandum. Overall, the effect was to reduce the number of examination papers to six.

Attached to the papers for consideration at the 1st November College Journalism Committee meeting was a note provided by Clarke on Dr. Harrison's memorandum in which he stated he was generally in agreement with the proposed alterations for they fitted with his case: 'for bringing the academic side of the Journalism course still more in line with the requirements of the journalist today.'⁸⁴

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However, there was one detail he suggested should be altered, which he felt was outside the scope of his responsibilities, and that was Dr. Harrison's proposal to combine English Composition with the Practical Journalism. The Practical Department must concentrate on 'writing for the Press' and not just 'dressing up reports or arguments in words (i.e. composition).' Clarke stated that what he was concerned with 'was a technical matter- writing NEWS' - and while he agreed they must avoid making the course 'solely a Technical School for Reporters,' the plain fact was 'that is what the Practical Department really is - and is meant to be.' Clarke wanted to be able to assume that: 'The student coming to take part in our assignments and demonstrations, has acquired elsewhere, or is acquiring, the necessary background of English Composition in its academic aspects, to say nothing of grammar and spelling.'

Clarke then expounded how he saw the practical side developing in the future, on the newspaper writing side where the heaviest part of the work was the: '...supervision of this "writing for the Press"- the work done in *Newspaper style* by students sent out on routine jobs at the Law Courts, police courts, exhibitions, county councils, dress shows, literary and social gatherings, speech reporting and so on.' (original emphasis)⁸⁵

So while 'thoroughly in agreement in principle' with Dr Harrison's memorandum he would prefer Section I to read: 'Practical Journalism (two papers).'⁸⁶ The committee meeting on 4th November 1938, approved the proposals.⁸⁷ Attached to these Minutes is an intriguing letter from Miss Skipsey asking the Secretary of King's College, Mr. S.T. Shovelton, to put on the agenda for the 4th November meeting 'the question of degrees for Journalism.' She added that she had mislaid the form of what Mr. Clarke and Dr. Harrison 'though appropriate' and, in fact, there is no reference to the subject in the Minutes.⁸⁸

When the College Journalism Committee met next, later in November, they recommended that 'Practical Journalism' remained at two hours a week for first and second year students but that 'English Composition' should have classes of no more than fifteen and that individual students should receive 'at least a quarter of an hour of individual instruction each fortnight in the year.'⁸⁹ On the proposal for 'Modern History' the Committee recommended the first year should receive a lecture course of one hour a week on 'History of Europe from 1500 to the Present Day' and for the second year an hour a week to be devoted to 'Current Events and their Origins since 1915.' Both courses were to be conducted by the History Department of King's College but additionally: 'arrangements be made for occasional lectures by distinguished visitors.'

The Committee also agreed with the proposal for instruction in 'Social and Economic Structure' to incorporate 'a lecture course of one hour a week with a discussion class.'

For the innovatory course entitled 'Discoveries, Ideas and Thinkers which have influenced Modern Thought' they proposed a series of public and semi-public lectures without any examinations at the end of the course and specified the content as follows:

'Scientific Discovery in the Natural World - 10 lectures

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Scientific Invention - 10 lectures

Religious Ideas Today (summer term) - 5 lectures

Political Theories from 1789 to present time - 10 lectures

Critical and Artistic Ideas - 10 lectures

Some Modern Philosophers (summer term) - 5 lectures

and that for the first year students, lectures on Scientific Discovery in the Natural World and on Critical and Artistic Ideas be arranged.'

The Committee noted that 'Modern English Literature' would be a lecture course of one hour a week for each year and also noted that the recommendation quoted above replaced 'Principles of Criticism' which was 'in effect an Honours subject, and as such is unsuitable for Journalism students as a compulsory subject followed by an examination.' At the same meeting Mr. Clarke submitted a claim for assistance in teaching and the Committee agreed to consider it more fully at a later meeting.

That next meeting, on 20th February, 1939, reported that the new course on 'Discoveries, Ideas and Thinkers' would be difficult to arrange in practice, as the Professorial Board of King's felt it would probably be rejected by the Senate because it proposed that no examination should be held on the work of the course.⁹⁰ So that experiment, in what might have been assessment of course work, did not meet with approval and was dropped. But the Committee stood by their conviction that 'Principles of Criticism' for which students... might have no aptitude' should be made optional. Mr. Clarke's request for more staff was not discussed. At that meeting the Committee had a letter from Mr. Gaitskell saying he had handed over his work to another colleague and commending one student in particular, Mr. R. H. Stephens who was 'quite exceptional and shows a remarkable desire for knowledge.' (In 1982 he was Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Observer*)

While these discussions continued throughout the summer of 1939, with war clouds threatening, some students were already involved in military activity and in March the University Journalism Committee considered an application from Mr. George Sokolov to be allowed to postpone his entry for the Diploma Examination from 1939 to 1940 because as 'a member of the Polish Army he was recalled to Poland in the middle of February.'⁹¹ Meanwhile the annual scholarship examinations were held and two awarded.⁹²

Although these two never took up their scholarships it might be interesting to gaze into the crystal ball to see how the course might have developed. Since Clarke's arrival Dr. Harrison had pursued the idea of a separate School of Journalism, either within the University or financed by the newspaper industry. There followed several lengthy letters between Clarke and Harrison on the subject and, obviously, much private discussion.⁹³

The Proposal for a School of Journalism

The earliest mention by Dr. Harrison is in Clarke's very first term at King's and then seeking meetings with influential journalists to draw up 'an ideal scheme for the Diploma - syllabus, organisation, equipment - and see

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how much it would cost.⁹⁴ Harrison hoped that 'influential Persons in the Newspaper World' would then approach the University with the scheme and say 'if you will provide such a Diploma as we wish, we will subscribe £X,000.'

Keeping the course at King's would not require a vast endowment, possibly £2,000 a year to endow two Chairs, one for the Director of Practical Journalism and the other for the Director of Academic Studies, and with that, wrote Harrison, 'we would do things quite handsomely.'

Introducing the idea of a 'School of Journalism as a separate unit apart from King's, 'would require nearer £10,000 a year. As Harrison said: 'There would be advantages, as well as disadvantages in having a separate School of Journalism, either as an independent School of the University or apart from the University supported and endowed by the Newspaper Makers and the like.'

As we have already discovered in this chapter, 'the connection with the University means we are subject to tedious and irksome control.'

There is no record of Clarke's response to this document. In an undated memorandum entitled 'A Suggestion for a School of Journalism in the University of London' Dr. Harrison again returns to this theme. Internal evidence suggests it was written about October or November, 1935 or early in 1936, urging a generous endowment Harrison and played upon the newspaperman's opinions about student selection for the course.⁹⁵ A large endowment would: 'Make those responsible for the School less anxious about numbers and more able to concentrate on securing the best kind of student.'⁹⁶ Concern both with numbers and standards had regularly surfaced in the Journalism Committee discussions.

Harrison had gone so far as to designate the building for the School: when Birkbeck College's premises in Bream Buildings, E.C.4 were vacated there would be a site 'adjoining Fleet Street.' The costs had increased and a page of costs illustrates by how much. This estimate budgeted for an extra English lecturer as well as the part time lecturers in History and Economics suggested in the earlier proposals. It also included an estimate for buildings and maintenance of between £3000 and £3500. Out of a total proposed annual expenditure of between £7000 and £8470, students' fees (at £36 - £45 per annum) would contribute between £3600 and £4500, leaving between £3400 and £4500 to be found. Harrison expected the University 'might reasonably be expected to provide the balance from Government grants at its disposal' if the profession was ready to 'contribute £2000 to £3000.'

These proposals, however, presumed a continuing association with the University because, in demolishing arguments that might be raised against a separate School of Journalism, Harrison saw the academic subjects being properly safeguarded as the governing body would be appointed largely by the Journalism Committee. These subjects would consist of two professional subjects and six academic subjects - the latter being examined by the University.

A School of Journalism obviously presupposed the existence of quite a large student body although Harrison felt there were more benefits in a

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'community life lived with 100 fellow students.' However, Harrison did suggest that a separate, and independent, School would mean 'the profession would be able to take the larger share in dictating the policy of the Course.' Speaking with years of experience of the problem, he continued: 'So long as the Diploma is controlled by the College authorities who know very little of the needs of Editors, who are a little suspicious of the Press, and who have first to consider the College budget there is bound to be waste of energy and lack of efficiency.'⁹⁷

Harrison further suggested that, if his proposal was approved, a definite plan should be drawn up and offered to the University as a 'substitute for the present Diploma in Journalism.'

The next move for Harrison was to gain the agreement of the Principal of King's to an appeal and he achieved this by April, 1937. His proposals no longer called for two chairs but sought 'permanent endowment' of the Directorship of Practical Journalism and for 'A Readership in Modern English Literature' to be responsible for the academic studies of the Journalism students. For the former Harrison proposed asking for £25,000 and for the Readership, £20,000 plus another £15,000 for the 'erection and endowment... of a suitable library.'

Clarke thought that the way it was presented made it appear as though he himself was personally appealing for financial support for his own position. Against the £60,000 figure Clarke had penciled in 'Pulitzer £250,000.' Harrison's proposed original idea of 'asking Influential Persons... to endow two chairs, or guarantee £2,000 a year' had become an appeal for £60,000.⁹⁸ By 1939 Clarke was writing to the Principal of King's that: 'While I share Dr. Harrison's enthusiasm for improvements in organisation, I do not share his eagerness for immediate and drastic action. We are, in my view, going along very well and tending to settle down on the right lines.'⁹⁹

While the relevant papers to which the comment refers were not in the journalism archives of King's College, the developments outlined in the latter half of this chapter illustrate the possible way Dr. Harrison's proposals were heading. He was certainly active on all fronts where the Diploma was concerned, but he was disenchanted with King's College after he was passed over for a professorship (in favour of an Anglo-Saxon expert), which he later achieved at an American University.

But this was in the future, after the start of the Second World War and the dispersal of the University around the country and staff and students to all quarters of the globe. With this dispersal the Journalism Department papers were pushed into a store room, where they remained, apparently unexamined, until unearthed during this research. While arguments about university education for journalism ebbed and flowed, after 1945, these papers were not consulted. Neither journalists nor academics considered they had anything to learn from this experiment, although it did have its supporters. Clarke wrote to *The Times*, without any result (Appendix XXIII). By 1945 the course was officially closed. The hundreds of applications from servicemen and women gathered dust while both sides conveniently forgot the experiment.

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The Academic Tutor for Journalism Students at King's College, 1929-1939: Dr. G. B. Harrison

The author was fortunate in being able to correspond with Dr. Harrison, then living in retirement in New Zealand, and enjoyed the benefit of his comments on earlier versions of this book. Nothing Dr. Harrison said, in correspondence, contradicted anything to be found on the files in King's College archives, even though retrospection sometimes lent a rosier glow to events than the documents themselves might suggest, especially regarding the student calibre on the Diploma for Journalism course.

Harrison firmly believed that the 'stuffed professors in the University... disapproved of journalism and would gladly have destroyed the course.' For good measure he adds that, in his opinion, '...in those days there was a general prejudice against newspapermen.'¹⁰⁰ He described Clarke as a pusher although he doubted if he would have had the patience to see the course through to the status as an Independent School of the University.¹⁰¹

Although there was no formal test for entry to the Diploma Dr. Harrison stated that he carefully scrutinized the School Certificates of applicants to check their examination records. He seldom rejected anyone he regarded as 'a possible,' but he once refused 'a woman of 40 or so' on the grounds that her influence might affect the younger students. He estimated that only '40 per cent were seriously interested in Journalism as a profession,' the other 60 per cent wanting to be writers or 'reviewers.' The implications of such an analysis, for the performance of students and their success rate, indicate that, perhaps, the selection was at fault. But it is well to remind ourselves that pre-war universities needed their students, especially in provincial universities like London, possibly more than students needed the university, so limited were student numbers by comparison with the age-group of the population.

Dr. Harrison, however, remembered that the 'best students were a real joy' and that he could savour, in the fortnightly tutorials in English Composition, the products of what 'they had written and we would discuss it.'¹⁰² (See p. 188 below for students' views')

Yet Dr. Harrison stated he had a strong dislike for journalists 'as a class... I have not yet met one who knows his job'- and here he was speaking with experience of interviews conducted during postwar visits to England. He remained convinced, however, that some of the best English writing was journalism, as he reaffirmed while writing a book on the year 1936, called *The Day Before Yesterday*. He stated: 'The most important matters are to learn to write for his particular public - that does not mean to write *down to*. Good writing, i.e. getting the message across to the person for whom it is meant - is a great art. The real artist delights readers of every kind. A second technique is to be able to write to time and at the right length. A third essential gift is empathy, the ability to feel as the person who made and experienced the event felt. All that is vastly improved by education - of the right kind. So... a journalism course... needs both sides - the development of the right *kind* of art, and the training of the actual technique of writing to time and for the reader.'¹⁰³

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As an additional bonus Harrison suggested the interviewer should be taught the 'Art of Conversation' in any School of Journalism, and his ideal education for a journalist is included in Appendix XVI. As it was, Dr. Harrison's method of teaching English composition was ahead of its time, as can be seen from his scheme for teaching English, where prominence ought to be given to: 'exact description of events, places, persons as often a better way of developing self-expression than the writing of critical essays about poems and short stories which they cannot understand anyway.'¹⁰⁴

But the baronial climate of Fleet Street between the two World Wars¹⁰⁵ was not conducive to Schools of Journalism in universities even though they provided money to fund Clarke's salary. Press Lords had a sufficiency of supplicants for places and it was cheaper to hire and fire than to invest in schemes which might actually provide products not only ready to follow the accepted traditions, but change them as well. This the best always did yet their identities remained the property of a self-perpetuating, craft-oriented, network. The benefits of tutorial sessions with people like Dr. Harrison were what generations of workers craved for in the Workers' Educational Association, or some, like Clarke, who benefited from a stay at the workers' college, Ruskin College, Oxford. Such benefits were offered to the barons of Fleet Street but, while they had subscribed £5,000 in 1935 to provide Clarke's salary for five years, they were unwilling to undertake the task of subsidising a school of journalism on a grander scale, in 1936: 'Rothermere and Beaverbrook (a determined opponent of such schools) won't help and Elias's help might be a handicap...meanwhile there is a vicious circle: the university can't do more, or differently, unless subsidised; the Press won't subsidise till the university does more...we ought to be able to touch Rockefeller.'¹⁰⁶

Had the 'touch' been put into effect, there might have been a different ending here.¹⁰⁷

Endnotes

¹ Millerson, G., 1964, *The Qualifying Associations*.

² Royal Commission on University Education in London, 1909-1913. (Haldane Commission) Cmnd 6717, para. 41, 1913.

³ SMM ST2/2/35, 1918/19.

⁴ *ibid.*

⁵ Haldane Commission, *op. cit.*

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ The National Archives ED/47/17 'Report on the working of the Government Scheme for Higher Education of Ex-Servicemen.'

⁸ TNA RECO/1/882.

⁹ SMM ST2/2/35, 1918/19.

¹⁰ *ibid.* None of these were taught until after 1925.

¹¹ Mansfield, F.J. Letter to London University, May 6th 1919.

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- ¹² IoJJ August, 1919.
¹³ IoJJ November 1919.
¹⁴ TNA ED/47/16
¹⁵ Dunhill, David. Letter to author, October 13th 1978.
¹⁶ JCM Report. March 9th 1920.
¹⁷ IoJJ February-March 1920.
¹⁸ SMM ST2/2/36, 1919/20.
¹⁹ SMM ST2/2/37, 1920/21.
²⁰ IoJJ September- October 1921.
²¹ SMM ST2/2/39, 1922/23
²² TNA ED/47/16.
²³ IoJJ September-October 1921.
²⁴ Newspaper Society Monthly Circular, May 1935.
²⁵ SMM ST2/2/41, 1924/25.
²⁶ SMM ST2/2/45, 1928/29.
²⁷ *The Newspaper World* November 14th 1925
²⁸ In: *Journalism Studies Review*, 1 (2) 1977.
²⁹ JCM March 21st 1929.
³⁰ SMM ST2/2/47, 1930/31.
³¹ SMM ST2/2/51, 1934/35.
³² JCM Minute 499, February 4th 1931.
³³ SMM ST2/2/47, 1930/31.
³⁴ JCM May 14th 1931.
³⁵ JCM Minute 554, October 23rd 1931.
³⁶ JCM Minute 615, July 1932. See ch 9, n42.
³⁷ Memorandum dated October 13th 1932.
³⁸ JCM Minute 34, February 2nd 1932.
³⁹ 'Ex-Students' Opinion on the Journalism Course' 12. xii. 32, 6pp., and the next four quotes.
⁴⁰ *L. U. J. S. Gazette*, May 1932. Students request coverage of events of popular interest to be included in assignments.
⁴¹ *ibid.*
⁴² JCM Minute 106, December 13th 1933.
⁴³ KDJ/2 in KDJ/Bx 16 (after 1922)
⁴⁴ JCM Minute 166, February 20th 1935.
⁴⁵ JCM Minute 170-1, *ibid.*
⁴⁶ JCM Minute 187 July 9th 1935.
⁴⁷ Harrison, G.B., 1935, *The Universities and Journalism* IoJJ XXIII (229) October. See appendix XXVIII, *The Times* report of the event, 11th September 1935.
⁴⁸ Williams, Walter, 1935, *The Times* obituary notice. July 31st.
⁴⁹ *British Press Review*, December 1935.
⁵⁰ Will, Allen Sinclair, 1931, *Education for Newspaper Life*.
⁵¹ KDJ/18/35.
⁵² *ibid.* quotes Will: '... can't teach Practical Journalism by theoretical lectures.'
⁵³ Will, *op.cit.*
⁵⁴ KDJ/18/35.
⁵⁵ *ibid.*
⁵⁶ *ibid.*
⁵⁷ When I interviewed the 1939 winner of the Harmsworth Gold Medal, Geoffrey Pinnington, in 1978, he practically repeated some of the same phrases. See audio interview on companion website. Although criticized by Geoffrey Cox for not sustaining 'the high intellectual standards of the old *Daily News*' Clarke's approach to teaching journalism was that the 'Diploma must provide students with an intellectual equipment especially designed for their needs' and Pinnington's response illustrates the relevance of Clarke's teaching. *BJR* 7:3 and 7:4, 1996.
⁵⁸ Harrison, G.B., 1935, *op. cit.*
⁵⁹ Harrison, G.B. 1935, *The Universities and Journalism*, IoJJ October. See appendix XXVIII
⁶⁰ KDJ/18/34.
⁶¹ Clarke, Tom, 1935, Speech at the Café Royal, December.
⁶² Clarke, Tom, 1936.
⁶³ Harrison, G.B., 1936, Organisation of the Course.

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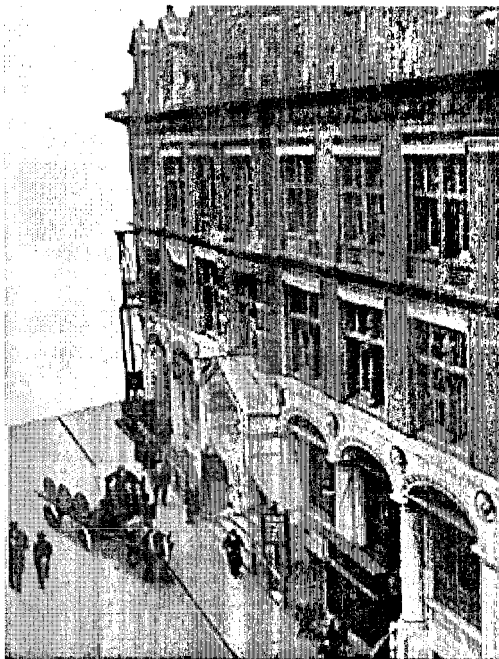
- ⁶⁴ Pinnington, G., 1978, Interview with author. Audio on enclosed CD.
- ⁶⁵ Letter from Tom Clarke to Joan Skipsey 8th July 1935, and next four quotes.
- ⁶⁶ JCM Minute 299(i) and (ii), March 22nd, 1937.
- ⁶⁷ College Journalism Committee, February 20th 1939, item 3. See Appendix XIV.
- ⁶⁸ Newell, E. (1936-38, University College) letter to author, October 23rd 1978, who missed out on the Practical Journalism by being at U.C.
- ⁶⁹ Skipsey, Miss. Later Mrs. Galwey. Interview with author, July 1978.
- ⁷⁰ Stephens, Robert. Diplomatic Correspondent on *The Observer*, conversation with the author, October 1978.
- ⁷¹ Jacobson, Lord, 1977, 'Journalism Training in the 1920s'. *Journalism Studies Review*, 1(2).
- ⁷² Dodge, John, nd.-1978. 'An Overdue Partnership' in *The British Press. A Look Ahead*, Commonwealth Press Union.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Skipsey, *op. cit.*
- ⁷⁵ Dunhill, David, 1978, *University of London Diploma Course, 1936/7*. TSS 6 pp. Communication to the author.
- ⁷⁶ Skipsey, *op. cit.*
- ⁷⁷ University of London Conference of the Academic and Collegiate Councils on the Centralisation of the Journalism Courses in the University. 2. xi 36 para. 3
- ⁷⁸ College Journalism Committee, 1938, January 21st Agenda, item 4.
- ⁷⁹ *ibid.* Dr. Harrison's copy of the minutes/agenda.
- ⁸⁰ Harrison, G.B., 1938, Memorandum on the Syllabus of the Diploma for Journalism October 27th.
- ⁸¹ Dodge, 1978, *op. cit.*
- ⁸² Harrison, 1938, *op. cit.* Next four extracts also refer.
- ⁸³ *ibid.* See Appendix XV.
- ⁸⁴ Journalism Committee, 1936, November 1st Observation by Mr. Tom Clarke on Dr. Harrison's Memorandum.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ JCM November 4th, 1938, item 3 (iii).
- ⁸⁸ Miss Skipsey to S.T. Shovelton, October 26th 1938.
- ⁸⁹ JCM November 29th 1938, Minute 2.b. Extracts up to note 95 taken from this document.
- ⁹⁰ JCM February 20th 1939; next extract also.
- ⁹¹ JCM March 31st 1939, Minute no. 10.
- ⁹² JCM July 3rd 1939, note 4.
- ⁹³ See Miss Skipsey's memorandum to Shovelton, note 88.
- ⁹⁴ Harrison, G.B., to Clarke. Memorandum dated November 24th 1935 (next five extracts also refer to this document.)
- ⁹⁵ 'the interviewing committee area apt to choose a man who has done well academically, without any due regard to his being the type of man wanted in journalism.'
- ⁹⁶ Harrison to Clarke, November 1935. Subsequent quotes from this document until next note.
- ⁹⁷ Harrison, G.B. Memorandum: 'Suggestion for the Appeal for Money for the Journalism Department.' April 15th 1937. Subsequent quotes, up to note 98 refer to this.
- ⁹⁸ Harrison, G.B., to Clarke, November 24th, 1935.
- ⁹⁹ Clarke, Tom to Principal, King's College, June 12th 1939.
- ¹⁰⁰ Harrison G. B. to the author, May 30th 1978.
- ¹⁰¹ Even in 1996 Peter Cole could write that 'suspicion' about 'undergraduate courses in journalism...was a peculiarly British prejudice.' *BJR* 7:2, p. 46.
- ¹⁰² Harrison to author, August 10th 1979.
- ¹⁰³ Harrison to author, September 22nd 1979.
- ¹⁰⁴ Harrison G.B., *Profession of English*, 1962.
- ¹⁰⁵ See Piers Brendon, 1982, *The Life and Death of the Press Barons*. But see page 84 for their providing Clarke's salary.
- ¹⁰⁶ Harrison to Clarke, 25 V. 36, reporting a conversation with the chairman of the Journalism Committee, Col. Lawson.
- ¹⁰⁷ Harrison to author, May 30th 1978.

Illustrations

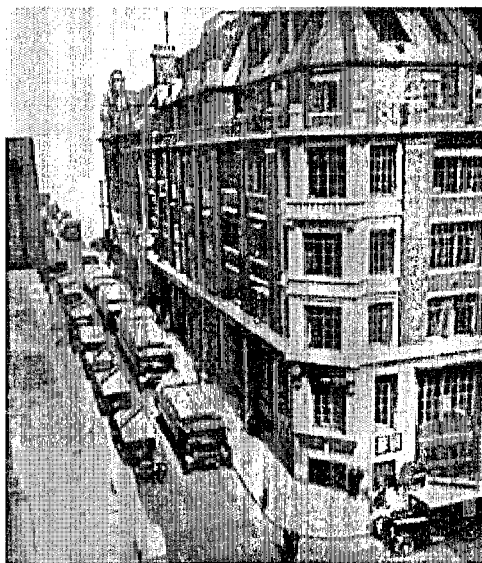


London's Fleet Street in the early 20th century taken by the US Bain News Service and archived in the Library of Congress. The University of London Diploma Course developed from an age when the horse-drawn carriage was being replaced by the motor vehicle and Fleet Street was expanding exponentially as the national industrial centre of Great Britain's newspaper business.

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The *News Chronicle* in Bouverie Street, off Fleet Street as it was in 1910 in the age of the horse-drawn carriage

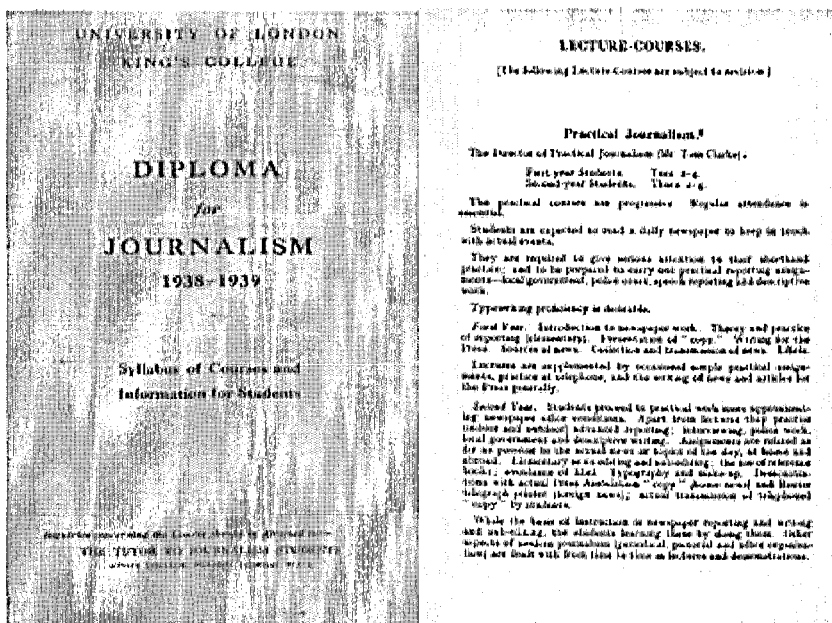


The *News Chronicle* 25 years later in 1935 in the age of the motor vehicle and wireless. The newspaper was edited by Tom Clarke before he became the University of London's Director of Practical Journalism 1935-45.

Illustrations

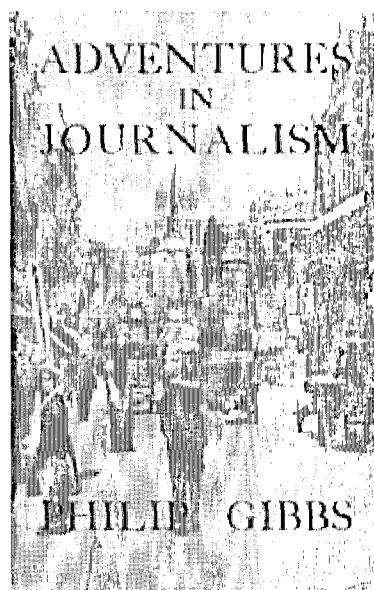


Surrey Comet editor Valentine Knapp and President Elect of the Newspaper Society at the time of his death in 1935, Chairman of the Journalism Committee of London University 1922-32, and an advocate of practical journalism teaching.



Diploma for Journalism course brochure 1938-39 with detail of Practical Journalism course from page 6.

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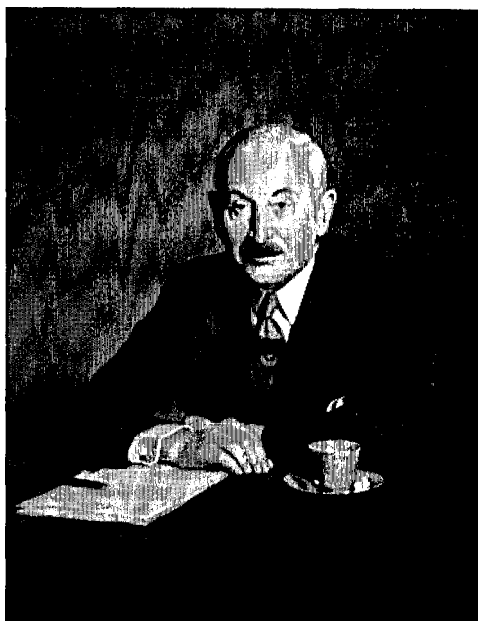


The memoirs of journalist Sir Philip Gibbs published in 1923



The best selling novel by Philip Gibbs on the life of a Fleet Street journalist published in 1909, based on *The Tribune* 1906-8.

Illustrations

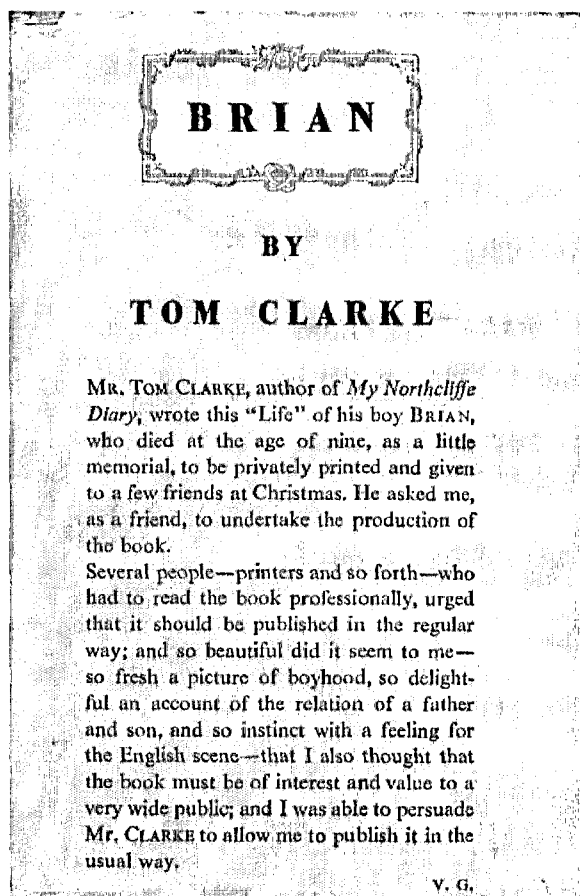


**Lord Burnham, of the Daily Telegraph (4th Baron and, as Col. E.F. Lawson
former Chairman of the Journalism Committee of London University)
Courtesy *Daily Telegraph***



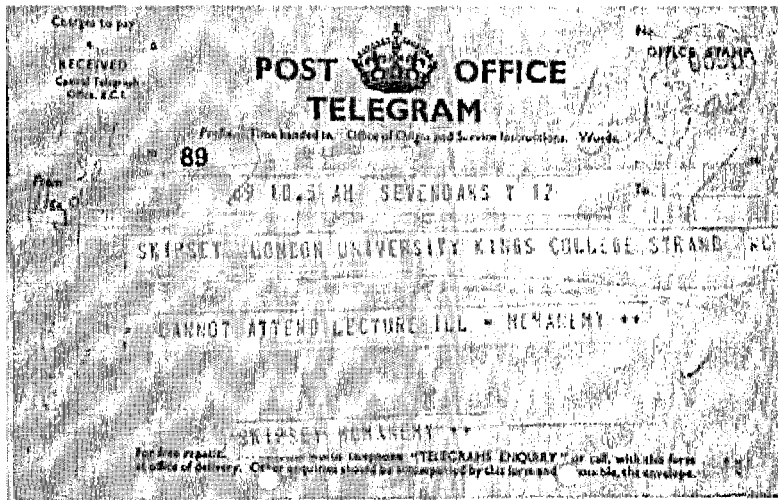
**Tom Clarke, Director of Practical Journalism on the Diploma of Journalism
course 1935-1939 (although listed in the University until 1945).**

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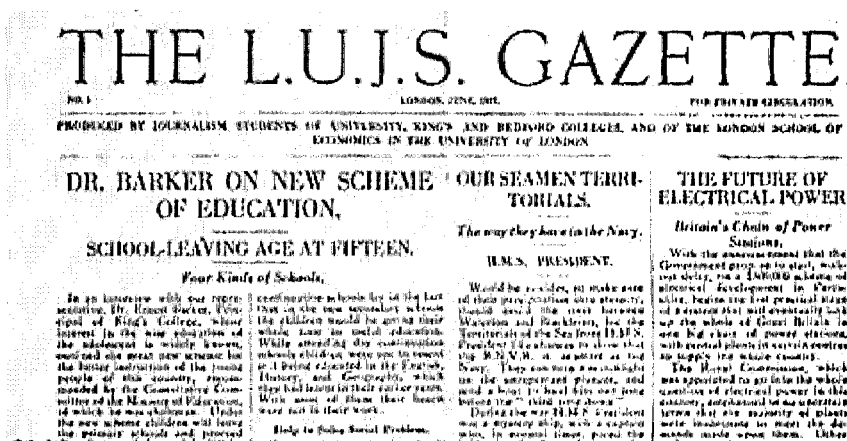


The cover of Tom Clarke's moving account of the life and death of his 9-year-old son Brian. The publisher Victor Gollancz explains why he persuaded his author to make the book available to the public in 1936. Clarke took down in accurate shorthand the last conversation he had with his boy before he slipped into unconsciousness and died from meningitis.

Illustrations

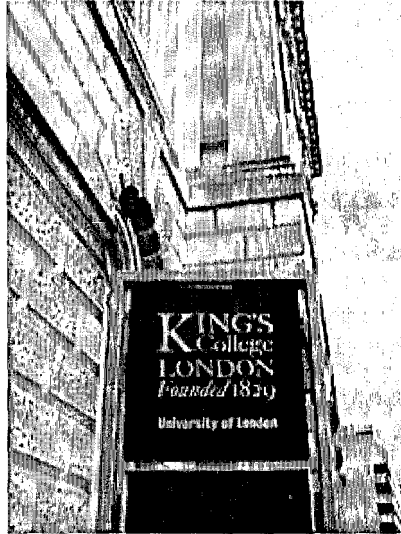


Telegram sent by a Diploma for Journalism student to explain his absence as a result of a culture of professional discipline introduced to the course by Tom Clarke in 1936.



The L.U.J.S. Gazette produced by students on the Diploma for Journalism course in 1927.

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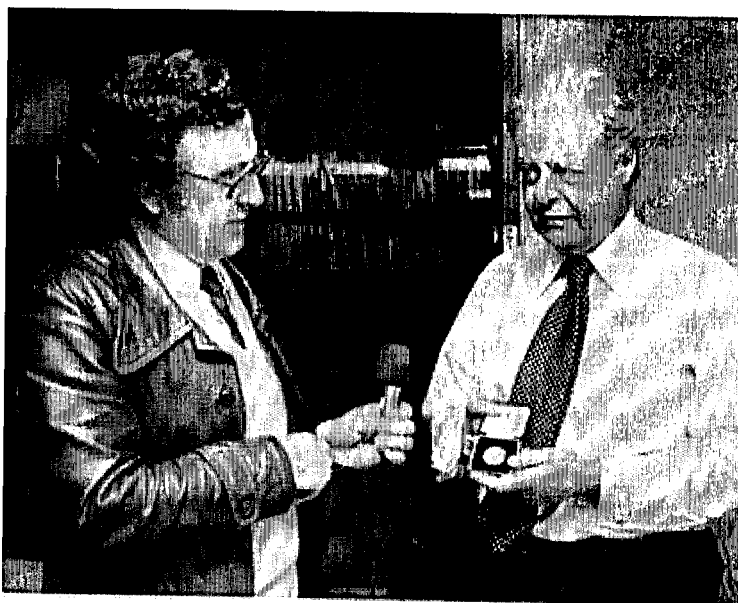


King's College, University of London, originally founded in 1829 and eventually the centre for journalism teaching on the Diploma course.



King's College at the beginning of the 21st Century and the building used by the students on the Diploma for Journalism course.

Illustrations



The author, Dr. Fred Hunter interviewing former Diploma for Journalism student Geoffrey Pinnington when he was editor of the *Sunday People* in 1978.



The Harmsworth medal awarded to Geoffrey Pinnington, above, when a student on the London University Diploma for Journalism course in 1937-39. Not visible but round the rim of the medal are the words 'Truth is stranger than fiction' especially put there at the request of Sir Leicester Harmsworth, after whom the medal is named.

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Clare Lawson Dick was a successful graduate of the University of London Diploma for Journalism course between 1931 and 1933 and subsidised her studies by modelling for *Vogue*. She had a successful career at the BBC where she became the first woman controller of BBC Radio 4.

Illustrations



Leila Berg, graduate of the Diploma for Journalism Course 1937-39, who became a distinguished children's author.

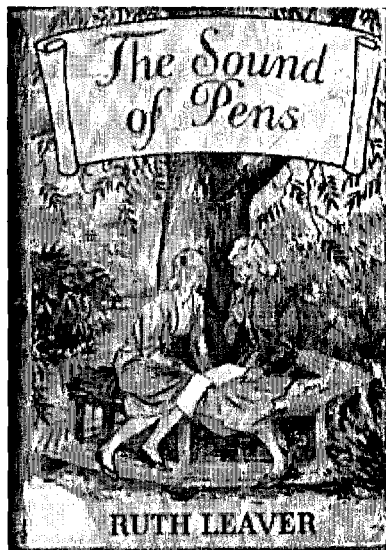


An inspiration for women journalists at the end of the 19th century: Lady Florence Dixie (1857-1905). In 1879 she became an early war correspondent covering the Zulu Wars in South Africa for the *Morning Post*.

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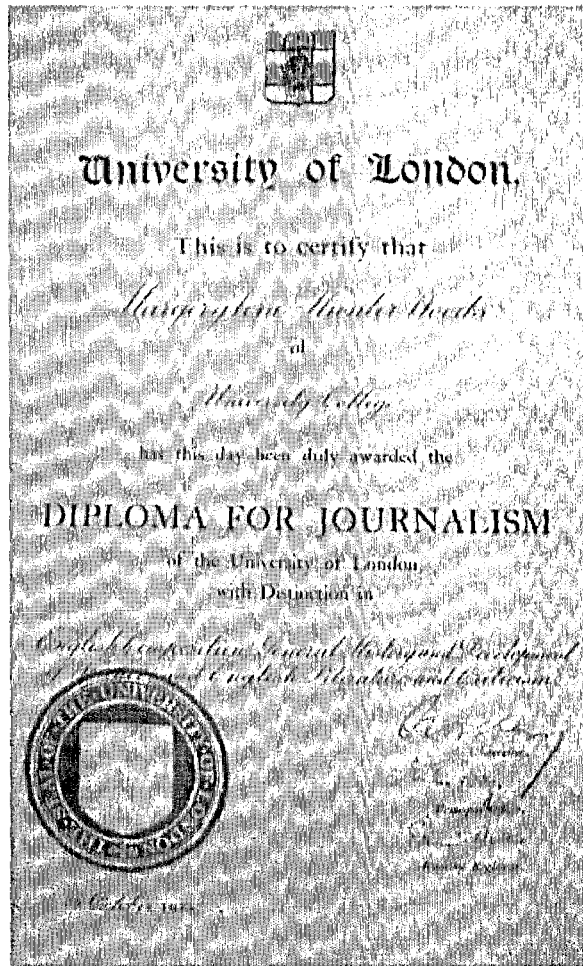


The journalist and author, Ruth Tomalin. when a student on the Diploma for Journalism course 1937-39.



The novel *The Sound of Pens* written by Ruth Tomalin in 1955 and published by Blackie in their 'Books for Girls' list. The book tells the story of how 2 sisters Pip and Clare began their careers in journalism and authorship after attending a College journalism course.

Illustrations



A Diploma for Journalism certificate issued to Margery Vera Hunter Woods (later Green) in 1923 and marking her distinction achievement in English Composition, General History and Development of Science and English Literature and Criticism.

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Margery Vera Hunter Woods (later Green), born in 1904, attended University College from 1921-23 gaining her Diploma for Journalism aged 19. (certificate on previous page)



The entrance to King's College, University of London bearing the motto 'Sancte et Sapienter' (With holiness and wisdom).

Illustrations



Joan Skipsey assistant to Tom Clarke while he was Director of Practical Journalism on the Diploma for Journalism course 1937 to 1939. She had also been a student on the course and graduated in 1936.



Joan Skipsey, now Galwey, in the 1960s, when she began her career with Citizens Advice Bureau at Notting Hill in London.

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Chapter Seven

Editorial Attitudes Towards News Reporting Revealed in Clarke's Lecture Notes

Introductory Lectures & First Reporting Assignments

Clarke's draft of his lecture notes shows he determined that, from the start of his teaching at King's College, students would follow current news events and report them, handing in their reports at specified times, to specific lengths. Their copy would be returned with his remarks for their guidance, which would be as good as seeing their work in print. Students' reporting assignments would be concerned with public, or semi-public, bodies which were important sources of news, most of whose chief executives were known personally to the Director of Practical Journalism at King's College, as files of correspondence in the archives testify.

Clarke also decided that students would be invited to offer their criticisms of fellow-students work. Visiting lecturers would also provide the occasion for students to write a summary of the lecture and prepare it as a news story, with the best report sent to the lecturer (often an editor or special correspondent.) The first three weeks of the course would be introductory sessions followed by a suburban, or provincial, weekly newspaper editor describing his work. The best stories handed in by students covering outside assignments would be read out in subsequent classes: 'Such things as "bus stations; motor coaches; census; hospitals; schools; London County Council; Courts; Chamber of Commerce; street scenes; churches; university news. All in proper perspective. Write for the general public. Not for the college.'" All these were the possibilities Clarke outlined as outside appointments that students might report on. On her appointment as Clarke's assistant Skipsey took over these tasks and did all the marking.

Earlier Clarke had sought out copies of three American universities Schools of Journalism 'announcements' or syllabi for 1934 and 1935, and he took a leaf from these when he was able to release the news that Sir Leicester Harmsworth had offered an annual Gold Medal for the best all-round student, with £200 of Government stock to endow it in perpetuity. The winner would have his, or her, name inscribed with the date, and the words 'Truth is stranger than fiction' were later sunk into the rim, at Sir Leicester's request. When the 1939 winner, Geoffrey Pinnington, editor of the *Sunday People* (1972-82), showed his gold medal to the author, he was unaware of these words. (See p. 112)

Explaining his teaching methods to the Café Royal luncheon in December, 1935, Clarke described how he felt that there was only one way of trying to do it, and that was to make the students learn mainly by doing;

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not telling them so much how things should be done, but make them do them. So his first words to students, on joining the course, were that they had now become junior reporters on a newspaper going to press that very night, and that they would learn by doing the things they had to do on a newspaper, and doing them speedily and accurately. This might explain the demise of the *L.U.J.S. Gazette* termly newspaper when Clarke was appointed. Again, still at the same luncheon, Clarke felt strongly that: 'This practical work must have some relation to reality, not only in the matter written, but in its accuracy, condensation, and the speed of its preparation and transmission.'²

Several of those at the luncheon, like the Chief Clerk at Bow Street Police Court, Albert Lieck, took four students at a time, twice a week, to do practical reporting of the cases there, but *not* for publication. Others attended meetings of the London County Council, arranged by Herbert Morrison (1891-1963), and this helped them learn about local government. The Port of London Authority were also very helpful and a former student remembers being taken to the docks and writing a feature on it which he sold to a London evening paper.³

After Clarke had been teaching for about a year the opportunity arose to discuss the future of the course with fellow academics in November 1936.⁴ Some problems discussed included the different term dates; for instance, University College students sometimes missed Clarke's first lectures in the term which, 'in a progressive course like Practical Journalism... is a handicap.' While it may have worked well enough in the past, Clarke put his case forthrightly: 'We are not dealing with the past, but with the future, and attempting to meet changes which have come about in the newspaper field... and it was recognition of these changes that brought about the revision of the Journalism course... to bring it abreast of modern newspaper requirements. The newspaper profession is still watching us, what we are doing to make the course really efficient and we have still got to get the general body to take us seriously.'

The considered opinion of the journalists on the Journalism Committee of London University was that there should be a centralized Journalism Department at one college and, if that could not be arranged, 'setting up in the University an Independent School of Journalism.'

The old journalism which involved 'writing short stories, descriptive articles, dramatic criticism or leading articles' Clarke felt was wrong, because it ignored the 'going out and digging up news, knowing how to deal with a speech or a police court case.' In other words, he was referring to the standards of the old journalism with its leisured pace and readership, centred in the London club-land of Pall Mall, being replaced by the brasher, brighter luminaries of the new journalism - as they were again calling it throughout the 1930s.

Clarke's method of teaching, as evidenced in his lecture notes which exist in manuscript and type-written form, allows informed discussion of his technique of imparting journalistic skills to youngsters of university age, and also provides an invaluable insight into editorial attitudes towards news and how it should be reported.

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Clarke started as he meant to continue: with newspaper practice as standard, in other words, all 'copy' (paper on which stories were written) had to be on one side of the paper only, with the student's name in the top right hand side, with regular margins and spacing between lines. Next came notes on how to deal with names, quotations and always putting the time at the end of the story. Accuracy was the first motto and, instead of saying 'If in doubt, leave it out' often quoted as a journalistic adage, Clarke was of the opinion that 'If in doubt don't write it until you have found out.' His first, 20-minute introductory talk on 'What is a Newspaper and What Does It Do?' was the first subject that the aspiring journalism students had to report in 500 words 'as if you were writing a newspaper this afternoon... and hand it in... before you go.'⁵ The next session was devoted to a critique of their reports, when errors were pointed out. An additional note warned students never to submit stories, obtained on College assignments, to any public publicity concern without Clark's approval. (I have seen references to a student-run news agency at King's, but no corroborative evidence has been discovered.)

First year students, from 1937 onwards, also had to complete a form listing daily, and local, newspapers they read, plus details of shorthand speeds and their telephone numbers. Clarke wanted them to be telephone-minded because, once they got a newspaper job, they would probably spend half their working lives on the telephone. To give practice in telephone technique the public relations office of the General Post Office installed free demonstration handsets, and gave conducted tours of exchanges and a postal sorting office.

News - Facts not Fiction

Clarke's introductory lectures, on the highly organized industry which dealt in the commodity called 'news', highlight the function as being that of buying news and selling it to the public. The first year's work was practice in elementary reporting: how to get the news and write it in newspaper style. Reporting was the basis of *all* journalism, the reporter was the man who collected and wrote the news; and learning where to find it was as important as how it had to be written. There was no point sitting at home indulging in flights of fancy which, probably, nobody would want to read; he had to go out into the world to be able to see and hear things - news - so he had to know how to look, where to look, and when to listen. The reporter differed from the mere writer both in the way he found his material and in the way he wrote it for presentation to the public. The reporter was dealing with 'Fact, not Fiction.' He disabused students of the notion that practical journalism had anything to do with essay writing. Reporting was quite another matter from writing essays. Indeed, Clarke went so far as to refuse a prize for a 'best essay' offered by the Institute of Journalists.

Clarke insisted that part of the process of becoming a reporter involved a close scrutiny of the product of the profession, and so a session of 'How a Journalist should read his daily paper' was included for first-year students. He reminded students at the opening of the introductory first year lecture that they had all signed a document when they joined the course stating

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which national paper they read. This was because he saw one of the first duties of journalists was to keep in close and regular touch with the mainstream news: 'The Big Things,' as Clarke described them, that reporters had to keep in touch with because they were their modern history which they could only get from newspapers. Since reporters could be sent out at any moment to talk with people or report meetings they had to be aware of the big news topics of the day.⁶ There was another dimension to this reading: that of selecting ideas to 'follow-up' because the reporter who brought in such ideas was the one who progressed. Clarke then made the students provide six such 'follow-up' ideas from their newspapers by the end of the lecture.

Clarke's advice to students at his early lectures was to tell them that they had to assume they had become junior reporters on the staff of a daily paper and that he required them to accept the discipline they would have to accept if they had a job on a newspaper. This meant they had to be on time. 'You must be on time *here*, or, (as in a newspapers office) you will be sacked.' That succinctly states Clarke's attitude, and it must have sunk home, as the files are full of letters, and telegrams, apologizing for absence from lectures. (See p. 110)

Unlike the professor of English who would not tell the Diploma students *what* to write (because no journalist would be told what to write) Clarke on the other hand pointed out that, as reporters, they would often be sent out to report certain things the value of which *had been decided beforehand*, by their news editors; whether fires, exhibitions or interviews. Although the news editor made the initial news value judgement to cover the incident; say a fire, they would still have to assess its newsworthiness, based on its degree of 'unusualness' or 'human interest', in terms of lives lost or, if a well-known person was among these, it thereby took on a higher news value. The fledgling reporter would also soon learn that, in terms of news values, a fire in a West-End store had more appeal than a fire in a Bermondsey leather factory. Whatever the incident, reporters always had to ask themselves three questions of any story: 'Is it true? Is it important? Is it interesting?'

Clarke warned the students that very often, as young reporters, they would find it hard to answer objectively at least the two last questions: 'You will have umpteen facts and, knowing that lots of other stories are competing with yours for sub-editorial approval, you will bewilder yourself wondering what to put in and what to leave out. Although I stress the need for brevity and terseness in reporting, I would say this to the young reporter in such a quandary:- Of the two evils - writing too little or too much - write too much (and apologise to the sub for doing so) explaining your quandary. Flatter him by telling him you want his advice. He'll curse you outwardly but secretly he'll admire your judgement.'

Reporting speeches caused problems because they were ten times longer than reported and Clarke advised students to watch for topic points, which they would have to prepare for by reading up about their man, and his subject, *before* they went to the meeting. One further piece of advice to reporters was always to think 'yours is THE story of the today. Often you'll make it so.'

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The Lobby - Parliamentary Reporting

The lecture to first year students on January 18th 1938, was given by a former student of the course and member of the Journalism Committee, Norman Robson, then political correspondent for the Westminster Press group of Provincial newspapers. Speaking on 'The Lobby Journalist and his Job' Robson warned them it was no eight-hour day because the Lobby man for provincial newspapers had to do everything, from social paragraphs on deputations and visiting delegations, to straight news, comment and 'news with an angle.' The morning was usually spent seeing people away from the House before attending question time at 2.45 p.m. Then from 3.45 to 5.30 p.m. they were in the Lobby itself and again from 6 to 8 p.m. From then until 10 p.m. it was 'Copy and dinner followed by another session in the Lobby until about 11.30 p.m.' Quoting Mr. Speaker Lowther's ruling of April 29th 1920, on the subject of what may be published by Lobby journalists, Robson pointed out that it only repeated the tradition of the House which forbade discussion of its Committees until they had been 'laid on the table', notice of which appeared in Order Papers available each night at 10.30 p.m. at the Vote Office. To obtain Government papers Lobby Correspondents, in those days, had to co-operate with Departments in securing advance copies: 'Patience: trustworthiness: knowledge: shorthand: quickness: tact: decision.' These were the qualities Robson listed as essential for Lobby reporting. Patience because of the tedious hours spent waiting to 'catch the man, allied with being a good listener because, after all, Lobby journalists were only human and, as such, 'born gossips.'

To betray a confidence given in the Lobby, by an M.P., would render future attendance useless because Lobby journalists had to establish a position of mutual understanding with politicians. Robson's attitude was that the trained journalist needed a fund of 'stored-up knowledge': of Parliamentary machinery, political history since 1900, personalities and party manifestoes, the inter-relation of Departmental activities, foreign affairs and trade. Added to these you also needed a good reading background in biography and general 'wide reading.'

Working in the Lobby demanded a good memory not only because of the importance of literal accuracy but also because a notebook was itself a danger. 'Good memory was an asset. Shorthand a safeguard.' 'Quickness was important because the Lobby man had to decide quickly which was the right topic of the moment and "fact" meant not wasting M.P.'s time by trying to tell them their own game. 'Decision' was the vital element in knowing 'when to use information and HOW to use it... scoops are what are wanted. News more than views. Making stories.'

In a letter to Clarke on January 2nd 1938 regarding the marking of students' reports on his lecture, Robson was concerned that one point had not come across clearly. This was his reference to 'angle writing' in news: 'All Lobby Journalists are alike in having to *collect* the facts. They are all alike in having to *present* FACTS. Where they differ is the degree of importance they may attach to the same facts. This is what is meant by

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colour. A meeting about Empire trade might not be considered by some correspondents as of much importance. The *Daily Express* representative would not take that view of it... his report would... be longer.⁷

Robson was also concerned at how few reports were typed, pointing out that in his student days (just after the First World War) students bought their own typewriters. Clarke asked him to bring this up at the Journalist Committee because, coming from a member, it would have more authority behind it.

Interviewing and Approaching People

The third lecture of the Easter Term, 1938, was on 'Interviewing' which Clarke said was a misnomer because what editors wanted when they sent someone out to 'go and get an interview' was really 'go and get a statement from him.' He demonstrated this by showing students that, in the 'Fire Test' simulation, their reports were built up after a series of interviews with the fire chief, police, survivors, shop-owner, from which they only selected certain statements, leaving out many things, sometimes their own questions. For what he called the 'armchair variety' of interview, then students would need to find out all they could about their victim, by reading reference books to learn about the background, family life, children, hobbies etc. Their line of approach could thus be planned, and not haphazard.

Approaching people for an interview was also dealt with and Clarke was adamant they should never adopt a superior manner to the interviewee and, if they were difficult, either point out delay would only put off the moment of reckoning or so phrase a few questions he could answer, like 'Shall I be making a fool of myself if I say this' or 'Shall I be wasting my time if I do that.' Even obstinate officials had a human side and budding reporters would do well to cultivate them and find out what interested them apart from their work.

Accuracy: Jargon: Reference Books

The greatest problem for all students seemed to be maintaining accuracy: Clarke himself commented that one year he'd been surprised how many people had lectured the previous week: sixteen, out of nineteen, students wrote the visiting lecturer's name in eleven different ways, when it was actually written and exhibited on the notice board. One had even spelt the name 'three different ways in the same report.' So he hoped none of them would make jibes about newspaper inaccuracies as they had had a preliminary experience in the difficulty of being accurate. By drumming in the need for accuracy in reporting Clarke was pointing to his dictum about journalism being tied in very closely to thinking, and accurate thinking at that.

Jargon that might puzzle the beginner was the subject of another lecture on the 'Glossary of Newspaper Terms', in which both journalistic and printers' terms were explained. Just as important was 'The Newspaper Library and the Use of Reference Books' which began with Clarke stating

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that no reporter should ever go to see anybody without first finding out all about them, because even the subject's hobbies might raise an issue worth reporting. It was the same for sub-editing: getting things correct. While admonishing students to use them he warned that they soon dated and ideally they should all start their reference books of lists of contacts, addresses and telephone numbers. While admitting that it had taken him years to learn how to use reference books, Clarke set them writing paragraphs based on information taken from reference books: with the added task of giving news reasons for writing about them. So, a Dowager Marchioness was one subject chosen because her daughter, a Crown Princess of Sweden, was visiting her; Lord Cecil appeared in the list because he was organising a peace ballot; Gracie Fields because she had recently been awarded an honour.

Out of 30 attempts 12 were labelled 'scanty' by Miss Skipsey, 4 were good and 3 only, very good. 33 students completed this assignment but 24 handed in no work for marking.

More Reporting Assignments

Good relations with the House of Commons must have persisted throughout the years as 26 students attended a debate on Australia instead of reporting one of Clarke's simulations on March 1st 1938.

The next day G. Pinnington went with four others to cover the Brazilian Ambassador's talk, while others covered a left Book Club protest (see p. 213) for Skipsey's comments on Leila Berg's reporting of this event). Such activities must have taxed the ingenuity of the budding reporters especially as they had, ringing in their ears, Clarke's remarks about speech reporting, that they should start with an arresting sentence especially where the speaker was not well-known. Alternatively, Clarke suggested a quotation from the speech as being a good starting point and, failing that, a question sentence was always a good way of breaking a dull routine. Just as valuable was always to be ready to grasp any new phrases invented by the speaker: Churchill's 'terminological inexactitude' or Eden's 'uneasy partnership'. Life and reality were what were needed, not dull third person past tense where 'the speaker continued' or 'he then proceeded to say.' Shorthand here was essential, more for the ability to catch those rare moments of rhetorical indiscretions than pages of dull reading.

Vacation Attachments on Provincial Newspapers

Prior to their departure from the College for their first venture (for most) in provincial newspapers, Clarke underlined the responsibility of writing for publication, advising them that some newspapers might be nervous of trusting them at first and, if so, they must not mope around the office. If anyone looked particularly busy, offer to help: 'If you see something which might be reported by you at a certain angle, offer yourself. The editor will probably turn it down; or send someone else, but never mind. You will have made a tactful little dent.'

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The Easter vacation was usually the first opportunity Diploma students had of gaining experience in provincial newspapers, and this was written into the syllabus, and Clarke read this out in his introductory lecture to these attachments: that they should be prepared to devote part of their vacations to gaining such experience. He advised them to veil any ambitions to be reviewers because local newspapers wanted reporters not book or drama critics. There was advice, too, about the pitfalls of the 'superiority complex' that had brought a lot of trouble to the task of getting papers to co-operate over vacation attachments. He admonished students to be primed with the note of the office address and telephone number as well as the name of the editor, local mayor, and the political complexion of the Council. Get to know the history of the district and its leading personalities, was another piece of advice. The keynote of their behaviour should be that: 'you have come to learn. Don't argue. Make contacts. Don't be a clock-watcher. Be accurate in all you write. Put nothing on paper that you do not know to be true. When in doubt FIND OUT.'

Office hours had to be ascertained and adhered to and promptness was a virtue. Know the edition times and days and find out the last time for receiving copy. And he reminded them always to put their names in the top right hand corner and to try and type their copy. I followed this advice when instituting vacation attachments at radio stations for students on the London College of Printing Radio Journalism course which I started in 1977.

They also had to keep a diary of this period and submit it to Clarke in the first week of the summer term. He told them to persist with any story they were allocated and to take the kicks with a smile if they got it wrong. Or get a colleague in a quiet corner, flatter him, or her, and 'they'd probably win sympathy with guidance.' In this way Clarke prepared students for the realities of provincial newspaper life where everyone had most likely come up the hard way and might well regard University journalists most unfavourably. He also advised students to dress well, but not ostentatiously... the sloppiness of College wear was not suitable for a reporter who might have to go anywhere.

When these students returned to College, the editors' comments, listing occasional weaknesses as well as regular strengths, were already before the Journalism Committee.

Although Clarke expected most students to find jobs outside London he did prepare them for daily paper work with lectures on newspaper organisation and with the crime reporting simulation mentioned earlier. He advised that, in covering a murder, the short story techniques were permissible because 'the chief canon of short story writing was suspense.'

Historical Background of the Press

It was not just the practical element that attracted Clarke's interest: when it came to newspaper history his enthusiasm for what he described as 'a most fascinating and enlightening study' was apparent. Rather than begin with a list of dates and names of long-dead newspapers Clarke started his talk by asking 'What were the beginnings of news?' and answered it by

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starting: 'Moses first reporter, made himself the spokesman unto the people. On Mount Sinai wrote all the words of the Lord. (shorthand) Tables of stone. Broke notebook... but started reporting tradition of accuracy by bringing back with him his rod of proof.'

Nor did he forget his audience, even in King's College with so many women among his band of young, hopeful newspaperwomen of the future. He did not forget to mention Jane Coe's *Perfect Occurrences of Parliament* and *Chief Collections of Letters of Several Victories* of 1644 and Mrs Powell's *Charitable Mercury and Female Intelligence* of 1716. Rushing across the centuries from Corantes to Courants, Clarke saw the turning point of English Journalism as the introduction of the *Daily Mail*: '... and the most important thing was the appeal to women as well as men... hitherto papers had not considered the existence of women readers.' Clarke's admiration for the founder of the *Daily Mail*, Alfred Harmsworth later Lord Northcliffe, led him to write two books on his days under his tutelage.

Even this historical sketch returns to his favourite theme that: 'from the news-pamphleteers of Elizabethan days to modern times when the Press had become a major British industry... it has been the same, the same getting about of all news and therefore the basis of all journalism.' As if to distance himself and his students on the eve of their first vacation attachments in newspaper offices from the academic setting of the lecture room, Clarke continued: 'now you see why men started newspapers; to satisfy human curiosity as to what was going on at home and abroad. Now you see what journalists do - practical journalists... who give the public their newspapers. They do not sit in easy chairs and write what comes into their heads. They go out into the city highways and by-ways, to police courts; to wars; to borough councils and funerals; to political meetings with sermons... to theatre and football match - always out and about, searching, questing in the most competitive profession in the world.'

The Question of Teaching Shorthand

By early in the academic year 1938/39 Clarke had also settled the thorny question of shorthand: Pitman's College, in its Southampton Row annexe, offered a short course *before* the start of the academic year at one-third the cost of ordinary courses. Lasting six hours a day over three, or four months (with an extra guinea to pay for that extra month on top of £10) this was only suitable for those living in London and so a Correspondence Course was also offered for three guineas (£3.15). A third option was twice-weekly, two-hour evening classes just for King's journalism students during the course. All these arrangements involved the Principal of King's, Dr. Halliday, in protracted negotiations and might indicate the extent the College was prepared to go to demonstrate its serious intentions for the continued success of the course.

News Teams

As the course progressed first and second year students combined to produce simulated newspaper operations, with two groups of teams

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collecting and making-up the news on make-up sheets presented by various London papers, usually the evenings, *The Star* and the *Evening News*. There were two of everything, from editors, chief sub-editors, news, foreign, picture editors, to leader writers (one each side) plus two telephonists (to take the stories telephoned in) and two ticker attendants to cope with the teleprinter news agency copy, plus sub-editors and reporters. Often the lists were shorter, denuded of picture editors and leader writers. The layout of the newspapers was decided in advance so that there occasionally might be 'big stories – "2' and '3 heads. 1st line of 12 letters, 2nd (Turn) of 16 letters and 3rd (Turn) of 14 letters' with advice about spaces counting as one letter. Occasionally there might be a law court reporter to file legal reports or a sports editor setting up a sports page. Usually the two groups met both Clarke and Skipsey at 10 a.m. to discuss the day with the latter arranging collection of wire service copy (by hand) from British United Press and the Press Association.

Once the operation began Miss Skipsey took notes of the two groups' performance for later analysis. On Thursday, November 3, 1938, Pinnington played the editor of *The Star* and Joan Veale that of the *Evening News* editor. By 2 p.m. Miss Skipsey had Pinnington assessed as 'excellently organized. Working apparently in co-operation' while of Miss Veale she noted: 'Quite unorganized, subs working separately in various corners. She realised her mistake by 2.15 p.m. and centralized the subs on one table. By the close, at 3.15 p.m. *The Star* was still better organized but Miss Skipsey comments: 'Pinnington rather despairing but working intelligently.'⁸ This simulation was a small operation with only four editorial staff, one reporter, four sub-editors plus telephonist and Reuters teleprinter attendant. Later versions of the exercise had up to 21 staff and they became increasingly more complex in execution. In this way Clarke provided the element of pressure that students would have to face when working in newspaper offices, but he did it for pedagogical reasons: to facilitate students learning by providing simulated, first-hand, experience and not leaving it to the pages of books to describe what happens in a newspaper office, as did so many manuals of journalism. By the time the course was in its final year, 1939, *The Daily Telegraph* printed the competing pages for the students.

Language of Headlines, Make-up, Voluntary Assignments

Nothing was too simple for inclusion in Clarke's list of lectures; the mysteries of 'Headlines and (content) Bills' were utilized to demonstrate that the journalist 'had to think out what the news is you have to say.' He talked about the influence of headlines on language and how short words went into them but rarely long ones. 'Contents Bill used by newspaper sellers', Clarke suggested, 'should indicate the news, leaving it to the headlines to tell the news.'

These second-year students spent another two Thursdays either making-up pages, or reporting on the Port of London Authority. On 17th November 1938, there were 38 such reports to discuss; G.C. Pinnington (he became editor of *The Sunday People* in 1972) one of six not handing in

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anything, receiving nought. Eleven were marked five or below and no one was marked above eight: comments suggest some basic lessons had not been taken to heart: 'An amateurish essay on tusks', or 'News buried. Catalogue of disconnected facts' or three who 'Bury news in 2nd paragraph. Also "sediment" and "medicine" were misspelt.'

Miss Skipsey's assignment sheet also included details of 'voluntary' assignments students reported: like the Armistice Day celebrations that November or an electric power industry press conference. 'News agencies and their work' was one of Clarke's topics later that Autumn Term in 1938, followed by a talk by the *Daily Telegraph's* advertisement manager, Mr. G.P. Simon (1893-1963 appointed managing director in 1962). After Mr. Simon had discussed the relationship between the editorial and advertising departments of newspapers Clarke had explained the intricacies of Press Association and Reuters teleprinted copy. That concluded lectures for that term and students returned on 12th January, 1939, for the first of two lectures on 'Make-up and Typography.' Clarke was a firm believer in the need for mental alertness in display and headlines, allied to awareness of the technical and psychological problems involved in presenting news and articles using static type.

Eighteen pages of notes give a good introduction to the subject, backed up with examples of many of the items described - supplied by Colonel Fred Lawson of the *Daily Telegraph*, chairman of the Journalism Committee. In this lecture Clarke keyed in students to the ideas of having to rise to the challenge of new media; 'the radio news and the news reels at the film theatres - and television on the horizon.' These meant that journalists could no longer ignore the physical side of presenting ideas, which they had hitherto neglected. Readers consequently wanted material presented with lively mental energy because these 'powerful engines of publicity,' as Clarke described them, would attract young people, and it was these the newspapers would have to keep first and foremost in their minds: 'The fundamental change in the Popular Press is this editorial striving for effect in appealing to the public - in the form rather than the matter is:

- 1) Greater legibility and variation of type to express character, tone and light and shade;
- 2) The adoption of a horizontal instead of a vertical make-up. The old single column had practically gone.'

'Just as women have become interested in "make-up"- so have the newspapers' was how he introduced this first lecture. He went on to warn against what he described as 'editorial window dressing' but he favoured all those things that helped to 'break' the page and give it strength and life. He described the 'open' effect as the news hallmark.

The effect of all this on the journalist was: 'a new generation of news stylists, who are giving attention to these technical and psychological problems of type in presenting news and articles.' It all added up to the better printing of newspapers (*not* just the work of the printers, as Northcliffe had earlier specified) and to the growth of mental alertness in both display and headlines. Those who did not believe him had only to compare newspapers with those of twenty years earlier, at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century.

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Sub-editing

Clarke's attitude to the 'complete journalist' was one that showed through in his attitude towards the role of the sub-editor, 'No one can be the complete journalist who lacks experience in the subs room.'

The true worth of a sub-editor was assessed by the 'copy' he treated being fit for publication without any further attention once it left his hands: 'in short that it is proof against inaccuracy of fact and against technical blemish.' So, before students passed their work to him later that afternoon, in the practical session which followed the lecture, they had to ask themselves:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Is it accurate? | 4. Is the length right? |
| 2. Will the compositor be able to read and understand it? | 5. Is it properly punctuated? |
| 3. Are the headlines right? | 6. Is it clear (who's, who etc)?' |

While most journalists often regarded sub-editing as just critical work Clarke saw it as having a creative side, including re-writing and putting life into dull facts, as well as giving the right 'angle' to the story. There was the element of brightness being added by headlines, 'crossheads' and breaks, while selection and extending, 'adding absent facts,' was all part of the creative side of sub-editing. It was also the 'subs' job to sport such howlers as: 'A report of a Women's Institute meeting ended: "The meeting ended with community sinning" or "Owing to our crowded columns we regret the births and deaths will be postponed till next week" or "His name is Smith, but he is expected to recover."

The 'subs' was a more judicial, or more critical task. The 'sub' did not go out and judge the value of news as he saw, or heard, it happening. He dealt with the mass of written news (of which reporters always sent him more than he could use) and his choice depended on four factors: the amount of space he had in his paper; the policy of his paper; the kind of readers he was catering for, and, finally, balance. The 'sub' had to ask himself the same questions of his material as the reporter and then had to try and pick out those happenings, or discussions, which were of the greatest interest to the greatest number of readers. That was the criteria they had to assess while wielding 'scissors and paste and Blue Pencil.' Clarke felt that their sense of news values had to be an informed one, operating to establish, and retain the confidence of their readers in their common-sense, fairness and accuracy. Private opinions could not be allowed to warp their objective sense of news values and, whether pleasant or unpleasant, the happenings of phases of life were the reality which surrounded them all and, as such, were the basis of the newspaper's responsibility to keep its readers informed.

Describing the vast range of readers, from undergraduates, to nightclub butterflies, station ticket-collectors to Tory stockbrokers in Rolls Royces, Clarke believed that, collectively, their sense of things is pretty accurate, pretty decent, pretty healthy in their wants: 'They want to know what's happened - whether they are immediately concerned or not.'

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Attitude Towards The Reader

Clarke reminded students that the public was buying news and did not like to be 'lectured or nagged' by the press. As he saw it the public were the real makers and censors of the press with the press reflecting, more than it directed, public opinion. They all had to remind themselves that the public, collectively, was what those in authority had made them, those who were responsible for social legislation: 'If you say the modern Press is cheap and vulgar it represents the cheapness and vulgarity of the Public; and therefore, in the long run, represents the vulgarity and cheapness of our so-called betters who have run the country these last few centuries.'

That was one view, but 'giving the public what it wants' was too glib a description, for Clarke, of the process whereby events became news. His attitude was that there was always a *main news stream* that dominated thought and discussion which, in turn, directed public thought and discussion. The journalist could not escape it: 'Your criteria are forced upon you. You have to watch that stream and tell the world its message - that is, unless you are totally bereft of any sense of responsibility.'

Speaking in January, 1938, Clarke saw the main news stream as the sickness of the poor world: mainly economic but social and political as well. That was the 'Big News'- the news behind all the other news. It threw up all kinds of topics and Northcliffe's phrase for them, 'talking points for the journalist to exploit' - social, political, economic. Here, however, Clarke, saw these as elements of news and not of features and he went on to say that the most difficult thing was knowing how to deal with the rest of the news, 'discussion news' he termed it: '... selection... must be according to the Purpose of your paper, and its idea of what entertainment the public want.'

It was this 'Purpose and its Interpretation' by the paper that determined, to some extent, how reports were 'coloured.' This could not be avoided in modern journalism but Clarke did not think that ethical standards had to be lower in newspapers than in other walks of life. Clarke admonished his students (when they next thought of News Values) that journalists were no better, and no worse, than any other body of human beings, trying, on one hand, to earn a living by service and, on the other, to try and leave the world a better place than they found it.

Review and Summary

In this chapter we have observed how a former editor of a national daily newspaper, of the late 1920s and early 1930s, approached the question of how to teach news values, selection procedures and verification systems which would enable fledgling reporters to accurately report what they saw and heard.

Clarke's approach was essentially pragmatic, involving the teaching of practical journalism's 'relation to reality,' as he called it, supported by simulation and role play when specific learning objectives would have been difficult to organize in the 'real world'- such things as covering a fire, or, at a more advanced stage, having two news teams simulate the operation of

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two distinct newspaper staffs. While we have observed this technique employed in earlier experiments in education for journalism this is the first time their use had been noted in a British university. A reading of Bruce Truscot's (pseudonym of Edgar A. Peers) book on universities in the inter-war years, *Red Brick University*, would suggest that this approach to learning might have been quite radical in its time.

Clarke's lecture notes also delineate the differences of approach, and mentality, required for reporting as distinct from sub-editorial work. There is a common thread between the two: it is always accuracy, related to facts, that require checking - so a session on reference books is organized to impart practical news validity, not just an aspect of 'looking things up.' Important as that was, the student's general reading of the daily newspaper was itself introduced as part of any reporter's educational equipment - what Clarke called 'his modern history' or Norman Robson's (ex-student and visiting lecturer) 'stored-up knowledge.'

From this viewpoint, shorthand was seen *not* as screeds of squiggles, but as vital for those 'rare moments' which shone out from dull passages when carefully recorded. The implication, for the reporter, was that no-one should be a slave to the 'old journalism' verbatim reporting of noting down every word - and printing nearly every word, too.

For Clarke the psychology of the reporter to the task in hand was just as essential as the other elements of mental equipment: 'thinking yours is THE story... often makes it so.' Throughout we have noticed the continuing thread of the importance of accuracy, that democratic goddess of factuality for whom Clarke was her High Priest. His former pupils still talked that way in the 1980s.

Clarke's serious approach to the task of teaching journalism in a university was never in doubt. Just as obvious, on the surface, was the willingness of King's College to match that approach on their side, as we shall see when the development of the examination papers is studied in the next chapter.

When Government grants for ex-servicemen dried up in the mid 1920s, the future of the course must have looked bleak. It was then that the newspaper industry began to provide financial support for students, with Exhibitions offered by the Newspaper Society, several provincial newspaper groups, and the National Union of Journalists, as well as the Institute of Journalists (See Appendices XX and XXI).

Since the course was inter-collegiate, with no department and no staff permanently involved, the fee-income from the journalism students must have been a welcome addition to the university, and colleges' income, as there was no major expenditure on the course with students attending existing lecture courses. So we have observed how the fees received from Diploma for Journalism students were nearly double the amount taken by the School of Librarianship in University College, started in 1919, which boasted a full-time director, plus five specialist subject lecturers (admittedly one came from the English department.) Obviously the University would have been loathe to lose such fee-income from journalism students, and encouraged the continued existence of the course.

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Without any departmental base within the University the Journalism Committee, part-time, meeting only three times a year, was never in a position to control its own course. Perhaps, then, it is not surprising that the columns of the Institute of Journalists' various publications give fewer mentions to the course during the late twenties and early thirties. Even the appointment of a full-time Director of Practical Journalism, in a Department of Journalism within King's College, in 1935, did not lead immediately to an awareness of what had been happening to the journalism students. A course re-organisation prior to Clarke's appointment actually increased, rather than diminished (as had been planned) the student workload. With no one person concerned, or in authority to call for action, nothing could be done. Even after his appointment Clarke suffered at the hands of University College academics, who refused to reply to his requests for information about journalism students under their control.

So the Diploma students, far from having to undertake fewer exam papers than a degree course, actually took the same number of exams in two years as did Honours students in three years. Any query in people's minds about the inferior status of a Diploma *vis-à-vis* degree course is, in the case of the Diploma for Journalism, severely wide of the mark. The extent of university involvement apparently ended with the appointment of College tutors, responsible solely for guiding students through the maze of possible options they could take.

The result of this lack of management and control was that only students on the course knew what was going on, if they found time to consider it between rushing from lecture to lecture, from one college to another, with 'no time for thinking' as a student stated. This might explain why Mr. Valentine Knapp undertook a survey of former students, seeking information about their careers and opinions of the course.

This exercise was a vital hook for the Journalism Committee on which to hang its deliberations about the future of the course. By the early 1930s practical journalism had been officially examined since the 1927 examination with two part-time lecturers employed. Students placed a high value on these sessions, praising both lecturers, yet they stated that the course offered them an exalted view of their journalistic futures. The implication was that provincial newspaper editors did not share the view of journalism expounded on the London course. Such newspapers did not want 'old style' journalists, but reporters capable of going out and gathering news. They did not want dramatic critics, book reviewers and art critics.

This mismatch between expectations and experience in its early years has affected its reputation throughout its existence and beyond. Many could truthfully say they had attended the Diploma course (Table III on page 135) but fewer could count themselves as Diploma-holders. In 1926, fifteen graduated, nine men and seven women: six of the nine men found newspaper jobs. The next year, ten men and eighteen women won the award and ten of the men and six of the women had jobs. In 1928 nineteen won the award, ten of them men (Sidney Jacobson and Maurice Lovell among them.) Of these, eight men and one woman had newspaper jobs. (Figures from the Senate Minutes for 1930-31.)

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This mismatch between students and job possibilities could be said to reflect the composition of the Journalism Committee, which usually had representatives of the *Daily Telegraph*, *Morning Post*, and *The Times*, but never anyone from the popular end of Fleet Street, although provincial newspaper groups were represented through the Newspaper Society. Mr. Fred Miller and Mr. Peaker represented the first two newspapers just listed, while the part-time lecturer, Mr. F.J. Mansfield, worked on *The Times*, and had been a president of the National Union of Journalists from 1918 to 1919. He was assisted by Mr. Edward Hawke MA (Oxon), of the *Spectator* and *Daily Telegraph*. The 'agenda' for newspapers of this type was far removed from that required by the provincial weekly press, or, for that matter, by the popular elements of the 'new journalism' with its bright, popular image.

Although it might be expected that practitioners of journalism would be aware of such trends, we have seen how trends could be ignored. So David Anderson, founder of the first London School of Journalism in 1887, himself a *Daily Telegraph* special correspondent, would shy away from excrescences like *Tit-Bits* and *Answers* and abhor shorthand. We have seen how some of his Oxbridge protégés could find jobs at the assistant editor level, capable of joining a provincial newspaper and producing those long-winded leaders so necessary to the journalism of opinion of those days, reflecting the partisan political ownership of the day.

One of the problems of the early years of the Diploma for Journalism course seems to have been the perpetuation of these attitudes into the twentieth century, as indeed, they continued well into the second decade, possibly up to the demise of the *Morning Post* in 1937.

Just as we have seen how the Diploma course itself suffered from the lack of an authoritative centre, so the newspaper industry as a whole was incapable of regarding itself objectively; it could not offer an established view of its wide-ranging extremities, and suffered from the wide disparity of views which contributed to its success in trying to be all things to all men, with goods on the market shelf for every taste.

One aspect of the 1930s we cannot overlook is the request from the National Union of Journalists for the University of London to validate an External Diploma for N.U.J. members around the country. The stumbling block was the Union's request that three years on a local newspaper should equate with Matriculation requirements. Although this lack of educational qualifications seemed insurmountable at that time the concept, and its execution, were introduced by the Open University (OU) in the 1970s. Indeed, the Union's plan would have needed just such a national network of centres providing instruction.

Apart from the question of entry requirements London University itself, through its degree-awarding certificates to students in external colleges, might have seemed the appropriate institution for the Union's scheme. After all, as the Haldane Commission of 1913 reported, the University then had to recognize teachers in other colleges as worthy of teaching students capable of sitting for London's external degrees (passing the degrees was something else again.)

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Table III
Diploma for Journalism, London University,

1919-1939
Diploma Examination Results

Academic Year	Nos. of Diplomas Awarded	Women	Men	Number sitting examination	No. of women students	Total Students (1 st and 2 nd years)
1919/20	2*	1	1	3 (35)+	?	109
1920/21	29	4	25	44(29)+	37	146
1921/22	30	14	16	?(19)+	28	89
1922/23	15	7	8	?(12)+	40	57
1923/24	9	7	2	?(22)+	?	53
1924/25	15	10	5	?(19)+	43	74
1925/26	15	6	9	29(27)+	?	89
1926/27	28	18	10	37(9)+	45	93
1927/28	19	9	10	25(13)+	49	84
1928/29	19	15	4	27(4)+	53	87
1929/30	17	4	13	32(13)+	54	101
1930/31	21	10	11	28(10)+	67	112
1931/32	31	19	12	43(6)+	74	115
1932/33	23	15	8	34(9)+	57	88
1933/34	18	12	6	(a)10 (b)20 (17)+	73	113
1934/35	28	16	12	(a)20 (b)28 (0)+	68	111
1935/36	27	18	9	(a)13 (b)29 (2)+	71	119
1936/37	27	18	13	(a)27 (b)18	51	110
1937/38	17	9	8	(a)19 (b)18	52	102
1938/39	23	11	12		55	104
Total: 413		219	194			

Sources:

Annual Calendars of Bedford College, East London College (now Queen Mary, University of London). King's College, London School of Economics, University College, 1919-39.

Journalism Committee Minutes and University of London House Senate Minutes.

Note: The figures for 1938/39 are incomplete. Students who completed one year by the end of the academic year 1938/39 were awarded a special certificate of attendance. Under number sitting from 1933/4 (a) refers to men and (b) refers to women.

* indicates that in the first year of examination only graduates were eligible to sit after one year. This continued until the summer of 1937, after which it required two years attendance.

+ the figure in brackets indicates the numbers passing in other papers, but not gaining their Diplomas.

If London University had found a way of utilizing these provincial colleges for the journalism teaching, a way might have been found for fostering a national scheme of education for journalism. But this was possibly too much to hope for at the time when there was a depression and, between 1932 and 1934, from 4 to 6.5 per cent of the N.U.J.'s members were unemployed.¹⁰

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In 1932 the Union could not find any junior journalist, or the son or daughter of a member, to take up its Exhibition on the Course. Competition also affected the proprietors' abilities to begin to attempt such a revolutionary idea as education for journalism. But within months of the end of the Second World War the Union had entered negotiations with the Newspaper Society to try and draw up a scheme of improvement of the training of junior journalists.¹¹ It is only possible to hint at the connection between the N.U.J. request of 1931 and the 1944 Newspaper Society invitation, but, as we shall see in the next chapter, the Newspaper Society was strongly in favour of re-opening the London University course.

Now it is time to remind ourselves of the transatlantic connections mentioned earlier in this chapter when examining the early discussion about education for journalism at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although his friends and colleagues would dispute these American connections Clarke was a close reader of the prospectuses ('announcements' as the Americans called them or 'bulletins') of American university Schools of Journalism.

His copies (from such Schools at the Universities of Illinois, Missouri, and Ohio State for the mid-1930s,) are well-marked and heavily underlined at many points. He also addressed a letter to Dr. Allen Sinclair Will at Rutgers University, formerly of the Columbia School for Journalism. Dr. Will's book on journalism education has been quoted in the text because of this evidence of Clarke's regard for the book, mentioned in his letters.

This diffidence in attributing anything American to Clarke's teaching is understandable only in terms of appreciating the ingrained habit of mind among British journalists about Schools of Journalism; an attitude which is one of their most persistent shortcomings. They cannot see any good coming out of them, but tend to confuse British, commercial schools of this name, with academic departments. If anything, their criticisms increase, and do not abate, the further away in time they get from this London example of a School of Journalism, as it had planned to call itself from 1940 onwards. The cost of instituting this, at 1938 prices, was estimated at between £7,000 and £8,500 a year, half of which would have required a subsidy from the newspaper industry. This sum was not excessive and would have provided for the Director of Practical Journalism as well as a Director of Academic Studies, with another two full-time lecturers in Practical Journalism and English, with two part-time lecturers providing specialist courses, designed for journalists, in History and Economics. This sum the British newspaper industry was incapable of finding, even though some of its leading proprietors were often pleased to perpetuate their names in chairs of literatures, or similar endowments.

Assessing Clarke's Directorship of the Diploma for Journalism, 1935-1939

Any attempt to try and assess Clarke's contribution to the development of the Diploma for Journalism in its last four years' existence raises the question: 'Was he the right man for the job?'

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In the context of solving the problem of a mismatch between what the earlier course offered and what students perceived as necessary for providing them with entry into the reporting role, then the answer to that question must be a categorical 'Yes.' He pulled the course firmly out of the rut of the 'old journalism' with its emphasis on the old-fashioned aspects of the higher reaches of journalism, and established, in theory as well as in practical sessions, the ascendancy of the role of the reporter in the hierarchy of training for news gathering and writing. Prior to his appointment the Diploma had had no pivotal centre, and much was revealed that hitherto the University of London had carefully hidden, or allowed to remain unobserved. His appointment also had the support, financially, of the newspaper industry, and unusual for a newly-appointed university professor (for such he was), a luncheon in his honour at the Café Royal.

To sociologists this appears as a manifestation of outmoded 'grace and favour' attitudes of the press proprietors, but the luncheon had a simpler relevance. It signalled to the press world that there was a renewed hope, in certain quarters, about the Diploma for Journalism's future (Harrison, in 1935, referred to it as a "five-year experiment.") The major newspapers, serious and popular, reported the event, and the Press Association spread the story (written by Clarke himself) on their teleprinters around the country. The regard in which Clarke was held by his peers was a contributory element in his appointment. Indeed, even Lord Beaverbrook had asked him several times to become editor of the *Daily Express*, before Arthur Christiansen accepted the offer.

This aspect of Clarke's job as Director of Practical Journalism assumed an important part of his plan: he was a builder of bridges between the course and the newspaper industry. That was his undisclosed role and by the closing years of the course numerous editors, and proprietors, were seeking his support for applications from various relatives, and he kept them informed of the selection process. This selection procedure was something which had not had the attention it deserved until Clarke's appointment with the course centralised in one College.

Another achievement seems to have been to widen the range of topics available to the students, and to impress upon them the importance of their being able to get their message across clearly to people whose education might not match their own. While he did not, as far as can be known, refer to the working classes as such, this was what he implied. He was also important because he alerted the students to the widening range of questions to which newspapers would have to address themselves if they were to compete with the newer media of radio, television and cinema newsreel.

When it comes to asking 'What is missing from Clarke's teaching?' the obvious answer is the absence of any sign of a critical appraisal of the possible effects of the kind of journalism he was teaching. While Clarke did not contribute to such a development he does appear, in this, to share the attitudes expressed by some of his former students in their desire to forego any pleasures of philosophical debate in favour of getting onto a job on a newspaper in the shortest possible time.

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In the eyes of Dr. Harrison, the ideal instructor for journalism students: 'should be chosen rather for their liveliness and ability to communicate than for their academic achievements - but not quacks.'¹² Discussions with Clarke's former colleagues and students demonstrate his sense of liveliness, indeed it appears as his hallmark. Most striking to the modern mind is the way Clarke imposed a sense of discipline among students by treating them as if they were reporters instead of undergraduates.

Yet we never really know what Clarke was thinking and feeling, although there are interesting intimations in a book he wrote in 1936. Called simply, *Brian*, it is the story of his youngest son's battle with an incurable disease, which killed him before his tenth birthday. In the book Clarke refers to his days at Ruskin College, Oxford, in his early teens (although the College has no record of his attendance), and mentions that further serious study was cut off by the necessity of earning his living. He mentions his eldest son, Dennis, 'deep in reading philosophy for his Oxford exam, took me well out of my depth.'¹³ He foresaw that what the schools and universities then, in the 1930s, were afraid 'to know about... fifty years hence they will be teaching the history of the Russian Revolution and its lesson to the world.'

Clarke mentioned how Brian had regarded Latin as 'stupid stuff' until: 'I asked him if he remembered the Roman villa at Bignor... and asked him what language the Romans used who'd lived there. When told Latin, and that I wished that I knew Latin well... and then could read the things on the walls of the villa...'

He instances this as an example of how many boys, reported 'dull' by their schoolmasters: 'would be reported otherwise if efforts were made to show how their studies could be linked up with interesting everyday things.' Clarke's objection to the emphasis on examinations was also ahead of its time in saying that it only prepared children for exams, 'not for the realities of life and work.'

This, then, can stand as Clarke's original approach to teaching journalism in a university: making it interesting, involved with everyday things. In this he is a true successor to all those quoted earlier who talked about 'learning by doing'- this Clarke attempted to practice as Britain's first Director of Practical Journalism at London University between 1935 and 1939.

While he contributed fully to the activities and responsibilities of being the Director, he still maintained a toehold in Fleet Street, with a weekly column in a popular Sunday newspaper, and also started to make a reputation as a broadcaster, something he was to expand during the war years. Whether or not he made any attempts to return to a full-time editorial position we are not in a position to judge. At the end of the Second World War, nominally still the Director of Practical Journalism, he returned to the fray to support its rehabilitation in London University, without success.¹⁴ Clarke did not give evidence to the first Royal Commission on the Press, even though favourably mentioned as someone to whom Commission members should speak, by Lord Burnham (formerly Col. Fred Lawson, chairman of the University Journalism Committee up to 1939.) Clarke had, however, suffered a heart attack in 1945 and retired from broadcasting his Letter from London for the BBC after a second attack in 1948.

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Since then, all has been silent about this experiment in education for journalism at university level in Britain. But that period is worth examination for the light, and contradictions, thrown up about the course by the questions put to those giving oral evidence to the Royal Commission on the Press between 1947 and 1949.

Endnotes

¹ This chapter relies on the collection of Mr. Tom Clarke's lecture notes held in KDJ/18/1-45. Nearly all quotations in this chapter are taken from that collection and acknowledged quotations should be so regarded.

² See appendix XXIX

³ Newell, Eric (student at University College 1934-6) to the author, October 22nd, 1978. In the 1970s he ran the National Council for the Training of Journalists course at Preston Polytechnic, now the University of Central Lancashire.)

⁴ Clarke, Tom, 1936. Notes on the Journalism Course.

⁵ *ibid*, and subsequent quotations.

⁶ Just how difficult it must have been for academics, the 1930s, to accept the concept of 'reading newspapers' as correct student activity was illustrated fifty years later when I ran Britain's first radio journalism course in the 1980s. Then my head of department called me in to complain that he had just visited the radio newsroom and students were not 'working.' 'What were they doing' I asked. He replied, 'They were reading newspapers. 'Alan,' I said, 'that is work for journalists.'

⁷ Robson, Norman (student as University College 1919-21) 1938. Letter to Clarke, January 27th.

⁸ Personal papers of Joan Skipsey.

⁹ Clarke, Tom. This lecture only appears in the King's College archives.

¹⁰ Strick, H.C. 1957. *British Newspaper Journalism 1900-57*.

¹¹ TNA HO 251/247, records of Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-49.

¹² Harrison, G.B. 1978. Letter to the author, May 30th.

¹³ Clarke, Tom. 1936. *Brian* and all subsequent quotes.

¹⁴ Clarke, Tom. 1945. Letter to *The Times*, August 18th. See Appendix XXIII.

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Chapter Eight

Developments in the Practical Journalism Component of the Diploma for Journalism 1935-1939 including a Termly Examination from 1937 onwards

Developments in Practical Journalism, 1935-1939

Before attempting a perspective on the achievements of the London University Diploma for Journalism it is as well to take into consideration what the King's College Course Tutor for Journalist Students, the man responsible for the educational progress of these students, thought about them and their prospects. In his 1935 address to the Institute for Journalists Dr. Harrison stated that, intellectually, the men were too often of lower quality than the women, although he also had to warn the women their chances of getting posts were slight. It was his opinion, even though he felt journalism had not then realised the possibilities of women journalists, that, of 80 women on the course, 40 were only there to escape their mothers, or to make up the deficiencies of an education at some select school for young ladies; while perhaps 20 seriously hoped to become journalists.

It was also his opinion that too many students 'found a refuge in the course' and that too many of them were 'third rate, who (would) become junior reporters on county papers and then stick.'¹ This could explain why one student who won the Newspaper Society Exhibition for 1935-37, Howard J. Whitten, remained mildly astonished, in 1977, that so few 'of my brighter contemporaries monopolise the hottest seats in Fleet Street.'² With hindsight Dr. Harrison commented that the Diploma for Journalism students: 'were more interesting than the conventional kind, but we did attract some who thought the course an amiable way of spending a couple of years after leaving school.'³

While 'scholarship boys' could win places to Oxbridge to take honours degrees others found it difficult to get local authority grants to study for the Diploma and one, Geoffrey Pinnington, had to repay his as a loan, after the Second World War, while he was working his way up through local newspapers. In conversation with the author he declared that if he had tried for Oxford or Cambridge, as his schoolmasters wanted, he would have won a scholarship place. As it was he came first in the Journalism Exhibition Exam for 1937 (Appendix XXXIIa, pp. 278-81) where his war-widowed mother's income is listed as 'nil'. Possibly because of the kind of student who could afford the fees one former student, David Dunhill (1936-37), described his feelings on first meeting Tom Clarke: 'Perhaps it was just my fancy; but Tom Clarke eyed us, the newcomers, with scarcely veiled disdain. We can't have seemed to him the kind who were going to make a

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success in Fleet Street. He clearly thought we all read *The Times* and none of us obviously had a nose for news.⁴ Dunhill had started work in his family's tobacco business, but had decided on a change: 'Journalism was attractive, for I liked writing. The course seemed the very thing: it committed me to nothing, perhaps for two years - and my father was willing to pay. King's College was happy to take me - and I think probably anybody - so I presented myself that October and became enrolled.'⁵

Dunhill felt that his story was not untypical for those pre-war days and observed: 'we all seemed to come from established and fairly prosperous backgrounds. The prevalent unemployment touched us little.'

Commenting on the academic side Dunhill mentioned that one Professor of English always refused to set a subject for their essays. Clarke chimed in with: 'Never mind what those English professors tell you. Forget all that. We don't want composition and that nonsense. We want a story.' As this was in the days before any central control existed it is not surprising that Dunhill's feelings were likened to that of being a football 'kicked about between Grub Street and the Academic Halls.'⁶

Another student was highly critical of the academic lecturers who did not turn up for lectures and she said the course was badly organized: she wondered if the professors engaged in that side of the work took the journalism course seriously: 'I can hardly think so, from what I have seen.'⁷ This young lady also objected to writing essays which were never returned, but she also maintained that the course was excellent, although there was not sufficient opportunity for practical work.

These 'stock character' reactions possibly typify the tenuous grasp each side, academic and journalist, held, conceptually, of the other. So that Dr. Harrison could add a postscript, in his second letter to Clarke in November, 1935: 'How can I do some journalism myself? I have some things to say of general interest - at least I think so.'

Dr. Harrison himself believed that a natural gift was what was needed to make the good reporter, backed up by learning the art of writing and employing another of nature's gifts: empathy. Reporters who did not do their homework before interviewing someone - whether it was looking up people in *Who's Who* or the corresponding book of the interviewee's profession - would not win their confidence. That extra knowledge (either from books, or personal contacts) could make all the difference; that was the natural gift of empathy, mentioned earlier, but backed up by what Dr. Harrison regarded as the 'right kind of education' - in this case, knowing where, and what, to look up, or who to ask.

Dr. Harrison was a firm believer in the Art of Conversation, and students attending his tutorial sessions in English Composition must have had every opportunity of developing the art, when discussing their fortnightly written work for that subject. The titles in the English Composition examination papers also reflect the flavour of those sessions, reinforcing Dr. Harrison's strategy, that the ideal journalist was an all-rounder, supplied with general knowledge of home, and international, politics, sport, art of all kinds and even religion.

In this way, Dr. Harrison obviously felt his talents were under-employed and needed the supplementary income such writing for the press might

Developments in the Practical Journalism Component of the Diploma for Journalism 1935-1939 including a Termly Examination from 1937 onwards

provide. Clarke's approach was different, as students soon discovered at their first lecture.

Students themselves found their own conceptions about writing ('atmospheric' as opposed to factual reporting, as one put it) received a rude awakening in the hard school of crisp demands for answers to the questions: 'Who, What, Where, When, How?'⁸ What some former students interpreted as over-emphasis on the academic was seen by others as providing the necessary background knowledge that would pull them out of the rut of covering events which required little more than common sense and a knowledge of shorthand.

Monitoring Student Progress

Although Dunhill's reminiscences mention the 'delightful feeling of going back to school... with the Diploma exam two years off,' he would have received a rude shock if he had been there one year later because first-year students had to sit a termly examination on 14th December, 1937. The paper was as follows:

'Termly Examination

Shorthand reporting test (10 marks)

Re-write the attached Police Court Report for publication (10 marks)

Name six important points in the presentation of copy (5 marks)

Mention three major news stories in this morning's papers and say how they struck you (15 marks)

As junior reporter on the local paper in a Cumberland town of 16,000 inhabitants whom would you contact regularly for news? (10 marks)'

Marks awarded ranged from 15 to 41, out of 50, and nine of those scoring under 60 per cent left the course before it finished and 3 out of 7 absent for the examination also dropped out. 20 students achieved marks of 64 per cent, or above, and all of them finished the course.

Miss Skipsey's comments on the marks was that they were 'rather bad. I think perhaps I've marked them too kindly, so please be the dragon T.C.'⁹ She had marked all the questions, except the fourth, and added comments about students' performance:

'Question 1. Badly done. Invariably failed to read their shorthand accurately and I marked them low for unintelligent reporting.

Question 2. Appallingly done. If they missed the two bad faults in the first line I knocked them down to half immediately.

Question 3. Easy, the most get full marks.

Question 4. ... very interesting and intelligence comments. I suggest a maximum of five marks per story.

Question 5. Quite well done, but too few realised the special contacts for a Cumberland town. Thus Winifred Coales, who remembered climbers... gets full marks.'

(Note: Marks taken from students' individual records for the year 1937/38).

The second highest marks on this test were shared between G.C. Pinnington and Katharine S. Walker, who when contacted, did not want her attendance on the course mentioned. Pinnington, a Newspaper Society Exhibitioner regularly scored high marks and went on to become the editor

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of the *Sunday People* in 1972, after holding several editorial posts on the *Daily Herald* and other Mirror newspapers.

These termly papers were discussed by Clarke on the first Tuesday of Easter term, 1938, before he turned to the topic of his lecture: 'News values: how a journalist judges them' and he took his examples from the leading story in that morning's newspapers.

Another innovation, with Miss Skipsey's help, was the presentation to the Journalism Committee meeting on 7th July, 1938, after the Easter vacation's newspaper attachments, of reports on students' work provided by provincial newspaper editors, news editors or managing editors. In the past these had been provided, but not in such detail, by Mr. Davies of the Newspaper Society, usually bemoaning the students' lack of shorthand. No such criticisms were voiced by editorial staff in that report¹⁰ and, even though students' names were left blank, newspaper titles were given and names can be attached to newspapers by comparing the minutes of the November 4th meeting of the Committee.

The managing editor of the *Liverpool Evening Express*, Mr. A Burchill, commenting on Pinnington remarked:

'He is only in the elementary stages of his shorthand but the test reports which he did at Assizes, Police Courts, Council meetings, Quarter Sessions, and other routine engagements were done with strict reliability. The most enthusiastic student we have so far had from King's College.'

The editor of the *Free Press of Monmouthshire*, Mr. J.H. Salter, reported on Gwyn Davies:

'His enthusiasm and willingness to undertake any engagement for which he was marked on the diary, however uninteresting, made him very popular with the other reporters, and... despite his lack of previous experience he did quite well with them, turning in 'copy' which was easily 'subbed' into readable stories. He obviously has an eye for the essentials of a story, and did not overload his copy, as most youngster do, with a lot of irrelevant side-details... we shall be only too happy to have him again.'

Such sentiments were repeated by various editors, though there were two pleas for improved shorthand. Mr. James Palmer, editor of the *Western Morning News*, came nearer the truth, one suspects, when he said that one girl was: 'a big improvement on some of the girls we have had in recent years. Frankly I thought of checking the flow, but if the standard of (John) Gerrish could be maintained, we could help either winter or summer.'

Though this might appear a harsh comment on women students Mr. H.T. Hamson of the *Middlesex County Advertiser and Gazette* could write of Miss Eileen Coombe: 'One of the bright particular stars of your system, with rather more aptitude and assurance than any of the girls I have had - and I have never had a really poor one! Hamson's opinion was that students were coming to them far better equipped for the job, and had the feeling this was due to the influence of Mr. Tom Clarke.'

The Last Two Years 1937-39

By the summer term of 1938 three, out of the original 59 who had started the first-year, left the course and another was just marked 'absent' for the

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term and two were ill, but returned in the autumn. Of the remainder, 27 submitted reports written after attending the London County Council meeting of 26th April, or watching M.P.'s arrive for the Budget at the House of Commons; some had also gone to the Ideal Home Exhibition. Others had a sub-editing test using Reuters' teleprinted copy. Miss Skipsey typed her comments and passed them to Clarke with remarks like 'appalling handwriting' (reflecting the lack of typewriters) or, occasionally, 'spelling appalling' or 'tenses all to pieces.'

Records indicate that Jean Dixon-Scott left the course to work on the newspaper which had taken her on vacation attachment (as David Dunhill had done a year earlier) and another six did not turn up for the start of their second year on the Diploma. In Miss Dixon-Scott's case the attachment had included no reporting, although she had written up a wedding, and completed a film review as well as a book review. She had accompanied another reporter to interview a woman whose husband had been found dead with his head in a water butt that morning: 'it was not very nice. Still I expect you get hardened to those kind of cases.'¹¹

Of the 59 offered places at the start of the 1937/38 year, 16 had fallen out by October, 1938. Out of that sixteen, one had withdrawn before the course started and another four never appeared in Miss Skipsey's assignment records at all for 1937/38. Two of the latter, P.J.T. Cornish and P.P. Kranc, caused Clarke some aggravation if a typed note of June 8th, 1938, is anything to go by. Clarke had asked Cornish to leave the class that afternoon for persistent talking during his lectures and told him not to come back. Cornish obviously intimated he was leaving before the end of the course and Clarke wanted to stop him sitting the end-of-term examinations as he feared he would use passing the examinations as evidence of his journalistic ability which he did not really possess. With Kranc, Harrison and Clarke decided to recommend his leaving the course as even he admitted to having missed so many lectures that he could not attempt a reporting test set by Clarke. Writing to the Principal, Dr. Halliday, Clarke mentioned the danger that a growing number of students could come, ostensibly for two years, but quitting after one year if they could get a job.

Although war clouds were building up over Europe there was no shortage of students knocking on the door of King's College to gain admission to the journalism course. By 1938 a larger proportion than ever before came from families with newspaper connections:¹²

'Robert Duarte has worked on the *Financial Times*. Frances Mary Edmunds is a daughter of G.L. Edmunds of the *Derbyshire Times*. Joy Joynton-Smith is a daughter of Sir W. Joynton-Smith, founder and proprietor of the well-known Australian *Smith's Weekly*. Lois Forman's father is an ex-Leeds newspaperman now with the London Press Exchange. D. Inskip Harrison has left the Press Association to join the course. Enver Kureishi worked for Reuters in Johannesburg. Anthony McManemy is the son of a well-known figure in the accounts department of the *The Daily Mail*. Ann Meo worked on a newspaper for American women in Paris. Richard Picton: 'has done a year's reporting on the *Hertfordshire Express*. Jack Swaab was some months on *Cavalcade* earlier this year.'¹³

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These details, from a press release produced by Miss Skipsey on October 31st, 1938, show that around sixty students actually started in the autumn term of that year and, alone of all the products of this course, they received a certificate to verify their attendance which was disrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939.

Fifty-two of these first-year students were examined in June, 1939, and seven were absent from the examination, of whom one had already left the course and another who had been placed on probation. Two who were examined had been asked to withdraw and another 12 had been warned that their work was not entirely satisfactory.¹⁴ So, if there had been another year to the Diploma (from 1939 to 1940) 48 would have progressed to their final year of the Diploma.

Vacation reports for newspaper attachments showed students putting Clarke's teaching to good effect, with 23 provincial newspaper editors' comments seeming to suggest that Clarke was on the way to providing the newspaper industry with a reputable training ground. As in earlier years newspaper editors and proprietors were even poaching students half-way through the course, and, presumably, a year in King's College had been equal to, if not better than, the 'sitting next to Nellie' type of training that was all that existed then.

The way the initiation of an unknown, an 'untrained' reporter, was managed is well expressed in comments on a student mentioned earlier, G.C. Pinnington, while on the *Liverpool Evening Express*:

'At first he accompanied the man each day on day enquiries; then we put him on to inquests; and next on to the smaller police courts. He also covered meetings on charitable organizations. Although his shorthand speed was slow, he managed to get good summaries of the meetings. He proved reliable on the work he did. All his stories were used and I do not recollect a single query coming from the subs regarding his reports.'

After the war Pinnington worked on a London suburban newspaper before becoming deputy news editor on the *Daily Herald*, then on the *Daily Mirror* as night assistant then deputy editor, and eventually becoming the editor of the *Sunday People*, from 1972 to 1982 and a director of Mirror Group Newspapers, from 1976.

When these students returned to King's to form the second year of the 1938/39 session there were 44 of them, including one re-entering the second year after a year's absence from College. This academic year witnessed another innovation, something Clarke had hoped to institute much earlier, a joint College/newspaper operation mounted in Fleet Street itself. Miss Skipsey's press release for the opening of the 1938/39 session stated: 'On March 22nd (1939) the practical department tackles its most ambitious demonstration when a team of twelve students will produce two news pages at the *Daily Telegraph* offices. In fact Clarke wrote to Lawson on March 9th indicating there would be a team of 14 students, including two reserves, 'working in your sub-editors' room at 11 o'clock [until] 10'clock; then [going] back at 2 o'clock for the comps, line up' with the 'working party having lunch with you in the canteen', Clarke and Skipsey also attended. So those students were able to go home with their own private edition of two pages from the *Daily Telegraph*.

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During that session Ciarke delivered only twelve lectures to the second-year students, mostly aimed at developing their awareness of the practicalities of sub-editing, typography and make-up of pages. Seven days were devoted to the making-up of newspapers, plus another three for reporting assignments and interviews. About nine working journalists, including lawyers, also gave lecture students.

The Easter term started on January 19th, 1939, with several young ladies absent, suffering the ravages of skiing accidents during the Christmas vacation. By the time that academic year ended, war was less than three months away.

Changes in the examination papers, 1927-1939

No amount of discussion about proposed syllabuses for journalism education can determine what actually happens when a system has to be put into operation. The hazards involved in any such innovation are increased when the elements have to combine practical and academic elements. As we noted in earlier discussions, under the heading of aspects of professionalism, practitioners and academics will always moan about the over-emphasis given to the other.

On the practical side students could assimilate their learning aided by nearly immediate feedback of results. On the academic side this was a slower process. One aspect of the course was that there was little actual contact between students and lecturers in academic subjects; some lecturers set essays but often students complained, that their work was not returned. Miss Skipsey, remarked that when she was a student on the course from 1934 to 1936, no such work was set by lecturers except for Dr. Harrison's fortnightly tutorials in English Composition. But we have to remember that, at that time, assessment systems in Arts subjects were nearly always based on essay writing, and nothing else. The usual procedure of attendance at lectures was often the limit of students' expectation, and essay writing was what they had been conditioned to by the schools' slavish adoption of what they understood to be university requirements.

Were that the whole of the argument it might help to explain why journalism education sat so unhappily, in Britain anyway, in the university setting. But there is a heartening aspect which tells another story. That is how examination papers developed over the period of the course, with special papers set from 1927 onwards.

Practical Journalism papers in the early years were basic, requiring little more than descriptions of newspaper terminology. By 1937 there had been a transformation. Judged by the questions, students were expected to take a more critical stance, instead of being asked to regurgitate descriptive formulae. One question that year read: 'it was said by Lord Bacon that every man owed a duty to his profession. What would you consider your duty to the profession of journalism?' There was another question seeking to learn what half-dozen rules (of ethics) would guide them in their newspaper life.

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The following year, 1938, students were asked 'to discuss, in 300 words, "It is impossible to define NEWS to satisfy every taste."' Earlier years had seen questions on topics then in vogue: 'What do you understand by the term "the new journalism"?' (1934).

The paper that was believed to cause many students to fail was that on 'Principles of Criticism of Literature and Art.' In the first paper, set in 1927, Plato, Aristotle and Matthew Arnold were in the first four questions. By 1934 Professor Isaacs was asking them: 'the following are headlines from recent newspapers: "Peer's son leaps to death", "Russian explorers perish in Arctic", "Suicide of Stavisky", Discuss their suitability as themes for classical tragedy.'

One thing was certain; the professors were reading their newspapers, as there were very few books which gave a critical appreciation of the journalism of the day. Isaacs's last question in the question paper just quoted goes a long way to exemplifying how different the journalist's exam papers must have been from other university exams, which mainly ended their studies in 1895. The question called for short, critical notes on any two from:

(a) Futurism	(f) Epstein's <i>Rima</i>
(b) Cubism	(g) The acting of Elizabeth Bergner
(c) Surrealism	(h) The films of René Clair or Eisenstein
(d) Expressionist drama	(i) The novels of Virginia Woolf
(e) The poetry of W.H. Auden	(j) The music of Honegger or Schoenberg or Duke Ellington

As an indication of what lecturers considered suitable cultural background knowledge these questions, first asked in 1934, appear as adventurous, if not downright avant-garde. But they were certainly in keeping with the journalists' self-perceived role as purveyors of 'current events', although slightly outside the usual remit of events journalists consider current, i.e., political, economic, sporting, yet indicating, possibly, how journalism has to keep enlarging its own boundaries.

The scope of some of the history papers appears vast, ranging from questions about 'the causes and results of the establishment of Latin American independence between 1810 and 1926' to giving an 'account of the nationalistic movements in China after 1850 and explain their problems' to the more basic 'Give some account of the origins of the Great War of 1914.' The examiners of this modern history paper were Miss P. Boys Smith and Norman Gash (1912-2009), long retired from the chair of Emeritus Professor of history at St. Andrews University who began his academic career as assistant lecturer in history at University College, London.

Other question papers demonstrate a determination to be up to date: 'In what direction is a knowledge of psychology useful to journalists?' 'Political science' papers tested students' understanding of the collective responsibility of the Cabinet, as well as seeking analysis of the chief weaknesses of the British electoral process. 'Distressed Areas' was one

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question in 'Social and Economic Structure of Today' for 1939, as was one asking students to discuss problems faced in constructing a cost of living index.

Miss Skipsey mentioned this last-named paper as one extremely difficult to encompass without the benefit of discussion between lecturers and students. That such *did* take place is proved by records in the archives where Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, the lecturer, recommended the work of a student, Robert Stephens (1920-92), who became the diplomatic correspondent of the *Observer*. But we have to remember that it was easier for Mr. Gaitskell to see students, like Stephens, who were from University College where he was tenured. The chance of students from King's College having the same access was limited by the distance between the two colleges, University College being over a mile away from the Strand, in Gower Street near Euston.

Dr. Harrison obviously enjoyed stretching the creative imaginations in his search for questions in the English Composition papers: 'A wireless University' was one to tax the imagination in those early days of broadcasting: 'This Examination' was a regular question in one form or another, which required a 750-word article, not an essay.

This brief introduction to the developments in the kind of questions asked on the academic papers in the Diploma for Journalism examinations indicates the serious, if occasionally tongue-in-cheek, approach to asking questions to test budding journalists' awareness of the world around them: economic, political, cultural, and journalistic. But if, as Miss Skipsey and Dr. Harrison both stated, it was impossible for there to be contact between lecturers and students apart from the lectures it must have been a daunting task to develop the critical stance called for by such questions.

This could be one explanation of why so many of the journalism students failed their Diploma: there was no attempt made to ensure that the full process of education was nurtured to help formulate the students' critical faculties. This could also explain why quite large numbers left the course after only a year, although, of course, there are other contributory factors, such as need to earn money or take up job offers - this was becoming a greater problem in the last few years of the course, under Clarke's directorship of practical journalism.

What comes over very strongly to the author is the determined effort at attempting to introduce a civilizing influence in the type of questions asked. It is that kind of general knowledge, discussed by Sir Ernst Gombrich, calling for a definite commitment to providing just this kind knowledge at undergraduate level. It indicates an aspect of civilisation which has had little chance of expressing itself since the demise of the Diploma course - in journalism, at least.

This change, demonstrated in these extracts, typifies what Kitson Clark, in his *Making of Victorian England*, has called 'of greatest importance because it links practice and practical skill with an extended view of more general knowledge in the sphere the practitioner is to work in.' Kitson Clark is discussing the making of the professional man in Victorian times and elaborating on how the apprentice model of barristers learning in chambers, solicitors as articled clerks and officers in their regiments, had to

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give way to more systematic education and training as the skills employed were themselves developed.

Just as science lecturers wanted their students to think scientifically, so it would seem an extension of the natural history of journalism for its students to learn to think journalistically: just as earlier generations had been expected, in legal education, 'to discipline his mind so that he could grapple with any kind of problem' as the Select Committee of the House of Commons on legal education put it in 1849.

The aim of these examination papers was not far from that of the group responsible for selecting candidates for training in the church, in 1918, when it said that the purpose of the course they were testing was: 'to stimulate their imagination and widen their outlook, and to provoke thought and criticism, as well as to create or revive intellectual interests with a view to encourage further study of the subjects later on.' The examination papers of the Diploma for Journalism at London University, between 1927 and 1939, exemplify such sentiments.

Just *how* the London course might have developed, had it continued after the Second World War, is wasteful conjecture, but Professor Wilbur Schramm, writing in the *Journalism Quarterly* (USA), in 1947, provides an indication of possible avenues of development, in his article on 'Education for Journalism: Vocational, General or Professional?' reviewing the first forty years of university education for journalism in the U.S.A. Professor Schramm comments that: 'if the medical schools had made no more research contribution to their profession than journalism, the chief medical therapy might still be letting blood.'

But he immediately follows this remark with the comment that Dr. George Gallup's work on readership survey methods at the University of Iowa was done as a doctoral dissertation in psychology. The necessary emphasis, in the early years of American university newspaper courses, upon practicality involved using former newspapermen, while research interests were neglected. In contrast contemporary American professors of journalism too often proceed from doctoral studies in journalism, or sociology to teaching with little journalistic experience.

The London University Diploma for Journalism illustrated the early stress on practicality that Professor Schramm mentions as the hallmark of early labours in the vineyard of journalism education. Schramm's prophetic paper, in relation to subsequent American developments in Journalism Schools after 1947, might then be taken as an indication where things *might* have gone had university-level education for journalism continued at London University after 1947. Having taken the decision not to continue the course without newspaper industry sponsorship, and with no evidence that the university authorities actually sought such support, it is, indeed, an added irony to find one of London University's leading authorities being quoted as being in favour of extending the vocational educational role of the university - in 1972.¹⁵

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Endnotes

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- ¹ Harrison, George Bagshaw, *The Universities and Journalism*, 1935.
 - ² Whitten, Howard J., Letter to *U.K. Press Gazette* September 26th 1977.
 - ³ Harrison, G.B. Letter to the author, August 10th 1980.
 - ⁴ Dunhill, David. Letter to the author, October 13th 1980. He later worked for the BBC
 - ⁵ Ibid.
 - ⁶ Ibid.
 - ⁷ Hasager, Miss Lis. Letter to Clarke. August 26th 1936. She was the daughter of the editor of one of the leading Copenhagen newspapers.
 - ⁸ Dunhill, op.cit.
 - ⁹ Skipsey, Joan to Clarke, January 1st 1938.
 - ¹⁰ JCM, July 7th 1938.
 - ¹¹ Dixon-Scott, Jean, letter to Miss Skipsey, August 11th 1938.
 - ¹² Clarke, Tom to Dr. Halliday, Principal, King's College, June 8th 1938.
 - ¹³ JCM, July 5th, 1939.
 - ¹⁴ Ibid.
 - ¹⁵ Lord Annan, 1972, 'What are Universities for Anyway?' *The Listener*, November 2nd.

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Chapter Nine

The influence of the Diploma for Journalism on the National Union of Journalists and future journalism training and education

The National Union of Journalists and Education

One of the assumptions challenged by this book is that the twenty-year existence of the London University Diploma for Journalism had little effect upon contemporary, or subsequent, deliberations about journalism education in Britain. One of the tenets of such assumptions is that the National Union of Journalists did not concern itself with any topic which did not relate to pay and conditions, itself a result of their determination to differ from the Institute of Journalists, which working reporters saw as too concerned with education and not enough concerned about pay and conditions of work.

Yet a search of the archives of the N.U.J., at the Modern Records Centre at Warwick University, reveals the extent of Union involvement in the subject of education for journalists, reinforced by a long-running campaign in the Union's journal, *The Journalist*.¹ There is little mention of education before the Union received an invitation, from the University of London, to appoint representatives to its Journalism Committee; this invitation caused the Union to appoint a special committee: 'to examine the syllabus issued by the London University and to consider the formation of an independent Education Scheme.'² Two, out of eight, members of this special committee re-appear as members of the first full-time Education Committee when it was formed in October, 1924: H.T. Hamson and T. Jay.³ The convener of the original sub-committee, Mrs. Pegg, presented a report of its proceedings to the Union's National Executive Committee in January 1920, and the limit of official involvement at that stage was seen as asking the editor of *The Journalist* to 'give an article on the craft of journalism.'⁴

The N.E.C. subsequently considered applications from students on the London University Diploma for Journalism seeking recognition of the two-year course counting towards the probationary three-year qualifying period for full membership in the Union. When the question of Exhibitions, or scholarships, for students on the course was raised in 1924 the N.E.C. instituted the Education Committee.

One of the first actions of the Education Committee in 1925 was to appoint a sub-committee to contact Universities to ascertain their views concerning 'the real issue the creation of an educated profession with a common consciousness and aim.'⁵ The letter suggested a preliminary step of establishing voluntary courses, restricted to a few hours a week, meeting on one or two days. As well as instruction to students the Committee hoped

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the schemes would 'familiarise all connected with journalism with the idea of education for journalists.'⁶ Included in the letter was the request to help youths, beginning on small town and country newspapers, with a correspondence course.

The Committee's 'temerity in approaching' thirteen universities⁷ was rewarded with favourable responses from Aberystwyth, Armstrong College (Newcastle), Nottingham, Reading, Southampton and Swansea, while Cambridge and Leeds suggested the Union join with the Institute of Journalists in formulating a common approach to the universities - 'a very natural suggestion' as the sub-committee noted. Some of the replies from the Universities indicated that they had considered the proposals seriously. Glasgow doubted the possibility of courses 'exclusively for journalists'⁸ and pointed out that: 'in interviewing Editors and leading newspapers my experience has been that they do not wish specialized education but prefer wide general culture which is afforded by our degrees in Arts.'

The Principal of Edinburgh University agreed with the suggestion that the 'best education for a journalist is a general course of cultural character... as provided in the Arts Faculty of a University.'⁹ He also went on to say he thought the W.E.A. provided just the kind of courses needed and: 'to create separate classes for journalists would probably be, to a great extent, duplicating existing arrangements and it is doubtful whether the numbers likely to be enrolled would justify separate courses.'¹⁰

Leeds University stated it was 'anxious to do all in their power to further the creation of an educated profession of journalism'¹¹ while suggesting the I.O.J. and the N.U.J. join together in the venture. Newcastle regarded 'exclusive classes are educationally unsound (and) the value of University education (was) mixing with others with different outlooks.'¹² They too, suggested W.E.A. classes operated jointly with the College. The local Branch of the Union 'agreed classes for journalists would be a splendid thing,'¹³ although the Union branch officer continued: 'Armstrong College two years ago declined to admit me as a student refusing to recognize my Lower Matriculation Examination because... I have only five subjects instead of the six stipulated by the College.'¹⁴

This same official said his editor had suggested he get a London B.A., even though 'he will not engage university men because he is dissatisfied with them - he has two graduate probationary members...'¹⁵ and he himself did not attach much value to the W.E.A. classes, which would not have the 'sustained lasting value of a degree.'¹⁶

Oxford University's Vice-Chancellor managed to offer the suggestion that 'a very large number of ... pressmen are Oxford-trained men... the University will not be able to do anything special.' Cambridge University's Vice-Chancellor was able to reply that 'the Institute of Journalists are holding their annual congress at Cambridge tomorrow' and, not surprisingly, suggested a 'joint application from your Union and the Institute.'¹⁷ A warmer response was received from University College, Nottingham, where the Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Commerce, Professor A.W. Kirkcaldy, referred to his being a member of the staff at Birmingham University when Professor Churton Collins 'had this matter very greatly in his heart, and I was on the Committee he got together to

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence. consider the whole subject.¹⁸ He also enclosed a copy of Collins' journalism syllabus for the Education Committee.

H.T. Hamson summed up the Committee's initial inquiries into existing educational facilities by stating that: 'we wish... to direct attention to methods that will enable all half-hours being put to profitable use, whereby members can be directed to a sustained course of reading on a given subject over... three to six months.'¹⁹

This tied in with the Committee's view of journalistic work: 'it rarely allows for regular hours for study, especially class work; and, further, that reading is often of a spasmodic, perfunctory, or scrappy nature.'²⁰ This enquiry revealed no classes organised anywhere, specially for journalists, but promoted the idea of journalists taking advantage of existing facilities by 'fathering' classes in any one subject if at least a dozen members could be found, as this made it easier for the local education authority to subsidise such courses. The Worker's Educational Association, University Extension Lectures, and the Home Reading Union and Ruskin College Correspondence courses were all recommended.²¹ Study Circles and Weekend Schools were also recommended and, indeed, several flourished in later years, as reports in *The Journalist* indicate.²²

One aspect of the Committee inquiries - that of the attention given to education for their members by other trade unions and organizations - was stated but no conclusions offered. It was left that: 'those professions that have attained a higher status have done so by an evolutionary process in which education has played a large part, growing from simple helpfulness... to direct arrangement of lectures and courses, with or without examinations or diplomas.'²³

However, both articles referred to indicate the existence of a set body of knowledge labelled 'extra school' topics and these included those least likely to be dealt with thoroughly in secondary or public schools: 'Local Government, Psychology, Constitutional History, Logic, Ethics, Economic Theory and History, Social and Political History, Modern History, English Literature, Political Theory, Sociology, Co-operation, etc.'²⁴

In its report to the National Executive of the Union the Sub-committee on contacting Universities discussed the one positive response to their proposals: this was the University College, Southampton, which organised a course of six lectures by Professor Ifor Evans that 'treated the art of conveying ideas in pictures and words.'²⁵ Thirteen journalists attended the first lecture, given in the offices of the *Southern Daily Echo*, where the management had provided accommodation and, later, guaranteed the full cost of the course which the university had reduced to a 'practical amount.' The brake on the enthusiasm of the Union's members was the question of their getting time off to attend classes and the management: 'while not professing any unusual friendship for the Union made no objection to working with us. They first gave promise that time off should be given if the classes could be established at a convenient time.' The value of this course from a Union of point of view, 'hardly needs illustration. The members of the Southampton Branch are united in a new interest. They are engaged in a new and important activity which has been created by the union. And this

The influence of the Diploma for Journalism on the National Union of Journalists and future journalism training and education has been achieved not at the expense of good relations with the employers but actually with an improvement of those relations.'

The report was careful, however, to elaborate that this was an unusual case in that there was only one newspaper office in the town. Branches in Reading and Newcastle doubted whether anything could happen until employers would guarantee time off and the Sub-committee stated that a national agreement would be required to put this into effect. Accordingly the Report recommended that the Union should approach the employers for some kind of national agreement.

To stimulate interest in 'the general idea of education for journalists' the Report recommended also that the Union should commission: 'recognised authorities to write handbooks on Economics, Criticism, International Finance, etc., with particular reference where possible to the work of the journalist.'²⁶

Young journalists were encouraged, by the airing of the subject of education for journalists, to contribute their comments and one 'Twenty-one' year-old suggested: '... what we require is a practical examination in journalistic work, the passing of which would confer on the candidate a degree of efficiency, with a certificate which could carry weight with editors.'²⁷

The range this young man expected of the novice journalists 'anxious to get on in their profession' is illustrated by his list of examination topics. First of all he wanted them to attend and report a serious local inquest and for the copy to be ready 30 minutes after the inquiry ended. Secondly, to attend and report a town council debate, with a column of copy ready one hour after the end of the debate. Thirdly, an interview with a local celebrity on a matter of some importance written up in a descriptive article. Then a bright column article on a visit to a local resort at holiday time. 30 minutes was allowed for a critical note on the council debate. An hour was allowed to write a leading article of half-a-column on a parliamentary debate. A local dramatic performance had to be criticised or a novel reviewed before, finally, attending a local sports match and supplying a report 30 minutes after the end.²⁸ This kind of examination would lend credence to the issue of certificates, and this is what Clarke pioneered at King's in 1935.

While references to the London University Diploma for Journalism became rarer, in the *Journal* of the I.O.J., with only one in 1926,²⁹ some of its earlier supporters expressed a preference for a postgraduate course when they met at the Institute of Journalists annual conference held in Cambridge in 1925.³⁰ In contrast, references to the course increased during the same period in the N.U.J.'s official organ, *The Journalist*,³¹ as they did in the columns of the Newspaper Society's *Monthly Circular*.³² While contributors to *The Journalist* talked of the 'general indifference prevailing among members of the Union on the subject of education for journalists, old and young alike wrote in to say how greatly they appreciated the educational articles, indicating that the Education Committee should 'keep pegging away at that idea of education...'³³

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The Newspaper Society's Involvement in Education Debate

As the national representative body of the provincial newspaper press the Newspaper Society (founded 1836) had a major role to play in the process of negotiations between unions and management over a variety of topics and, in 1919, education for journalists achieved prominence in the debate around 'reconstructing' the postwar society. Valentine Knapp introduced the idea in his article 'The Postwar Weekly' in the series 'Post War Conditions' in January, 1919. He wrote: 'Nor should the educational needs of our own industry be neglected. When the requirements of other trades and professions are under consideration, let the claims of journalism be advanced with deliberation and courage.'

As another writer commented once the Diploma for Journalism had started: 'it provided liberal education... but is lacking on the practical side' which individual *Fleet Street* men are voluntarily undertaking to lecture to students.³⁴ Once Valentine Knapp was appointed Chairman of the Journalism Committee of London University this situation changed and, as we have seen, a course of lectures on 'The General Principles of Writing for the Press' were undertaken by Mr. Edward G. Hawke an Oxford graduate who worked on *The Spectator* and was also a leader writer for the *Daily Telegraph*. Knapp's ten years as Chairman (1922-32) witnessed a renewed interest, especially from the Newspaper Society whose *Monthly Circular* regularly carried details of Exhibitions raised by Knapp and of students (diplomees, as it called them) seeking positions in journalism. By 1925 ten annual Exhibitions were awarded, one from the N.U.J., the rest from provincial newspapers groups or individual papers.³⁵ This meant that five were awarded to first year and five to second year students, usually running over the two-year Diploma. All five Exhibitioners graduating in 1925 gained their diplomas, out of the fifteen awarded, ten of which went to women students. In eleven years of the course women awarded the Diploma outnumbered men.³⁶

First Steps Towards Negotiating a National Body for Training

Returning to the developments within the National Union of Journalists we find an increasing number of articles appearing in *The Journalist* - six by members of the Education Committee between June 1932, and March 1933 - and the attitudes behind their appearance provide information about the reasons for this activity.³⁷

Many of the arguments offered to justify entry tests, or examinations, referred to the weakness of any machinery for regulating entry into the Union itself while negotiations with the Newspaper Society were described as providing: 'for a scheme for making entrance to journalism dependent on a system of examinations in keeping with the practice of journalism which would... (provide) a method which would go a long way to restrict the inflow of new entrants to the ranks of journalism... and give an assurance of... right quality.'³⁸

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The speaker was James G. Gregson who became Vice-President of the Union in 1931 and President in 1932, while continuing his interest in educational matters (as evidenced by the six articles mentioned above.) The occasion of his speech was a dinner given by the East Lancashire branch of the Union which was supporting a motion to restrict entry by tightening up entry requirements. He was quick to point out, however, that the entrance examination would apply only to those under 21.

The Journalist (Appendix XXVI) resounds with articles reminiscent of earlier battles conducted in the Institute of Journalists *Journal* on the subject of improving the status and standing of journalism. The chairman of one of the Union branches wrote on 'The Question of Status. The New Journalists' Views' in March 1930. He proposed 'lifting the craft from the common rut, and placing it among the ranks of the accepted professions.'³⁹ The next month another branch chairman, James Fieldhouse, picked up the proposal and developed it saying: 'The first step in raising the status of the profession, in my view, is to institute a system of examinations, preliminary, intermediate, and final... A certificate would give those who enter the profession something to aim at during those years of training.'⁴⁰

He related this specifically to the London University Diploma course when he said that he would recommend the syllabus of that course while instituting an independent body, or joint board, to conduct the examination. This would enable journalists to study for the certificate while still engaged in practical newspaper work when their leisure time was: 'often browsed away reading with no set purpose in view, or, worse, wasted in the smokey atmosphere of the billiard room of some club.'⁴¹

The author believes that this article provides the first published example of the idea which eventually developed into the proposals for a 'National Council' to oversee the education and training of journalists on their own terms. Fieldhouse spoke as one who obviously regretted not being able to attend the London University course, saying, 'in 1919 I could not afford it.' Within a year the Annual Delegate Meeting of the Union was discussing, and approving, a recommendation from Mr. Fieldhouse's branch that: 'the National Executive Council approach London University asking them to amend the rules governing the... Diploma in Journalism, to make it possible for working journalists, provided they have Matriculated, to obtain the Diploma without attending the University.'⁴²

The same year saw the setting up of a joint committee, in 1931, of the Union, Institute and Newspaper Society, 'to consider drafting a scheme for the training of journalists' although the Union replied to the Society that 'Your Society and my Union are fully representative of all the interests concerned.'⁴³ Further progress in these negotiations was halted when the Union attended a conference at the Newspaper Society on January 5th 1932, and found Institute representatives there. They left stating that 'because of an ADM resolution, they were unable to act jointly with the Institute.'⁴⁴ While the columns of *The Journalist* still contained many articles on the subject of education for journalists there were no more references to either the London University Diploma or the Idea of a national training scheme up to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.⁴⁵

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The Aftermath of the Second World War

Within sixteen months of the start of the Second World War the British civil servants were already consulting their First World War files to discover what had been done regarding post-war reconstruction. So a Mr. S.H. Wood wrote to the President of the Board of Education, the Right Honourable Herwald Ramsbottom, suggesting 'steps be taken to prepare a scheme for operating after the war, along the lines adopted in 1918.'⁴⁶ Reference was made to the autobiography of H.A.L. Fisher (1865-1940) as he had been responsible, as President, for formulating plans to enable returning Servicemen to further their civilian careers which the outbreak of war had interrupted: 'no more single step will be found to have contributed more effectively to the spread of the University idea through England than the decision of the Government... in 1918... to allot eight million to enable Ex-Servicemen to enjoy the privileges of University education... 27,000 went to University...'⁴⁷

The result was the formation of an Interdepartmental Standing Committee on Further Education and Training with terms of reference: 'To consider and report upon the plans to secure, on demobilisation, the further education or training necessary to equip them for appropriate occupations in civil life...'⁴⁸ The committee took the name of its chairman, Lord Hankey (1877-1963), who had served as Secretary to the Cabinet from 1916 until 1938, and it spawned sub-committees for nearly every profession and occupation throughout the land, from economists to town planners, librarians to electrical engineers, bankers and social workers. Included in the list were journalists and evidence on their behalf was sought from the Journalists' Advisory Committee to the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. The deliberations of these sub-committees were deep and far-reaching, producing estimates of their professional manpower requirements in the two years after the cessation of hostilities.⁴⁹

The report of the journalists' sub-committee was published in the Interdepartmental Committee's Second Report in December 1944. This report is given in three paragraphs of 97 lines of vital evidence submitted by the journalists⁵⁰ supporting the 'London University Diploma Course in Journalism (which) proved a valuable training ground and undoubtedly served a most useful purpose.'⁵¹ The journalists actually stated that: 'it is hoped the Course will be resumed at no distant date... and this method of journalistic training might with advantage be extended to other British universities.'⁵²

No reference to this is included in the Second Report of the Interdepartmental Committee, nor to the discussions held between the two committees later in the year when the journalists again stressed that they would favour the extension of courses in journalism along the line of the London University School of Journalism.⁵³ They also stated that University trained men were likely to go further than boys who entered from secondary school. One of the journalists added that: 'the success of such courses depended on experienced teachers. The London School had the advantage of a Director, Mr. Tom Clarke, who was a most experienced

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journalist and was a former editor of the *News Chronicle*.⁵⁴ Another, from the Institute of Journalists, said commercial correspondence courses were of no value and should be strongly discouraged.

The comments that were published were more pessimistic in nature and mentioned the need to re-instate returning servicemen, and the shortage of newsprint, as contributing to the difficulty in estimating postwar manpower requirements, and so providing 'few openings for men or women who have been on war service.'⁵⁵

It is difficult now to ascertain how widely the Interdepartmental Committee's report was seen by participants in the debate over journalism education. Such references as the author has seen indicate that the journalists who contributed to the report of the Journalists' Advisory Committee felt they had stated the case in favour of University-based courses in journalism.⁵⁶

The Newspaper Society itself devoted some time to considering the future of the Journalism Course at the University of London and appointed a sub-committee to deal with the question. Their representative on the Journalism Committee, Mr Norman Robson, himself a former student on the course, reviewed the course pointing out that, in the early years, 'too much academic training was attempted.'⁵⁷ His report included extracts from a letter from the Principal of King's College, Dr. Halliday, dated June 22nd 1943, where the University view appeared:

'... the Diploma is unsatisfactory in its present form on the grounds (a) that it is non-homogenous; (b) that there is always difficulty in combining vocational and academic courses, as in practice one side is bound to predominate to the detriment of the other, and (c) that the academic courses are too miscellaneous in character.' The University saw it meeting a 'limited demand from serious students from overseas' but were strongly of the opinion that 'if the course is to be continued the academic standard must be substantially raised.'

The Newspaper Society decided that, in view of the tone of Dr. Halliday's letter, early representations by journalists were necessary and Mr. Robson suggested that, if the course was to be reconstituted, the following conditions of entry ought to be insisted upon:

1. At least one year in a newspaper office (except in the case of Servicemen) before taking up the course;
2. A working knowledge of shorthand and typing;
3. A general standard of education of the level of Matriculation, School-leaving, or equivalent, certificate.'

The major change, over pre-war conditions of entry, was the insistence upon experience and the possession of Matriculation which, in itself, might meet the requirements of the University for strengthened academic training. The first condition, newspaper experience, was one that, by the last few years of the course, many entrants actually met. The second had been satisfactorily dealt with between 1935 and 1939, under Clarke's Directorship.

Mr. Robson was not in favour of extending the idea of university education for journalism to other universities. Sir Robert Webber (1889-1962), however, much as he supported the London scheme, felt there was

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room for courses at newer universities. Whether there would be the necessary number of 'journalistic instructors' was something Robson doubted.⁵⁸

The N.U.J. also came out in favour of continuing the Diploma course at London University in 1944 and the minutes note that: 'resumption of the course would cost an initial £2,000 and an annual outlay of £2,000... agreed the course was desirable and the National Executive Council be recommended to make a grant not exceeding £200... but... no annual charge be undertaken.'

These figures were based on a letter written by the Union's Education Officer, Mr. H.S. Toynbee, in August 1944, which show an estimated expenditure of £7,000 p.a., and a deficit of £2,000 p.a., as noted above. (See Appendix XXII). When figures were next quoted, in 1946, estimated expenditure had risen to £12,000 a year and the University had indicated it was not prepared to take direct control of a reconstituted journalism course and the Journalism Committee itself was hoping to set up an 'Institute to furnish the course'⁵⁹ if journalistic organizations were prepared to find £7,000 of the estimated £12,000 needed.

It is difficult to know now just how these various figures were calculated, but there is a hint in the comment made by a member of the Journalism Committee when he stated: 'the blitz had so affected King's College buildings that it was unlikely that the Journalism Course be resumed for quite some time. Forty rooms and 25 members of staff would have to be provided to maintain the course which the University of London had before the war.'⁶⁰ In actual fact, in 1937, the course had three rooms: the tutor, Dr. Harrison's office in the East Wing where the Journalism Room was and Clarke's office in the South-West block.⁶¹

As the figure of 25 staff is five times the pre-war staff total it is difficult to see how the increase was estimated in the post-war proposals. The most Dr. Harrison's pre-war proposals for developing the course into a School of Journalism had called for was a staff of six with two of these, in economics and history, part-time appointments. Office staff added another three, making nine in all. And these proposals remained just that - they were never implemented. Where the figure of 25 staff comes from is a mystery.⁶²

While the University seemed to be inferring it ran the course at a loss (vide the need for £2,000 p.a. to meet the excess of expenditure over fee-income, noted above) we have to remind ourselves that, between the war, the University must have welcomed the fee-income from journalism students, about £2,000 annually in most years, especially as it was not involved in any major expense in the early years as most students attended lectures provided for those taking the Intermediate Arts Courses. To put the journalism course into some kind of perspective there is an interesting comparison to be made with a course which started the same year as the Diploma, in the School of Librarianship, in 1919. Its fee-income in its first year was £900 and it supported a full-time director and five full-time specialist lecturers. The University's income from journalism students for 1919/20 was £2,542.

The Librarians' course was fortunate in receiving a small annual subvention from a charitable organisation which met any deficit; the

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Diploma for Journalism did not receive such benefits, although students on the course benefited to the tune of £900 annually in scholarships contributed mainly by provincial newspapers through the auspices of the Newspaper Society.⁶³

The University view was expressed in the minutes of the Senate: '... the Senate are willing to continue the award of the Diploma, provided that a satisfactory scheme of study can be agreed upon, but that they are not prepared to re-establish a School of Journalism, or to provide the necessary instructional facilities which should be undertaken by the Profession itself.'⁶⁴

Sir Linton Andrews had written a memorandum on behalf of the Institute of Journalists proposing a 'Technical Committee of Inquiry into the future training of newspaper workers, and the possibility of basing it upon a curriculum'⁶⁵ which would have industry-wide relevance. He wanted a 'scheme of training which could be embodied in a national system of education.'

Although the memorandum was aimed at getting the Minister of Education to set up such an enquiry all he offered was a Board of Education official to act as an adviser. Andrews believed in the kind of training offered by Clarke at London University before the war, yet he saw a danger in producing journalists 'too academic in their outlook.'⁶⁶ Clarke responded to his friend's comments deploring the melancholy state of affairs in which 'we muddle on in the old haphazard way.'⁶⁷

Clarke returned to the question of perpetuating university-based education for journalism in a letter to the *Times* later the same year (see Appendix XXIII) in which he commented upon: '... academic bodies... fears of endangering their standards by the merging of academic and practical studies which is essential in any journalism course worthy the name.'⁶⁸

Because of the university's 'jealousy regarding their standards' Clarke suggested the idea of a Journalism Society: 'such as the Law Society-providing its own programme of studies, its own professional code, and its avenues of recruitment: but that seems something far off.' But this was attempted, as an undated letter in the King's College archives suggests when replying to intending applicants for the journalism course: 'the professional associations... tried to establish some form of Institute to be conducted in association with the University, but this proved to be impossible.'⁶⁹ The absence of such an Institute was something which puzzled a member of the third Royal Commission of the Press in 1977 and, had it existed, there might have been little need for three such Commissions.⁷⁰

New Moves Towards a National System of Training

Even as these ideas were being aired in the press various organizations were deliberating the way forward. In May 1945, the N.U.J. discussed proposals for 'Recruitment and Training'⁷¹ which were in response to an earlier invitation from the Newspaper Society to engage in tripartite discussions on the subject with the Institute of Journalists.⁷² By the time the Newspaper Society's *Monthly Circular* was announcing the University of

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London's unwillingness to continue the Diploma course, in May 1946, it was anticipating receiving the N.U.J.'s scheme for training junior journalists.⁷³

Although there were major disagreements with the Union over selection of recruits, with Andrews leading this attack,⁷⁴ a year later Mr Hamson re-enters the arena, this time in the Newspaper Society colours seeking to: 'minimise the divergence between the conflicting views, urging the necessity of setting up a training scheme at the earliest possible moment.'⁷⁵

Mr. Hamson's wish seemed to come true within three months when the Society expressed its willingness to establish a National Advisory Council,⁷⁶ in which representatives of all sides would be included, to 'establish a training scheme for junior journalists.' However, nothing had materialized by November 1948, as the Society informed the Royal Commission on the Press,⁷⁷ with both sides (i.e. Union and Society) blaming each other for the delay. The Newspaper Society said it had no quarrels with the Union on the training aspects of the scheme, just on the selection which they interpreted as interfering with the editorial power of selection of staff.

The Apprenticeship Authority was called in to try and help solve this impasse, but it was not until 1951 that the nucleus of a National Advisory Council was in embryonic form, including, among its members, Mr. Norman Robson and Mr. E. Jay and Mr. H.S. Tonymbee, the Union's Education Officer; these three had all involved themselves in the question of education for journalism and the one man, on the Union side, who had worked so hard for this, Mr. Hamson, 'our first great educationist,'⁷⁸ only lived a few months after the announcement.

At a series of conferences early in 1952 the National Advisory Council agreed on details for a General Proficiency Test and Certificate of Training, spread over a three-year basic course, while a Vocational Training Committee deliberated on draft articles for indenturing junior journalists and the National Diploma Committee, chaired by Mr. Norman Robson, outlined details for the advanced course. These would be required to submit a thesis, after 18 months, on a subject of their own choice: 'The object... is to encourage journalists to extend their interests beyond the point of acquiring a general level of education and a recognized degree of technical competence.'⁷⁹

Candidates for the Diploma would also take examinations which would include: '... practical tests of journalistic knowledge; questions on the structure of the newspaper industry; the relation of various departments to each other and the history of journalism.'⁸⁰ The National Advisory Council also commissioned a *Manual of Training*, and proofs of this were available at its next meetings on May 25th and 26th, when the appointment of its first, full-time, Executive Officer, H.C. Strick, was announced.⁸¹ On June 11th 1952, the General Purposes Committee of the Newspaper Society, sitting in lieu of the Council, approved a contribution of £650 to the new Council's budget, estimated at £2,500 for its first year, exclusive of rent and rates. So the National Advisory Council for the Training and Education of Junior Journalists began its independent existence on July 1st 1952.⁸²

The N.U.J. contributed to all these meetings and, additionally, sought the agreement of its members at a Special Delegate Meeting, in 1946, to the

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proposed scheme. The hard-worked Education Committee also had to plan, and execute, a very comprehensive scheme for returning ex-servicemen wanting to take a 'refresher' correspondence course which the Committee arranged with Ruskin College, Oxford.⁸³ For this the Committee produced several handbooks on law, reporting and sub-editing, which contained much of educational interest, as well as recruiting a team of working journalists to act as tutors to correspondents and, at one time, 750 people were signed up to take the course, with 78 tutors to assess their work. Much of the Union's time between 1946 and 1949 was also taken up with preparing the groundwork for the first ever Royal Commission on the Press, and in presenting evidence, both written and oral.

Another factor contributing to both the Union, and Newspaper Society, action on schemes of education and training was the decision of the Senate of London University not to continue the Diploma course. After April, 1946, there was little hope of reinstating university education for journalism, so other schemes assumed a priority which they did not have until the Diploma for Journalism was seen to be a non-starter.⁸⁴

The First Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-9.

(i) The Policy Committee

This Committee was set up after a meeting of the full Commission held on July 17th 1947, with the brief 'to consider what questions of policy should be examined by the Commission, and how; and to make recommendations to the Commission.'⁸⁵ The Commission itself was the result of pressure from the National Union of Journalists⁸⁶ for an investigation into the 'monopolistic tendencies in the control of the Press with the object of furthering... the greatest possible accuracy in the presentation of news...'⁸⁷

Membership of the Policy Committee included the chairman, Sir David Ross (1877-1971) Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, from 1929 to 1947; Lady Violet Bonham-Carter, later Baroness Asquith (1887-1969); (Sir) Robert C.K. Ensor (1877-1958); G.M. Young (1892-1952); (Sir) Hubert Hull (1887-1976); and Miss Eirwen Mary Owen. They were assisted by the Commission secretary, Miss Jean Nunn, a Girton College, Cambridge, graduate, and a principal in the Home Office. Of these Ensor had been a journalist before becoming a historian, as had Young, and Hull was a civil servant, and Lady Bonham-Carter had just finished a term as a Governor of the BBC (1941-6). Ensor, Ross and Young were all connected, in some way, with Balliol College, Oxford.

It was the Policy Committee's task to formulate the questions to be addressed to witnesses and it called upon people like Leonard Woolf (1880-1969), joint editor of the *Political Quarterly* from 1931 to 1959, and Sir William Haley (1901-87) then Director-General of the BBC, a former journalist on the *Manchester Evening News* who later edited *The Times* from 1952 to 1966, to discuss topics with them. Miss Nunn drew up a list of 'Questions on which information and conclusions will be required' and the 'Appropriate body to investigate' was placed on the right-hand side of the list. The 'body' could be the full Commission, the Policy Committee, the Secretariat or Research (which was under a specially-appointed officer,

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Mr.R.Silverman.) One of 'the causes' of journalistic inaccuracy was seen to be 'poor education of journalists' and under 'Remedies' the document lists: 'Education, and training of journalist - entry, supervision, organisation, University and post-graduate courses. Professional organisation - chartered body embracing journalists only. Registration. Press Council - form and functions. Should it include disciplinary functions or economic functions...'⁸⁸

(ii) Views on Education

Members of the Royal Commission expected the Press Council's major impact on journalism would be to improve training, education and recruitment. G.M. Young, the historian, held the opinion that a good deal of inaccuracy and distortion could be attributed to ignorance, so training and education obviously had a direct bearing on the object of their inquiry. This was supported by quoting examples of recklessness in the use of figures, totally inadequate accounts of speeches, misleading comparisons allied to a tendency to base sweeping generalizations on a single statement or example. These were all included as 'factors leading to distortion' which were categorized as:

- '(i) categorical statements made on inadequate evidence
- (ii) the accumulative effect of striking head-lines
- (iii) inaccuracy of detail... due to speed of production
- (iv) sensationalism and over-emphasis on the novel and the new to the exclusion of the continuing.'⁸⁹

G.M. Young, however, believed the press was often made the scapegoat for the: 'inherent traits of the multitude. The great public likes the sensation and triviality; it doesn't mind something more substantial (and he saw that the) twaddle served as ways to carry the heavier cargo,'⁹⁰ and this, to him, was evidence that the press would accelerate this progress as education advanced. Another member, Sir Robert Ensor, journalist-turned-historian, submitted a six-page memorandum drawing attention to press distortion for personal, or vicious, motives, quoting Northcliffe's vendetta against Mr. Asquith and Beaverbrook's and Rothermere's vendetta against Stanley Baldwin.⁹¹ He also drafted a bill to regulate the invasion of privacy.⁹²

These views were reinforced by evidence from a working journalist of sixty years experience - fifty of them as editor of provincial/suburban London newspapers - H.T. Hamson, whose early work for the National Union of Journalists' Education Committee has been touched on. In fact Hamson was a founder member both of the N.U.J. and the Guild of Editors of Great Britain, and rightly described himself, to the Commission as a pioneer of the movement for education of journalists.⁹³

Hamson kept the Commission primed with supplies of papers on the subject of journalism education, especially those discussed by the N.U.J. and the Newspaper Society in the late 1940s, mentioned earlier. With such a wealth of experience it would appear that members of the Royal Commission were avid listeners to someone who provided them with information, based upon experience, to reinforce their conclusions. In his evidence Hamson stated he had early formed the opinion that reporters

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were not particularly well-informed people and, because of their weak knowledge of affairs, they were often unable to grasp the real news value, or the implications, of the sundry topics they had to deal with at meetings, lectures, and local government affairs. He criticised them for their attitude of pretended indifference, which was really one of ignorance, and deplored the effect this had on younger staff and to the subsequent loss to the public welfare springing from their inability to correctly follow what was happening. This, Hamson, believed, explained the prejudice against the press held by many bodies and officials (vide the similarity of comments to the Third Royal Commission on the Press, in 1977, by both the Trade Union Congress and the Confederation of British Industries.) One oft-quoted phrase by the then editor of the *Sunday Express*, John Gordon (1890-1974), that 'whenever we see a story in a newspapers concerning something we know about... it is more often wrong than right' was made in the context of the educational requirements for journalism.

These 'occasional weaknesses' Hamson traced to the haphazard way beginners were still introduced to journalism, without proper training and in absence of special education in the kind of subjects likely to be of use during the journalist's career. One result of this was 'half-baked people going on to Fleet Street newspapers, where they would most likely end up as permanent incompetents, or, at least, very shallow reporters.' Properly trained and educated professional journalists would 'decline to place more stress on the sensational than the factual, or to act more as public entertainers than as purveyors of news and information.'⁹⁴

While the Royal Commission archives, in their present depleted state, contain no reference by Hamson to the London University Diploma for Journalism course we know that he reported favourably on students to Tom Clarke.⁹⁵

The Report's conclusions echo Hamson's sentiments in their entirety: 'Unless the journalist has some knowledge and understanding of the subject on which he is working, he can hardly report it accurately. He cannot obtain the information he needs or assess the reliability of the information given. If he lacks the background which makes an event, a speech, or a discovery significant, he cannot make it significant, or even intelligible to his readers; and being unable to make his subject itself interesting, he will tend to fall back on the trivialities incidental to it.'⁹⁶

It must have struck the members of the Commission that a University course, such as that at London University between 1919 and 1939, must have contributed, in some measure, towards realizing some of these statements. Even in this, however, there were problems to be overcome such as the attitude of proprietors like Lord Beaverbrook: his Lordship was strongly of the opinion that journalists could not be trained in universities in the ways of journalism.⁹⁷ Consequently none of the six former students of the London course employed by him ever admitted to being on the course, at least not within earshot of his Lordship.

While it is difficult to ascertain how the Commission weighted the evidence they heard, one is heartened by the fact that they seemed to give little credence to the claim of Mr. Laurence Cadbury (1889-1982) of the

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News Chronicle, that its forerunner, the *Daily News*, had started the course. Such a claim is, of course, entirely without foundation.

(iii) Comments on the London University Diploma for Journalism

The response to the Royal Commission's question on the London course was as varied as one would expect from the wide variety of newspaper people called to give evidence before them. The Newspaper Proprietors' (now Publishers') Association criticised the course for failing to place many of its graduates in newspapers, while the Newspaper Society, responsible for the representation of the provincial newspaper groups across the country, declared it wished to see the course re-introduced, because of the precedent which other universities might have followed.

Norman Robson, whose work on behalf of journalism education appears earlier in this chapter, thought that the small numbers entering newspapers reflected more the desires of parents to get a semi-academic education for their children without the expense of taking a degree. He also thought that the course had improved under Clarke but that too high a proportion of students had preferred to work on magazines (which the author noticed in talking to former students.) He did not see the course providing specialists, either in sports or finance, or politics, but in giving a good general education and an introduction to other subjects which, if they had begun working life as newspaper reporters, they would not have had time to get. The limitation, as Robson saw it, was that students could only claim a rudimentary knowledge of journalism and practical reporting, even after Clarke's introduction of more reporting assignments.⁹⁸ However, as indicated earlier, provincial editors felt the opposite.

Here it is useful to note that Sir Linton Andrews later criticised newspapers (especially the national dailies) for not finding places for students from the course.⁹⁹ Andrew preferred Clarke's students because he knew they would be 'trained in accurate habits of mind', always asking themselves 'Have I got these names right?' 'Have I given a fair summary of this man's speech?' Andrews felt that the young men from ordinary university courses might have a predilection for spelling people's names wrongly, and he despaired of one local (presumably Leeds) academic who said that Anglo-Saxon was the best course for educating journalists.

Supporters of the London course included Sir Robert Webber, managing director of the *Western Mail* in Cardiff, who had told Clarke he was doing most important work, considering how neglected had been the education of journalists.¹⁰⁰ Arthur Christiansen (1904-1963), editor of the *Daily Express* from 1933 to 1957, told the Commission he had employed a gold-medallist from the course who 'had been no better than the average journalist trained in the provinces without the benefit of any university education.' Yet this same student was praised by a provincial newspaper editor because 'he pulled his weight in a way that was totally unexpected.'¹⁰¹ These two comments reveal how the Fleet Street editor, Christiansen, thought the student 'no better' than average when the provincial editor was impressed at his ability, even as a student.

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Not surprisingly the Institute of Journalists joined with the Newspaper Society in praising the London course, as did Kemsley Newspapers, and four other newspaper groups. Only Berrows Newspapers regarded the course as a failure (but Royal Commission on the Press Policy Committee minutes note that Mr. R.G. Crowther, later Lord Crowther (1907-1972) said the course was the laughing stock of Fleet Street.) Even so, six newspaper groups favoured university education of some kind and these included some of the more reputable members of the provincial stable including the *East Anglian Daily Times*, the *Liverpool Daily Post*, the *Western Mail*, Home Counties Newspapers and the *Kentish Times* Group. Tillotson's Newspaper also favoured university education, but *after* spending a few years on newspapers, and they had taken several former Diploma students who had 'all made good.'

The *Times* said university training was the best method while even the Newspaper Proprietors' Association saw graduates always having an advantage over their colleagues in the long run. The *Manchester Guardian* expressed the view that more graduates should be encouraged to enter the sub-editorial side of newspapers. Also favouring the idea of university education were the Westminster Press Group (Norman Robson was Chief of their leader-writing department) and the *Birmingham Post and Mail* (which had supported Birmingham University proposals for a postgraduate course in 1908.)

The secretary of the Newspaper Society, Mr. E.W. Davies (d. 1980), as well as the then editor-in-chief of the Press Association, both supported the idea of having more university-trained men in journalism because there was 'practically no cultural standard among reporters and sub-editors...' Lord Burnham, of the *Daily Telegraph* (4th Baron and, as Col. E.F. Lawson and former Chairman of the Journalism Committee of London University) said there was divided opinion among newspapermen about what constituted the best form of training but, in his opinion, the London course had been good only after the appointment of Clarke. 'Even then the mixture of academic and practical had been far from perfect, and nowhere near complete technical training.'

When asked, by members of the Commission, about the N.U.J.'s spokesman's assessment of the course as 'unsuccessful' Lord Burnham replied that the spokesman, Mr. Bundock, had served with him on the Journalism Committee for many years and had never said that then. Bundock, N.U.J. general secretary, had little newspapers experience¹⁰² and did not present the Union's case to its best advantage, according to one member, Sir George Vickers. In his evidence to the Royal Commission Lord Burnham blamed the demise of the Diploma course on the inability of the university authorities to provide either accommodation or staff but, as Sir Tom Hopkinson pointed out,¹⁰³ this interpretation itself was suspect because of the fact that the newspaper industry as a whole was not prepared to commit money to the scheme (although Newspaper Society *Monthly Circulars* indicate that there was support among its members.)

Norman Robson, as a former member of the University's Journalism Committee, also found that the academics were unwilling to provide the

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professional element of technical journalism which they thought the industry ought to pay for (by founding a chair or similar financial backing.)

One effect of the Existence of the Royal Commission on the Press

The very existence of the Royal Commission was viewed by many in the newspaper industry as a threat, more so because of the N.U.J.'s part in its inauguration. The editor of the *Daily Mail* was reported in *The Times* saying: 'when the Royal Commission on the Press began its investigations into the newspapers and newspapermen of the country, the British Press would be on trial.'¹⁰⁴

So while the London University course was discontinued before the start of the Royal Commission, its absence was also a factor in bringing all sides back together in 1948 to try and formulate proposals for the national training scheme, outlined earlier. Nevertheless, the Union's educational ideas were severely pruned before the Newspaper Society would go ahead with the scheme. We only have to examine these proposals (Appendix XII a & b) and compare them with the subjects offered when the training body was set up, in 1952, when only Use of English, Law, Public Administration, shorthand and typing were obligatory.

The conclusion must be that the provincial newspaper industry did not want education but training, and so it was that, after 1955, the title of the National Council for the Training and Education of Junior Journalists was changed to the National Council for the Training of Journalists. It took the Council thirteen years to introduce schemes for college-based one-year courses for school-leavers, called pre-entry courses and, the following year, 1966, steps were taken to introduce courses in universities.

First Post-war Scheme to Involve Universities

The second director of the N.C.T.J., John Dodge (1930-1985, later first professor of journalism at City University from 1983), favoured the idea of post-graduate courses for journalists and managed to gather sufficient funds to enable Tom Hopkinson to take up the post of Senior Research Fellow, in 1967,¹⁰⁵ at the new University of Sussex, to investigate the possibility of such a venture. Nearly £10,000 was raised, mainly from provincial newspaper groups, and individual papers, with the N.U.J. contributing £500 (from the royalties on a book, *The Practice of Journalism*) and the IoJ £50

A note 'Press Studies at Sussex' dated March, 1966, under the name of the Dean of Social Studies at Sussex, Professor Asa (now Lord) Briggs, indicates that the University had been: 'interested for the last two years in the idea of setting up a Centre for the study of communication in modern society'¹⁰⁶ and sought £5,000 a year to fund the Fellowship for Hopkinson. The University had already organised a course for journalists under Charles Fenby¹⁰⁷ when the International Press Institute held a session on training, in 1965.

The introduction of several new universities into the academic mainstream, during the 1960s made people like Dodge and George Viner

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(d. 1983), who was then the N.U.J.'s Education Officer, think that the time was ripe to try and institute some form of post-graduate education for journalism. Viner thought Sussex was 'the best centre... because of its nearness to London and special qualities.' He went on to say that 'Asa Briggs is also President of the W(orkers) E(ducational) A(ssociation) and I meet him from time to time.'

Hopkinson supplemented his finances with a grant from the Ford Foundation to visit American universities where journalism education had a long history at undergraduate level, with Columbia University, New York, running a post-graduate course. Hopkinson came down against the undergraduate idea because graduates who might later wish to change employment could 'be severely handicapped by this limitation'¹⁰⁸ especially when students did not usually make career choices until their last year in university.

Hopkinson's own view on the subject was that he was expected to produce a postgraduate proposal. He also thought establishing a degree course would place 'heavy burdens of extra work and organisation on existing schools' which would have to supply important elements in the proposed course in journalism. He also rejected the idea of the two-year diploma, considering it too short for anyone to obtain both 'valuable academic instruction and professional training' and he did not think it possible for the London University Diploma course to have provided: 'a comprehensive and co-ordinated curriculum of modern or current knowledge, together with instruction and practice in writing for the Press.' This claim, he said, rang hollow and he regarded it as an 'almost useless qualification.'¹⁰⁹ The former chief reviewer of *The Observer*, Kathleen Nott, stated that she had used it as a stepping-stone to getting a degree at Oxford.¹¹⁰

Hopkinson saw a post-graduate year as a 'transfer year' in which students would spend most of their time, in vacation, working on newspapers or in radio and television newsrooms. Even if a student failed he would still have academic qualifications for employment in other fields. He also linked this idea to the first pre-entry, one-year, courses run at Colleges, recognized by the N.C.T.J., saying that the industry would be likelier to accept proposals of this nature.

The pedagogic task Hopkinson set for himself is worth considering in its detail: 'the basic aim of the course... is to produce a man or woman who can go into a newsroom - either in radio, television or on a newspaper - and be immediately useful, allowing for the fact that in any office there are variations of custom and routine to be picked up. He should be able to write a news story in correct and vigorous English, 'sub' it, make up a page, select and mark up pictures. He should be capable of interviewing people in any walk of life, and be familiar with the procedure of Parliament, the machinery of local government, the working of courts of law. He should know enough law to guard against libel, slander, contempt of court, and possess a sufficient knowledge of the social services.

The student should be familiar with the organisation of a newspaper on the editorial side. He must have a clear picture of the whole inter-locked complex of modern communications. He should know something of printing

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techniques, the financing of newspapers, and the work of the circulation and advertising departments. He should have some understanding of the computer... as well as in opinion-sampling techniques.'¹¹¹

Hopkinson also thought special abilities 'like leader-writing or political correspondent' might be included in the curriculum, without fully appreciating what that entailed, and that lectures by visiting journalists would provide professional elements. Two staff and 15 to 30 students would be able to call on Sussex University's resources in 'the fields of social studies, languages, law and sciences.'

Once the scheme looked possible John Dodge was looking for larger sums of money from Fleet Street newspapers - members of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association - to endow journalism studies at Sussex. He received a verbal offer, over the telephone, from Mr. Cecil King (1901-1987), of the *Mirror* Group of newspapers, offering £25,000, but this was countermanded by Mr. (later Lord) Hugh Cudlipp (1913-1998).¹¹² Dodge believed that the Printing and Publishing Industries Training Board, which was set up in May, 1969, made implementation of the course at Sussex impossible, yet it did start, in 1970, at University College, Cardiff, where Hopkinson was invited to introduce the subject, supported by Mr. Don Rowlands, then editor of a respected morning paper in Cardiff and later Director of the Thomson Foundation.

In a report on his first year at Cardiff Hopkinson commented on the difficulties he had encountered in trying to establish the kind of syllabus he described as 'background knowledge' which post-graduate students of journalism required. When the course started in Cardiff in October, 1970, he selected courses from the undergraduate curriculum: 'economics, industrial relations, sociology and social administration, elements of British government, the economic development of the USA and USSR, criminology and the use of the computer.'¹¹³

These, he continued, formed the least satisfactory part of the course, with two exceptions in law and government, and he criticised the undergraduate courses for taking a 'more leisurely approach adapted to a longer course of study... journalism students learn better in an atmosphere of free discussion rather than in a lecture-room situation.'

The comments indicate Hopkinson's difficulties which, if he had studied what happened on the London University Diploma for Journalism, he might have been able to avoid, especially bearing in mind Dr. Harrison's proposals for a School of Journalism which offered courses in non-examinable (background) lectures.¹¹⁴

Review and Summary

One of the accepted views about the National Union of Journalists is that it has always fought for pay and given lower priority to education and training for journalism. This tenet is revealed to have very little foundation in fact, illustrated by the activities of the N.U.J. Education Committee, and its propaganda work in favour of education in the columns of the N.U.J.'s *The Journalist* (See Appendix XXV). The support for such schemes by employers' organizations is also revealed to be much more extensive than

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the mythology surrounding the subject would indicate. The Newspaper Society's scale of support is indicated in the extent of Mr. Valentine Knapp's fundraising, among its members, to provide scholarships for students on the London University Diploma for Journalism after the State awards to returning Servicemen ended in the mid-1920s.

It is the author's opinion that what results there have been, in the field of education and training for journalism, are the efforts of a small team of doggedly persistent propagandists; their influence can be traced chronologically up to the introduction of the first National Council for the Education and Training of the Junior Journalist in 1952. Whether they were pupils in the Journalistic Classes at the City of London School in the first decade of the twentieth century (like Alan Pitt Robbins, who was on the steering committee for the above-named Council), or attended the Diploma for Journalism in the second decade (as did Norman Robson who served on the Council's Diploma committee), or had worked for fifty years as editor (as in the case of H.T. Hamson, one of the N.U.J.'s early Education Committee members), their presence in the continuing debate provided some semblance of continuity to what, originally, appeared to the author as disparate and contradictory phases.

The evolving stages in the search for a system of educating journalists mirror the contradictions those seeking solutions to the problems had to face: journalism was changing and responding to a variety of influences, internally, those allied to changes in technology, and externally: those which tied it to its readers initially and, more widely, to society. With no professional monitoring device to attune them to the long-term effects of such changes journalists could only respond to the immediate and obvious demands placed upon them, such is the nature of their work. These changes cannot be separated from those usually designated as their originators, people like Stead, Northcliffe or Beaverbrook, but theirs was a demonic role, as Piers Brendon has so clearly indicated.¹¹⁵ What happened at the 'workface' of journalistic activity - and how the 'innovators' influence has been perpetuated or modified to meet changing circumstances - requires a separate study beyond the scope of this present enquiry.

Even though a former President of the Board of Education H.A.L. Fisher could believe that the introduction of state-supported grants for returning ex-servicemen after the First World War wishing to undertake university courses 'contributed to the spread of the University idea through England,'¹¹⁶ it was nowhere near as widespread as it was in America, where no such state support was needed. Hence the feeling of the National Union of Journalists describing their 'temerity in approaching universities'¹¹⁷ when seeking to widen the educational opportunities available to their members. Raising the question of correspondence courses with British universities in 1925 was either too advanced a step to expect of them, or foolhardy, depending on your point of view.

Yet the University of Chicago had introduced such a course in 1899.¹¹⁸ It did not become an acceptable practice to British academics until the introduction of the Open University, seventy years later. In fact the author believes the N.U.J. was among the first to foster this approach, using self-

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marking and tutor-assessed questions, in its post Second World War attempts to provide returning journalists with a 'refresher' course.

Trying to disentangle the reasons for the demise of the Diploma for Journalism course at London University is no easy task but there is one explanation which the author supports. This relates to the unusual decision of the Interdepartmental Committee on Further Education and Training in 1944, under Lord Hankey, to exclude all favourable references both to the London University course, in particular, and to the general statements favouring the extension of such courses to other universities, from its three paragraph summary of the memorandum presented to the Committee by the Journalists' Advisory Committee to the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Those who sat on that Advisory Committee were of the opinion that the Hankey Committee had published their favourable references¹¹⁹ when, in fact, they had not. This three-paragraph summary strikes a very negative note compared to the Journalists' Advisory Committee's very full report and, as the Interdepartmental Committee was originally instigated by the Board of Education, it is fair to assume that the three-paragraph summary was enshrined therein as the gospel about journalism education. One consequence could have been R.A. Butler's refusal, when Minister of Education, to support the I.O.J. request for a special inquiry into journalism education, in 1944.¹²⁰

Regardless of the fact that both employers and trades union organizations joined in supporting the continuance of the London course, no official moves in its favour meant it had little chance of being revived, especially as space was at a premium in bomb-damaged post-war London, though where the figures (of forty rooms and 25 staff) came from is a mystery.¹²¹ The lack of such an advanced course (which King's College Inspectors noted should become postgraduate in 1937)¹²² bedevilled later attempts at introducing such courses and the impetus shifted towards the growing areas of further, and technical, education after the 1944 Education Act indicated funds would be available.

The impetus towards a national scheme must have been accelerated by the 'considerable interest... going to be laid on this question in the report'¹²³ of the Royal Commission on the Press, as the trade press anticipated, in 1949. The writer continued: 'my guess is that the Royal Commission on the Press will put its finger on this spot and job till it hurts.' Whether any Royal Commission can achieve so much with just a 'jab' is doubtful, but there appears to have been a sense in which, on the employers' side as well as on the union side, counsels of moderation (supported by H.T. Hamson) enabled the negotiations (which had also included the Institute of Journalists) to be continued with renewed vigour. The surprise, in the Commission's Report, was the prominence given to the second function of the proposed General Council of the Press: 'to improve the methods of recruitment, education and training for the profession.'

Reaction to the Report centred on the proposal to set up a Press Council, as it soon became known, but the educational aspect kept *The Times* correspondence column busy from July to November, 1949. One of those who 'flowed from Oxford onto Fleet Street' was John Connell (1909-

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65) B.A. (Balliol, 1931) who went onto the *Evening News* in 1932, serving as a leader-writer from 1945 to 1959. Connell deplored the lack of moral or historical background: 'against which the daily torrent of happenings - in their complexity and perversity - can be assessed. The lack of background is really lack of knowledge... a complement of slick knowingness, a shallow cynicism, enshrined in the phrase "What's the racket behind the story?"'¹²⁴

For Connell the remedy was a higher general standard of education in journalists 'in a greater knowledge, more widely backed and more soundly based, of what human life really is.' Someone who had served various papers as correspondent in Bonn and Paris, including the *Morning Post* from 1928 to 1932, was (Sir) John Pollock (1878-1863), who graduated from Cambridge in 1900, commented on how 'the five best posts on the British Press had been filled (during the period 1920-1932) by scholars of King's, Brasenose, and New Colleges, a Fellow of Trinity and a Master at Eton.'¹²⁵

A member of the Commission, Sir George Waters, editor of *The Scotsman*, complained of the treatment the Report received in the newspapers and he, personally, doubted if journalism was 'attracting the young adventurous minds' which he did not necessarily equate with university education.¹²⁶ Others feared the introduction of a 'centralised bureau' which would make it easier to subjugate the press to a totalitarian regime; they, of course favoured the more romantic, 'self-help' image of the journalist reading his way through life¹²⁷ while another Cambridge graduate, Wilson Harris (1883-1955) did not doubt 'the young journalist can read... but wisely-guided study is always better than random reading.'¹²⁸

For Harris the relevant point was how all those testifying (including 'other ranks') believed that journalists 'had to learn a great deal more than (school) examiners require' indicating, without openly stating it, that the schools were ill-equipped for preparing future citizens well-versed in the ways of government. Harris thought that picking up journalism as they went along (*solvitur ambulando*) was 'imperfect technical education.'

This seems to echo the Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P.) *Report on the British Press* of 1938, which included the criticism that: 'it is too freely assumed in newspaper offices that a journalist can pick up anything without special study... whereas the truth often is that the standard of accuracy and judgment reached this way... is so low as to be valueless to anyone informed about the subject in question.'

In this way the Royal Commission's report only extended the pre-war criticisms, enabling P.E.P. to say 'there was nothing new in the Report.'¹²⁹ The difference was that, within three years of the Commission's Report, there was in existence a National Council for the Education and Training of the Junior Journalist (later N.C.T.J.) To that extent the author believes the first Royal Commission on the Press played an important role in pushing forward what might otherwise have struggled out over a longer period.

We have seen how it took the N.C.T.J. from 1952 to 1965 to introduce the idea of one-year pre-entry courses for school-leavers. In 1965 there was another aspect affecting journalism recruitment from universities which was under-recognised outside the newspaper industry: that was the agreement between the N.U.J. and the Fleet Street national newspapers,

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represented by the Newspaper Publishers' Association, prohibiting direct entry of graduates from universities onto national newspapers. A former editor of *The Guardian* has commented on how seriously this affected his recruitment policy.¹³⁰ The implication for journalism education was that all courses, in future, would have to meet N.C.T.J. requirements, and that provincial newspapers would be the only places where the products of courses could secure employment.

In effect, this amounted to barring entry to both Fleet Street, and provincial newspapers unless applicants had followed an N.C.T.J.-approved course. The word 'followed' is used here as it appears that such a course was optional for those working on newspapers and taking the N.C.T.J. Proficiency Certificate by block-release methods, according to the 1977 Report of the Royal Commission on the Press, paragraph 18.37.¹³¹ Even those who took the Certificate, and failed, did not suffer loss of employment if they were working on a newspaper. By the 1990s the N.U.J. had been widely 'derecognised' by employers and consequently stripped of the power to decide who might work as a journalist.¹³²

Provincial newspaper employers also had to take into account the salaries payable to recruits on entry and these were determined by the entrant's age; therefore graduate entrants, being older, had to be paid more than school-leavers. This, tied to what Andrew McBarnett has called the 'lingering resentment in the industry... to graduates'¹³³ made the introduction of post-graduate courses a necessity and John Dodge's efforts at instituting a course at Sussex take on a new significance when we understand this background to the postgraduate proposal. Sussex must also have seemed an ideal setting, within easy reach of London, with an approach to academic study that suggested a breadth not normally available to students. Asa Briggs's view was that: 'All undergraduates would be expected not to study a multitude of unrelated subjects side by side or one after the other, but continuously to relate their specialized study to impinging and overlapping studies.'¹³⁴

This would have seemed to augur well for the integrated teaching that Hopkinson believed should be offered at post-graduate level, but it did not start at Sussex University, and here we need to remind ourselves of English academics' attitudes toward journalism training as being 'cautious... they are not convinced that in the case of journalism such training is even necessary vocationally.'¹³⁵

In sharp contrast John Dodge, who was director of the N.C.T.J. from 1961-69, pushed hard for the creation of a university school of journalism in London when he became director of information for the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) in 1973 before becoming Britain's first professor of journalism at The City University in 1983.

The rejuvenation expected from the introduction of the new universities, which opened around Britain in the 1960s, seems to have had little effect upon academic attitudes towards the needs of society. According to Lord Annan education in universities 'continued without relevance to jobs in the City, commerce, government'¹³⁶ while many have suffered what another describes as 'the ossification of departmental disciplines.'¹³⁷ The strong undercurrent of expression of disquiet felt about the role universities play in

The influence of the Diploma for Journalism on the National Union of Journalists and future journalism training and education modern society is well documented¹³⁸ and is a measure of feelings expressed by both industry and government.

The lack of an academic underpinning to journalism education in England has meant that whole areas are inadequately researched which makes it difficult to pinpoint changes and developments as they occur. This contrasts with the surfeit of material available to the American journalism educator, in the journal of that name, in *Journalism Quarterly* and numerous other journals.¹³⁹

However, the American experience of journalism education has resulted in a situation highlighted by being described as the 'Takeover of journalism education. How journalism education has been submerged during the last half of the 20th century.'¹⁴⁰ Betty Medsger, the author, describes how communication studies have displaced practical journalism teaching (usually by former journalists) to such an extent that academic research, in communication studies, is now the priority for faculty achieving academic progression. Indeed the American Association for Education in Journalism added the words 'and Mass Communications' to its title many years ago.

When Tom Hopkinson was guiding his first post-graduate students at Cardiff, in 1970, towards work in newspapers he could add 'and by extension, given recruitment patterns, in broadcasting.'¹⁴¹ The author introduces this, at this stage, to illustrate the difficulties facing anyone seeking to identify constituent elements included in the fabric of 'journalism' without benefit of knowledge of how the threads are woven.

The accepted view of broadcast journalism was that it was an extension of newspaper journalism, as Hopkinson himself believed when he stated that his aim, in starting a course, was to produce a man or woman who can go into a newsroom-either in radio, television or on a newspaper. The list of functions applicable to print journalists includes nothing specific to broadcasting *per se*; neither is there any mention, in Hopkinson's own papers relating to his tenure of his Senior Fellowship at the University of Sussex, of any contact with broadcasting organizations, either BBC or ITV.

The same year that he took up his fellowship the BBC introduced local radio to eight towns and, in 1969 appointed Robert McLeish as the local radio training officer to guide the BBC's second phase in 1970, when another twelve stations were planned. McLeish states that he would have expected to hear from Hopkinson especially after the course at University College, Cardiff, had started; but no such approaches were made.¹⁴²

In 1977 the author was planning the first full-time course for radio journalism and began this research to help in the preparation.¹⁴³ That same year the Report of the Third Royal Commission on the Press was published and it recommended that the 'emphasis... about the industrial as against the professional objectives of journalists' training... would have to be modified.' And that it saw 'merit in arranging courses in higher education establishments to provide a common foundation for all forms of journalism.'¹⁴⁴

One result was a conference on editorial training supported by the Printing and Publishing Industries Training Board (which was disbanded in 1982) one of whose officials, Philip Marsh (1916-1998), was a former student of the Diploma for Journalism course at London University.¹⁴⁵ The

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questions of professional and industrial training were discussed at the conference, organised by the British Section of the International Press Institute in October 1980, and many of the arguments raised in this research were again discussed. The author felt that the conference illustrated how both academics and journalists were victims of the limited extent to which knowledge of the pre-war arguments had filtered through to them; it was as if the author was listening to a replay of discussion started back in 1884 when the National Association of Journalists (later the Institute of Journalists) first raised these issues in its forums.

Reading books published since the 1980s, I have noticed the somewhat slow development in serious research by academics into exactly how, and what, budding journalists should be taught at university level. Only as recently as 2011 has there been any attempt to write up quantitative and qualitative surveying of 'Hackademics at the Chalkface'.¹⁴⁶ Yet, as we have seen, Dr. G.B. Harrison of King's College spoke on the subject of 'The Universities and Journalism' as long ago as 1935.¹⁴⁷ (Appendix XXVIII) In describing how the college prepared for the arrival of its first Director of Practical Journalism, Tom Clarke, in September of that year, Harrison said the faculty decided that 'our course should be a study of the modern world and drew up a list of what a student might reasonably be expected to have covered in two years.' First, they should be able to write. Tutorial classes in English Composition were included, as well as Principles of Criticism. Instead of studying the Tudor Settlement their special study would be modern world from the French Revolution. Allied to history were the political and social theories so prevalent in the last 150 years: so they followed a course on the Social and Economic Structure of Today. The last compulsory subject was Modern English Literature of the last fifty years, unlike the honours degree which did not extend beyond 1875.

By 1995 Anthony Delano could only 'hope' that the situation for an academically-based journalism education would improve when journalism entered the academic discipline in numerous colleges and universities after the 1990s.¹⁴⁸ Heather Purdey indicates that over 200 journalism courses were in existence in British higher education by 2000.¹⁴⁹ Indeed a recent survey suggests that nearly 98 per cent of all journalists have an undergraduate, or postgraduate, degree level qualification.¹⁵⁰

Contributors to Hugo de Burgh's edited 2003 publication (see note 140), were still wanting to 'raise fundamental questions about what the role of the journalists should be, and what part university should play - if any - in their education. These questions are very rarely asked but need to be addressed if journalism educators are to succeed, even modestly, in their vocation of making the media better.'¹⁵¹ One contributor daringly suggests that 'it is necessary to start this chapter ('Who's to make journalists?') by establishing whether or not journalists actually need to be educated'¹⁵² not realizing that the subject had been continuously aired between 1880 and 1939. For this academic the main question was 'to go on to look at whether/if that education/training should be organised and controlled by educators or by the industry and ask whether journalism education should serve the interests of employers, the "public" or the students.'¹⁵³ This illustrates a tendency for academia to not fully engage with serious

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research into how journalists might be educated. Tom Hopkinson's unwillingness to consider the Diploma for Journalism seriously typifies a journalistic response to the subject.

I am hoping that my analysis of the history and development of the University of London Diploma for Journalism will galvanise informed and effective debate on integrating the journalistic with the academic. Perhaps it will assist articles such as the 'Theory and practice in journalism education' which stated the 'first postgraduate courses in journalism arrived only in the 1970s at Cardiff University and City University and that the first undergraduate programmes were launched in the early 1990s'¹⁵⁴ and that the 'two main disciplinary homes for journalism in Anglo-Saxon higher education are (in the United States) communications, a branch of sociology and (in the United Kingdom) media or journalism studies, an offshoot of cultural studies.'¹⁵⁵

There is an opportunity for finding more cohesion and context. Indeed in 2011 Bob Franklin, Chair in Journalism Studies and Director of the Journalism Studies Research Group at Cardiff University co-edited with Donica Mensing Associate Professor, Reynolds School of Journalism, University of Nevada a volume of essays entitled *Journalism Education, Training and Employment*. Franklin and Mensing began their introduction with the pertinent observation: 'Journalism education has suffered many criticisms in the century since it first became a formal university course of study. Its progress as a discipline has varied widely by country and institution.'¹⁵⁶ There is no doubt that the dilemma or challenge in finding an integration of theory and practice in journalism education in the university continues apace. As Mensing observes in her article 'Rethinking [again] The Future of Journalism Education' the debate is intensifying 'At a time when the established economic model for journalism is collapsing, news organisations are retrenching and the journalistic workforce is shrinking, the justification for journalism schools [in the USA] to continue graduating thousands of hopeful recruits is increasingly debated.'¹⁵⁷ She concludes 'Conceiving of journalism as an act of community, a process as much as a product, will help educators and students respond to the deep changes catalysed by the development of digital technologies.'¹⁵⁸

The intensity of the journalism education debate is present in other countries. Martin Hirst in 'Journalism Education "Down Under"' investigated the debate in Australia and New Zealand on what is accepted as a good education for journalism and a wide variation on what counts as journalism scholarship. Understandably he does not believe that the global discussion about journalism 'professionalism, the industry accreditation of journalism courses and the shift from training to scholarship is far from over and is evident in trends emerging in Australia and New Zealand journalism education.'¹⁵⁹ He argues that there are divergent trajectories between a desire for 'industry approval of a normative schema of journalism education' and a challenge to the 'normative approach to journalism training.'¹⁶⁰ Bernhard Poerksen in 'The Didactic Challenge: The Training of journalism in a university context: general considerations and conceptual proposals for the integration of theory and practice', reveals that the dilemma is as present in Germany as anywhere else. He concludes,

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somewhat self-evidently, that 'As soon as one actually involves oneself in the process stage of didactic concretisation, one can recognise now possibilities of doing ever-better justice to the guiding formula of the academic training of journalists, i.e. to integrate theory and practice.'¹⁶¹

I would like to be optimistic and hope for green shoots of progress in the research and writing in this area. David Kolb's theory of the 'experiential learning cycle' applied to how the trainee undergraduate journalist behaves in the classroom is certainly of interest. The cycle consists of four main stages: '*concrete experience* (carrying out a core skill), followed by '*reflective observation* (talking or writing about doing it), '*abstract conceptualisation* or theory building (thinking about how reflection will affect how you do it followed by '*active experimentation* and a repetition of concrete experience.'¹⁶² This is exactly how we have seen Tom Clarke and Joan Skipsey behaving in the educational journalism newsroom at King's College, London from 1935 to 1939.

It might be said that Britain has experienced a perfect storm and moral panic in journalism ethics in respect of the scandal of 'Hackgate' in 2011 with the closure of the *News Of The World*, the arrest of journalists and police officers and the operation of large Metropolitan Police enquiries into corruption, and unlawful interception of private communications. The judicial enquiry under Lord Justice Levesen includes journalism education and training within its remit. Such a scandal was not present during the time and context of Fleet Street journalism between the two world wars of the twentieth century.

The range of journalism law to be learned was considerably smaller. The standard reference guide *The Author's and Writer's Who's Who* for 1935-6, devoted a mere 5 pages to the subject under the sub-titles: 'Copyright Law and Practice', 'Libel and the Author and Journalist', 'The Writer and Income Tax,' 'International Copyright', 'Newspaper Law' and 'Legal Decisions to Know.'¹⁶³ There is certainly evidence that Diploma for Journalism students had to sit a paper in ethics and social philosophy between 1927 and 1939 though the questions appeared to touch on more abstract rather than applied ethical journalism issues. The questions set for the last paper in 1939 derived from the traditional topics of moral and political philosophy. Examples included 'Give an account of Kant's analysis of the problem of ethics. Do you consider it satisfactory?' and 'What moral and political merits may be claimed for representative government? What are its chief demerits?' One question would not be out of place in a contemporary sociology or criminology paper 'Discuss the nature and purpose of punishment. Can retributive punishment be defended?' I found it disappointing that the raging discourse about British journalism ethics in 2011 omitted any understanding or recollection that the Royal Commission on the Press in 1947 recommended the formation of a press council to regulate entry and oversee the education of journalists. Non-implementation of these proposals lies at the door of Parliament and two further Commission's proposals were ignored or watered down. Lord Hunt, a member of the 1977 Commission, was amazed to learn that journalism had no equivalent to the Law Society.

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Having started in 1919 the subsequent history of the University of London Diploma for Journalism amply illustrates how all these topics surfaced throughout the twenty years of the course. It started without any staff, no journalism teaching, little 'hands-on' practical experience and no apparent centre. In its last four years it was centred in one college, had a specially-designed academic syllabus, integral practical journalism teaching and experience in a newsroom, as well as vacation attachments to provincial newspapers for students as part of the course. In many ways the course met Asa Briggs' requirement for 'A New Approach to University Degrees' that it 'combined the benefits of specialised education, that is to say education in depth, with thoughtful examination of the boundaries and implications of their specialism.' As he goes on to say: 'History without literature or social studies does not provide a full enough education; if it stops short before the contemporary world, it lacks relevance.'¹⁸⁴

Endnotes

¹ a *The Journalist*, May, 1925, p. 95: 'After attending to hours and labour conditions... the subject of education, into which we were instructed by the last Annual Delegate Meeting to make inquiry, is a new departure in our activities. The decision to establish an Exhibition in Journalism at the University of London... at a cost of at least £200...' Harry Christian belittles this emphasis upon education in his doctoral dissertation (Christian, 1976). However, one commentator at the time regarded it as so unusual as to devote an article to it: '... reports of educational activities in *The Journalist* mark a significant change from the time when it was full of grievances.' W. Linton Andrews in *Leeds Mercury*, February 23rd 1927. (Quoted in April 1927, *The Journalist*.)

b Appendix XXVI lists articles in *The Journalist* on education from 1923 to 1937.

c The subject of education was regarded as requiring a defence from the editor of *The Journalist* (November, 1925): 'Members have said to me, "Why put in *The Journalist* articles about education; it smacks of the Institute (of Journalists)"; well, not exactly... anything that will help to make a better journalist... and raise the standard of journalism and the working journalist...(is part of union work)'

² MRC MSS 86/1/NEC/7 July 5th 1919.

³ The idea of an Education Committee was mooted by the President of the National Union of Journalists, J. Haslam, of the *Manchester Guardian*, in *The Journalist*, April 1923. H.T. Hamson 'an outstanding pioneer of our educational movement. *Obituary* *ibid*, November 1951. See note 19.

⁴ MRC MSS 86/1/NEC/7 National Executive Council (NEC) January 31st 1920.

⁵ From the letter to Universities printed in *The Journalist*, October 1925, 'Journalists' Education Problem. An Appeal to British Universities.'

⁶ *ibid*.

⁷ The letter was not sent to other universities, as shown below: 'Manchester and Birmingham - recent inquiries produced nothing. Bristol - scheme already established. Cardiff - fruitless negotiations just ended. Liverpool- negotiations started.' Education Sub-committee Report, March 12th 1926, MRC MSS 86/3.

⁸ From J.R. Peddie, Official Advisor of Studies, University of Glasgow dated September 30th 1925. MSS 86/3.

⁹ D.A. Ewing, Principal, Edinburgh University, 22nd October 1925.

¹⁰ *ibid*.

¹¹ December 4th 1925.

¹² October 25th 1925, from Armstrong College, Newcastle.

¹³ December 5th 1925, J.A. Little to J.S. Dean.

¹⁴ *ibid*.

¹⁵ *ibid*.

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- ¹⁶ November 10th 1925.
- ¹⁷ August 24th 1925, A.C. Seward, Master's Lodge, Downing College.
- ¹⁸ Professor Kirkcaldy, September 1st 1925.
- ¹⁹ July 1st 1925, 'Education for Journalists, Existing Facilities,' *The Journalist*. Hamson was renowned for always having a book 'on the go' at work. See his entry in *Dicionary of Labour Biography*.
- ²⁰ *ibid.*
- ²¹ *ibid* plus August 1925: (ii) organised reading courses.
- ²² Mainly Liverpool study circle. June 1927; January 1930; November 1930.
- ²³ July 1925. Existing Facilities.
- ²⁴ *ibid.* August 1925.
- ²⁵ MSS 86/1/NEC/8 March 17th 1926, W.H. Price to J.S. Dean, and the next three quotes. Prof.(later Lord) Evans (1899-1982) was later involved with journalism at London University (see appendix XXVII).
- ²⁶ *ibid.* It was almost 50 years before the National Council for the Training of Journalists published its 5 volume series on newspaper editing and design, written and edited by Sir Harold Evans.
- ²⁷ *The Journalist*, June 1925, 'Efficiency Certificates'.
- ²⁸ *ibid.* Compare Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*, April 1944, 'What Shall We Teach?'
- ²⁹ *The Institute Journal*, Vol. 14.
- ³⁰ *ibid.* Vol XIII No. 114, Sept/Oct. 1925, p. 94. The Cambridge meeting discussed a postgraduate diploma.
- ³¹ 17 references, 1919-32; Newspaper Society Circular: 16 references, 1923-32. There were another 14 in *The Journalist* between 1932 and 1938.
- ³² *ibid.*
- ³³ References include (i) J.G. Gregson, Chairman reconstituted Education Committee, 1936 in *The Journalist*, January 1936 (ii) Letter from A.H. Atkins, February 1929, probationary member (iii) 'old un's' letter, January 1927.
- ³⁴ *Monthly Circular*, August 1922, London University Diploma.
- ³⁵ *ibid.* October/November 1925, p. 168-71, 'the course in "Writing for the Press" is known as the "practical courses", has been extended and remodeled.' See appendix XX and XXI.
- ³⁶ See Table III, p. 135.
- ³⁷ *The Journalist*, February 1931, 'Regulating Entry Into Journalism'.
- ³⁸ *ibid.* J.G. Gregson talk to East Lancashire Branch Dinner. Gregson was Vice-President of the N.U.J. in 1931 and President in 1932. He was responsible for the Liverpool Lecture Circle and organised the 1931/2 lecture season.
- ³⁹ Aldwyn F. Porter, Coventry and Warwickshire Branch, *The Journalist*, March 1930.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.* April 1930, p.85.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.* The University minutes of the Journalism Committee report that no further action was taken on the proposal for an external diploma, after long consideration. JCM Minute 34, February 2nd 1932.
- ⁴² *The Journalist*, April/May 1931, p. 90 See Ch. 6, p. 79.
- ⁴³ MCR MSS 86/1/NEC/9. N.E.C. Meeting June 29th 1931. The Admin. Committee minutes for July 31st note that the President and General Secretary met the Newspaper Society to point out that the Institute was not representative of working journalists in the provinces.
- ⁴⁴ *ibid.* N.E.C. January 16th 1932.
- ⁴⁵ *The Journalist*, July 1931 did not mention that the *L.U.J.S.Gazette*, the students' newspaper for Diploma students was edited by Tom Winter, NUJ Exhibitioner, for May 1931, issue who retired early from the BBC in 1970 as Assistant Editor News, BBC Television. In the April/May, 1931 issue of *The Journalist* former Diploma for Journalism student, F.C. Roberts (a postwar Home News Editor of *The Times*) wrote about 'N.U.J. prejudice' against the University course and pointed out that he knew several former students who were N.U.J. members. In the July, 1931 edition the Union's General Secretary, H.M. Richardson wrote in to say ex-students 'are good members.'
- ⁴⁶ TNA 136/146, dated January 11th 1941.
- ⁴⁷ *ibid.* (quotes from H.A.L. Fisher, 'An Unfinished autobiography')
- ⁴⁸ *ibid.* Terms of Reference, February 21st 1941.
- ⁴⁹ For example, postwar requirements for extra psychiatrists were estimated at 20 per annum, while 5 to 6,000 extra Youth Leaders would be needed. The Society of Women Housing Managers estimated they could train up to 60 students a year.
- ⁵⁰ The Report has reference F.T. (44) Second Report, December, 1944 and paragraphs 55-7 refer to Journalism.
- ⁵¹ TNA LAB 18/179. reference F.T. (44) 17 has five paragraphs of 97 lines.
- ⁵² *ibid.*

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- ⁵³ TNA LAB 18/180 (reference F.T. (44) 33, dated April 13, 1944 Note of a meeting of the sub-committee. Lord Hankey in the chair with 4 representatives of Journalists' Advisory Committee to the Appointments Department of Ministry of Labour and National Service.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ see note 51, above.
- ⁵⁶ Newspaper Society, *Monthly Circular*, June 1944, p. 86.
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.* 'The Future of the Journalism Diploma Course, London University,' by Norman Robson, September 1943 p. 172, and next three quotes.
- ⁵⁸ MRC MSS 86/1/NEC/19. Education Committee, September 16th 1944 NEC recommend approaching Carnegie Trust, Nuffield Foundation... to contribute towards maintenance and development of the course (NEC meeting November 24th 1944) Also Letter from N.U.J. Education Officer dated August 22nd 1944, giving estimates of financial requirements... MSS 86/3 (see Appendix XXII)
- ⁵⁹ Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*, May, 1946, p.88.
- ⁶⁰ Institute *Journal*, July 1946, p. 93/4.
- ⁶¹ Harrison to Clarke 8th November 1937.
- ⁶² Estimated contribution from 'journalistic organisations' was £2,000 to £3,000.
- ⁶³ Exhibitions 1924-28, *Monthly Circular*, February 1929. See Appendix XXI.
- ⁶⁴ SMM ST2/1/23. This is the only reference to the School of Journalism from the University.
- ⁶⁵ Institute *Journal*, March 1944, p. 35/6.
- ⁶⁶ *ibid.*, December 1944.
- ⁶⁷ *ibid.* January 1945.
- ⁶⁸ *The Times*, August 18th 1945.
- ⁶⁹ King's College Archives, c.1944/45.
- ⁷⁰ Lord Hunt in conversation with the author, 1977.
- ⁷¹ Memorandum by Robert Somerville and Alan Hunter dated May 1945 (MRC MSS 86/1/NEC/20) indicates that the Union was the first to have its scheme on paper.
- ⁷² Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*, July-August 1944 and September-October 1944 (NUJ 'no' to tripartite talks).
- ⁷³ *ibid.* March 1946, May 1946.
- ⁷⁴ *ibid.* April 1947, p.7
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.* March 1948, p.90
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.* June 1948, p.208
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.* November 1948 p. 296-8 'Training of Junior Journalists'.
- ⁷⁸ *The Journalist*, November 1951, p. 163. Obituary H.T. Hamson. See also Middlesex *Advertiser and Gazette*, September 21st 1951.
- ⁷⁹ Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*, April 1952.
- ⁸⁰ *ibid.* When eventually instituted only one Diploma examination was held.
- ⁸¹ *ibid.* July 1952, p.206, H.C. Strick, BA., B.SC. He had been advisor on Training to H.M. Treasury.
- ⁸² *ibid.* July 1952, p. 228. See also J.D. Wright, 1979. Ph.D. Thesis on the N.C.T.J. for a review of its first 25 years.
- ⁸³ 'Refresher for Journalists' (1946). Six Monthly lesson notes with sixteen weekly reporting and sub-editing exercises and two monthly legal papers. There is also an Education Committee paper titled 'Refresher Course' dated June 23rd 1944. Student numbers are given in MRC MSS 86/1/NEC/20, as 600.
- ⁸⁴ MRC MSS 86/1/NEC/20 dated April 7th 1946 and Institute of Journalists *The Journal*, July 1946.
- ⁸⁵ TNA HO 251/213. Policy Committee file.
- ⁸⁶ TNA CAB 129/11, July, 1946.
- ⁸⁷ Royal Commission on the Press, 1949, Cmnd. 7700.
- ⁸⁸ TNA HO 251/213 and 218.
- ⁸⁹ TNA HO 251/218
- ⁹⁰ TNA HO 251/217
- ⁹¹ TNA HO 251/213. Attack on Northcliffe is in 'England, 1870-1914.'
- ⁹² TNA HO 251/173 Paper 189.
- ⁹³ TNA HO 251/251. Paper 58, Hamson's evidence.
- ⁹⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁹⁵ See Chapter Eight on monitoring student progress.
- ⁹⁶ Cmnd. 7700. Report of Royal Commission on the Press, 1949.
- ⁹⁷ Beaverbrook's opinion is quoted in Beverley Baxter, *Strange Street*.
- ⁹⁸ All references in this section, unless stated otherwise, are from TNA files HO 251/252 'Training and Recruitment of Journalists' and 251/213 'Training' file.

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⁹⁹ Andrews, Linton, 1962, *The Autobiography of a Journalist*.

¹⁰⁰ Webber letter to Clarke, June 14th 1937.

¹⁰¹ Morley Stuart, editor, *Cambridge Daily News*, to Clarke, April 28th 1937.

¹⁰² Cmnd. 7700; Question no. 1315.

¹⁰³ Hopkinson, to the author, 1980.

¹⁰⁴ Frank Owen, *The Times*, April 29th 1947.

¹⁰⁵ MRC MSS 86/3, George Viner's correspondence. Dodge was Director of the N.C.T.J. from 1961-9. 'See also "An Overdue Partnership" in 'The British Press' a Commonwealth Press Union Publication Doon Campbell (ed.), 70-1.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix XXIV for Asa Briggs' letter.

¹⁰⁷ Fenby (1902-74) was editor, *Oxford Mail*, 1928-40, and editorial director, Westminster Press, 1957-70, serving as chairman of the British committee of the International Press Institute from 1960-72. Fenby's papers at Warwick University Modern Records Centre include no references to this. There is a note in the papers of the N.U.J. that 'the Newspapers Publishers' Association houses have been excluded since it is thought the appeal be better (to approach them) when it is desired to actually endow a department at the University.' Viner committed the N.U.J. to it being a postgraduate course.

¹⁰⁸ Sir Tom Hopkinson kindly lent me his papers connected with the Sussex venture, reference TH/SQE/9/68: 'Press Studies: A Report to the Vice-Chancellor.' March 1968.

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Kathleen Nott (1905-1999) to the author, August 11th 1978.

¹¹¹ Hopkinson, 1968, *ibid.*

¹¹² As a former member of the Oral History Society the author is aware of the pitfalls of interviewing, and in this case Mr. Dodge's memories were not always accurate, which is one reason for printing the list of donors to Hopkinson's Senior Fellowship as appendix XXV. In conversation on February 26th 1982, Dodge quoted the figure of £50,000 from King, if others could be found to equal that amount, while on July 9th 1983, Dodge quoted the £25,000 p.a. figure.

¹¹³ Hopkinson, T., 1971, 'Postgraduate Training for New-Generation Journalists,' *Journalism Today* (2) No. 4. Autumn, 101-11.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix XV.

¹¹⁵ Brendon, Piers, 1982, *The Life and Death of the Press Barons*. Note chapter heading: 'Satan and Son' and the author counted nearly thirty references to 'demonic' 'devil' etc. A more recent perspective on this theme is John J. Pauly "Rupert Murdoch and the Demonology of Professional Journalism" in Schudson (1995) 246-261.

¹¹⁶ See note 47, above.

¹¹⁷ See note 51, above.

¹¹⁸ O'Dell, De Forest, 1935, *The History of Journalism in the United States*, p 51.

¹¹⁹ Stewart Nicholson, general secretary of the Institute of Journalists, referred to it in a letter to *The Times*, November 14th 1949.

¹²⁰ I.O.J. *Journal*, March 1944. Linton Andrews' I.O.J. proposal to the Education Department suggesting that 'a Committee representing all newspaper interests with the object of producing a scheme of training for journalism.' Andrews claims to have instituted this 'scheme' do not bear serious consideration; although he often spoke in favour of it he vilified the N.U.J. for seeking to usurp editorial prerogative in the selection of who would be selected for training. See *Fortnightly Review*, 168, 1950 'The Conscience of the Press' 182-3.

¹²¹ p.160, above, note 60/1 refers.

¹²² College Journalism Committee, 14th June 1937. The University Inspectors suggested a one year post-graduate course in journalism for graduates of this and other universities; and the Committee agreed, but did nothing about it.

¹²³ *World's Press News* (WPN) February 17th 1949.

¹²⁴ John Connell, in *The Times*, August 31st 1949.

¹²⁵ *The Times*, November 1st 1949.

¹²⁶ WPN, July 14th 1949.

¹²⁷ WPN, August 25th 1949.

¹²⁸ *The Spectator*, November 19th 1949.

¹²⁹ WPN, August 11th 1949.

¹³⁰ Hetherington, A., 1982, *The Guardian Years*, p.53.

¹³¹ Royal Commission on the Press, Report, Cmnd. 6810.

¹³² Anthony Delano, 2007, personal conversation.

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- ¹³³ Andrew N. D. McBarnett, 'Disciplining the Journalist: An Investigation of Training Methods, 20pp. TSS. Later published in *Media, Culture and Society*, 1979, (1) 2. 181-93. Then a lecturer at the Polytechnic of Central London (now the University of Westminster).
- ¹³⁴ Briggs, A. quoted in V.H.H. *The Universities*, 1969, p. 138: 'to break down rigid specialization the academic courses at Sussex have been organised in schools of study, to free the students from the restrictions often imposed by a faculty or departmental system; multi-subject honours courses are offered.'
- ¹³⁵ Boyd-Barrett, O., 1970, 'Journalism, Recruitment and Training: Problems in Professionalisation,' in Tunstall J., *Media Sociology*.
- ¹³⁶ Annan, Lord, 1972, 'What Are Universities For, Anyway?', *The Listener*, November 2nd. Annan was Provost of University College, London 1966-78, and Vice-Chancellor, London University, 1978-81.
- ¹³⁷ Whitehead, Frank, 1976, 'Stunting the Growth,' *Use of English*, 28, 11-24.
- ¹³⁸ McNay, Ian, 1984, 'Management Issues in Post-School Education', Open University, Course E324, Block 2.
- ¹³⁹ The author was a member of the American Association of Education in Journalism for several years and attended its annual conferences as well as corresponding with, and visiting several journalism departments.
- ¹⁴⁰ Betty Medsger, 1996, *Winds of Change, Challenges Confronting Journalism Education*, The Freedom Forum, Arlington, Virginia, Chapter 5. An article based on this book is also published in Hugo de Burgh (ed.) 2003, *Making Journalists. Diverse Models, Global Issues*, Routledge, with the title 'The evolution of journalism education in the United States.'
- ¹⁴¹ Hopkinson, T., *Press Studies: A Report to the Vice-Chancellor*, 1968.
- ¹⁴² Robert McLeish, BBC Local radio training officer, 1969-83, in conversation with the author, July 10th 1983.
- ¹⁴³ Certificate in Radio Journalism, London College of Printing, September 1977. Postgraduate Diploma in Radio Journalism from 1983. See Boyd-Barrett, O., 1984, 'Management in Post-Compulsory Education,' Block IV, Park 1, E324, Open University, 6.13 to 6.38
- ¹⁴⁴ Royal Commission on the Press, Report, 1977. Cmnd. 6810, 18.20 & 22.
- ¹⁴⁵ *All-Media Survey of Journalists' Training* (2 Vols) n.d. 1977. Written by George Viner, was presented in summary form, by P.P.I.T.B. at the 1980 Conference on Editorial Training.
- ¹⁴⁶ Harcup, Tony, 2011, 'Research and Reflection', *Journalism Practice*, 5:2, 161-176 and 'Hackedmics at the Chalkface,' *Journalism Practice*, 5:1, 34-50.
- ¹⁴⁷ G.B. Harrison, 1935, in *The Journal of the Institute of Journalists*, October 1935, pp. 155-58.
- ¹⁴⁸ Anthony Delano and John Henningham, 1995, *The News Breed: British Journalists in the 1990s*, The London Institute, pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁴⁹ Heather Purdey, 2001, *Button Pushers or the Fourth Estate? Journalists in the 21st Century*, unpublished M.Phil dissertation, Loughborough University, p. 1, 123.
- ¹⁵⁰ Ian Hargreaves (ed.) 2002, *Journalists at Work 2002, Their views on training, recruitment and conditions*, Publishing NTL/Skillset.
- ¹⁵¹ de Burgh, *op cit.*, Foreword by James Curran, p. xiv.
- ¹⁵² *ibid.* Angela Phillips, pp. 227-42.
- ¹⁵³ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁴ Greenberg, Susan, 2007, 'Theory and practice in journalism education', *Journal of Media Practice*, Volume 8 Number 3, Bristol, England: Intellect, 289-303.
- ¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁶ Bob Franklin & Donica Mensing eds., 2011, *Journalism Education, Training and Employment*, (London & New York: Routledge) p.1.
- ¹⁵⁷ Mensing, Donica, 2010, 'Rethinking [Again] The Future of Journalism', *Journalism Studies*, Volume 11, Number 4, (London: Routledge), 511.
- ¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 520.
- ¹⁵⁹ Hirst, Martin, 2010, 'Journalism Education "Down Under"', *Journalism Studies*, Volume 11, Number 1, (London: Routledge), 94.
- ¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*
- ¹⁶¹ Poerksen, Bernhard, 2010, 'The Didactic Challenge', *Journalism Practice*, Volume 4, Number 2, (London: Routledge), 189.
- ¹⁶² Kolb, David, 1984, *Experiential Learning: Experience as the Source of Learning and Development*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall)

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¹⁶³ Watt, A.P., ed., 1935, *The Author's & Writer's Who's Who and Reference Guide 1935-6*, (London: Shaw Publishing Co., Ltd.) pp. 48-53

¹⁶⁴ Asa Briggs, 1962, *The Listener*, May 24, 2 pp.

The importance and meaning of the London University Diploma for Journalism course

Chapter Ten

The importance and meaning of the London University Diploma for Journalism course

Considering the wide discrepancies about the achievements of the London diploma for journalism course it is necessary to consolidate the individual themes from within chapters regarding the development of journalism education in Britain and evaluate the effect on constituent parties: universities, employers, trades unions, professional associations, students and staff involved in teaching. The closing pages raise some possible patterns for research and development in the 21st century.

A(i) The Universities

Although the major contender here is the University of London, and the Diploma for Journalism, there have been other examples of co-operation between journalism and universities. Early in the 20th century the IoJ combined with the university in Leeds in a series of lectures, and Alan Pitt Robbins, then a reporter on the *Yorkshire Observer* received a prize that year, 1908, from his father. That year Birmingham University also agreed a syllabus for the post-graduate course in journalism and, although it never started, one of the academics involved kept his papers on the subject and shared them with the N.U.J. when he was at Nottingham in 1925 and replying to their Education Committee letter seeking university co-operation for journalism education. Appendix IX lists the lectures, subsidised by one of the Harmsworth brothers, at Trinity College, Dublin between 1908 and 1909. There was not much else available between then and the introduction of the London Diploma for Journalism in 1919 and the next college to offer a course was at Southampton, in response to the N.U.J. letter of 1925. The lecturer, B. Ifor Evans, turns up as an examiner, on the London University Principles of Criticism paper in the Diploma for Journalism, from 1935 onwards. Much later, as Provost of University College, he raised £200,000 a year for the College from 1951-66. Ten lectures were given at Edinburgh University in 1932, by C.I. Beattie, night editor of the *Daily Mail*, and later editor of the *Evening News*.¹ After the Second World War the Kemsley group of newspapers introduced a lecture series, usually organised by University Extra-mural Departments, but the first full-time post-graduate course was not introduced until 1970 at University College, Cardiff, followed by one at The City University in 1976.

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A(ii) London University Diploma for Journalism, 1919-30

I took some time to realize that this was a course which, in practice, had no identifiable centre within the amorphous institution known as London University. It had no physical place: no department, no directing hand (until its last four years), and no permanent centre until King's College offered it a home, from 1935 onwards. This experiment in education for journalism had no monitoring device for evaluating the Diploma, apart from the examination results or the professional legitimacy conferred by newspapers employing its graduates. However, the University did set up a Journalism Committee representing all sides of the profession and it was really left to them, under Valentine Knapp's chairmanship to overcome the indifference of the academics to the quality of the teaching being offered. From an introductory series of lectures by visiting speakers - including the 'names' in the journalism of the time - this commitment developed into arranging specific practical journalism teaching one afternoon a week and, later, planning vacation attachments for students with newspapers in the provinces.

While the mythology of the 'journalism cannot be taught' school would insist that few products of the course rarely held journalistic jobs, some names from the early days include students like Lord Jacobson, editor of *Lilliput* and a director in the *Mirror* group of newspapers, Frank Roberts (1920-22), a home news editor at *The Times*, Norman Robson (student from 1926-28), who headed the Westminster Press London office, Stella Gibbons (1920-22), who progressed from the *Evening Standard* into writing novels, Kathleen Nott (1923-25), chief reviewer of *The Observer*, editor of *Power Laundry* (for nearly fifty years) was Ancliffe Prince (1925-27), or worked in Reuters, as did Maurice Lovell (1926-28) and Howard Whitten (1935-37), and, from the very last year of the course, G.C. Pinnington, editor of the *Sunday People* when he retired in 1982.

That such people were able to progress as they did is no mean achievement, but it is even more astonishing when we consider how shakily the course started, initially for returning ex-servicemen from the First World War, and how little it was nurtured by the university authorities. They saw it as a source of funds enrolling, as they did, over 100 students in the first year of the course, when the Board of Education had not anticipated more than 30.²

The first chairman of the Diploma course, Sir Sidney Lee, (Appendix XVIII) editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, stated that he saw the purpose of the course being to replenish 'the supply of well-educated and well-trained men for the higher walks of journalism' while the journalist supporters of the course, like Mr. Frederick Miller, long-time assistant editor (in effect, editor) of the *Daily Telegraph*, had hoped it would enable young Londoners who were at a disadvantage when it came to gaining the necessary provincial newspaper experience required for promotion onto Fleet Street papers.

A surprising number of the early products of the course did, in fact, get their first newspaper jobs in Fleet Street reflecting, no doubt, that lack of talent caused by the casualties of the First World War when Oxford and

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Cambridge Universities lost nearly 5,000 graduates killed in action during the war. Yet it was the provincial side of the newspaper industry, through the Newspaper Society, which supported students on the course with Exhibitions, although a few national groups did contribute (see Appendix XX and XXI).

The existence of the course coincided with some of the greatest changes within the British press: Wickham Steed labels it the 'commercialisation of the press' in his 1938 Penguin, *The Press*. In its attempts to come to terms with these developments it would appear that the course adopted the role of training for the provincial press to please those newspapers funding students attending the course, although, even here, there were supporters who provided more than mere verbal support - like Reuters supplying a teleprinter, at no cost and even insured by Reuters because King's College would not meet the cost.

By the time Mr. Tom Clarke arrived as Director of Practical Journalism in 1935 the course was locked into the occupational belief that journalism had to be experienced first at the provincial level before the pinnacles of national journalism, in Fleet Street, could be attempted. One of the problems of this system was the lack of system, with no acknowledged career pattern easily visible. Too much seemed to depend on luck, or bluff, as Piers Brendon put it to me while he was writing his book on *The Life and Death of the Press Barons*, published in 1982.

Regardless of the progress made during the existence of the course it is still a fact that London University appointed no one 'person or academic body responsible for co-ordinating the teaching, initiating changes, or observing progress.'³ It was left to someone like Dr. Harrison, whatever his motives, to make the running in trying to develop the course into a fully-fledged School of Journalism, within the University; but, in his view, King's College's only reaction to new ideas was to drop them into the River Thames from Waterloo Bridge.⁴

A (iii) The London School of Economics

To modern eyes it appears unusual to find the London School of Economics dropping out of the Diploma for Journalism from the end of 1929/30 academic year, especially as it was just as 'close to Fleet Street' as King's College⁵ where the course eventually established its centre. Yet we have seen that the aspiring Socialist Member of Parliament, Dr. Hugh Dalton, relegated the Journalism Committee to its 'ragged crowd'⁶ role, and he was, supposedly, tutor to LSE's journalism students. They stood little chance against Dalton's numerous attempts to secure a parliamentary seat. There is no reference to the subject (of the Diploma for Journalism) in any of the papers of the LSE's director from 1919 to 1937, Sir William (later Lord) Beveridge. He did not see journalism as being 'one of the urgent intellectual needs of our time'⁷ which he saw as the main aim of the School: 'training for a new learned profession... that of public administrators... no words are needed to emphasise its growing importance.'⁸

To further this aim LSE needed money to establish the new social sciences and Beveridge spent the early years of his directorship catching

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the millionaire to provide the funds. This was Sir Ernest Cassel, whose name soon attached itself to a Chair of Commerce in exchange for £150,000 towards establishing the professorships and lectureships, including Dr. Dalton's Cassel Readership in Commerce which gave him an extra £300 year in salary.⁹ One other explanation, as to why Beveridge was not interested, could also spring from his view of journalism as outlined in his statement that the 'Oxford "Greats" course had its mundane uses, as a direct training for the more solemn forms of journalism'¹⁰ which enabled him to become a leader writer on the *Morning Post* (a conservative newspaper) from 1906 to 1908, when he entered the Civil Service.¹¹ He also had another dictum that 'mere accumulation of facts is not science.'¹² We also need to remind ourselves that LSE produced a total of 21 Diploma for Journalism graduates between 1919 to 1931 - a very insignificant number which 'would not affect the School financially,'¹³ should King's College become the centre for journalism.

B (i) The Employers' Organisations

The course only achieved the success necessary to persuade the press barons of the 1930s of its value late in the day, when several agreed to donate £200 each for five years to pay Tom Clarke's salary from 1935-9. Though one of them, Lord Beaverbrook, at one time had six former students working on his newspapers, his Lordship had strong views about 'schools of journalism' and former students were always advised (by those already working on his newspapers) not to enlighten him about their attendance on the London course. This attitude has dogged later generations of journalists, who have hidden their attendance at schools of journalism.¹⁴ There is a thread of continuity to this embarrassing silence on the part of former students wishing to dissociate themselves from attendance on the course.¹⁵ The occupational myth was obviously stronger than individual experience and would attempt to thwart any moves to disprove its strongly-held belief that journalism cannot be taught.

One organisation that contributed financially to the support of students on the course was the Newspaper Society, representing provincial newspapers who jointly subscribed to the Society's Exhibitions.¹⁶ Included among the donors of such Exhibitions were Sir Edward Hulton, Sir Roderick Jones, chairman of Reuters news agency, and United Newspapers Ltd., as proprietors of the *Daily Chronicle*. The instigator of this scheme was Valentine Knapp, of the *Surrey Comet*, who also arranged for the Newspaper Society to initiate vacation employment for students with its members, usually in the students' home towns.

B (ii) The Institute of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists

That the Diploma for Journalism started at London University in 1919 was due in no small measure to the groundwork done by the IoJ and its early founder members. The apparent disregard extended to the Institute, by the University's axing, in 1919, of the Technical Instruction element, was never wholly re-instated, but the actions of the Journalism Committee, on

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which this Institute was represented, went some way to filling the gap in practical instruction in journalism.

The N.U.J., which had played no part in the inauguration of the Diploma, was invited to send representatives, which it did throughout the existence of the course. While the influence of the Institute appeared to wane, with the outflow of its members to the Union, that of the Union seemed to increase. The mere existence of the course caused the Union to seriously consider its policy about education and training and, indeed, to institute an Education Committee. Its attempts at instituting serious proposals for journalism education superficially appear as of no consequence, with few results.

Yet I would contend that the Committee really initiated the idea of a national body for overseeing journalism education, early in 1930; but the failure of another round of 'fusion' talks with the Institute caused the usual fission, with the result that co-operation was delayed until the post-war years, after 1945. Both organizations were represented on the Journalists' Advisory Committee to the Advisory Committee to the Appointments Department of the Ministry of Labour and National Service and both supported the idea of the University of London Diploma for Journalism as well as suggesting that other Universities might be encouraged to offer similar courses. This was reported to the Interdepartmental Committee on Further Education and Training, under Lord Hankey, but not included in that Committee's report, in 1944.

However, it was the N.U.J.'s *The Journalist* and not the Institute's *Journal* which attempted to meet the needs of members with educational articles (see Appendix XXVI). The Union even asked the London University Journalism committee to try and extend the full-time course to working journalists, indicating at least an interest in the subject among Union members. But, like Dr. Harrison's later proposals, for non-examinable lecture courses in 'Great Discoveries of Our Time' (see Appendix XV), this, too, was in advance of its time, at least as far as London University was concerned, and was never introduced.

C The Students

Throughout the Diploma's twenty-year existence 413 students were awarded the Diploma, of whom 219 were women (see Table III page 135). Total student numbers throughout that period could have exceeded 1,600 excluding those, in the second year of their course from 1939 to 1940, who never completed the course, because it was disbanded at the start of the Second World War in 1939. Less than 100 students graduated during Clarke's directorship with their Diplomas (but many left after only one year as they found jobs) and, of these, at least twelve were killed during the war. Those graduating in the summer of 1939 had little opportunity to establish themselves in newspaper offices and had to wait until the war ended in 1945.

Even though no established career pattern exists within journalism the products of the course appear to have held their own, scaling the editorial

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heights, as well as such special correspondent or specialist roles as arts, film, drama, labour, industrial relations and politics.

It is more difficult to discover the social and educational background of the majority of students who undertook the course although former students usually refer to it as middle-class from the upper ranges (vide references in the files to those unable to return to the course because of injuries incurred on skiing holidays) with few from working class backgrounds. But there are indications that there were more than a sprinkling of secondary, and high school pupils, especially among the winners of Exhibitions. Of the five awarded Exhibitions in 1924 and 1925 four already worked on newspapers (two from grammar schools and two from high schools), two others were grammar school products and three were from high schools or county secondary schools, and one from a public school whose father was an editor.

Because the English version of university schools of journalism did not have a forum, like the American *Journalism Quarterly*, it is difficult to uncover definite evidence of the progress of the course. The Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular* does, however, provide some clues and prints comments from members of the interviewing panel for awarding Exhibitions, such as: 'There was not a dullard among them. If candidates of their calibre are common, the efficient staffing of newspapers is assured.'¹⁷ There were also reports that the students were 'readily finding employment.'¹⁸ While one of the comments often made about the course is that it had too many women students it is interesting to note that Mr. Valentine Knapp drew attention to one editor of a daily newspaper 'who had expected the student (a lady) to be a 'nuisance' in the office; an opinion he recanted handsomely before the end of the pupil's six weeks presence there.'¹⁹

Throughout the existence of the course quite a few students were persuaded by newspaper editors to leave and join their newspapers, often those on which they had spent vacation work attachments, after only one year's attendance at the university. This would indicate that, however critical they might be of journalism courses, editors were only too eager to secure 'efficient staffing of newspapers', even if, in the university's eyes, half-trained.

One striking fact about former students I have had the pleasure of meeting and corresponding with, is the way they treasured memories of their former lecturers, especially Clarke and Harrison, and, indeed, could recite large chunks of critical texts they were called upon to study.

D The London University Staff Involved **(i) Journalism Staff (see Appendix XXVII)**

The benign neglect inflicted upon journalism students by the university meant that members of the 'journalistic profession (had to give) gratuitously... to practical teaching in the methods of reporting public functions'²⁰ and direct reference is made to 'Mr. Fred Miller, M.A., Assistant Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*.' It would appear that Miller then persuaded Mr. Edward G. Hawke, one of his leader writers (also on the staff of *The*

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Spectator), to undertake the course on 'The General Principles of Writing for the Press' to second year students, and Mr. R.A. Scott-James who lectured on Principles of Criticism between 1921 and 1924. From 1925 Mr. F.J. Mansfield, of *The Times* sub-editorial staff, undertook second year lectures and Mr. Hawke those for the first year students and this lasted until the appointment, in 1935, of Mr. Tom Clarke as Director of Practical Journalism. From 1927 practical journalism examinations were mandatory, having been optional in 1926.

One result of Mansfield's connection with the course was the publication of his lectures as *The Complete Journalist* in 1935 (which remained in print for over thirty years) and another on *Sub-editing*. It is my belief that these two books had a more marked effect on the self-education necessarily undertaken by journalists, and aspiring journalists, for as long as they remained in print, and beyond. Far more than a mere manual the first book illustrates Mansfield's attitude that one had to: 'find the roots of the present in the story of the past. Journalism has a history which cannot be avoided by one who sets out to describe the activities of today.'²¹

Mansfield mentions the Diploma course (as the originator of his book) in the preface and writes 'Many of my old students are doing good work on newspaper staffs'²² but he still believed that 'The provinces are the natural training ground for all-round journalism.'²³

Clarke's book based on his lectures, published in 1945, devotes a chapter to the subject of 'Education for Journalism' optimistically declaring that there seemed good reason to believe the Diploma for Journalism would be 'revived... with a new curriculum based on lessons of the past and the new needs of the future.'²⁴

Somehow it seems entirely fitting that it is the Northcliffe protégé, Clarke, and not *The Times's* journalist, Mansfield, who favours education for journalism. In essence it would appear as if the roles had been reversed between the New Journalist, Clarke, and the Old Journalist, Mansfield, when it comes to discussing education for journalism. Yet it is Clarke who sees the necessity for 'trained thought' needed to produce news as stories which had to be told economically, vividly, and with meaning. For Clarke, popularization meant having to attract the reader's attention, retain it and maintain interest to the not-far-distant end of the story.

It is useful here to remind ourselves just how prominent the phrase 'brain-working or brain-product' was in the early decades of the twentieth century. Usually attributed to Sidney Webb's evidence to the Haldane Commission on University Education in London (1909-13), when he said he looked forward to the university 'taking on the character of a technical school for all brain-working professionals (including) journalism'. The phrase also appears in Sir Alfred Robbins' Presidential address to the Institute of Journalists, in 1908, when they discussed 'Educating the Journalist.'

One of Webb's former colleagues, and founder-member of the Fabian Society, Graham Wallas (1858-1932) in 1926 published *The Art of Thought* (London: Cape) where he discussed 'how far the knowledge accumulated by modern psychology can be made useful for the thought-processes of a working thinker' and mentions journalists in his chapter 'Thought and Habit.'

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An early lecturer at the LSE and London University's first chair of political science from 1914-23, he visited the United States five times between 1897 and 1928, lecturing at Harvard in 1910 where Walter Lippmann, later a political commentator, was a student and did much to spread Wallas' ideas through the *New Republic* magazine."

The juxtaposition of 'trained thought' with 'popularisation' is often a stumbling block to the non-journalist and the relevance is mentioned here to illustrate what difference can exist between 'serious' and 'popular' writing. R.H.S. Crossman, himself both editor and politician, talked of an article for the *New Statesman* 'tripping off the typewriter' whereas one for the *Daily Mirror* 'required far more thought.' For the latter he had continually to ask himself: 'Have I communicated my meaning correctly? Will the reader follow it, or are there lines of argument missing? Can I simplify without distorting?'²⁵

The relationship to Clarke's teaching method can be seen when listening to one of his former students speaking about Clarke's lectures: 'I think it helped with my thinking, and thinking is what journalism is all about in the long run.'²⁶ In this respect it would appear that the hope of the Haldane Commission enquiry into London University (1909-1913), that a proposed teaching, as opposed to the then examining, University of London, would engender among its students 'an enquiring spirit... and reflective thought'²⁷ received confirmation from a most unexpected quarter.

Although the evidence presented by Clarke's lecture notes²⁸ would suggest that his approach to teaching journalism was concentrated on the practical side, the examination questions he set always included at least one ethical, or related topic, one being 'It was said by Lord Bacon that every man owed a duty to the profession of journalism?'²⁹ Give half a dozen rules that would guide you in newspaper life.' These indicated that Clarke saw the educational nature of including such questions in a Practical Journalism Examination paper, not in the Ethics and Social Philosophy paper. Clarke's own educational development had been: 'some University Extension Studies in History and Literature... and a period of study under Dennis Hird and H.B. Lees-Smith at Ruskin Hall, Oxford (where) they drove me hard in history, economics, psychology, literature, sociology and logic. These studies... disciplined my mind.'³⁰

D (ii) Academic Staff (see Appendix XXVII)

One of the problems facing the Diploma was that much of the knowledge expected of journalists demanded an awareness of things 'he won't find... in the history books yet'³¹ because they were really 'Current Events and their Origins'³² which Dr. G.B. Harrison had wanted to include in the Journalism Syllabus from 1940 onwards. Although this, and other, background studies on 'Great Thinkers and Discoveries' and 'Modern Literature and Drama', were never introduced the proposals indicate the way the Diploma's academic subjects were gradually changed to bring them more into line with journalistic requirements. It was seen by one student at least, as: 'very much nearer the thinking behind a lot of the universities today, and not the deep specialization in a narrow beam... I

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found that sort of discipline, even at a relatively superficial level, was invaluable to me later; not to become a critic... but to know what critical thinking was about. And to know a little bit about logic. I think it helped with my thinking, and thinking is what it is all about in the long run.³³

Apart from the feedback given by the practical journalism staff it would appear that only Roger Fulford and Dr. Harrison saw the students on a regular basis, for their English Composition classes - more like tutorials when students had to read something they had written. The only feedback most students received from the other academic subjects was when they heard their examination results, although some, obviously, had closer relationships.³⁴ The 'intrinsic feature... of personal contact between teacher and the student'³⁵ was noticeably absent from the academic teaching on the Diploma for Journalism. The extent of personal involvement of University teaching staff can be judged from Dr. Hugh Dalton's single reference in his diaries to his tutorship of journalism students at the London School of Economics, when he records that the University Journalism Committee were 'rather a ragged crowd.'³⁶

The academic teaching of the time led students then to make demands for 'more discussion' and 'less irksome essay writing'³⁷ and Clarke was, himself, critical of university-led school examinations which were, in his eyes, evidence of pupils' ability to pass examinations,³⁸ nothing more. Journalist students' comments on the academic teaching have described the lecturers' dismissive attitude towards them, as journalism students. Hugh Gaitskell, then lecturing at University College, was one who, in later life, described journalism students as not worth troubling oneself over.³⁹ Yet academics themselves are always ready to describe standards of journalism as 'deplorable.'⁴⁰

One former student who subsequently became Clarke's assistant, Joan Skipsey, and lectured on post-war journalism courses in technical colleges, declared there was little possibility of such radical developments as 'teaching economics journalistically' by which she meant treating contemporary topics from the standpoint of exploring the problem, and how to write about it, journalistically. During this research I visited American university schools of journalism where politics lecturers have employed this method - as did lecturers in some areas in Britain.⁴¹ This problem is one which I met in grappling with the difficult task of planning post-graduate courses in radio journalism and had to seek colleagues' support to introduce team teaching, on contemporary issues and institutions, which involved academic and journalism lecturers relating teaching input to practical radio journalism requirements.

With the extension of academic standards of research into the then polytechnics in England it is surprising how little importance was attached to overcoming this 'lack of information' about the relationship of academic and journalism teaching in the Diploma of Journalism.⁴² None of the polytechnics teaching communication or media studies thought it worth their while to take the 'initiative in deciding the broad character of (journalism's) educational requirements' stating this was the role of the 'profession itself and/or the industry'⁴³ yet they saw their media degrees as providing 'career outlets into journalism.'⁴⁴ The subject was not a priority for

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the fledgling post-graduate course at University College, Cardiff, under Sir Tom Hopkinson, even though it sponsored a *Journalism Studies Review*.

According to Roger Fulford, during the closing years of the Diploma course, such university faculty as Harrison and Reed, the Professor of English, sought to achieve 'a larger footing on the academic side',⁴⁵ for the School of Journalism. A glance at the Journalism Diploma examination papers reveals just how much they achieved. Thus, the 'English Composition' paper for 1937 required 'an article not exceeding 750 words...from a list of seven subjects including (b) Two plays now running or (e) Valediction to Mr Baldwin.' The 'Psychology II' paper for 1939 asked students to describe 'in what ways can a leader writer attempt to influence public opinion?' or 'In what respects do you consider that a knowledge of psychology may be of use to you in Journalism.' The 1939 exam paper for 'Modern English Literature from 1850' required 'an account of the Imagist Movement' and called for an assessment of 'the importance in modern fiction' of writers as diverse as Rose Macauley, P.G. Wodehouse, May Sinclair, Aldous Huxley and Somerset Maugham (whose niece attended the course). Questions concerning Virginia Woolf and James Joyce appeared as often as questions about Dickens, Trollope and Henry James.⁴⁶

This was the last exam paper set for the Diploma for Journalism, because, with the onset of World War II in early September 1939, the course was suspended. Hence, Joan Skipsey's 'Report of Employment of 1938 Journalism Diploma students', dated November 3, 1938, was the last of its kind.⁴⁷ Skipsey's report showed where students had found employment and listed Eunice K. Holland as the first woman to be awarded the Harmsworth Gold Medal for 'the all-round best students (of either sex) of the year'.⁴⁸ Born of English parents in America, Miss Holland was educated there, trained at Pitman's in England, and later New York, before attending the course at London University.⁴⁹ The Report also listed sixteen students who had achieved the Diploma in 1938; nine were women, four of whom gained the only distinctions in the Practical Journalism paper. These included Holland, who joined the *March of Time* publicity department in London, and Diana Judd who 'postponed her journalistic activity for a year.' The two others awarded distinctions were Miss Mary Hodgkinson, who had to take a clerk's job in a laundry 'as she had no other income', and Miss Elspeth Cowden who was listed in the Skipsey Report as one of three students who 'expressed no urgent desire to find work.' Among the other graduates, Miss Edith Goodwin was listed as employed on the *Brighton and Hove Herald*; a girl who had returned to her home in South Africa; and a 'non-Aryan German girl, Eva-Renate Alsberg'⁵⁰ who left for the U.S.A. Of the seven men, three were employed on newspapers, three still seeking work on newspapers, and one, William Alan Smallman, was staying on to be president of King's College Students' Union.⁵¹

Overall, however, the fact remains that more teenage girls (219) sat for, and were awarded, Diplomas for Journalism, (see Table I on page 60), compared to 194 men, out of a probable total student enrolment of over 1,000, during the twenty-year existence of the journalism course.

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When asked how he rated the Diploma for Journalism course in its last year, the late Geoffrey Pinnington, himself the last person to win the Harmsworth Gold Medal for Journalism in 1939, recalled: 'It was very much nearer the thinking behind the Liberal Arts courses in the 1970s, and not the deep specialisation in a narrow beam. I found that sort of discipline, even at a relatively superficial level, was invaluable to me later; not to become a critic but to know what critical thinking was about, and to know a little bit about logic...it helped with my thinking, and thinking is what journalism is all about in the long run.'⁵²

Pinnington's estimate contrasts sharply with the student who had attended the course from 1920-21 and left convinced that 'the quality of academic material was so great that absorption prevented apprehension. Learning prevented thinking.'⁵³

Since the syllabus scheduled to begin in 1940s was never implemented, we can only surmise how influential a fully-fledged School of Journalism might have become as an educational factor within London University, and what effect it might have had upon the development of British journalism and the role of women within the profession.

E The First and subsequent Royal Commissions on the Press, 1947-49, 1976-77

Considering how thoroughly the first Commission examined the question of the education and training of journalists, and how it placed these second in the list of objects for the proposed General Council of the Press,⁵⁴ it might appear strange that the third Royal Commission nearly thirty years later had to repeat many of the same kind of comments concerning the need to raise educational and professional standards.⁵⁵ Even more surprising is the realization, revealed by the third Commission, that the Proficiency Certificate of the National Council for the Training of Journalists, was still optional⁵⁶ for recruits into journalism, especially as the second Commission had been told it had been made obligatory.⁵⁷

The second report reveals how feeble an institution the Press Council (as the general Council of the Press was called) actually was in its early years, ignoring most of its objects (such as education, research, and developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest)⁵⁸ and an interesting study could be made of the original aims the first Royal Commission saw for the Council and its performance since its foundation. Examination of the archive in the National Archives indicates that members were divided on the idea of a Press Council, preferring an 'Institute... an unalarming idea'⁵⁹ compared to a 'Council - suggesting a *body* above the Press,'⁶⁰ and fearful that they might create a 'purely professional body, with only professional functions.'⁶¹ Yet these papers - although obviously nowhere near a complete archive of the Commission's deliberations - do suggest that they did not look to the proposed Press Council to provide the impetus for the future professional education of journalists.⁶²

The lack of progress in this area can be seen when we read the recommendations of the third Royal Commission, in 1977, that 'advanced professional education for journalism should be made a major priority'⁶³

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and stated It saw 'merit in arranging courses in higher education establishments to provide a common foundation for all forms of journalism.'⁶⁴ It also recommended 'that an entrance test for all candidates... should be instituted.'⁶⁵

With that particular chord - entry test - reverberating down a century of discussions on entry examinations, and on the appropriate education for journalism, I bow out, with the comment that none of the three Royal Commissions on the Press saw fit to define what was meant by the word 'journalist' - something might have been achieved with just that.⁶⁶

F Concluding Remarks

In trying to disentangle fact from fiction in the development of journalism education in Britain I conclude that, apart from the non-existence of the calibre of critical journalism texts which appear regularly from American professors of journalism, certain elements have emerged which bear upon the question. One of these is the definite career pattern which emerged, through the late 19th and early 20th centuries, from university to Fleet Street. The death of nearly 5,000 Oxbridge graduates in the First World War had an effect hitherto unrecognized in relation to British journalism. But those who owed their own career progression to that calamity were well aware of why they were able to proceed to editorial chairs which had hitherto been the province of the graduate.⁶⁷ Percy Cudlipp and Arthur Christiansen were two examples. With them in editorial chairs recruitment and selection for Fleet Street was drawn mainly from provincial newspapers as, indeed, it had been both before and since.

The exclusion of graduates from national newspapers, without this experience, from 1965 was one reason for the introduction of post-graduate courses in British universities. Entry into British newspapers, via the National Council for the Training of Journalists enshrined the 'catch'em young' basis of provincial journalism without extending the educational opportunities to journalists which, for instance, its own proposed Diploma was supposed to support but was never implemented. One of the ironies of the N.C.T.J. involvement in journalism training would appear to be undermining whatever standards it, presumably, meant to foster when candidates working on newspapers and participating in its block release schemes failed to pass their examinations yet were still able to continue their newspaper careers.

While passing the N.C.T.J. pre-entry course did not mandate a candidate to a newspaper job, it would appear that failure, once he was working on a newspaper, did not rob him of his job.⁶⁸ The exclusion from the N.C.T.J. syllabus of most of the educational aims of the National Union of Journalists (Appendix X11a & b) is a possible indication how inadequate were its aims (and how poorly realised) compared to the activities across the Atlantic, of university-based Schools of Journalism.

Normally it would be very difficult to be able to point to another system where journalism education at university level had become the 'key to professionalisation...'⁶⁹ but there is the American example which provides us with an illustration of 'what might have been.'

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The loJ was able to call upon American professors of journalism in 1908 and 1919 when they sought advice about setting up British university schools of journalism. The American journalist Walter Lippmann conveniently wrote about the subject in his book *Liberty and the News* which appeared originally in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1919.⁷⁰ He posed the rhetorical question about schools of journalism asking 'how far can we go in turning newspaper enterprise from a haphazard trade into a disciplined profession?' That he posed such a question in the very year that the London University introduced the Diploma for Journalism makes his answer appear even more remarkable today, when the American Journalism Schools are firmly established: 'Quite far, I imagine, for it is altogether unthinkable that a society like ours should remain forever dependent upon untrained accidental witnesses.'⁷¹

He saw such a university connection contributing to the demise of 'the cynicism of the trade' replaced by 'patient and fearless men of science who have laboured to see what the world really is.' While reminding ourselves of the time in which he spoke, and of the undercurrent of objectivity related to scientific endeavour, it goes a long way to helping us understand the bewilderment some Americans, especially professors of journalism, express, when they read what passes as fair comment in British newspapers. While lip-service is paid to 'objective news facts' by British journalists they rarely experienced real teaching of the 'Objective News Fact Concept' as propounded by such American journalist educators as Frank Luther Mott.⁷²

In the author's opinion American journalists must feel what an English journalist described after he experienced 'the carefully trained... standardized technique... taught in the Schools of Journalism,'⁷³ that 'competitive sensationalism' still rules in England when, in America, the 'tendency is towards a more serious kind of journalism.'⁷⁴ It is instructive to remind ourselves that the author, a respected British journalism, J.A. Spender, was writing in 1928 when the journalist education movement was well established in the American universities.

The News Study Group of the Political Sciences Department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology provided a useful explanation of what this difference, between English and American forms of journalism, means: '... the notion of objective reporting took over American journalism in the early twentieth century and helped improve much of the news coverage. Reporters were to become professionals and stay sober; they were not to pay for stories; they were not to impersonate law officials or anyone else in the pursuit of news; they were to forsake sensationalism and cheap thrills. Above all they were not to take sides or slant their stories.'⁷⁵

The author Edwin Diamond was himself a former journalist, and described how the 'objective journalism' took for its model the medical doctors and that 'this model corrected many unsavoury practices in the press itself... not unlike (those) in the majority of countries in the world today.'⁷⁶ For Diamond the reason for this different form of journalism was so obvious he did not state it, but Donald H. Johnston, of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, did set this in the context of

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Increasing enrolments for university journalism education courses so that, in the 1970s, seventy per cent of the recruits hired by the news media directly from college were journalism graduates.⁷⁷ This contrasts with a British sociologist's projection that it would take until the year 2025 for British journalism to reach the point where fifty per cent of journalists were graduates.⁷⁸ In actual fact by the year 2002 the UK journalism media achieved a proportion of graduates of ninety eight per cent with more than forty three per cent holding post-graduate qualifications.⁷⁹

This example illustrates how sharing the same language can actually hinder understanding of what appear to be similar problems but are actually culturally, and ethnocentrically, based in a different experience from that which the common language describes. This is certainly the case when discussing the British and American variants of journalism; without understanding the above figures, misconceptions can too easily be propagated when discussing education for journalism.

G Contemporary Discourse on Journalism Education

The completion of this book has given me an opportunity to reflect on the crossroads of my research in 1984 with the then state of journalism education in British Universities and the exciting developments and engagement of journalism education research that have happened since.

I take pleasure from the observation that there is clear evidence of the culture and tradition of Tom Clarke's views on educating journalists being present in a considerable expansion of practice journalism degrees at undergraduate and postgraduate level. It may well be the case that my work in setting up and developing the London College of Printing Radio Journalism course between 1977 and 1985 has been a bridge to this tradition. One of my students from the LCP course in 1978-79, Tim Crook, has been the MA Practice co-ordinator in the department of Media and Communications at Goldsmiths, University of London which now runs three one year postgraduate programmes with an emphasis on practice journalism learning in up-to-date facilities and theory tailored to a specific higher education for journalists. Indeed, I understand it is not uncommon for Goldsmiths journalism students to be sent off on a bus trip to Lewisham centre and back to discover, in true Lord Northcliffe/Tom Clarke tradition, at least three original news stories.⁸⁰ I was also privileged to be able to attend the London College of Printing (now London College of Communications) celebration of thirty years of broadcast education in 2007 where there was ample evidence that techniques of journalism education pioneered at King's continued to be applied.

That occasion reminded me how much I owed to Margaret Rogers of the Further/Higher Education Curriculum Skills Development Workshop, run by the Inner London Education Authority, providing day-release courses for new college lecturers, whom I met in 1978. Her analysis of what I was attempting, in writing this book, so impressed me that I wrote it down: 'On the one hand the academics are not prepared to deal with the restraints [imposed by] the [journalists'] vocation and, on the other, the protectionist role of the professional [journalist] builds in a rigidity concerned with

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maintaining the "status quo" - doing it by sitting next to Nellie... Or "solvitur ambulando" [the problem is solved by a practical experiment]... The result is no growth from within the professional approach because they have their built-in rigidity to protect, and there is no real vocational preparation because they believe it [journalism] is an end in itself.'

But it was in 2010 that my sister-in-law Susan Walton reminded me that: 'The rigid distinctions between academic disciplines, which the Victorians strived to put into place so as to elevate them into honourable professions suitable for gentlemen, have been assailed. What had seemed to be solid divisions turn out instead to be mere stage curtains that are opaque until a spotlight reveals their flimsiness.'⁸¹ Perhaps contemporary writers on professionalism and journalism might accept this insight and move on? (see Donica Mensing, 'Rethinking [again] the future of journalism education', p. 176 and endnotes 157/8)

Three specialist academic journals devoted to journalism research have been established since 2000: *Journalism - Theory, Practice and Criticism*, published by Sage, and *Journalism Studies* and *Journalism Practice* published by Routledge. A symposium on 'What is Journalism Studies' in the first edition of *Journalism - Theory, Practice and Criticism* took up 54 pages of argument and Professor Barbie Zelizer of the University of Pennsylvania supported a call 'for a new and invigorated study of journalism that will heal journalism's wounds and facilitate its revitalization.'⁸² Professor Zelizer, having herself migrated from the profession of practice journalism to academia, indicated an accurate and thoughtful understanding of the challenge facing hacks and dons in the contemporary frontline of teaching and research by retrieving this observation from Bromley and O'Malley that while American journalism education: 'preceded its British counterpart at the university level by nearly a century, when it did develop in the United Kingdom it was against a long-standing tradition of learning through apprenticeship. Efforts to professionalize journalism through the efforts of the National Association of Journalists had been evident as early as the late 1880s, but they did not succeed in transporting journalism into the British academy, where concern prevailed that the 'technical elements' of journalism were too lacking in academic rigour to be included in even sub-degree courses.'⁸³ As Zelizer somewhat poignantly remarks: 'One of the biggest problems facing journalism researchers is the lack of accurate communication among journalists, journalism educators and journalism scholars.'⁸⁴ The papers in the symposium tend to reflect the long-established hostility between academic culture and the world of practice journalism. John Hartley's polemic that journalists' 'occupational ideology is founded on violence, which is a primary theory of journalism for practitioners. Its basic thesis is that truth is violence, reality is war, news is conflict...'⁸⁵ is a reminder of the difficulties Tom Clarke and Dr.G.B. Harrison had in dealing with the prejudices of the academy at London University in the 1930s.

The development of journalism studies in Britain and elsewhere appears to be a concentration by sociologists, social scientists and cultural studies theorists on the practice of journalism. The challenge remains whether this growing discipline is useful and supportive of the actual education of

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journalists. I am fascinated that present day journalism educators continue to grapple with issues arising from the Diploma for Journalism course experience. In 2002 Columbia University president Lee Bollinger called for curriculum reform of one of the most prestigious journalism programmes in the United States. This led to an intense debate on 'Does Journalism Education Matter?' which was published in *Journalism Studies* in 2006.⁸⁶ Bollinger argued that Columbia's 'one-year program should be extended to two, enabling students to focus for a longer period on more substantive issues,'⁸⁷ Bollinger's interest in the need for an ethic that was integrated into all courses rather than teaching it as a course on its own generated a heated and complex debate. I would argue that the Diploma course under Tom Clarke in extending over two years of education and searching for a method of academic enquiry suitable for journalism may have been reaching for exactly what Bollinger was aiming for.

In 'The education of journalists'. G. Stuart Adam of Carlton University, Ottawa supports this proposition by explaining that 'the ideal curriculum...requires that disciplines like law and history be shaped and tailored to the requirements of journalism...'⁸⁸ This is something that was strongly recognised by Joan Skipsey when she considered how she thought economics should be taught on the Diploma for Journalism course at King's College.⁸⁹ Jackie Harrison in 'Critical foundations and directions for the teaching of news journalism' offers further interrogation of the appropriateness of traditional academic teaching: 'a glance at academic literature reveals broad and deep disagreements over what it does and why it does it.'⁹⁰

Simon Frith and Peter Meech from the University of Stirling's Media Research Institute have endeavoured to research the question of whether UK universities are unsuited to prepare new entrants for the 'realities' of journalism as an occupation by surveying graduates from journalism programmes in Scotland. They found that 'a journalism degree is, in fact, an effective preparation for a successful journalism career and, second, that graduate journalists absorb newsroom culture without difficulty, to the extent of discounting the value of their own "academic" journalism training.'⁹¹ They observe that it is unclear 'how, in practice, the account of journalism that students learn in the 'unreal' context of the classroom is used to make sense of their experience of the realities of journalism now as an occupation, as a craft and as a career.'⁹² In their surveying of former students they were told that they had learned retrospectively that their university journalism course should have inculcated: 'the ability to work to tighter deadlines. As one broadcast journalist put it: 'I didn't realize it at the time – but looking back we had days, sometimes even weeks, to produce stories. In the real world of broadcasting we're sometimes lucky to have half an hour!' Also recommended were more visiting speakers from the industry (with the chance of interacting with them) and properly organized work placements.'⁹³ All of these factors constituted the core of Tom Clarke's approach and modus moderandi on the Diploma for Journalism course.

I certainly appreciate the sentiment of Mark Deuze in his article 'Global Journalism Education' when he states: 'I do base my work on the

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argument, that a meaningful synthesis of debates both past and present is possible, and serves to add structure and insight to ongoing discussions in the field.¹⁹⁴

H Patterns for the Future

Certain aspects of the Diploma for Journalism experiment could well support further development. Clarke's idea that the reporter is the 'modern historian' always adding 'a few lines explaining the historical significance' (when writing, for instance, about the abdication of Edward VIII) matches Wilbur Schramm's assessment of the achievements of American Schools of Journalism (up to 1947) when he highlighted their demand for journalists 'to contribute to the fact he observes.'⁹⁵ The relationship is not so far-fetched as might at first appear: Arthur Marwick, in *The Nature of History* describes some modern historians search for 'objective empiricism... (where) facts should be established as they really are.'⁹⁶ Lawrence Stone describes the 'new historians' undertaking 'story-telling... based on the evidence of eyewitnesses and participants' in an attempt to recapture something of the outward manifestations of the *mentalité* of the past.⁹⁷

Contrasting that, with our examination of the evolution of the modern journalist in Chapter Two, leads to the conclusion that this is a description some modern journalists might find it difficult to reject as a description of how they attempt to report contemporary events. Even more relevant is Stone's plea for those historians' efforts 'to speak to the popular audience [instead] of talking to themselves and no-one else.'⁹⁸

If it is allowed for academic scholars to believe that they 'can capture the skills to investigate any question which arouses (their) curiosity'⁹⁹ it should be possible to extend the approval to a system which allows journalists to acquire similar educational expertise. Just as Beveridge could propagandise for 'Economics as a Liberal Education' in the first issue of *Economica*, in 1921, then American experiments of viewing 'Journalism as Liberal Education' in which students have to: "organise knowledge from a number of different fields, relate his own opinions and values to this, and produce a well-thought-out statement... is a kind of experience which... is... consonant with the aims of liberal education..."¹⁰⁰ which could well be seen to demolish the British belief in 1938 that it is "fruitless to attempt to create good journalists by teaching journalism."¹⁰¹

For the 21st Century professor of journalism at the University of Sheffield, Peter Cole, echoing Professor Stone's 'story-telling', modern '...journalists usually refer to what they write as stories...for their readers to tell them what is going on, to inform them, to engage them, entertain them, shock them, amuse them, disturb them, uplift them. The subject matter will vary according to the nature of the publication and the intended audience...journalism is basically a simple game...finding things out and telling other people about them...making comprehensible that which authority, by intent or verbal inadequacy, has left confused or incomplete or plain mendacious.'¹⁰²

Let the last word on the subject be with E. Barbara Phillips writing in 1975: 'Journalism may be the last of the liberal professions or trades,

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demanding a generalist's breadth of understanding and a creative imagination combined with a technical competence in the manipulation of symbols... [T]he skills and talents needed for journalism [include] a healthy scepticism, curiosity, an ability to tolerate ambiguity, incomplete data, perseverance and a broad knowledge of many life situations which a journalist might face... these qualities resemble the ideal of the liberal educated person as defined by Cardinal Newman... [such a] person not only possesses facts but uses his, or her, mind efficiently, incisively, and imaginatively. The generalist, the well-informed citizen rather than the 'expert' has been the model for most journalists...¹⁰³

Endnotes

¹ Beattie, C.I., 1932, 'Journalism as a Profession', *L.U.J.S. Gazette*, May, the termly newspaper produced by Diploma for Journalism students.

² TNA Ed. 47

³ Harrison, G.B., 1935, Memorandum on the Journalism Course.

⁴ Harrison to the author, December 1979.

⁵ London School of Economics Minute Book, Professorial Council Meeting 27.2.29, referring to a letter from Dr. Halliday, Principal of King's College, dated February 21st 1929.

⁶ Dalton, Dalton Archive, London School of Economics, Diary, Vol. 5, 27/5/20.

⁷ Beveridge, W., 1933, 'The Social Sciences as a Means of General Education,' *Oxford Magazine*, February 2. (in L.S.E. Beveridge Archive).

⁸ Beveridge, W., 1921, 'Economics as a Liberal Education,' *Economica*, January, No. 1. p.7.

⁹ Dalton Diary, *ibid.*, 4/6/20. Salary increased from £400 to £700.

¹⁰ L.S.E. Beveridge Archive, Box II b 33 (11) gives details of one such approach, 17/4/37.

¹¹ Beveridge, 1921, *ibid.*, p.3.

¹² *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³ L.S.E. Minutes, Professorial Council, May 1st 1929 Minutes.

¹⁴ Smith, Roger, 1980, 'Images and Inequality: Women and the National Press,' in Christian, H. (Ed.) *The Sociological Review Monograph No. 29: The Sociology of Journalism and the Press*. Smith mentioned in conversation (July 1983) that Mary Stott admitted she kept hidden her attendance on a commercial sub-editing course, though she never admitted this in my interview with her (March 14, 1990).

¹⁵ One former student, on the Daily Telegraph at the time of the book's submission as a thesis did not wish her attendance on the course to be publicized. She was there 1937-39.

¹⁶ See Appendix XX

¹⁷ Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*, October 1924, p. 179.

¹⁸ *ibid.* February 1929, p. 150, Valentine Knapp's report on 'University of London Journalism Exhibitions, 1924-1928.'

¹⁹ *ibid.*, October 1929.

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- ²⁰ SMM ST2/2/38, 1921/22.
- ²¹ Mansfield, F.J., 1935, *The Complete Journalist*, p. xi. Harold Evans 'gorged' on this book in 1952 when he was appointed a sub-editor on the *Manchester Evening News*. See *My Paper Chase. The True Stories of Vanished Times*, (New York: Little, Brown, 2009) 142.
- ²² *ibid.*
- ²³ *op. cit.* p. 95.
- ²⁴ Clarke, Tom, 1945, *Journalism*, p. 60.
- ²⁵ I am grateful to Wynford Hicks for this report of a meeting at Oxford University Labour Party, 1961/2.
- ²⁶ Pinnington, G., interview with the author, 1978, accessible on companion website for this book.
- ²⁷ Royal Commission on University Education in London, 1909-13. (The Haldane Commission). Cmnd. 6717.
- ²⁸ KDJ/18/1-45, University of London archives, and author's personal collection of notes in manuscript.
- ²⁹ London University Examination Papers. *Journalism Diploma, 1927-39*. 1936: Practical Journalism Paper question six.
- ³⁰ Clarke, *ibid.* 11/12
- ³¹ *ibid.* p. 61
- ³² SMM ST2/2/55, 1938/39.
- ³³ Pinnington, *ibid.*, speaking in 1978. Ten years later Mary Stott, the former women's editor of *The Guardian*, interviewed about her journalistic career, reprised that remark saying 'the hard job's not writing, it's thinking...it's thinking it out, that's the difficult bit. It's selection. With all writing, you've got to select the points to make sense...you've got to prune it down and get it taut and clear.' *Writing Lives. Conversations Between Women Writers*, edited by Mary Chamberlain (Virago: London 1988).
- ³⁴ One example, Robert Stephens with Hugh Gaitskell.
- ³⁵ Green, V.H.H., *The Universities*, p. 337.
- ³⁶ Dalton, See note 6 above.
- ³⁷ Truscot, Bruce (Allison Peers), 1951, *Red Brick University*, originally published in 1942.
- ³⁸ Clarke, Tom, 1936, *Brian*.
- ³⁹ Pinnington, *ibid.*, referring to his days on the *Daily Herald*, when he raised the subject of having been on the Diploma for Journalism. Howard Whitten quotes Gaitskell's favourable reference.
- ⁴⁰ (a) Collins, J.C., 1908, 'The Universities and Journalism,' *Nineteenth Century*, 372, February, 327-40.
(b) Tunstall, J., 1973, 'Journalism as an Occupation', *Medico-Legal Journal*, 41 (3), 87-101.
- ⁴¹ Vide Miss Skipsey's plea to 'teach economics journalistically.' For other, later methods, see John Broadbent in bibliography. Mr. John Turner's 'Contemporary Affairs' Syllabus in the Diploma in Radio Journalism (CNAA) London College of Printing is one example from the 1980s.
- ⁴² Council for National Academic Awards, Communication Studies Panel (n.d) Memorandum to the Royal Commission on the Press, 1975-77).
- ⁴³ C.N.A.A. *ibid.*, p.2.
- ⁴⁴ C.N.A.A. *ibid.*, p.1.
- ⁴⁵ Letter to the author from Roger Fulford, dated 12 November, 1978.
- ⁴⁶ University of London Examination Papers. *The Examination for the Diploma for Journalism 1927 to 1939*, in the author's possession.
- ⁴⁷ Joan Skipsey's four page report: 'List of students who passed the Diploma for Journalism Examination, June 1938', in the author's possession. [Henceforth 'List']
- ⁴⁸ Letters to Tom Clarke from R.L. Harmsworth, 22 and 24 July, 1935, and 21 May 1936, in the author's possession.
- ⁴⁹ Skipsey, 3 November, 1938, 'Report on Employment of 1928 Journalism Diploma Winners' [Henceforth 'List']
- ⁵⁰ Skipsey, 'List'.
- ⁵¹ Skipsey, 'Report'. Smallman (b.1915) was a student at King's 1934/9 and awarded the Diploma in 1938.
- ⁵² Geoffrey Pinnington, editor of the *Sunday People*, interviewed in his office by the author on Tuesday, 28 November, 1978. Pinnington died on December 24, 1995.
- ⁵³ 'Ex-Students' Opinions on the [London University] Journalism Course' 12 December 1932, 6 pages, in the author's possession.
- ⁵⁴ Royal Commission on the Press, 1947-49, Cmnd. 7700, para. 663, TNA HO 251/101, paper 256.
- ⁵⁵ Royal Commission on the Press, 1975-77, Cmnd. 6810, ch. 18. (compare Cmnd. 7700 para. 623 and Cmnd. 6810, 18.27)

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⁵⁶ Cmnd. 6810, 18.37 Compare Royal Commission on the Press, 1960-2, Cmnd. 1812. Vol. 1. Minutes of Oral Evidence, question 2108.

⁵⁷ Cmnd. 1812, q. 2108.

⁵⁸ Cmnd. 1812, question 1260 (Press Council evidence, 769-956.)

⁵⁹ TNA HO 251/101 & 213, plus letter of G.M. Young's to Sir David Ross, Chairman, Royal Commission on the Press, October 12th 1948.

⁶⁰ Young, *ibid.*

⁶¹ Lady Bonham-Carter to chairman, October 10th 1948: 'I would prefer not to see support for a Press Council... a purely professional body.'

⁶² Cmnd. 1812. questions 769-956. Young, TNA HO 251/213, dated Dec., 1947.

⁶³ Cmnd. 6810.18.42.

⁶⁴ Cmnd. 6810.18.22

⁶⁵ Cmnd. 6810.18.32

⁶⁶ See Brown, p. 84: 'the generic word journalist goes back to the seventeenth century [...] The appearance of the reporter [...] is an event in modern history of some importance.'

⁶⁷ Cudlipp, Percy, 1948. Promotion Prospects or Getting on, in Kenyon, A., *Entry Into Journalism*, p. 45: 'Arthur Christiansen, Editor of the *Daily Express*, and I were discussing the other day the conditions in which we came to Fleet Street. "We benefited," he said, "from the fact that many clever men had been killed in the first Great War. There were gaps to be filled, and so fellows like you and me, who had been too young to fight, had an early chance to show what we could do.'" This 'acute sense of loss' is discussed by David Cannadine in his essay 'War and death: grief and mourning in modern Britain' in Joachim Whaley (ed.) *Mirrors of Immortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (1981), 187-247.

⁶⁸ See Cmnd. 6810, 18.37- Proficiency Certificate is talked of as being optional for those working on newspapers, and a 'significant proportion of trainees do not sit for the tests.'

⁶⁹ Birkhead, D., 1982, *Presenting the Press: Journalism and the Professional Project*. Ph.D dissertation, University of Iowa, p.236.

⁷⁰ Lippmann, Walter, 1919, 'Liberty and the News', *Atlanta Monthly*, Vol. 124, December, 779-87. Published in book form in 1920.

⁷¹ Lippmann, *ibid.* H.T. Hamson's evidence to the first Royal Commission on the Press indicated how far untrained witnesses were undertaking journalistic work in England.

⁷² Mott, Frank Luther, 1942, *The Development of News Concepts in American Journalism*. Thirteenth Address delivered under the Don R. Mellett Memorial Fund.

⁷³ Spender, J.A., 1928, *The America of Today*, includes two chapters on American journalism, p. 175.

⁷⁴ Spender, *ibid.* Compare Smith, Anthony, 1979, *The Newspaper- An International History*, referring to the two different forms of British and American journalism: 'A steady gulf has grown between American and British practice, the former dedicated to a journalism of neutral "factual" information, untainted by party, unblemished by influence...'

⁷⁵ Diamond, Edwin, 1978, *Good News. Bad News*, p. 235.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Johnston, Donald, 1979, *Journalism and the Media- An Introduction to Mass Communications* p. 119.

⁷⁸ Tunstall, Jeremy, 1977, *Studies in the Press*, 335. This projection assumes a 50 per cent graduate intake from 1985 onwards. In the 1970s the proportion of graduates in American journalism was 58 per cent (Johnston, 113)

⁷⁹ p. 23-24 Hargreaves, Ian, ed. *Journalists at Work - Their views on training, recruitment and conditions. An independent survey by the Journalism Training Forum*, July 2002, London: Publishing NOT/Skillset.

⁸⁰ See appendix XLII for syllabuses of the 3 journalism postgraduate programmes.

⁸¹ pp 1-2 Walton, Susam, (2010) *Imagining Soldiers and Fathers in the Mid-Victorian Era. Charlotte Yonge's Models of Manliness*, Farnham: Ashgate.

⁸² p.12 Zelizer, Barbie, 2000, 'What is journalism studies? Introduction', *Journalism-Theory, Practice and Criticism*, SAGE Publications (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi) Vol.1(1):9-60

⁸³ p. 18 Zelizer, Barbie, 2000, quoting 'The End of Journalism? Changes in workplace practices in the Press and Broadcasting in the 1990s' by Michael Bromley and Tom O'Malley in *A Journalism Reader* London, New York: Routledge.

⁸⁴ Zelizer, Barbara, 2008, 'Going Beyond the Disciplinary Boundaries in the Future of Journalism Research' in Loffelholz, Martin & Weaver, David eds., *Global Journalism Research: Theory, Methods, Findings, Future* (Hoboken, NJ, USA: John Wiley).

⁸⁵ p.40 *ibid.*

⁸⁶ 'Does Journalism Education Matter', *Journalism Studies*, (2006) 7:1, 144 - 156

⁸⁷ p.144 *ibid.*

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⁸⁸ p. 330 Adam, G. Stuart, 'The education of journalists', *Journalism- Theory, practice and criticism* 2001; 2; 315 – 339, SAGE: (London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi)

⁸⁹ Disclosed in interview with author.

⁹⁰ p. 185 Harrison, Jackie, 'Critical foundations and directions for the teaching of news journalism' *Journalism Practice*, (2007) 1:2, 175 – 189, London, New York : Routledge.

⁹¹ p. 137 Frith, Simon & Meech, Peter, 'Becoming a journalist: Journalism education and journalism culture', *Journalism- Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 2007; 8; 137–164 SAGE, (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi and Singapore).

⁹² p. 145 *ibid.*

⁹³ p. 152 *ibid.*

⁹⁴ note 1 p. 34, Deuze, Mark (2006) 'Global Journalism Education', *Journalism Studies*, 7:1, 19 – 34, London, New York: Routledge.

⁹⁵ Schramm, Wilbur, 1947, 'Education for Journalism: Vocational, General, or Professional?' *Journalism Quarterly*, 24, 9-18.

⁹⁶ Marwick, Arthur, 1970, *The Nature of History*, London: MacMillan.

⁹⁷ Stone, Lawrence, 1979, 'The Revival of Narrative; Reflections on a New Old History,' *Past & Present*, No. 85.

⁹⁸ Stone, *ibid.*

⁹⁹ Gombrich, Sir Ernst, 1973, 'Research in the Humanities: Ideals and Idols,' *Daedalus*, Spring, 102(2). Tunstall, *ibid.*, attacks journalists for making similar assumptions.

¹⁰⁰ Dressell, Paul L., 1960, 1963, *Liberal Education and Journalism*, published by Teachers College, Columbia University, U.S.A. p. 86f

¹⁰¹ P.E.P. 1938, p. 281

¹⁰² p. 4 Cole, Peter, 2008, *How To Write Journalism*, London: Guardian News & Media.

¹⁰³ Phillips, E. Barbara, 1975, *The Artists of Everyday Life: Journalists, their craft and their consciousness*. Doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University, U.S.A., p. 169. We have to remind ourselves that Phillips was talking about American journalists, but it is still a good way to end this book.

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Chapter Eleven

Young Women Learning Journalism at London University, 1919-1939

We have seen how in the 1880s provincial pressmen (as they called themselves) had formed the National Association of Journalists and they highlighted the need for some form of education for journalists and, by 1888, they had formulated entry exams (which were never implemented). By 1889 editors and newspaper owners had stepped in and converted the Association into the Royal-chartered Institute of Journalists (IoJ). Indeed, women were admitted to membership in the Institute of Journalists from its inception and, five years later, in 1894, the Society of Women Journalists (SWJ) was founded.¹ So, perhaps, it is not surprising to discover young women attempting to become reporters. They were in a situation where the vote was only available to women aged 28 and above, until the 1929 General Election. So any woman role-model would have attracted attention as did Lady Florence Dixie (1857-1905) when she became an early war correspondent covering the Zulu Wars in South Africa² in the 1880s. At this time W.T. Stead's *Pall Mall Gazette* employed Hulda Friederichs as 'Chief Interviewer'.³

What of the male journalists' opinions about women journalists? The IoJ's 1888 annual conference in Newcastle provides the answer: 'Fear of competition by ladies in the world of journalism was simply ridiculous. The rough work of journalism could never come within women's sphere.'⁴

Writing about this period David Rubinstein asserts 'no occupation seemed so glamorous to women and none was the subject of more frequent discussion in the press and in women's magazines.'⁵ This was a time of unparalleled expansion in the market for women's journals⁶ and it was in these magazines, often aimed at young women, that editors commissioned more than twenty-five articles on this subject in the 1890s.⁷ Mrs Emily Crawford (1841-1915), writing in 1893, commented on 'the rush of women towards journalism' who ignored the realities of newspaper life whereby 'while others at a festivity are simply amusing themselves, the journalist is consciously observing and mentally trying verbal effects [...] making his studies there and then.'⁸ One monthly, *The Atalanta*, ran a correspondence course during 1896-98 calling it a 'journalism school' run by Nora Vynne, awarding prizes and printing winners' entries in the magazine.⁹

In 1898 E. A. Bennett, editor of *Woman* but later better known as the novelist Arnold Bennett, had the foresight to write *Journalism for Women. A Practical Guide* which many budding journalists would read in following decades. 1898 also saw the publication, in the *Windsor Magazine*, of

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Robert Barr's serial, *Jennie Baxter, Journalist*, later published as a book, and, by then, the IoJ had sixty-eight women members, of whom fifteen were on national daily newspapers, and twenty-three on provincial newspapers, but none were reporters.

Representing women journalists by the novelist Henry James

An under-appreciated, but ever-observant, recorder of 1890s women journalists in London, the novelist Henry James (1834-1916), provides us with a flavour of the times in his short story *The Papers*. His fictional Maude Blandy is represented as the 'suburban young women in a sailor hat [for whom] the Daily Press played as a receptacle into which, regularly, breathlessly, contributions had to be dropped - odds and ends all grist to the mill. Maud Blandy drank beer, smoked cigarettes when privacy permitted, [was] born afresh each morning, to serve only until the morrow...she was an edition, an "extra special" coming out at the loud hours and living its life amid the roar of vehicles, the hustle of pavements, the shriek of newsboys...Maud was a shocker in petticoats.'¹⁰ For James too this was an 'age of emancipation' for women, which helps us to understand how so many young women might have begun to envisage journalism as a career. In another story James pinpointed what the London newspaper editor wanted from his 'lady' reporters when interviewing - then a new word - their subject: 'anecdotes, glimpses, gossip, chat; a picture of his "home life," domestic habits, diet, dress, arrangement - all his little ways and little secrets.'¹¹

But how would young women have found their way into journalism? As we have seen, no entry certificate existed and a career path for women, from provincial weekly to national daily newspaper, must have appeared like an impossible dream. Yet there were women following just that route. Fifteen year-old Emilie Marshall (1882-1964) began work on the *Darlington Northern Echo* in 1898, where her father John was the editor and she reported local events before experiencing sub-editing, working six days a week until 3 a.m. This led, in 1904, to her becoming the first-ever woman reporter on the *Daily Express* edited by R. D. Blumenfeld.¹²

1904 also saw Frances Low, the sister of two knights of journalism, Sir Maurice and Sir Sidney, publish her *Press Work for Women: A Textbook for the Young Woman Journalist*.¹³ This was the result of ten years' journalistic experience and Low believed 'it is quite possible for the novice in journalism to make a small income from the start, a situation that exists in no other form of employment open to women [so] it is in no way difficult, then, to account for the immense popularity of journalism'¹⁴ among young women. Indeed, Low stated 'She may be expected to take up journalism seriously as her sisters take up teaching or nursing [...] and earn £100 a year.' She also taught journalism in an upper classroom in South Molton Street, London, and one of her pupils was the nineteen year-old Mary Grieve who, later, recalled being taught, 'with a dozen other girls, the principles of journalism by a vigorous ancient lady wearing a bonnet tied under her chin with ribbons, and strangely old-fashioned garments. But there was nothing else old-fashioned about Miss Frances Low. She had

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certain priceless facts to impart to us, and she imparted them without mercy or favour.¹⁵ Miss Low wasted no time, sending students out into nearby Oxford Street to visit Selfridges department store with the command 'be back in twenty minutes.' When they returned the students had one hour and forty minutes to write up their impressions, neatly typed in 700 words, for an evening newspaper. When Miss Low returned their work she was adamant that they had to adhere, rigidly, to the required length. Grieve commented that 'I found this particular discipline invaluable when, at a much later date, I was working on gravure magazines and had to write dozens of captions to pictures to a given space. Two words over the space meant cutting. Miss Low had already hardened me to cutting my own arteries, so I felt no pain.'¹⁶ At the end of her six-month course, Grieve first worked on the staff of the *Nursing Mirror* and, like Arnold Bennett before her, edited *Woman* from 1940-62.

Changes in newspaper content between the wars

While women like Frances Low could run courses for aspiring women journalists, as well as publishing career manuals, newspapers themselves were changing in the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1908 Edward Hulton began publishing a 'picture paper', the *Daily Sketch*. The editor of the *Daily Express*, from 1904 to 1932, R.D. Blumenfeld, like his mentor Northcliffe, believed that 'women number at least half, if not more, of the readers of a national daily newspaper,'¹⁷ and when Beaverbrook took over the ailing *Globe*, in 1911, a women's page was one of the first changes he made. By the 1930s the editors of the popular pictorial newspapers, like the *Daily Mirror*, *Mail*, and *Express*, were keenly aware of both the circulation and advertising significance of the female market. Journalists were very conscious of this change in the readership of newspapers. The 'feminization' of British newspapers was the 'most striking development in popular journalism between the wars.'¹⁸ Emilie Marshall, later Peacocke, argued that the 'story of modern journalism, so far as it relates to the woman writer, is the "Rise of the Women's Story"'.¹⁹

Women entrants to the Diploma for Journalism course

So how were young women able to become students of journalism at the University of London in 1919?²⁰ One, possibly unforeseen, result of creating a two-year Diploma for Journalism at the University of London was that it provided an opportunity for youngsters to experience university education without meeting the stringent requirements - usually known as 'matriculation' - needed for pursuing a degree course. So the doors were opened for seemingly less academically-minded students to follow courses of study hitherto closed to them. The main beneficiaries, especially at London University, were young women whom London had admitted since 1878. Consequently 219 women and 194 men received the Diploma which was planned, initially, for returning ex-Servicemen: 'to replace for them their lost years' after serving their country in the First World War, and receiving State funding to pay for it. Since graduates could sit for the examinations

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after only one year, in 1920 the first recipients of the Diploma were two in number, one woman and one man. Subsequently, in later years, more women than men gained the award, especially after the State funding for ex-Servicemen ended in the mid-1920s. (See Table III page 135)

However, in its last year, 1939, 12 men and 10 women received the Diploma. But many hundreds more actually studied for the award, perhaps up to 1,600, throughout its 20-year existence, though many left after only one year. When local education authorities began awarding scholarships for university degrees, diplomas were not usually eligible and, subsequently, if they were awarded, some students had to repay them during their working life. One implication was that most students must have come from families that could afford the fees. I have found no evidence to suggest any women received exhibitions provided by provincial newspapers, and, indeed, by 1939 many applicants were the sons and daughters of journalists and editors.

The view of women students on the Diploma for Journalism course

Margery Vera Hunter Woods (later Green), born in 1904, attended University College from 1921-23 gaining her Diploma for Journalism aged 19. She recalled that 'I'd always wanted to write from the very earliest days. I went to Cheltenham Ladies College, and got stuff published in the school magazine – bad poetry of the sort you write when you are sixteen. Because of my lack of Matriculation [basically, no Latin] University College, London, said my only way into university would be through the journalism course.'²¹ In those early years no practical journalism was taught, although Green achieved distinction in English Composition, General History and Development of Science and English Literature and Criticism. Green complained that there was 'no real student centre where we could assemble and discuss. It was all fragmentary. My Diploma equipping me with much that was academic and impractical' and, consequently, it is no surprise that she declared that her Diploma 'failed to arouse the slightest flicker of interest in anyone I approached for a job.' But she had a summer attachment at the *Southampton Daily News* 'doing dogsbody work: going to places like Cowes and reporting on the regatta there, or going to interview people who'd had their names in the newspapers. There were two placards in the newsroom, one which stated "When in doubt, leave it out" while the other boasted "publish and be damned."²²

Green's memoirs tell us that she wished she had kept her maiden name, as did fellow-students Elizabeth Bowen (1899-1973) and Stella Gibbons (1902-1990). When I interviewed her in 1991 Green had written as Margery Hunter Woods, Vera Hunter, and Margery Cornish (her first husband's name). Talking about the course Green remembered that 'Stella Gibbons was on it with me, and Elizabeth Bowen, who is now dead, but who wrote some very good novels, and they left before the end of the course and started writing novels. I think I must have read the first novel Bowen ever wrote because she asked me to go to her house to read it over and I did.'²³

However, we all know that memory can play cruel tricks and Gibbons did graduate, in 1922, and while Bowen did leave early, without the Diploma,

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her first published work, in 1923, was a book of short stories, called *Encounters*. Stella Gibbons found her first job through the good offices of Valentine Knapp working in the London office of the news agency, British United Press, but soon lost her job because she miscalculated the value of the French franc and sent this information to all the newspapers, causing a tremor in the financial markets at the time. Then she worked on the *Evening Standard* writing a column called 'Unusual Women' as well as contributing short stories, for which she was paid £9 a week. She lost that job in economy cuts but Edith Shackleton (1884/5-1976), also on the *Standard's* 'Londoner's Diary,' put in a good word for her with her sister, Nora Heald (1883/4-1961), editor of the *Lady*, who gave her a job.²⁴ Thereafter Gibbons devoted herself to a writing career outside journalism, publishing her first novel, *Cold Comfort Farm* in 1932 awarded the Prix Femina Vie Heureuse in 1933, which Virginia Woolf (1882-1941) had won, in 1928, for *To the Lighthouse*.

In 1923 Margery Green accepted an invitation from her godmother to join her in Italy where she learned Italian and also became the fully-paid 'Italian Riviera' social correspondent for the English-language daily, *The Italian Mail*. In the process she became something of an expert in Italian art, sufficient to have the art historian, and agent for wealthy clients, Bernard Berenson (1865-1959) invite her to work for him – which she turned down to her later regret. Subsequently the editor of the *Times Literary Supplement*, [Sir] Bruce Richmond (1871-1964), when he discovered she had lived in Italy employed her to review Italian books and she later became an assistant to St. John Ervine (1883-1971) when he was drama critic for the feminist weekly *Time and Tide*. From such 'free-lance pot-boiling, hack journalism' as she called it, Green earned between £100 and £200 a year in 1925 and rented a room in Bloomsbury for fourteen shillings a week, about seventy pence.²⁵ During the Second World War, and after, as a single parent with a young daughter to support, Green worked for the BBC in a variety of roles, having turned down the possibility of becoming secretary to T. S. Eliot (1888-1965) because she didn't like the look of his 'humourless, impersonal eyes' and also she lacked shorthand.²⁶

Profiles of women students

Those attending the course after 1925 benefited from a revised curriculum which finally included practical journalism taught by two, part-time, working journalists who delivered lectures – no practical work was set – and, from 1927, a termly student newspaper, *The L.U.J.S. Gazette*. For Elizabeth Ferrars (1907-1995), detective-fiction writer, who graduated in 1928, the advantage to her was that 'you could take your pick from English literature, history, economics, psychology, principles of criticism, modern languages, and so on. Only Composition and Practical Journalism were compulsory, the subtle distinction being that one was rather more literary than the other.' Ferrars's long road to authorship began when a lecturer sent her, with a short story she had written, to a literary agent, David Higham of Curtis Brown. He said it was not publishable, but remained in touch, encouraging her until after five or six years, she had a book ready.

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Her first two books were published under her maiden name, Mactaggart, but it was as a writer of detective fiction that Ferrars was one of the first authors to receive the highest payment then allowed when Public Lending Right legislation provided authors with an extra income based on the number of times their books were borrowed from public libraries. In 1984 that maximum payment allowed, was £5,000.²⁷

Those who followed careers in literature, as opposed to journalism, included from 1928-30: Betty Bergson Spiro, (1910-1965), later Miller (mother of Jonathan Miller the actor, director and psychologist) who reviewed for the *New Statesman* and *The Twentieth Century* and wrote several biographies; from 1923-25: Eileen Nora Lees Bliss, who wrote two novels as Eliot Bliss, only achieved a pass in Principles of Criticism,²⁸ while the distinction that Kathleen Nott achieved in her English Literature exam enabled her to win an open exhibition to Somerville College, Oxford, where she read politics, philosophy and economics. Nott combined an academic career with writing novels and became chief reviewer for *The Observer* later in life, as well as supporting the work of International PEN, the association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists and Novelists concerned with promoting co-operation between writers formed by Mrs. Dawson-Scott, in 1921.²⁹

Another young woman who only stayed one year and sat no exams, was Yvonne Mayer (1903-1999) later Kapp who was elected, by the Students' Union for 1921-22, to the editorship of the *King's College Review* (King's Hospital students' magazine) and served on the editorial sub-committee of the *University of London Union Magazine*. As 'most of the men had lately been demobilized and were no mere boys, but what we should now call "mature students" in their late twenties or early thirties, I had a most wonderful time [in] the exciting everyday life of King's College.'³⁰ But as she had left home at eighteen, she needed work and audacity and good fortune secured her a job on the *Evening Standard* at £4 a week. She asked Alec Waugh (1898-1981), to whom she had written a fan letter on publication of his first book *The Loom of Youth*, for help and he secured for her the post as an assistant to Miss Hogg, the editor of the women's page. Then she was seconded to act as a dogsbody to the editor of the *Sunday Herald*. While collecting contributors' articles for this paper she had her 'first and warming encounter with Rebecca West.'³¹ But she lost that job after arguing with the editor over a quotation from Shakespeare - 'I was a pretentious little literary snob.'³²

By then, in August, 1922, Yvonne was married, aged 19, to her lover, the illustrator and artist, Edmond Kapp (1890-1978), thirteen years her senior and he had just had his first exhibition with a foreword in the catalogue written by Sir Max Beerbohm (1872-1956).³³ Eric Hobsbawm described them as living 'the life of foot-loose and fairly penniless - but well-connected - bohemians of the 1920s, moving between the houses of Beerbohm and Gordon Craig on the Italian Riviera, friends on Capri, and primitive Sussex and East Anglian cottages in the neighbourhood of the Bell's and [John Desmond] Bernal's, running into Rebecca West in Juan-les-Pins [where the Scottish painter, J.D. Fergusson, was a friend] and being psycho-analysed by a Bloomsbury [Adrian] Stephen.'³⁴ Then, when pregnant with her

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daughter, she 'broadcast once a week from Savoy Hill in *Women's Hour*'³⁵ and the baby was born in a Hampstead maternity home for soldiers' wives.³⁶ But her presence did not inhibit their footloose and unorthodox life. 'In the Spring of 1926, when the baby was nearly two, [we] went to live in Antibes, and I did freelance journalism most of the time. There I was interviewed for the job for which Rebecca West recommended me, to work on *Vogue*. So in the autumn I left Edmund and the baby and the nanny and went to Paris.'³⁷

There she spent several months as literary editor of *Vogue*, in 1927, at an annual salary of £1,000. But by 1930 the marriage had broken up and she wrote her first novel, *Nobody Asked You* (1932), encouraged by Rebecca West, which raised such a furore Kapp had to set up her own press, the Willy Nilly Press, to publish it under her *nom de plume*, Yvonne Cloud, with a cover designed by her lover, Quentin Bell (1910-1996),³⁸ It promptly sold out following praise in *The Observer* from Gerald Gould (1885-1936), making her more money than from any other book. Her full and varied life thereafter is vividly portrayed in her Memoirs, and, as she told Sally Alexander: 'I've never stopped writing.'³⁹ Kapp joined, and remained, a member of the Communist Party from 1935, later writing a two-volume biography of Eleanor Marx published in 1972 and 1976.⁴⁰

Diana Maugham, later Marr-Johnson (1908-2007), the daughter of the 1st Viscount Maugham and niece of Somerset Maugham, attended the Diploma course from 1929 to 1931 passing the Principles of Criticism paper after only one year. In her unpublished memoir *A Few Yesterdays* she recounts how she 'was miserable [with] a long diet of social activities [that] had led to a near passionate boredom'⁴¹ and her older sister Honor '...suggested that for people who never used their brains at all it was a predictable result and I'd better go to the University of London. Meekly I presented myself at King's College [for an] interview with the wonderful Professor G.B. Harrison, [to join the] two-year diploma [for] journalism [course], really amounting to English Literature, and I chose [English Composition] Philosophy and [Psychology] for second subjects. The guiding lights were Professors Harrison and Isaacs, whose lectures were a revelation, their classrooms always packed. For the first time learning was no longer a chore but totally absorbing, work transformed into fun. The second subjects with other tutors were a very different matter; the psychology being of the dynamic variety dealing with conditioned rats, their reactions shown by graphs; the philosophy so inaudibly esoteric it was likewise beyond my grasp. Fortunately I never met the rats but had a firm conviction their life style was grossly unfair and graphs an anathema.'⁴²

Diana began to 'write short stories which, to my astonishment, sold well. It was a good time for that literary form; with the *Strand Magazine*, *Nash* and in America, *Cosmopolitan*, all offering a ready market. Actually to be paid for doing what I most enjoyed [\$500 in one case] was obviously in the nature of a miracle. The secondary subjects at King's were of less importance but it was necessary to pass in one of them. So, knowing I was probably alright on the English [Composition], I seized the Encyclopaedia Britannica on the eve of the final exam and looked up Philosophy, where, mercifully encapsulated, there was an exposé of the great thoughts of

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Descartes, Kant, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Berkeley et al. Still alas, incomprehensible, but splendidly quotable [and] gained a distinction in [both]. I was triumphantly through and two fascinating years were over. They were very happy ones though my fellow students, apart from a couple of congenial spirits, did not seem a very lively lot [who joined] a number of groups and societies which, after one experience, I decided were a waste of time. How they could fit in such interests and concentrate on work was difficult to understand, yet most of them passed the exams. And, of course, they did not go out dancing at night.⁴³

Social life certainly had to be curtailed but the evenings were still free, and lovely long weekends in the country at Tye House in Sussex [where her] neighbours [included] A.A. Milne (1892-1966) and his family: 'Christopher Robin, though some years younger than I, joined in swimming races in a muddy field pool. He and his father called each other Moon and Blue. I never knew why or which was which, but felt deeply sorry for him having to play in a garden with a statue of himself surrounded by little animals.'⁴⁴ After leaving University Diana married Kenneth Marr-Johnson, began to write novels and had three sons. Her experiences among the depressed parts of north Paddington led to her founding Beauchamp Lodge in 1940 - still going strong - and joining the Labour Party. The mysterious figure, Brendan Bracken (1917-1958), North Paddington's Member of Parliament 1929-45, helped in this endeavour and also took her advice about opening the Underground to the public during wartime air raids over London when she worked as a fire-warden in Chelsea.

Clare Lawson Dick (1913-1987) from the class of 1931-33, found employment as a filing clerk at the BBC in 1935, and her diaries reveal a frantic social life, turning down several proposals of marriage while still enjoying the sexual freedom the 1930s allowed to young people.⁴⁵ With the outbreak of the Second World War she moved centre stage to become a minuting clerk for the BBC's programme board and, in 1942, was promoted to programme planning assistant. By 1962 she was chief assistant in what was then the Home Service and served as its acting head from 1964-5, then acting controller of its replacement, Radio 4, from 1968-9, and should have been appointed controller Radio 4 in 1969 but Tony Whitby (1929-1973) was given the job. However, he died of cancer and she became acting controller again from 1974, finally being appointed controller in 1975, retiring in October 1976. During these years she was a caustic observer of what she described as the mismanagement of BBC radio and, with Gerard Mansell, helped to start the *World at One* news programme and her name was also linked with such programmes as *The Critics* and, after her retirement, she proposed the format that became *Radio Scotland*. The title of one of her tape-recorded oral history interviews, held in BBC archives, illustrates how she felt about the BBC: *Women's Place is in the Wrong!*⁴⁶

Joan Skipsey (1915-1999), later Galwey, joined the Diploma course in 1934 and so experienced two entirely different approaches to how journalism was taught in London University. In her first year Practical Journalism 'appeared to be simply one afternoon a week, with a kindly gnome hunched over a table on a rostrum, talking. I don't think he ever asked us to write anything. None of it seemed to relate in any way to my

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employment experience [before attending the course] first on a printing trade paper, then on two painfully down-market fashion magazines.⁴⁷ Her first summer attachment in Devon, in 1935, enabled her to turn a war film experience into 800-words rejected by the *Daily Herald* and instantly re-submitted to the *News Chronicle* where it was published with the by-line 'By a war Baby.'

At the start of her second year, in the autumn of 1935, Tom Clarke arrived as Director of Practical Journalism - 'a bombshell of celebratory brilliance, the room was alive from then on. There was work to do. He started by driving it home that everything, but everything, in a newspaper is news. Ads, births marriages and deaths, even editorial opinion. The lot. I don't think any of us had thought that way before. We began to devour newspapers. Tom required us to report him and his professional friends he introduced to talk to us. We were regularly assigned to Bow Street police court. He marked and discussed it all.'⁴⁸ A Danish girl on the same course, (1934-36), Lis Hasager, the daughter of one of the leading newspaper editors in Copenhagen, complained that the course was badly organised ('I wonder if the professors engaged in this particular course take it seriously. I hardly think so from what I have seen.') yet excellent, even though she failed her exams.⁴⁹

When Skipsey graduated Dr. Harrison guided her towards a job on the *Daily Telegraph*, running a readers' fund to get a new organ for Westminster Abbey for Edward VIII's coronation. But the King abdicated in December 1936, [which the Diploma students covered on the day], the story died and Harrison steered her towards Allen Lane of Penguin Books who needed a secretary after setting up on his own as a publisher. She was the first woman he hired. Then she was lured back to King's College, in 1937, aged twenty-two, to be Assistant to the Director of Practical Journalism, at a salary of £250 per annum, for what turned out to be the last two years of the Diploma at London University.

Her task was to help Clarke organise and allocate numerous reporting assignments set for Tuesdays [with] the deadlines for submission of copy early the next day. Then she assisted Clarke with the marking, which was returned at a second afternoon session on Thursdays when students' work was discussed. Handwriting, presentation, punctuation and spelling were marked stringently. Consequently, she writes, 'reporting improved dramatically, as these became more disciplined.'⁵⁰

This was not the case with Penelope Fletcher (1918-1999), later Mrs John Mortimer, the novelist. While she claims to have been on the course between 1936-38 there is no record of her attendance (never mind not receiving the Diploma) apart from a single line opposite her name stating 'little work shown up' out of a list of 39 students most of whom graduated in 1937 or 1938. Describing the course as making her 'appear educated without really trying'⁵¹ she reviewed novels for the *Sunday Times*, and succeeded Penelope Gilliatt (1932-1993) as film critic of *The Observer*. Mortimer wrote several novels, one of which the *New Yorker* devoted a whole issue to publishing. She once said that 'I really don't believe that there is such a thing as fiction.'⁵²

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One who did graduate in 1938 was the only woman awarded the Harmsworth Gold Medal for Journalism, Eunice Katharine Holland, who had travelled from New York, where her English parents lived, to join the course. A report compiled by Joan Skipsey on November 3rd 1938, comments that 'after a period of employment on the *Sunday Chronicle* and freelancing for the *Daily Telegraph*, she was offered simultaneously posts as Secretary and Assistant in the *March of Time* organisation in London, and as Editorial Secretary on the *Woman's Journal* group of the Amalgamated Press. She joined the *March of Time* Publicity Department.'⁵³

Thanks to Skipsey's administrative ability those attending the last two years come alive in her reports upon students' activities which she made for Clarke. So, for example, we know that Leila Rita Goller, better known as Leila Berg, the novelist, undertook a voluntary assignment to report on the London County Council (L.C.C.) elections on November 1st 1937 and the Lord Mayor's Show on November 8th, for which she was marked 5 out of 10, with the comment: 'Good observer, but long-winded' On November 19th Berg acted as foreign editor at 10 o'clock, when two groups attempted to produce pages for the *Star* and *Evening News*. For the November 25th report on her coverage at Bow Street court she was marked 7 'Very fair.' On a test given on December 14th her marks were 36 (out of 100.)

Berg's political bias (she had joined the Youth Front Against War and Fascism while still a schoolgirl in Salford) must have shown in her reporting on two voluntary assignments she undertook at Left Book Club meetings on February 18th and March 1st 1938, as Skipsey commented 'fair report. Beware bias' and, for the second: 'Racy but too much bias.'⁵⁴ Her marks improved during her second year on the course and her reporting on the L.C.C. meeting on January 31st 1939 was marked 7: 'gets news but makes indirect, longwinded start. Not quick enough to give authority & get name in the story.' On her last assignment to the Law Courts in May that year she had her first 10: 'Careful' was the only comment.

Berg had decided on journalism as the way into a writing career.⁵⁵ At the end of her first year, in 1938, 'I get a letter signed by G. B. Harrison, my tutor, polite but rather terse, asking me - telling me - to call in and see him. I turned up at [his] rooms. Before he can speak I say haughtily, but fast, to get in first, "I know I'm often late for lectures, and sometimes don't come at all...but I'm perfectly up-to-date with my work...and I really don't see any reason..." He cuts short my indignation by saying - laughingly! - "My dear young lady. I am not complaining about you at all!" He says "I simply wondered if you intend to continue this course." He tells me that most people who come on this course only stay until the *Tatler* prints their picture ("Lady Priscilla who is studying journalism at London University...") - then they're never seen again. So at a certain stage he always asks each student would they oblige him by saying if they intend to sit for the University Diploma...so, won over to sympathy, that I say yes, I do. He says he is pleased, because the stuff I turn in about the other students and the lecturers is very naughty and malicious, but it makes him laugh, and he can do with something to laugh at.'⁵⁶

After the end of the course she did not bother to collect her diploma, so they sent it on to her, with a letter from Harrison saying her English

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Literature paper was the best they had had for many years.⁵⁷ Her autobiography gives us a brilliant evocation of those years.

It only remains to mention Ruth Tomalin, later Leaver, then Ross, who was on the last course starting September, 1938, and, having studied for one year, because of the outbreak of war in 1939, they became the only students awarded a Certificate instead of the Diploma awarded after two years. I had the pleasure of telling Tomalin that her marks in Practical Journalism were the highest of all her year: 84 out of 100. The Munich crisis of September 1938 even caused the University to delay the start of the academic year by one week. Out of the 33 girls and 27 boys entering the Diploma course in September, 1938, Tomalin had begun to write aged five, and, aged ten, her 'A Story in the Rainbow' was published in a children's paper.⁵⁸ When she was thirteen her mother remarked to her father: 'I think Ruth ought to be a journalist' and bought her a typewriter. Inspired by seeing her father, sitting at the kitchen table, writing articles for professional and popular gardening magazines,⁵⁹ Tomalin published her first article in the Portsmouth *Evening News* aged fifteen. At eighteen *The Times* published her first freelance contribution.⁶⁰

The Portsmouth editor had advised her to enrol on the Diploma course and she attended the special evening classes in shorthand at Pitman's London College for those on the course. When war broke out Tomalin was on summer holiday attachment, after her first year on the Diploma, at the Portsmouth paper and the editor offered to continue this, with a small salary. But he was forced to withdraw the offer, explaining to her that the National Union of Journalists would not allow it.⁶¹

Subsequently Tomalin joined the Women's Land Army and, when she married in 1942, asked the editor to take her wedding photograph for the paper as that was the only way her grandparents, living in Eire, could see it as individuals were forbidden to send photographs there during the war. This request had an unexpected outcome when Tomalin was offered full-time employment as a reporter on the Portsmouth *Evening News*, covering the war-time devastation in the city and, later, the preparations for the [1944] D-Day invasion and the VE Day celebrations in 1945.

Like Margery Green, Tomalin ended up working in the BBC during the 1950s while bringing up her son as a single parent. Tomalin gives us the opportunity to witness what life might have been like for those budding journalists at King's College, in her novel for young women in a career series which she wrote as Ruth Leaver: 'There was a steady roar of voices inside the Journalists' Room, which was quite different from any other lecture-hall in the college. Instead of rows of wooden benches and a dais, this was set out like a reporters' room on a newspaper: square flat desks, several typewriters, a telephone and a shelf for street directories [and reference books as well as] books of poetry, plays, history and economics, a shelf to each subject.'⁶² Clare Dane describes her fictional Thames College with its fictional weekly newspaper: '*The Courier* was a weekly paper, with second-year students appointed as Editor, News Editor and Chief Reporter, while the whole faculty worked as sub-editors, reporters or feature-writers. Every Thursday [they] would wait in the composing room to read, and correct, their proofs, finally going down to the press-room to see

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the sheaf of copies rolling out of the press and then carry the copies back to college.'⁶³

Journalism employment for women students

As the Diploma course closed down at the start of the Second World War it was possible to indicate how many women from Tom Clarke's four-year directorship had secured jobs in newspapers and magazines. Elizabeth Beaumont (1938-39) was on the *Daily Mirror*, Marjorie Booth* (1936-38) was women's page editor of the *Natal Mercury*, Evelyn Clarke* (1935-37) was in the editorial department of the *Farmer & Stockbreeder*, Eleanor Currie (1936-38) on the *Sunday Chronicle* then on *The Queen*, J. Joynton-Smith (1937) was a reporter on a Chichester paper, Margaret Lester* (1937-39) on the *Oxford Mail*, and Dorothy Sherris* (1935-37) was a reporter in Gloucester, then on *Vogue*. Enid Zeitlyn* (1934-36) on a Hampstead paper, but then at the Ministry of Information with Mary Bradley (1935-36), Joy Harding (1937-38), Mary Timpson (1938-39) and Margaret Thain (1937-39), and Joan Preston* (1934-36) the first to become an editor the *Acton Times*.⁶⁴

Joan Skipsey maintained records of the remarks made by editors on students' holiday work attachments. A report on July 1st, 1938 listed Easter vacation reports for ten men and eight women second-year students, out of the twenty men and twenty-three women in that year. Although the names in the report were left blank, I have been able to discern who went where.

The *Kentish Gazette* said Miss Leila Rita Goller created a most favourable impression: 'She was keen and displayed a real aptitude for the work and initiative. She did some excellent reports while at Canterbury.' Similarly, Miss Kathrine Sorley Walker, reported the editor of the *Hamilton Advertiser and County of Lanark News* 'showed herself imbued with the true journalistic spirit. At the courts she was quick to pick out the essentials of a case and, most important for a rising reporter, was a good paragrahist...In fact [she] was able to do, and do well, what she was told...We considered her a smart girl with a natural flair for journalism.' Yet Walker never admitted being on the Diploma course and requested that I not mention her name in relation to the course while she was alive. But it is there, in the files, for anyone to see.⁶⁵

The Exeter *Express & Echo*, said of Miss Ursula G. Franklin: 'She is a quick worker, and obliging, and will, I think, do well when fully trained.' The editor of the *Middlesex County Times*, Mr H.T. Hamson, a firm believer in education for the journalist, praised Miss Eileen M.L. Coombe and declared that she 'showed evidence of the usefulness of the London University journalism course. As you know [he wrote] we have taken students here since the course started and Miss Coombe was one of the two best we have had. The other was Miss Joan Preston (class of 1934-36), whom we have employed since she took her diploma.' It is interesting to note that she became editor of the *Acton Times* during the 1940s.

On the basis of these comments we can assess how different were the products of the 1920s Diploma course from those who attended its last four years. They reveal also, how attitudes within newspaper offices had

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changed, in favour of the course. As Mr Hamson wrote: 'My impression is that in recent years students have come to us far better equipped for the job than they did when the course was begun, and I have a feeling that this is due to the influence of Mr Tom Clarke.'

As Skipsey explained in a letter to the Principal of King's College when she returned from the USA, where she was stranded when war broke out in September, 1939: 'All these are the products of Mr. Tom Clarke's teaching. They show that a well-run journalistic course can be an immense asset to young people genuinely anxious to become responsible newspaper men and women, to the profession, and to the country.' Many more were in war service of one kind or another.

While some journalists might have scoffed at the idea of women becoming reporters Vera Brittain (1893-1970) was not among them. She believed that the Diploma for Journalism was the 'next best thing to a degree as preparation for a career in journalism.'⁶⁶ For the long-serving member of the university journalism committee, Emilie Peacocke, writing in 1951, the abandonment of the course could only be deplored as it had ensured 'two years of cultural education after leaving school, and at the same time provided a practical training in modern newspaper production.'⁶⁷ Just what might have been revealed about those years is hinted at by Margery Green, writing to Stella Gibbons reminiscing about their days on the course: 'I kept in touch with some of my fellow students for many years, and came across others in later wartime work. There's a book to be written about those days which could be very funny.'⁶⁸

Table IV
Extract from Ruth Tomalin's Diary for 1938

Thursday 19 th May	Interview for King's College (given a place to read English.) "Coriolanus" at the Old Vic- Olivier, Sybil Thorndike
Wed. 29 th June	Interview (given place for journalism course.)
Thurs. 29 th September	King's term postponed- (Munich crisis.)
Tues. 11 th Oct.	Came to King's. Interview with Dr. Harrison.
Wed. 12 th Oct.	Explored- Library, Journalism Room. English Literature lecture.
Thurs. 13 th Oct.	Economics and Lit. Library.
Fri. 14 th Oct.	Eng.Lit. Walk by Thames.
Sat. 15 th Oct.	Glorious "Hamlet" in modern dress, Alec Guinness (Old Vic)
Mon. 17 th Oct.	Lecture, Dr. Harrison- v. amusing.
Tues. 18 th Oct.	History. Lovely. Practical Journalism.
Wed. 19 th Oct.	Walk in the City. Lord Mayor, St Paul's, Trafalgar service.
Thurs. 20 th Oct.	Economics and Lit.
Fri. 21 st Oct.	Literature. Lit. Soc., discussion on Rupert Brooke.
Sat. 22 nd Oct.	Read <u>Life</u> of Benvenuto Cellini. Walk in Gray's Inn.
Sun. 23 rd Oct.	To Hyde Park to hear Bonar Thompson.
Mon. 24 th Oct.	Lecture from Dr H. Greek dancing 'not prancing about in calico!'
Tues. 25 th Oct.	Thick fog. Practical Journalism. <u>Psycho-analysis</u> and Tehehov's <u>Life</u> .
Wed. 26 th Oct.	Long walk in parks.
Thurs. 27 th Oct.	Economics lecture.
Fri. 28 th Oct.	Professor Isaacs on "Peg's Paper!"
Mon. 31 st Oct.	Wrote English essay (first impressions of King's). Criticism, and Dr H. read translations of Homer.
Tues. 1 st Nov.	Bookshops. Finished "Persephone" (sequence of poems.) Mr Leek [Lieck] (Magistrates' Clerk) on Bow Street Court- v. interesting.
Wed. 2 nd Nov.	Charing Cross Rd. bookshops

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Thurs 3 rd Nov.	Essay tutorial (with Roger Fulford.) Economics
Sat. 5 th Nov.	Wrote article for the <u>Hampshire Telegraph</u> . (Guy Fawkes night in London.)
Mon. 7 th Nov.	Dr H. on Plato. Walk in parks.
Tues. 10 th Nov.	A Century of Poetry (edited by GBH.) Oxford Street. Bond Street galleries, with Olivia.* Coffee in Fortnum.
Fri. 11 th Nov.	Professor John [<i>should be Jacob and he was not a professor while at London University</i>] Isaacs on Chaucer. "Uncle, For Goddessake, come off!"
Tues. 15 th Nov.	Journalism- the great Webb Miller (author of a current success, <u>I Found No Peace</u> .) Report and headline. <u>Eve. They Fly By Twilight</u> (Emlyn Williams.) Quite entertaining.
Wed. 16 th Nov.	Procession- King Carol and Prince Michael
Fri. 18 th Nov.	Lecture on Irish literature. Reading <u>Orlando</u> , V. Woolf- delightful.**
Sat. 19 th Nov.	To "Hamlet" again. Wildly pathetic elfin little Hamlet (Alec Guinness.) Volitmand as Mr. Chamberlain.
Mon. 28 th Nov.	G.B.H. on Longinus.
Tues. 29 th Nov.	Boring Journalism.
Wed. 30 th Nov.	Isaacs on Marlow. "Man and Superman" (Old Vic.) Rabidly Shavian audience.
Fri. 2 nd Dec.	Charing Cross bookshops- <u>Lisa of Lambeth</u> (Isaacs: cp. "The Lambeth Walk!") Marlow, Matthew Arnold.
Mon. 5 th Dec.	Read "Faustus," "Jew of Malta."
Tues. 6 th Dec.	Journalism: gossip paragraphs.
Wed. 7 th Dec.	Economics essay.
Thurs. 8 th Dec.	Test- Tennyson.
Fri. 9 th Dec.	Isaacs on Ibsen- v. good. Eve, carol party- to King's College Hospital.
Sat. 10 th Dec.	Olivia and I to Covent Garden market at 5 a.m., then to Dean's Yard. Eve, carol-singing in Bloomsbury.
Tues. 13 th Dec.	Went to University College library for Ibsen and Shaw books. Carols at Hampstead.
Wed. 14 th Dec.	National Gallery and Tate with Olivia. Eve, "Robert's Wife"- Owen Nares and Edith Evans brilliant. "Put that in your censor and swing it."
Thurs. 15 th Dec.	Found skit on Ibsen in 19 th Century <u>Punch</u>
Sat. 17 th Dec.	Covent Garden again at 5 a.m.
Fri. 23 rd Dec.	I'm 19. Letter from <u>Riding</u> - "Sea Riders" (article) accept
Sun. 25 th Dec.	Snow and robins! Lovely presents- <u>Scoop</u> (Evelyn Waugh), <u>The Green Leaf</u> . A memorial to Grey Owl (Lovat)

* Art student. ** Later (Sept. 30th 1947?) in her tower room at Sissinghurst, Vita Sackville-West showed me the manuscript of Orlando: beautifully bound, 'among my most treasured possession' (Vita, Victoria Glendinning, p. 207.)

Table V
Ruth Tomalin Diary Entries for Munich Crisis September 1938

Saturday 24 th Sept.	Mr. Chamberlain has now flown twice to Hitler- negotiations broken. Tony and Gerald- first rugby matches: and, we hope, not the last.
Mon. 26 th Sept.	In Cosham cinema: programme interrupted by ARP (Air Raid Precautions) warnings, and notices to NCO's: "Full kit to Drill Hall."
Tues. 27 th Sept.	ARP trenches begun. Fleet mobilized. Launching of the "Queen Elizabeth"- the Queen's fine speech. Broadcast by Chamberlain. Tony called up (the London Welsh Regiment)- we don't know where he is. Bought College clothes at Portsmouth- some hopes!
Wed. 28 th Sept.	Parliament met: dramatic scene in House of Commons when Chamberlain announced that Hitler has invited the 4 to Munich. Still hope.
Thurs. 29 th Sept.	King's term postponed. Chamberlain left for Munich amid terrific

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	enthusiasm; he, Daladier, Mussolini and Hitler lunched together. No further news. Searchlights and planes tonight.
Fri. 30 th Sept.	Munich agreement reached, occupation of Sudetenland by Germans going ahead. Chamberlain received gigantic welcome from crowds at Buckingham Palace and Downing Street.
Sat. 1 st October.	Babies instead of schoolchildren were billeted at school! Tony has been on the roof of a factory near Battersea Power Station (anti-aircraft gun site.)
Postscript for 29 th Sept. 1938	My few notes cannot convey the sickening, numbing suspense of these days, or the leaping delight with which we heard that Mr. Chamberlain had been invited to Munich by Hitler, together with Mussolini and Daladier. England's calm organisation, the ARP full precautions, the quiet passive determination to take what may come, the spirit of the hundreds who volunteer daily, men and women, are marvelous. At school the seniors are making gasmasks. But there is no flag waving. If this passes, I suppose we shall forget again: but we have obviously no illusions about war. From " <u>The Times</u> "- Mrs. Minever a gas-mask station. "Lor, you did look a sight. I 'ad to laugh." One had to laugh. " <u>Daily Mirror</u> "- 'I ain't got me.. gas-mask yet." "Lumme Bill, we all though you 'ad it on." In a German train: "you must say Heil Hitler. someday Hitler may be in your country." Dutch passenger: "I wouldn't be surprised. We've got your Kaiser."

Endnotes

¹ Fred Hunter, 1993, entries on the Institute and the Society in G. A. Cevalco (ed) *The 1890s: An Encyclopedia of British Literature, Arts & Culture*. In 1895 Catherine Drew (1825-1910) was elected the first woman vice-president of the IoJ. (See entry in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [ODNB])

² Fred Hunter, 1992, "Women in British Journalism" in Dennis Griffiths (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of The British Press 1422-1992*, p, 688; Joanne Shattock, 1993, *The Oxford Guide to British Women Writers*. p.134-5.

³ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) p. 162.

⁴ Fred Hunter, 1989, paper delivered to the William T. Stead Memorial Society Conference, 'Stead's Encouragement of Women Journalists on the National Press.' p. 6.

⁵ David Rubinstein, 1986, *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s*, p. 95. Margaret Sibthorpe, editor of *Shafis*, commented in its first month in 1892 that "it is remarkable how increasingly women's names come to the front in journalistic work."

⁶ Cynthia L. White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, (London: Michael Joseph, 1970) pp. 58-91 chapter on 'An industry is born'.

⁷ Fred Hunter, 1988, ' "New Woman's" Access to the "New Journalism"' paper delivered to the annual conference of the Research Society for Victorian Periodicals in Chicago, p. 1. Typical articles were 'Journalism, a Desirable Profession for Women' and 'A Guide to Journalism for Women.'

⁸ Emily Crawford, 'Journalism as a Profession for Women' in *Contemporary Review*, LXIV, 362-7, quoted in Hunter, 1988, p. 1 and Mitchell, 1992, in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, XXV, no. 3. 109-13. See also Hunter entry on Crawford in ODNB, 2004.

⁹ Anne M. Sebba, 2004, entry on Eleanora Mary Susanna Vynne (1870-1914), ODNB.

¹⁰ Henry James, 1903, *The Better Sort* reprinted in Leon Edel, 1964, (ed) *Complete Tales of Henry James*, Vol. 12. An "extra special" was usually extra to the normal daily paper.

¹¹ Henry James, 1898, *John Delavoy in Cosmopolis* (Jan-Feb), reprinted in Edel, *ibid.*, Vol. 9.

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¹² In the 1930s, as Mrs Peacocke, she served on the London University Journalism Committee and features as the heroine in Philip Gibbs' novel *The Street of Adventure*, (1910). See also note 62.

¹³ Hunter, 1992, *ibid.*, "Women in British Journalism" pp. 686-90; also see entries on Sir Maurice and Sir Sidney Low, 380-81; Hunter, 1998, 'In Pursuit of a Profession: Teenage Girls Learning Journalism 1890 -1940', 13pp, Paper delivered at the Social History Society Conference.

¹⁴ Frances Low, 1904, *Press Work for Women: A Textbook for the Young Woman Journalist*, (London: L. Upcott Gill, New York: Scribners, 1904), Quotes from pp 2-3.

¹⁵ Mary Grieve, 1964, *Millions Made My Story*, p.30/3

¹⁶ *ibid.* p.32.

¹⁷ R. D. Blumenfeld, *The Press In My Time*, (London: Rich & Cowan, 1933), p. 94.

¹⁸ Adrian Bingham, *Gender, Modernity, and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004) pp 37-42.

¹⁹ Emilie Marshall, *Writing for Women*, (London: A& C Black, 1936) p 1,3.

²⁰ Carol Dyhouse, 1995, *No distinction of sex? Women in British Universities, 1870-1939* provides detail of how university education for girls gained momentum.

²¹ Green, (nee Woods), 1991, interviewed by the author, Friday 28th June. Also, see Hunter, 1998, *Teenage Girls as Journalism Students at London University 1919-39* paper given at the Institute of Contemporary British History's "A Century of the Popular Press" 28pp.

²² Green, *ibid.*

²³ Green, *ibid.*, and Margery Green, 1988, *The Incandescent Years and After*. Green would have visited Bowen at her great-aunt's home in 32 Queen Anne's Gate, London, between 1922-23. In her entry in John Lehmann's *Coming to London* (1967), Bowen does not mention the course.

²⁴ Stella Gibbons, *The Woman Journalist* (Winter 1964/65) p.13, and letter to the author 12th June 1981 and from her nephew and biographer, Reggie Oliver, July 31st 1997, to whom she bequeathed her estate worth £290,000. See ODNB.

²⁵ Green *ibid.* p. 64. See *TLS Centenary Archive* (www.tls.psmmedia.com) for her contributions.

²⁶ Green, *ibid.*, p.118.

²⁷ Ferrars, Elizabeth, *The Woman Journalist* (Summer 1965) p. 15. On her death she left £509,655 to her husband.

²⁸ Alexandra Pringle's 1984 introduction to Bliss's *Luminous Isle* first published in 1934.

²⁹ Elizabeth Paterson, 1999, obituary of Nott in *The Guardian* February 23rd is incorrect in stating that Nott only spent one year on the journalism course. Her estate on death did not exceed £70,000.

³⁰ Yvonne Kapp, 2003, *Time Will Tell. Memoirs*, pp. ix, 63-8

³¹ Kapp, *ibid.* p.78

³² Mary Chamberlain (ed) 1988, *Writing Lives. Conversations Between Women Writers*. Yvonne Kapp talking to Sally Alexander, p.105.

³³ *ibid.* "Kapp was penniless but with some influential acquaintances in the arts and Fleet Street," but she left an estate worth £659,541 in 1999.

³⁴ Hobsbawm, 1999, Obituary in *The Guardian* June 29th.

³⁵ Chamberlain, *ibid.*, p. 109.

³⁶ *ibid.* p. 106, called Joanne but known as Janna.

³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 106/7.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p.110 and Quentin Bell, 1998, *Elders and Betters* p. 11: "I fell in love with Yvonne [in 1929].her voice, her appearance and her mind immensely attractive to me."

³⁹ See also Matthew McFall's entry on her in ODNB, 2004, and Chamberlain, p. 117.

⁴⁰ See the views of E.P. Thompson at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/thompson-ep/1976/eleanor-marx.htm>

⁴¹ Maugham, later Marr-Johnson, Diana (2007) *A Few Yesterdays*, private memoir, the estate of Diana Marr-Johnson.

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ *ibid.*

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ "The thought that death might be round the corner was a powerful incentive towards promiscuity...men were there for the taking" as one woman describes it in John Costello , 1985, *Love, Sex and War. Changing Values 1939-45*.

⁴⁶ Clare Lawson Dick's personal papers, temporarily in the author's custody. Three years before she retired the BBC presentation editor said "If a woman could read the news as well as a man there would be nothing to stop her doing so. But I have never found one who could." On her death she left £351,618 to her nephew.

⁴⁷ Galwey letter to the author April 8th 1982, 3 pp.

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⁴⁸ *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Letter to Tom Clarke, August 26th 1936, 5 pp.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Penelope Mortimer, 1979, *About Time. An Aspect of Autobiography*, p. 160. At death her estate was valued at £275,246.

⁵² Obituary by Giles Gordon, *The Guardian*, October 22nd 1999 and *The Times* of the same date,

⁵³ Report on Employment of 1938 Journalism Diploma Winners, 2pp. The *March of Time* was an American newsreel programme shown in cinemas.

⁵⁴ Victor Gollancz (1893-1967) founded the Left Book Club to help combat Fascism. The best-known title today is Orwell's *The Road to Wigan Pier*, 1937.

⁵⁵ Leila Berg, 1997, *Flickerbook*, p.178, 197. Berg read and amended this entry.

⁵⁶ *ibid.* p. 218/9.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 236. Berg went on to win the Eleanor Farjeon Medal in 1973 for her *Nippers* series of first reading-books in primary schools.

⁵⁸ Letter to the author February 28th 2007. Tomalin retained her maiden name, writing 24 books between 1947-2007. She was married, first, to Vernon Leaver in July 1942, and, second, to W. N. Ross, in November 1971 who died in 2000. She read and amended these pages.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* Her father, T. E. Tomalin, wrote for the *Gardeners' Chronicle* and the scientific journal of the Royal Horticultural Society, as well as *Popular Gardening, Amateur Gardener, My Garden* etc.

⁶⁰ *ibid.* *The Times*, September 10th 1938,; The Stansted Players. The School for Scandal.

⁶¹ Ruth Tomalin Ross was interviewed by the author on Monday July 27th 1992 also quoted in the next paragraph.

⁶² Ruth Leaver, 1955, *The Sound of Pens*, p. 29. Actual students had their own key to access the journalism room at King's College.

⁶³ *ibid.* p.31.

⁶⁴ List checked against Senate lists of Diploma awards and class lists. * indicates awarded the Diploma.

⁶⁵ This silence continues with former radio journalism students from the London College of Printing leaving their attendance out of their *Who's Who* entries.

⁶⁶ Vera Brittain, 1928, *Women's Work in Modern England*.

⁶⁷ 'Advice to young journalists (underlined) The place of women in newspaper work and their opportunities' in *The Journal* of the Institute of Journalists, April 1951, 55-56.

⁶⁸ Margery Green to Stella Gibbons May 18th 1981. Provided to the author by Reggie Oliver.

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Appendix I

First thoughts on Examinations in the National Association of Journalists 1887-88

1. Candidates to undergo a *viva voce* examination in English literature and general knowledge;
2. Condense a column speech into two or three sticks;
3. Write a short essay on some selected subject;
4. Make paragraphs of three incidents narrated by examiner;
5. Correct twenty-four incorrectly constructed sentences;
6. Summarise a balance sheet;¹
7. Shorthand test;
8. Test descriptive writing;
9. Test candidates' grammatical construction of language.²

¹ Items 1-6, *The Journalist*, November 1887 and February 1888.

² Items 7-9, *Journalism*, February 1888.

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Appendix II

INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS
1889

Scheme for an Elementary Examination

Paper 1: English

Time: Two Hours. Maximum: 100 marks

1. Original composition on any two of the following subjects:
 - (a) Essay on a given theme of a general and familiar character
 - (b) Condensation of a supplied newspaper report
 - (c) Comment on a given subject
 - (d) Short essay on a standard book and its author

(Time: One Hour)

2. Elements of English History
3. Outlines of Geography, political and commercial

(Time: One hour)

Paper 2: Languages

Time: Two hours. Maximum 75 marks

1. Latin Essay translation paper, based upon Dr. Smith's *Principia Latina*, Part 1.
2. French, German, or any one modern language: elementary translation paper.

Paper 3: Mathematics

Time: 1½ hours. Maximum 50 marks

1. Simple and compound arithmetic, proportion, vulgar and decimal fractions, percentages, interest, and balance-sheets.
2. One of the following subjects:
 - (a) Algebra to Simple Equations, or
 - (b) Euclid, Book 1.

Oral Examination

Time: not to exceed half an hour. Maximum: 50 marks

It will be the option of the Examiner to put test questions in any or all of the following subjects:

1. Spelling
2. History
3. Elementary Mathematics
4. Geography
5. Grammar
6. Main facts in English Literature
7. Current Events and Notable Personalities
8. Foreign words and phrases in common use.

Source: Institute of Journalists *Proceedings*, 1899

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Appendix III

INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS
Revised Scheme for Examinations
1893

1. Division 1: For the Pupil-associateship
2. The examination of candidates for admission to the class of Pupil-associates shall be as follows:
 - (a) English History
 - (b) English Literature
 - (c) Arithmetic, up to and including vulgar and decimal fractions; with easy questions in algebra and the First Book of Euclid
 - (d) Geography, especially of England and the British Empire
 - (e) Latin, or French, or German, at the choice of the candidate, by translation of an easy passage into English
 - (f) A paper of not less than 500 words on one of six general topics
 - (g) Correction of 12 inaccurately constructed sentences
 - (h) To condense a report of 1,000 words: into a report of from 200 to 300 words; and to write paragraphs upon three incidents briefly narrated by the examiner
 - (i) General Knowledge

The examiners may test, and take into consideration, any candidate's knowledge of shorthand. But examination in the subject shall be optional.

3. Division 2: For The Membership

Candidates for admission to the class of Members shall show a proficiency in the following subjects:-

- (a) The English Language
 - (b) English Literature
 - (c) English Constitutional and Political History
 - (d) Political and Physical Geography
- a sufficient knowledge of:-
- (e) Latin
 - (f) either French or German, at the choice of the candidate
 - (g) Natural Science or Mathematics; and an acquaintance with
 - (h) General History
 - (i) Political Economy

NOTES:

1. Candidates had to satisfy examiners of mastery in *précis* writing, composition, and aptitude at condensation to be regarded as proficient.
2. Papers were to be prepared up to the standard of Oxford or Cambridge Senior Local Examinations, or equivalents.
3. The candidates shall be examined also in:
 - (j) The principles and practice of the Law of the Newspaper Libel and Copyright; and
 - (k) Means shall be taken by paper, or by *viva voce* examination to test the candidate's general information.

Appendices

Division II a. For Special Certificates

- (a) Verbatim Reporting
- (b) Condensation
- (c) Descriptive Writing
- (d) The conduct of the best-known branches of public and legal business.

Candidates passing this test shall be awarded special certificates.

Exemption, etc

Any candidate for the Pupil-associateship who has passed the Oxford or Cambridge Junior Local or any equivalent examination recognized by the Institute shall be exempt from the examination for the class of Pupil-associate; provided that he shall produce a certificate from two Members or Fellows of the Institute, to the effect that, in their opinion, his general intelligence, character, and natural aptitude justify the expectation that he will succeed in and do credit to his profession.

SOURCE:

Institute of Journalists *Proceedings*, 1893 (adapted).

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix IV

INSTITUTE OF JOURNALISTS
Pupil-associates Entry Examination Proposals
1908
SYLLABUS
For the Pupil-associateship

The Examination shall be in the following subjects:-

- (a) ENGLISH LANGUAGE: including:
- (i) an English Essay of not more than two pages of foolscap
 - (ii) *Précis* writing
 - (iii) Paraphrasing
 - (iv) Correction of faulty sentences
- (b) MATHEMATICS: including:
- (i) Arithmetic
 - (ii) Elementary Algebra
 - (iii) Euclid I and III, 1-20 inclusive, or the subjects thereof

N.B. Candidates will be allowed to pass in Mathematics, provided they show excellence in any two parts

- (c) GEOGRAPHY, especially of the British Empire
- (d) HISTORY: general outlines
- (e) LATIN or FRENCH or GERMAN at the option of the candidate. Every candidate must show an elementary knowledge of the grammar of the language which he selects. Questions in translation *from* English will also be set.
- (f) GENERAL ELEMENTARY SCIENCE: Questions will be set on the Text Book published by Messrs Clive & Co., Drury Lane, London.

N.B. The subjects marked (a), (b), (c), (d), (e) are compulsory. Should a candidate be weak in one only of the compulsory subjects, he will be allowed to pass the Examination for the Pupil-associateship, provided that he satisfies the Examiner in General Elementary Science.

SOURCE: Institute of Journalists *Proceedings*, July, 1908.

Appendices

Appendix V

Professor Churton Collins Record of Work, October 15th-20th, 1906

MONDAY At 10.30, 11.30, 12.30 to 1.30, Lectured at the University (of Birmingham) at three different periods; at 5.30 held Essay Class.

TUESDAY At University, 11.30 to 12.30, and 12.30 to 1.30; at 5.30, Interpretative Recitals from De Quincey; at 8.30 lectured on Shakespeare at Tamworth, getting back at 12 midnight.

WEDNESDAY 9.30 to 10.30, 11.30 to 12.30, at University; at 7.30, lectured on 'Romeo and Juliet' at Wolverhampton.

THURSDAY 10.30 to 11.30, at University; left for London by 11.45 train; lectured at Forest Hill on Tennyson, & at Polytechnic, Regent Street, on Shakespeare **

FRIDAY From 9 a.m. to 10 a.m., lectured on Lord Melbourne's Administration & on Aristotle's *Ethics* at Levana, Wimbledon; on the *Iliad* at 12, at South Kensington; on Spenser at Bolton Gardens, at 2.30; on Beowulf, at Gunnersbury Lodge, at 4.45; on Ruskin at Kingston, at 8.15 - six lectures in one day.

SATURDAY Lectured at 11.45 a.m. on Victorian History at Brondesbury.

That I do for ten weeks, except that Tamworth, Wolverhampton, and Forest Hill are on alternate weeks.

** all the London lectures were given as part of the University Extension lecturing scheme of which Collins was a life-long supporter.

SOURCE: Collins: L.E., ed., *Life and Memoirs of John Churton Collins*, 1912, appendix III. Also see my entry on J.C. Collins in Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford, 2000.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix VI

Professor Churton Collins Syllabus for a Postgraduate Course 1908

1. MODERN ENGLISH HISTORY, since the Reform Bill of 1832 with special reference to the development of democratic social legislation, and history of British Institutions.
2. MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY, during the last 50 years... still chiefly occupying the attention of the leading countries, politically, socially, economically... leading facts about institutions, territory, population.
3. COLONIAL AFFAIRS, modern history; practical information about their present state, geography etc.
4. POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY, Burke, de Tocqueville, Bentham, Mill, Bagehot, and modern authors... such works as treat of the *practical duties of citizenship*, as in series edited by Sir Henry Craik.
5. POLITICAL ECONOMY, English industrial development and economic problems of current interest.
6. FINANCE, national and municipal, taxation, public debts, tariffs, and budget.
7. ENGLISH LITERATURE, especially modern English literature and Principles of Criticism.
8. TWO MODERN LANGUAGES, French and German, studied not critically but practically... for conversation and reading.

Four, or five of these eight subjects to be taken if post-graduate, with the possibility of substituting one, or more of the following for the arts subjects:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1) Natural philosophy, elements of physics or mechanics | 5) Elemental Biology |
| 2) Physiology | 6) Geology and Geography |
| 3) Chemistry | 7) Metallurgy |
| 4) Bacteriology | 8) The fundamentals and Principles of Engineering |

SPECIFIC TRAINING IN TECHNIQUES OF JOURNALISM:

1. Descriptive article writing: encouragement to acquire miscellaneous information gained from visits to galleries, University scientific and technical departments.
2. Leading article writing: leaderettes and notes.
3. Shorthand: not compulsory, encouraged to acquire.
4. Practical instruction: in make-up of a newspaper, the management of paragraphs, deciphering and presenting telegrams, and the law of copyright and libel.

SOURCE: *Nineteenth Century*, February 1908, article by Collins.

Appendices

Appendix VII

Proposed Curriculum for Journalism Students at the University of Birmingham
1908

- I. MODERN HISTORY. With special reference to:- Political and Social Development:
 - (a) Development of Europe from the 10th century, tracing the rise and progress of the forces which have made modern Europe,
 - (b) History of Modern Europe since the French Revolution, with special reference to the forces which have moulded the Modern World.
 - (c) Political and social development of England since 1832.

- II. ECONOMICS.
 - (a) Industrial History. Prof. Ashley. 1 term, 10 lectures.
 - (b) Public Finance. Prof. Kirkaldy, ditto.
 - (c) Current Economic Topics. Profs. Ashley, Kirkaldy, ditto.

- III. ENGLISH LITERATURE
 - (a) History of English Literature from the breaking out of the French Revolution to the Reform Bill of 1832 alternating with lectures on particular works, including instructions on the Principles of Criticism. 1 term, 10 lectures.
 - (b) The same subject continued to the Victorian Era...
 - (c) Victorian Literature dealt with in the same way.

FEES: £3. 13. 6., minimum of 12 students.

SOURCE: University of Birmingham, Senate Minutes, dated July 27th 1908.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix VIII

Professor Sadler's Proposed Syllabus, September, 1908.

A new type of Honours School in a University to amalgamate into one course of academic training a number of studies, usually kept separate:

1. ENGLISH LANGUAGE: training in the power of expression of the mother tongue.
2. PSYCHOLOGY: for insight into the working of the mind.
3. LITERATURE: English, French, German.
4. HISTORY: European, American, Oriental, as well as British and Irish.
5. SCIENCE: some training in scientific method.
6. LAW: basic elements for journalists.
7. ECONOMICS: with special reference to problems of social organisation such as poor-relief, invalidity and old-age pensions, solutions for unemployment, the question of military service, and of education. Awareness of foreign experience in these areas.
8. GOVERNMENT: knowledge of the working of the political, educational and government authorities, local and national.
9. PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE: possibly by apprenticeship, or, training newspaper.**

** Sadler infers this implicitly when he states that journalism students needed the equivalent of the Manchester University's 'demonstration' schools for trainee-teachers.

SOURCE: Paper presented to the Institute of Journalists Annual Conference, Manchester, 1st September 1908.

Appendices

Appendix IX

A Course of Lectures by Eminent Journalists held at Trinity College, Dublin,
1908-9

1. 'The London Correspondent' by (Sir) Alfred Robbins
2. 'Some First Principles of the Drama' by Mr. A.H. Walkley
3. 'The Duty of the Press to the People' by Mr. H.W. Massingham
4. 'The Political Cartoon in Journalism' by Sir Francis Carruthers Gould
5. 'The Education of a Journalist' by Mr. J.A. Spender
6. 'The Special Correspondent' by Mr. John Foster Fraser
7. 'The Financial Editor' by Mr. Charles Duguid

(Note: All, except Mr. Walkley, were Fellows of the Institute of Journalists.)

SOURCE: Supplement 'B' to the Official *Proceedings* of the Institute of Journalists, No. 69, July 1909.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix Xa

London University Proposed Syllabus
1910
Academic Subjects Included in the Scheme

Subject	Faculties
Botany	Arts, Science.
British Constitution	Economics.
Chemistry	Arts, Science.
Economics	Economics.
English	Arts.
English Constitutional Law	Laws.
French	Arts.
Geography	Arts, Economics.
Geology	Arts, Science.
German	Arts.
Greek	Arts.
Hebrew	Arts.
History	Arts.
Italian	Arts.
Jurisprudence	Laws.
Latin	Arts.
Logic	Arts, Economics.
Mathematics, Pure	Arts, Science, Economics.
Mathematics, Applied	Arts, Science.
Physics	Arts, Science.
Roman Law, History of	Laws.
Russian	Arts.
Spanish	Arts.
Zoology	Arts, Science.

Appendices

Appendix Xb

London University Proposed Scheme
Technical Course Timetable

1st Year: Term I

Lectures	Practical Work
9.30 to 10.30	10.30 to 12.30
M. History of Journalism	Practical Reporting. Taking notes of Speeches read in class. With criticism
T. Journalistic Shorthand	Informative Note-writing; use of works of reference. With criticism.
W. Ethics of Journalism	Summarisation of Official Documents
T. Journalistic Shorthand	Sub-editing (preparation of copy for Printer. Correction of proof).
F. Typography	Practical Reporting (as above)

1st Year: Term II

M. Journalistic Shorthand	Sub-editing (preparation of copy Correction of proof).
T. Press Law	Practical Reporting (as above).
W. Journalistic Shorthand	Summarisation of Official Documents.
T. History of Journalism	Practical Reporting (Outside Engagement).
F. Practical Reporting (Criticism of overnight engagements).	Informative Note-writing.

1st year: Term III

M. Press Law	Outside Engagement
T. Practical Reporting (Lecture on previous day's engagement).	Sub-editing.
W. Shorthand.	Official Documents (summarization of), Statistics, Finance, Acts of Parliament.
T. Principles of Descriptive Reporting.	Practical Reporting
F. Procedure of Public Bodies.	Editorial Note-writing.

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2nd Year: Term I

Lectures	Practical Work
9.30 to 10.30	10.30 to 12.30
M. Newspaper Finance	Outside Engagement.
T. Lecture on previous day's (week's) engagement (s)	
W. Press Law	Outside Engagement.
T. Newspaper Organisation	
F. Parliamentary Organisation	Sub-editing.

2nd Year: Term II

M. Newspaper Organisation	Outside Engagement.
T. Finance	
W. Paper-making, Ink and Machinery.	Outside Engagement.
T. Parliamentary Procedure.	
F. Criticism of Week's Reporting	Practical Make-up, etc. (University Press).

2nd Year: Term III

M.	Outside Engagement.
T. Stereo-typing and Illustration.	
W. Foreign Press.	Outside Engagement.
T.	
F. Criticism of Week's Reporting.	Practical Work in Make-up, etc (University Press).

Duration of Term about 10 weeks.

Appendices

Appendix XI

University of London Diploma for Journalism Examination Scheme,
1920

Compulsory Subjects:

1. English Composition, including Essay-Writing and Writing for the Press (one paper)

[Graduate candidates shall take *two* of the subjects, 2a, 2b, 2c.]

- 2a. General History and Development of Science (one paper)
- 2b. History of Political Ideas (one paper)
- 2c. Principles of Criticism (one paper)

Optional Subjects:

<p>1. <u>English</u> (two papers) <u>Literature and Criticism</u>, including:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Historical development of English Literature (b) Textual Study of works of Chief Writers (c) Shakespeare's Plays (d) History of Journalism 	<p>5. <u>Economics</u> (two papers)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Elements of Economics (b) Methods of Applications of Statistics (c) Principles of Public Finance (d) Economic History
<p>2. <u>History</u> (two papers) including:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) World History... 19th century (b) English Constitutional History (c) History of British Empire after 1832 (d) Actual Working of the British Constitution (e) The Geographical Factor in the Political & Economic Development of Western & Central Europe. 	<p>6. <u>Biological Science</u> (two papers)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Zoology (b) Botany
<p>3. <u>Modern Languages</u>: (two papers in any language) French, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian, including:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Composition (b) Textual Study (c) History 	<p>7. <u>Physico-Chemical Science</u> (two papers)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Physics (b) Chemistry
<p>4. <u>Political Science</u> (two papers)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Central Government of the United Kingdom (b) Public Administration (c) Psychology of Modern Society (d) Study of Society (e) Social History from 1760 	<p>8. <u>Philosophy & Psychology</u> (two papers)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Philosophy (b) Psychology (c) Logic (d) Ethics

SOURCE: Senate Minutes 2474, July 1920, University of London.

Note: There was no journalism teaching or exam.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XIIIa
National Union of Journalists
Proposed Syllabus
1946

<p>First Year Visits of instruction to large newspaper offices, and, with a senior reporter, to courts, meetings of local government authorities, local ceremonies, inquests, etc. In the early stages the pupil should write a story of each visit. Later he should do some actual reporting. His reports should be compared with what the paper prints, and should be examined by the editor or chief reporter, who should print out their weaknesses. Close attention should be given to grammar and the need for a simple style. Instruction in making calls, telephoning copy, making inquiries, looking up reference books, checking facts. From the beginning he should be taught journalistic etiquette and the Union's Code of Professional Conduct should invariably be observed.</p>	<p>First Year Study Shorthand and typewriting (intensive); students should qualify for a certificate of 100 words a minute at the end of the year. English. The structure and powers of local government authorities. Geography and modern history. Continuing with a second language begun at school.</p>
<p>Second Year Pupils should be marked for suitable engagements at the discretion of the editor or chief reporter. They should start studying the work of other departments, e.g., sub-editing, proof-reading, case and machine rooms.</p>	<p>Second Year Study Shorthand speed practice. More detailed study of local government. English. Elementary economics. Law as it affects journalists. Finance and statistics for journalists. Second language.</p>
<p>Third Year Reporting on a more varied and responsible scale (interviewing, local government, law courts, specials, and preparing press digests). During the last six months, junior sub-editing, including working at the stone.</p>	<p>Third Year Study The structure and functions of Parliament; political ideas and political parties. Industrial history and industrial relations. Law as it affects journalists. Sport or a cultural subject, or domestic science. During the whole period pupils should read selectively, on a basis laid down by the National Council, to widen and deepen their knowledge of the Press and of the Society it serves.</p>

Appendices

Appendix XIIIb
National Union of Journalists 1946
Proposed Syllabus
In
Finance and Statistics for Journalists

Appendix XIIa suggests a three-year course which the National Council might wish to adopt. The subjects, with one exception, are sufficiently indicated by their titles. The exception is:

Finance and Statistics for Journalists. The profession attracts men and women with a literary bias and many of them meet difficulties (which they do not always overcome) in handling figures. Statistical work and accountancy can be left to specialists, but a civilisation which increasingly measures its growth and diversity, estimates its achievements, and discusses its problems in terms of figures cannot be reported by journalists who do not understand figures. 'Number is the language of size', and the modern journalist must understand that language.

It is therefore proposed that a course in finance and statistics for journalists should include:-

- (i) **Elementary Mathematics**, with special reference to comparisons, proportions, approximations, and the quick and easy methods of checking calculations. The approach to the subject is important. It needs to be nearer the style of Herbert McKay's 'Odd Numbers' and W.W. Sawyer's 'Mathematician's Delight' than that of the older textbooks.
- (ii) **Simple Balance Sheets**. (e.g., local societies); the finance of slate, tontine, and similar clubs.
- (iii) **Municipal Finance**. Principles of valuation; principles of rating (local expenditure, precepts from other authorities); Exchequer assistance and the way it works; the Block Grant; municipal trading and profits (explain that the capital of a municipal trading concern is classed as debt which has to be extinguished in a period of years); public works loans boards; sinking fund charges; the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act.
- (iv) **National Finance**. Departmental Estimates and the Budget; the Finance Bill (House of Lords has no power to veto financial measures); forms of taxation, direct and indirect, and main sources of revenue; long-term and short-term borrowing, Treasury Bills, Treasury deposits, advance payment of taxation on account, borrowing from statutory funds such as Road Fund and Unemployment Insurance Fund, War Loan and other Government issues; votes of credit, the Consolidated Fund; National Debt (internal and external); Exchequer returns (weekly, quarterly, and yearly); White papers, Blue Books, and the 'London Gazette' in relation to national finance.
- (v) **Currency**. Note-issuing banks the gold reserve, fiduciary issue, and legal tender.
- (vi) **Commerce**. Relationship of Bank of England to joint-stock banks; the bank rate; merchant bankers, trustee savings banks, Post Office Savings Bank; bankers' clearing house; trade returns, imports exports, re-exports, 'invisible' exports; international rates of exchange (Bretton Woods, etc.); bills of exchange.
- (vii) **Insurance and Other Financial Transactions**. Types of insurance and assurance; 'industrial' insurance, insurance as an investment, endowments, 'with profits' and 'without profits', quinquennial valuations, educational policies, annuities, Government annuities; superannuation funds; finance of building societies and house mortgages; collection of tithe and Queen Anne's Bounty.
- (viii) **Social and Economic Statistics**. The census of population; the census of production; employment and unemployment statistics; statistics of health and housing; wages and earnings; money wages and real wages; the cost-of-living index; the national income.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XIII

London University

Colleges Involved in the Course

1919: East London (Queen Mary, University of London) Bedford College, King's College, London School of Economics, University College.

1922/3: East London College announced withdrawal.

1930/1: London School of Economics announced withdrawal.

1935/36: Bedford College withdrew.

1936/37: University College announced its withdrawal.

1937/39: Diploma for Journalism course centred at King's College.

Appendices

Appendix XIV

London University Diploma for Journalism
At King's College
1937-39

Compulsory Subjects

1. Practical Journalism:

First Year: Introduction to newspaper work. Theory and practice of reporting (elementary). Presentation of 'copy'. Writing for the Press. Sources of news. Collection and transmission of news. Libel. Lectures are supplemented by simple practical assignments, practice at telephone, and the writing of news and articles for the Press generally.

Second Year: Practice (indoor and outdoor) reporting; police work, interviewing, local government and descriptive writing. Assignments are related to actual news or topics of the day. Elementary news-editing and sub-editing; the use of reference books; avoidance of libel; typography and make-up...

While the basis of instruction is newspaper reporting and writing and sub-editing, the students learning these by doing them...

2. English Composition: (a tutorial course)

3. Principles of Criticism: Students will be expected to have read Aristotle's *Poetics*; Lessing's *Laocoon*; *English Critical Essays (XVI-XVII century)*; and *English Critical Essays (XIX century)*.

Importance will be attached to an understanding of present-day movements in art and literature.

4. Social and Economic Structure of Today: to include: Elementary principles of Economic science and the theory of Money, Banking, and International Trade. The economic structure of Great Britain, the distribution of its population, the organisation of its industry and finance. The social structure of Great Britain, the organisation of social services both national and local, and of professional and occupational organizations, to include Trade Unions... methods of social enquiry, royal commissions and departmental committees... sources of social and economic information.

5. History of the Modern World from 1789:

(i) Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789-1815: its legacy...

(ii) Europe, 1815-45: Reaction and Reconstruction; 1838 and 1848 revolutionary movements.

(iii) The Era of the Triumphs of Nationality, 1848-71.

(iv) Europe, 1871- present day.

6. Modern English Literature from 1850: No particular authors or works are prescribed. One lecture course entitled: 'A Reading Course in Modern English Literature.'

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I. 1850-1900: Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Carlyle, Morris, Ruskin, the Pre-Raphaelites, Francis Thomson, Mrs Meynell, the historians and theologians, Meredith, Hardy, Brontë, Kipling, Conrad.

II. 1900 and after.

- (a) The situation in 1900; the post-war period;
- (b) Poetry: Georgian Poets; Imagists; Post-War poetry; with special attention to W. B. Yeats, Walter De La Mare. T.S. Eliot, Edith Sitwell.
- (c) The novel; George Moore; the novel of discussion, H.G. Wells, the Proustians; Dorothy Richardson, James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, D.H. Lawrence, the Americans, the short story; miscellanea.
- (d) The Drama: Ibsen and Shaw; the Irish theatre: Synge and O'Casey; Experiments, O'Neill, the Cinema.
- (e) Miscellanea: essay, biography, criticism, the periodical press.

ONE of the following subjects: (Two papers in each)

A Modern Language, including each case (a) composition, (b) Textual study, (c)

Literary History: Dutch, French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish.

Military Studies

Philosophy

Psychology

History of Art

The Harmsworth Gold Medal

Awarded annually to the best student of the year. The medal endowed by the late Sir Leicester Harmsworth, and first awarded in 1936. The following awards have been made:

1936. Basil Dean

1937. J.C. Clarke

(The medal was also awarded in later years to:

1938. Eunice K. Holland

1939. G.C. Pinnington.)

SOURCE: King's College pamphlet on the course.

Appendices

Appendix XV

Proposed New Syllabus, Diploma for Journalism
at King's College

1938 (for 1940 start)

1. The Course shall consist of the following subjects
 - a. Practical Journalism
 - b. English Composition
 - c. Modern World
 - (i) History of the Modern World
 - (ii) Social and Economic Structures of Today
 - (iii) Discoveries, Ideas and Thinkers that have influenced modern Thought
 - (iv) Literature and Drama (mainly English) 1850 to the present time, but particularly since 1900.
 - d. an optional subject taken from the Inter.Arts Group:
 1. Outline of English Literature, with set books
 2. A Modern Language
 3. Psychology
 4. Philosophy
 5. Military Studies
 6. History of Art

NOTE (c)iii, above) had, as the basis for discussion the following syllabus:

PROGRAMME

- (i) Scientific Discovery in the Natural World, e.g. Darwin and the physical universe. 10 lectures.
 - (ii) Scientific Invention, e.g. aeroplane, wireless etc. 10 lectures.
 - (iii) Religious Ideas of Today. 5 lectures.
 - (iv) Political theories from 1789 to present time. 10 lectures.
 - (v) Critical and Artistic Ideas. 10 lectures.
- (This paper would not be examined.)

SOURCE: Journalism Committee document of November 25th 1938.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XVI

Dr. G. B. Harrison's 'ideal education for a journalist.'

1. ACADEMIC:
 - (a) knowledge of history; European from legendary Greek and Roman- naturally in outline- and personalities (the good old stories rather than 'social tendencies')
 - (b) Great Books- a selection of what an educated man should know- and would include the Bible and the Christian religion, with some (instances) of other faiths,
 - (c) Notions of how the sciences function- including modern theories,
 - (d) Modern questions, and events, in politics, economics and the like.
2. Contact with social institutions, e.g. visits to law courts, Parliament, Local Government, hospitals, prisons. By visits, or even working a while in some of them.
3. Contact with personalities who count. After a while intelligent people would welcome an invitation to mingle with journalism students.
4. Instructors in the School should be chosen for their liveliness and ability to communicate rather than for their academic achievements - but not quacks.
5. PRACTICAL TRAINING: Writing of all kinds - descriptive, reporting, analysis, criticism of current books, plays, films. A period on a real paper each year to learn the routine drudgery of the job.

A book needed is a good anthology of reporting through the ages.

My feeling is that practical journalism, like everything else, is only learned on the job but given good all-round training, a young journalist would learn the job quickly and be saved much tedious muddling. His employer also.

All rather idealistic - but positive. You want an excellent team to start it off.

SOURCE: Letter to the author, 22nd September 1979.

Appendices

Appendix XVIIa

Biographical Details

Tom Clarke (6th June 1884 - 18th June 1957)
1935-39, Director of Practical Journalism, King's College, University of London.

Career

1900-1	Contributor <i>Northern Weekly</i> Attended Ruskin College, Oxford.
1902	Reporter <i>Lewisham Journal</i> at £1 per week.
1903	Reporter <i>South China Morning Post</i> , Hong Kong
1903-6	<i>Daily Mail & Chicago Tribune</i> Special Correspondent in the far East.
1907	Special Writer <i>Daily Dispatch & Manchester Evening Chronicle</i> in Manchester. Article on a flying meeting at Blackpool won him his next job.
1909	London news editor <i>Daily Sketch</i> .
1911	Joined foreign staff <i>Daily Mail</i>
1914-16	Night news editor <i>Daily Mail</i>
1919	News editor <i>Daily Mail</i> . Sent by Northcliffe to USA & Canada to study newspaper methods (salary £250 p.a.)
1920	Planned and organised Dame Nellie Melba's first wireless concert.
1923-6	Assistant editor, Melbourne <i>Herald</i> for his old friend and Northcliffe protégé, Keith Murdoch
1926 to 1933	Managing editor <i>Daily News</i> , which merged with rival <i>Daily Chronicle</i> to form <i>News Chronicle</i> of which he became Editor and Director
1931	Joined the Journalism Committee of London University
1934	Advisor to <i>Berlingske Tidende</i> , Copenhagen. Also with Australian Test Team for <i>Daily Mail</i>
1935 to 1945	Director of Practical Journalism at King's College, University of London (at a salary of £1,000 p.a.) although the course ended 1939.
1936	Visited Keith Murdoch to advise on <i>Sidney Sun</i>
1939-40	Columnist, <i>Reynolds News</i>
1939-40	Deputy Director, News Division, Ministry of Information
1941	Special Representative, Hulton Press, in South America.
1942	With <i>Britanova</i> (News Agency)- a Foreign Office subsidised operation promoting British propaganda
1942-8	Broadcast regularly for BBC Latin American Service <i>London Letter</i> .

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Books

1931	<i>My Northcliffe Diary</i> impressions of Australia.
1934	<i>Marriage at 6 a.m.</i>
1937	<i>Around the World with Tom Clarke</i>
1939	<i>My Lloyd George Diary</i>
1934	<i>The Word of an Englishman</i>
1936	<i>Brian</i> - a book about his youngest son who died aged 9.
1944	<i>The Devonshire Club</i>
1945	<i>Journalism</i> - based on his London University lecture notes, 1935-39.
1950	<i>Northcliffe in History</i>
1954	<i>Living Happily with a 'heart'</i>

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Appendix XVIIIb

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Entry for Tom Clarke

By Fred Hunter

Clarke, Thomas (1884–1957), journalist and broadcaster, was born at 39 High Street, Bolton, on 6 June 1884, the youngest child of five sons and three daughters of Joseph Clarke, a Lancashire-born Irish cotton spinner, and later an insurance salesman, and his wife, Martha Marsh, a Baptist. Clarke attended Clarence Street higher grade school, forerunner of Bolton grammar school, and contributed to Bolton's newspaper, the *Northern Weekly*. Encouraged by his mother and by his eldest brother, the journalist Charles Allen Clarke (1863–1935), he applied to Ruskin Hall where he won a scholarship, going up to Oxford in May 1902, just before his eighteenth birthday. At Ruskin, Dennis Hird guided and inspired his intellectual zest. Following his study in Oxford, he worked on the *Lewisham Journal*, at £1 a week, where his editor, Frederick George Kellaway, remarked that, after a year, Clarke had learned all he needed to know of journalism and urged him to travel abroad.

So at the age of nineteen Clarke went in 1903 to Hong Kong to work on the *South China Morning Post*, and found himself involved in some world shaking events in the Far East. He served as correspondent for the *Daily Mail* and the *Chicago Tribune* in French Indo-China and, at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, visited China, Japan, Korea, and Russia, including Siberia. On his return to London the *Daily Mail* informed him that living in the Far East had put him out of touch with events in Britain and Europe and he retreated to Manchester where Henry Marriott Richardson, literary editor of the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* (later general secretary of the National Union of Journalists), offered him a post at £2 5s. a week. A story about a flying meeting at Blackpool resulted in James Heddle, editor of the *Daily Sketch* (established in 1908 and printed in Manchester), offering him the position of London news editor at £5 a week. This was 1909 and on 1 June 1910 Clarke married his first wife, Elizabeth Naylor Waddington (1887/8–1957), the only daughter of Richard Waddington JP, schoolmaster and educational publisher, of Bolton.

In 1911 Clarke joined the foreign news desk of the *Daily Mail*, serving as night news editor from 1914 until December 1916, when he joined the army, where 'as a signals officer in the Army I ... developed a keen personal interest in wireless' broadcasting (Clarke, *My Northcliffe Diary*). He rejoined the *Mail* in 1919 when Alfred, Viscount Northcliffe appointed him news editor of the *Mail*, and dispatched him on a tour of the United States and Canada to study newspaper production. He relished foreign travel, visiting Northcliffe in various European resorts frequented by the wealthy and famous, and became an ardent skiing enthusiast.

Clarke kept a diary and studied Northcliffe's methods and character, and later published two books on him which reveal much about Northcliffe's working

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methods and place in modern journalism, but provide little analysis of his political influence and are more hagiography than biography.

On 15 June 1920 Clarke secured the first musical broadcast on wireless by arranging for Nellie Melba to sing excerpts from *La Bohème* from the Marconi factory at Chelmsford—a broadcast which was heard around the world. In the following November 1920, the American *Wireless Age* published a two-page interview with Clarke on this 'epochal achievement belonging to the other side of the Atlantic'.

After Northcliffe's death in 1922, Clarke accepted the invitation of Keith Murdoch to become assistant editor of the *Melbourne Herald*; he lived in Australia with his family from 1923 to 1926, and related some of his experiences in his book *Marriage at 6 a.m.* (1934). Then he made what he later regarded as the biggest mistake of his career, and became managing editor of the *Daily News* in July 1926—and editor, as well as a member of the board of directors, when it merged with its rival the *Daily Chronicle* in 1930 to become the *News Chronicle*. Under his influence the paper's circulation rose above one million, and he revolutionized its format to compete with other national newspapers—so much so that Lord Beaverbrook several times tempted him to become editor of the *Daily Express*, but Clarke felt he had to honour his contract. However, the political problems surrounding the *News Chronicle*, not least having to contend with three boards of directors caused by amalgamating the *Daily News*, the *Daily Chronicle*, and the *Westminster Gazette*, forced him to resign in October 1933. A year later he worked, briefly, in Denmark on *Berlingske Tidende*, before returning to the *Daily Mail* to cover the Australian cricket tour of England in 1934.

Clarke's appointment as director of practical journalism for London University's diploma of journalism (really Britain's first professor of journalism), in 1935, was celebrated by a public luncheon in his honour. He had previously lectured at the university while news editor of the *Daily Mail* and served on the university's journalism committee from 1931. In his new position he revolutionized the course. He ensured that it was centred in King's College, and added practical reporting assignments, ably organized by his assistant and former student Joan Skipsey, at the law courts, local government offices, the Port of London Authority, Selfridges, train and travel companies, and so on. These had to be of a prescribed length and submitted before a deadline. Together with the academic tutor to journalism students, the well-known editor of the Penguin Shakespeare books, George Bagshawe Harrison, Clarke modernized the syllabus so that students were taught the background to the modern world.

Although the course closed in 1939, never to be re-established, Clarke's legacy to British journalism continued through the 1980s when Geoffrey Pinnington, the Harmsworth gold medallist in journalism for 1939, became the editor of the *Sunday People*. Clarke condensed his lecture notes, now in the King's College London Archive, to publish a textbook, *Journalism* (1947).

In summer 1936 Clarke toured the world with his daughter Patricia, as his wife was by then incapacitated by the mental illness which affected her until her death. One result of the tour was the publication of *Round the World with Tom Clarke* (1937). About this time Clarke began an affair with Sheila Irene Emily Castle, then wife of Edward Cyril Castle, a journalist and later Lord Castle of Islington. The daughter of Harry Samuel Green, a coastguard officer, she took Clarke's name by deed poll at the birth of their daughter, Judith, although they did not marry until

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1952, by which time he had divorced his first wife. At the outbreak of war Clarke became deputy director of the news division of the Ministry of Information, but he left in 1940, allegedly because of his wife's illness, and most probably to find her suitable care in residential accommodation.

During 1941 Clarke joined Edward Hulton in establishing a chain of specialized news agencies, with a parent company under the title of *Britanova*, and he sailed from Liverpool in September to establish its operations in Rio de Janeiro. Ostensibly a private venture, the company was secretly subsidized by the Foreign Office to counteract German propaganda south of Panama. This operation lasted only a year and resulted in another book, *The Word of an Englishman* (1943), in which Clarke revealed his interest in the writings of William Henry Hudson. He continued with the news agency, but inaugurated a weekly newsletter from London in the BBC South American service which lasted from 1942 to 1948. Clarke suffered his first heart attack in August 1945 immediately after reading his *Letter from London* and a second attack in April 1948 while attending a cattle show in Berkshire. Although the BBC offered to send a mobile studio to record his talks at his Surrey home in Honeysuckle Bottom, East Horsley, Clarke retired from broadcasting but, never one to miss an opportunity, he published *Living Happily with a 'Heart'* (1954).

Clarke had a brisk manner, friendly brown eyes, very dark hair which he kept all his life, and what a friend described as a Lancashire-Irish glow. He maintained his friendships over decades and on his travels met many people with whom he had worked in earlier days. Perhaps his friendship with F. G. Kellaway, later a member of parliament and postmaster-general and a director of Marconi, motivated Clarke's pioneering approach to wireless broadcasting.

Clarke reveals most about himself in his book *Brian*, written in 1936, five years after his youngest son died of meningitis aged nine. Clarke died at 19 Lexden Road, Colchester, on 18 June 1957, survived by his two wives and two daughters, and an American granddaughter. His two sons predeceased him.

Fred Hunter

Sources: F. N. Hunter, 'Grub Street and academia: the relationship between journalism and education, 1880–1940, with special reference to the London University diploma for journalism, 1919–39', PhD diss., City University, 1984, 189–298, appx xvii, xxii · F. D. Bone, "'Close touch with Northcliffe was the gift of a lifetime to me": Tom Clarke, managing editor of the *Daily News* tells the story of his career', *World's Press News* (11 July 1929), 3 · T. Clarke, *My Northcliffe Diary* (1931) · T. Clarke, *Marriage at 6 a.m.* (1934) · T. Clarke, *Round The World With Tom Clarke* (1937) · T. Clarke, *The Word of an Englishman* (1943) · DNB · private information (2004) · b. cert. · m. cert. [Elizabeth Naylor Waddington] · m. cert. [Sheila Irene Emily Clarke] · d. cert.

Archives King's Lond., minutes of the journalism committee · LUL, journalism lectures · LUL, minutes of the journalism committee · priv. coll., minutes of the journalism committee | King's Lond., diploma for journalism archive
SOUND BBC WAC · BL NSA, documentary recordings · BL NSA, performance recordings

Likenesses photograph, repro. in Bone, 'Close touch with Northcliffe'

Wealth at death £8357 14s.: probate, 13 Sept 1957, CGPLA Eng. & Wales

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Appendix XVIIc

Dr. G. B. Harrison (14th July 1894 -1st November 1991)
1929-39 Academic Tutor to Journalism Students, King's College.

Career

1914-19	War service in India and Mesopotamia
1920-22	Assistant master Felsted School
1922-24	Senior Lecturer in English, St Paul's Training College, Cheltenham
1924-27	Assistant Lecturer, English Literature, King's College
1927-29	Lecturer at King's College
1929	Visiting Professor of English, Chicago University
1929-43	Reader in English Literature, London University
1940-43	War service with RASC and Intelligence Corps
1943-49	Professor of English, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario
*1949-64	Professor of English, University of Michigan

*Dr. Harrison mentions 1947 as the year he was invited to Michigan University, but *Who's Who* states 1949 as the year.

Books

12 books on Shakespeare and Elizabethan England and two with co-authors; Editor, Penguin Shakespeares 1937-59. Three volumes of *Elizabethan Journals*, 1928-33, were followed by *The Day Before Yesterday* (1936), 1938, for which he used newspapers, commenting that 'I conceived an enormous respect for *The Times* because of the historic sense of its writers.' *The Profession of English*, 1962 (U.S.A.) gives marvellous flavour of what it must have been like to be taught by him.

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Appendix XVIII

Obituary of G. B. Harrison *The Independent* Monday 25th November 1991 By Fred Hunter

George Bagshawe Harrison, English literature scholar, born 14 July 1894, Reader in English Literature London University 1929-43, Head of English Department and Professor of English Queen's University Kingston Ontario 1943-49, Professor of English University of Michigan 1949-64 (Emeritus 1964-91), married 1919 Dorothy Barker (died 1986; one daughter, and three sons deceased), died Palmerston North New Zealand 1 November 1991.

Few who studied Shakespeare between the 1940s and 1970s will be unaware of the name G.B. Harrison. As editor of the *Penguin Shakespeare* from 1937 to 1959 (with only Hamlet in print till the late Seventies, selling 12,000 copies a year) the 37 volumes were all his own work.

Between 1923 and 1929 he had already edited 15 volumes in the Bodley Head Quartos and 20 volumes in Harrap's *The New Reader's Shakespeare* (1939). The companion volume, *Introducing Shakespeare* (1939), reached its eighteenth edition in 1985. His view is out of tune with modern scholarship: 'To me, criticism is "why I like/dislike this book"'. It is, and must be, a purely personal expression of feeling.' There was no superstructure upon which to hang theories. His aim was to produce texts approximating, as nearly as possible, to what the author originally wrote.

For Harrison the earliest quarto, or folio itself, was the only possible text. So, for 62 years, his quill pen, which features prominently on the dust-jacket of his autobiography *One Man in His Time* (1985), was rarely out of his hand. But he also found time, while writing his book on Essex, in 1936, to contribute 90 seconds of script to Alexander Korda's film *Fire Over England*, for which he was paid £30 a week for three months, and, in 1937, he appeared on BBC television with the actress Irene Vanbrugh.

Born in Hove in 1894, Harrison remembered seeing Queen Victoria in London in 1900, and his sense of history was nurtured early when he visited the battlegrounds of Waterloo, aged about 10, in the company of the trumpeter who had sounded the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. His years at Brighton College were not particularly happy, although he appreciated his Head of School, Miles Malleon, who later made a name in stage and film comedy. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, he was commissioned in the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment, even though he was shortsighted and wore glasses. Posted to India, he twice saw active service in Mesopotamia, and was mentioned in dispatches. After the war he returned to Queens' College, Cambridge, where he had spent a year studying classics in 1913, but changed to the new English *Tripes*, which he considered the future of humane studies for the professions. In 1920 he was awarded first-class honours.

He applied to Gabbittas and Thring (vulgarly known, so he told me, as Rabbit's arse and String) and found himself teaching at Felsted School in Essex, at a salary of pounds 300 a year. There he wrote his first book, *Shakespeare: The Man and*

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His Stage, published by Oxford University Press in 1923, who paid him £20, much to their embarrassment when it later became public.

Then followed two years as senior lecturer in English at St Paul's Training College in Cheltenham and in 1924 he was appointed assistant lecturer in English at King's College, London. His professor, for whom he had the highest respect, was Israel Gollancz, uncle of the publisher Victor Gollancz. In 1929 Harrison became Reader, after spending a year as visiting professor at Chicago.

Although he regarded most of his students as 'not exciting', Harrison remembered Greer Garson, who made her first public appearance in a college production of *Love's Labours Lost*. The next year, 1925, saw the start of his close association with David Higham, the literary agent. It was Harrison's belief that to understand popular literature you needed to be familiar with the gossip of the times, and Higham persuaded him to write a book on Elizabethan gossip. Helen Waddell, then a reader for Constables, urged him to re-write it in the original Elizabethan language and manner. So it was that the *First Volume of the Elizabethan Journal, being a record of Those Things Most Talked of during the Years 1591-1594* came out in 1928, and was reprinted several times. There was a less successful Jacobean series, culminating in 1950. Gollancz somehow evaded London University's complex regulations and enabled Harrison to submit the *Elizabethan Journal* as worthy of a D Litt.

The work Harrison loved was teaching the Diploma for Journalism students at King's. One of them, Philip Marsh, was struck by his brilliant lectures, which opened up major English poets and dramatists in an electrifying way. He was a very enthusiastic and inspiring tutor who kept one up to the mark, as well as being a very kind and thoughtful friend not only in students days but also in years following.

Another, Geoffrey Pinnington, who retired from Fleet Street as editor of the *Sunday People*, said of the syllabus that 'it was very like the liberal arts courses' in vogue in the 1970s.

The Second World War put an end to this putative School of Journalism and Harrison served in the RASC and Intelligence before being appointed in 1943, head of the English department at Queen's University, Toronto, on a salary of \$5,000 a year. Then in 1949 he joined the faculty at the University of Michigan, retiring in 1964 as Professor Emeritus. That year saw the four-hundredth birthday of Shakespeare and he celebrated with lectures in 16 American universities. By then he had fallen out with Penguin and refused to allow them to publish his Shakespeares in America. He knew they were unsuitable for American students, who required something different. (About that time he and his wife became US citizens.) So it seemed natural for him to edit two collections of Shakespeare for Harcourt, Brace and, in 1962, *Profession of English*, which sold over 80,000 copies in the US. This gives a fuller flavour of how he practised the teaching of English, which might startle even today's professors: prominence ought to be given to exact description of events, places, persons, as often a better way of developing self-expression than the writing of critical essays about poems and short stories which they cannot understand anyway.

The *Journals* illustrated his belief 'that the best writing was journalism, on the record of recent events written by those who had experienced them'. But his journal of the year 1936, *The Day Before Yesterday*, published at the time of the Munich, was his biggest publishing flop.

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While several universities awarded Harrison honorary doctorates, none was from an English university. 'What, you still alive?' was the reaction he received at his Alma Mater, Cambridge, in the 1970s. He had become a Catholic in 1940, and, in 1981, for his work as a member of the Catholic Commission on English in the Liturgy, he received a Papal Knighthood of the Order of St Gregory the Great. His humour showed till the end, with the publication, in 1983, of *Man the Lifeboats: Women and Children First! Wimmin's War on Words*, suggesting that: 'Henceforward let the one word for male and female be MAM. Man and mam sound so alike that the change will be absorbed after six weeks.'

After the deaths of all three sons, he moved with his wife, first to Hawaii, where their daughter Joan lived, and when she moved to New Zealand they joined her there in 1976.

Letter to *Independent Monday* December 2nd, 1991
Obituary: Professor G. B. Harrison. By Joan Galwey.

I write with lasting enjoyment and gratitude in acknowledgement of my former teacher and (briefly) employer, G.B. Harrison, writes Joan Galwey further to the obituary by Fred Hunter, 25 November. Sharing his Elizabethan-style family life at Birchanger, Essex, in the summer of 1936, I read out to him every punctuation mark in the First Folio of Henry V, among the birth-pangs of his editing the first Penguin Shakespeare.

There is a subtler achievement for which he should have credit. As his *Elizabethan and Jacobean Journals* suggest, he profoundly appreciated the significance of news coverage in everyday life, with a perception not given to all academics.

As Reader in English Literature at King's College, London, after the First World War he became Dean of the Journalism department. He found the students a brilliant and enterprising lot. In general, Fleet Street and the university regarded the course with equal scepticism, from opposite poles. Only the University of Perth, in Australia, throughout the British Empire, then had a journalism school.

Harrison never lost sight of the main objective - better educated beginners for a profession demanding exceptional maturity from its recruits, who must from day one confront and interpret their fellow creatures.

By 1935 he had been instrumental in all sides agreeing that a top Fleet Street personality should be steering the practical education, and Tom Clarke, earlier Lord Northcliffe's news editor on the *Daily Mail* and then editor of the *News Chronicle*, became Director of Practical Journalism at London University.

The Second World War brought the department's instant demise. But the point was made. In the succeeding decades, higher education has seen journalism as a respectable and necessary offering, and press and radio at any level demand higher general education in their recruits.

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Letter to Independent Monday January 13th 1992
Obituary: Professor G. B. Harrison by Mark A. Bloomfield

Further to Fred Hunter's obituary 25 November and Joan Galwey's note 2 December, I would add that Professor G.B. Harrison took pleasure in writing to strangers who sought his aid, writes Mark A. Bloomfield.

In 1980, I enquired about a paper, attributed to him, read at the Leeds Conference of the Library Association in 1927 and about the role he played in the affairs of the National Home-Reading Union (NHRU): an organisation that was founded by liberal academics and worthies to promote public libraries as 'people's universities' at no cost to the State.

Professor (later Sir Ernest) Barker, of King's College, London, and John Cann Bailey wangled Harrison a place on the Executive Committee and secured for him the editorship of *The Reader* – 'a guide for lonely souls' (he guessed) at a salary of pounds 50 a year - a needful supplement to the pounds 285, net, earned by lecturing. This appointment displeased Clarissa Graves, sister of Robert Graves and Hon Sec of the NHRU. She was 'a prim lady in her late forties, very much one of the literary ladies' establishment who ran the magazine, assisted by a younger woman of enormous bulk named he believed – 'Rynd'.

Harrison admitted taking so little interest in that 'lifeless venture' that he never re-read the magazine; but more trouble threatened when he passed for publication an article on T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* by a Miss Ricard, a student at King's College, who asserted that the seduction of the typist (1.1.249-57) was an accurate description of the behaviour and sensations of a young woman having a casual affair. This outraged the Hon Rev Dr Edward Lyttelton, ex-Headmaster of Eton, who was 'furious that anything abhorrent should be mentioned in the pure pages of the magazine of the NHRU and wrote to Barker that he would denounce it (and me)'.

Harrison stood his ground; but he resigned as editor when his earnings from his own writings, including Shakespeare, the Craftsman, on the NHRU's list for 1927, increased. However, his liberal tendencies did not commend him to those whose narrow vision prevented them from appreciating the humanising effect of contemporary literature, and he lamented the stultifying influence of those academics for whom post-Chaucerian literature held no interest.

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Biographical details

Sir Sidney Lee (5th December 1859-3rd March 1926)
First Chairman of the Journalism Committee, London University
Career

1882	Sub-editor to Sir Leslie Stephen on Dictionary of National Biography
1883	Appointed assistant editor at £300 p.a.
1890	Joint Editor DNB
1891	Editor DNB
1906	Founded English Association (President 1917)
1913-1924	Chairman of English Language and Literature at East London College
1911	Knighted
1911	Lectured at Working Man's College, Mile End Road
1919-21	Chairman, Journalism Committee, London University

Books:

1898 *Life of William Shakespeare*

Valentine Knapp (1860-1935)
Chairman, Journalism Committee, London University, 1922-1932
Career

1860-1876	Educated at Christ's Hospital and first worked as a Parliamentary agent.
1882	Joined <i>Surrey Comet</i> which his mother had managed for 15 years following the death of his father.
1887-1917	Editor, <i>Surrey Comet</i> .
1919-21	President of reconstituted Newspaper Society.
1923-34	Treasurer, Newspaper Society
1922-32	As Chairman of the Journalism Committee Mr. Knapp raised £6,000 for Exhibitions to students attending the course and also instituted the practice of students getting work during vacations on newspapers. He also printed and provided paper for the <i>L.U.J.S. Gazette</i> , the student newspaper of the course. He is also credited with helping find students jobs at the end of the course.

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Miss Joan Skipsey (later Mrs Galwey) (21st August 1915-January 1999)
 Assistant to the Director of Practical Journalism, 1937-39
 In childhood Miss Skipsey attended Wanstead School, in East London, and failed Matriculation twice.

Career

1932	Worked on <i>The Caxton</i> for three months before joining Amalgamated Press on <i>Home Fashions and Children's Dress</i> .
1934-6	Attended the Diploma for Journalism at King's College, with Clarke joining as Director in her second year.
1936-37	Invited to work as Dr. G.B. Harrison's secretary when he first started work on the Penguin Shakespeare series. Then went to work for Allen Lane at Penguins, and is surprised the biographer of Allen Lane describes her as his first woman hired. (Her name is also misspelt as 'Skipsie')
1937-39	Appointed Clarke's assistant at King's College
1939-41	Worked in British Press Service, which became British Information Services, under Rene McColl
1941-42	Worked on the <i>Daily Telegraph</i> .
1942	At Ministry of Information, American Division, dealing with U.S. correspondents.
1945	Lecture tour of Mid-Western States, USA for British Information Services
1947	Staff writer, <i>Illustrated</i> .
1948	Invited to be reporter on Oscar Stauffer's (d. 1982) <i>Topeka State Journal</i> ; returned home to care for parents.
1949	Attended short teacher training course at Royston. Taught at Shelley and Ongar primary schools and involved in teaching day-release students on the National Council for the Training of Journalists course at West Ham College of Further Education (no dates given, but after 1951).
1951	Married Geoffrey Galwey.
1966-77	Worked for the Citizens' Advice Bureau, Notting Hill, London.

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Joan Skipsey Biography
By Fred Hunter

Joan Skipsey (1915-99) was both a student and, later, a staff member of the fledgling journalism department at King's College, London University, graduating with the Diploma for Journalism in 1936. Halfway through her two-year course, in 1935, Tom Clarke arrived as Director of Practical Journalism. Joan had been a journalist on the Amalgamated Press before joining the King's course and, on graduating in 1937, worked for Allen Lane, then founding Penguin Books, before moving to assist Dr. G. B. Harrison, whom she knew as academic tutor for King's journalism students, when he undertook the editorship of the Penguin Shakespeare Series. After a year in post, Clarke found himself overwhelmed with over 100 journalism students and Joan was appointed to assist him in 1937 becoming, in effect, the first woman to teach journalism at a British university. Since the journalism course expected students to report London events Joan co-ordinated with major national and local government agencies, commercial and legal organisations, as well as newspapers and advertising agencies, setting students practical journalism assignments to be reported, written up, and submitted to deadline. She also arranged visiting lectures by leading journalists of the day (which were also often reported and marked by her and the lecturer.) Joan relieved Clarke of this administrative burden becoming the taskmistress concerned with both the arrangement, and marking, of assignments, subject to Clarke's final approval. On the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939, Joan was stranded in New York where she worked under Rene MacColl (1905-71) at the British Information Services, where she first met the British-born novelist and poet, Doris Peel (1907-90) with whom she shared an apartment and who became a life-long friend. Back in England in 1941 Joan worked first for the *Daily Telegraph* before joining the American division of the Ministry of Information, undertaking lecture tours of the mid-western States of America from 1942-45. After the war Joan worked fleetingly as a staff writer on the magazine *Illustrated* before returning, to the USA, in 1948, to work on the *Topeka State Journal*. By 1951 she was back in England to marry Geoffrey Galwey and gained some experience teaching day-release journalism students at West Ham College before taking a full-time post with the Notting Hill branch of the Citizen's Advice Bureau until 1977, when she retired to Walberswick where she died in January 1999.

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Appendix XIX

'Journalism and English' by Fred Hunter.

An article for *Media Reporter* 6(3) September 1982.

A look at early examination proposals for entrants to journalism, 1887-1939.

There is an interesting sense of continuity and development as you study the various plans of the early National Association of Journalists and its successor, the Institute of Journalists, regarding entry examination proposals. As far as is known only one such entry examination ever took place, but the columns of the *Journalist*, *Journalism*, and the IoJ's *Proceedings*, reverberated to the sound of battle over the thorny subject of examinations for journalists.

The early N.A.J. ideas of 1887/8 contained an intriguing plan for a *viva voce* examination in English literature and general knowledge. You have to remember that, at that time, English, as a subject, had not entered the portals of Oxbridge as a subject in its own right. If it was anything, it came under philology. Journalists actually led the academics here, as in other areas of educational innovation of 'learning-by-doing.'

Those early proposals also included tests on grammatical construction of language as well as testing the ability to condense a column speech into two or three sticks. Shorthand was included, and you were also expected to know how to summarise a balance sheet. The latter, incidentally, reflects that innovatory journalist T.P. O'Connor's - 'Tay-Pay' to all, even when an M.P.- experience of his first reporting stint. He had to cover a company meeting and his university Greek (the Irish journalist often sported a degree) was not much use to him there. Greek is how the balance sheet looked to him, to coin a phrase.

Similar ideas were in the next exam syllabus of 1889. This was the work of the Birmingham District of the IoJ, but was not published, nationally, until 1899, when it was adopted as a national proposal. Languages, like Latin, French, German, caused a stir, as did the proposal to use Book I of Euclid. 'Who ever heard of using Euclid in journalism?' scoffed one correspondent. But the idea of an Oral Examination in grammar, current events and notable personalities, plus spelling and history, was retained.

The next scheme was in 1893 and was heavily academic, emphasising book learning as well as practical things like libel and copyright. Another scheme, in 1908, introduced the pupil-associate entrant examination, and it, too, carried an English Language paper.

The first known university syllabus for journalists was produced the same year in July, 1908, but it never got off the ground because of the mysterious death of its main protagonist, Professor John Churton Collins, a workaholic of his day.

1908 was the vintage year in ideas on journalism education. That year Professor (later Sir) Michael Sadler, of Manchester University, prepared a paper for the annual conference of the IoJ and he led with 'English Language... as training in

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the power of expression of the mother tongue' as the basis for journalists. He followed this with psychology: 'for insight into the working of the mind,' and Economics, looking at 'poor-relief... solutions for unemployment and problems of social organisation.' He also favoured the idea of a 'training newspaper' for students of journalism, like the 'demonstration' schools Manchester University provided for its trainee teachers. His letters, however, indicate he thought these a load of 'clap-trap' (it always surprises me how modern the Victorians were in their slang.)

In 1935 the Director of Practical Journalism at London University, Mr. Tom Clarke, former news editor of the *Daily Mail* and ex-editor of the *News Chronicle*, bemoaned the policy of some London colleges in selecting students for the journalism course who could not write English. Yet, between 1935-39, his colleague, the academic tutor for journalism students at King's College, spent half an hour every fortnight going over English Composition work students had prepared, on any subject they chose. Dr. G.B. Harrison edited the Penguin Shakespeare series from the mid-1930s until the 1950s. But this feedback from this tutor was the only feedback students received on their academic work. The journalism they undertook- covering events of the day- was usually returned, marked, the next day by Clarke's Assistant, Miss. Joan Skipsey (later Mrs. Galwey).

Tom Clarke had a phrase for what he taught - which former students still emphasise - and that was 'trained thought' as the basis for good reporting. The course closed on the outbreak of the 2nd World War and never re-opened. How effective this university-based education for journalism might have become, if it had developed after 1945, is difficult to establish, but that it did work for some former students can be judged when hearing Geoffrey Pinnington, recently-retired editor of the *Sunday People*, describing his days on the London course, from 1937-39: '... it stayed with me a lot of it... it helped with my thinking; and thinking is what (journalism) is all about, in the long run.' (See companion web-site with archive audio for this interview.)

At the London College of Printing - in our fifth year of running a course in radio journalism - we find that the 'power of expression of the mother tongue' is what counts, and that was said nearly 80 years ago now, and we are still having to learn just how important it is. Of course, there is much more, but it is the nucleus of what journalism teaching has been concerned with - for nearly 100 years have passed since David Anderson opened his London School of Journalism in 1887.

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Appendix XX

**University of London Journalism Exhibitions
1924-1928**

**Donors of Exhibitions.
(Each of the value of £200)**

The Newspaper Society (Three Exhibitions)	The United Newspapers (1918) Limited (Proprietors of the Daily Chronicle)
The Liverpool Post and Echo (Two Exhibitions)	
Sir Edward Hulton, Bart (the late)	The Eastern Daily Press
Sir Roderick Jones (Reuters Limited)	National Union of Journalists
Colonel Sir Joseph Reed	Western Mail and South Wales News

Subscribers.

London Newspapers and News Agencies.

The Daily Telegraph	Reuters Limited	The Exchange Telegraph Limited
The Daily Sketch and Sunday Graphic	Mr. W. Lints Smith The Press Association Limited	Lord Hambelden

Provincial Dailies.

Manchester Guardian	Birmingham Gazette	Staffordshire Sentinel
Bolton Evening News	Sheffield Independent	
East Anglian Daily Times	Nottingham Journal	Sussex Daily News
Express and Echo, Exeter	Northern Echo	Western Mail
Huddersfield Examiner	Other newspapers associated with 'Starmer' group	Yorkshire Observer and associated newspapers

Yorkshire Newspaper Society.

Yorkshire Post	Hull Daily Mail	Cleckheaton Guardian
Yorkshire Observer	Armley and Wortley News	Rotherham Advertiser
Yorkshire Evening News	Heckmondwike Herald	Scarborough Mercury
Sheffield Telegraph	Huddersfield Examiner	Harrogate Herald
Sheffield Independent	North Easter Daily Gazette	Colne Valley Guardian
Yorkshire Herald	Batley News	

Surrey Newspapers' Association

Croydon Advertiser	Surrey County Herald	Surrey Mirror
South London Press	Surrey Comet	Surrey Times
South Western Star	Surrey Herald (Chertsey)	Wimbledon Boro' News
Surrey Advertiser		

Kent Newspaper Proprietors' Association

Chatham, Rochester and Gillingham Observer	Folkestone Herald	Kentish Independent
Chatham, Rochester and Gillingham News	Isle of Thanet Gazette	Kentish Mercury
	Kentish District Times	Lewisham Borough News
	Kentish Express	

Appendices

Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire Newspaper Proprietors

Bolton Evening News	Blackpool Gazette	Southport Guardian
Lancashire Daily Post	Bury Times	Stockport Advertiser
Northern Daily Telegraph	Lancaster Guardian	Warrington Examiner
Ashton-under-Lyne Herald	Oldham Chronicle	Warrington Guardian
Ashton-under-Lyne Reporter		

Midland Federation of Newspaper Owners

Three Shires (Worcester, Gloucester and Hereford).	Staffordshire	Warwickshire
Dursley Gazette	Burton-on-Trent Observer	Birmingham News
Evesham Journal	Dudley Herald	Birmingham Gazette
Evesham Standard	Express & Star, Wolverhampton	Coventry Herald
Gloucester Citizen and Journal	Lichfield Mercury	Coventry Standard
Gloucester Echo	Oldbury Weekly News	Leamington Chronicle
Hereford Times	Smethwick Telephone	Leamington Spa Courier
Kidderminster Shuttle	Stourbridge Telephone	Midland Daily Tribune
Leominster Times	Tamworth Herald	Nuneaton Chronicle
Ross Gazette	Walsall Observer	Nuneaton Observer
Stroud News	Shropshire & North Wales	Rugby Advertiser
Three Forest Newspapers	Oswestry, Border Counties Observer	Warwick Advertiser
Wilts & Glo'stershire Standard	Wellington Journal	Stratford-on-Avon Herald
Worcester Advertiser	Welshpool, County Times	
Worcester Times	Wrexham Leader	
Worcester Journal		
Worcester Echo		

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Appendix XXI

Exhibitions for Journalism.

Application for particulars of Exhibitions, if any, to be offered in 1938 should be made early in that year. The Regulations for the Examination in June 1937 may be obtained from the Academic Registrar, University of London, Bloomsbury, W.C.1.
The Exhibitions are of the value of £120 to £200, i.e. £60 to £100 per annum and tenable for two years.

Donors of Exhibitions offered in 1938:-	(Donors of Exhibitions 1929 continued: 3.Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire Newspaper Proprietors (Second Exhibition) (value £200).
1.	4.Members of the Midland Federation of Newspapers Owners (Second Exhibition) (value £160).
2.	Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1928:-
Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1937:-	1.The Newspaper Society (Third Exhibition) (value £200).
1.Newspaper Society (Seventh Exhibition) (value £150)	2.London Newspapers and News Agencies (Two Exhibitions, value £160).
2.Newspaper Proprietors' Association (Fourth Exhibition) (value £150)	3. (£160 each).
No Exhibitions were awarded in 1936.	4.Members of the Surrey Newspapers' Association and of the Kent Newspapers' Association (jointly, Second Exhibition) (value £200).
Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1935:-	5.Proprietors of Provincial Daily Newspapers (Second Exhibition) (value £200).
1.Newspaper Society (Sixth Exhibition) (value £150)	Donors of Exhibition (each of the value of £200) awarded in 1927:
2.Newspaper Proprietors' Association (Third Exhibition) (value £150)	1.The proprietors of the <i>Liverpool Post and Echo</i> (Second Exhibition, per Mr. Allan Jeans).
Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1934:-	2.Members of the Midland Federation of Newspaper Owners.
1.Provincial Newspaper Proprietors (value £150)	Donors of Exhibition (each of the value of £200) awarded in 1926:
2.Stationers' and Newspaper Makers' Company (value £150)	1.The Newspaper Society (Second Exhibition).
Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1933:-	2.The Press Association, Ltd., and the Exchange Telegraph Co., Ltd (jointly).
1.Newspaper Proprietors' Association (Second Exhibition) (value £150)	3.The Proprietors of the <i>South Wales News</i> , Cardiff, and the Proprietors of the <i>Western Mail</i> , Cardiff (jointly).
2.Newspaper Society (Fifth Exhibition) (value £150)	4.Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire Newspaper Proprietors.
No Exhibitions were awarded in 1932.	5.Members of the Surrey Newspapers' Association and of the Kent Newspapers' Association (jointly).

Appendices

Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1931:-	(Donors of Exhibitions 1926 continued) 6. Proprietors of Provincial Daily Newspapers.
1. Newspaper Proprietors' Association (value £150).	Donors of Exhibitions (each of the value of £200) awarded in 1925:-
2. Proprietors of various Newspapers (Two Exhibitions) (value £140)	1. Sir Edward Hulton, Bart. (the late),
3. and £120).	2. The Proprietors of the <i>Liverpool Post and Echo</i> (per Mr. Allan Jeans).
Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1930:-	3. The United Newspapers (1918) Limited, proprietors of the <i>Daily Chronicle</i> (per The Rt. Hon. Charles A McCurdy).
1. London Newspapers and News Agencies (Two Exhibitions) (value	4. The National Union of Journalists.
2. £150 each).	5. The Yorkshire Newspaper Society.
3. Institute of Journalists (value £160).	Donors of Exhibitions (each of the value of £200) awarded in 1924:-
4. The Newspaper Society (Fourth Exhibition) (value £200).	1. The Newspaper Society.
5. The National Union of Journalists (Second Exhibition) (value £200).	2. Sir Roderick Jones (Reuters).
Donors of Exhibitions awarded in 1929:-	3. Col. Sir Joseph Reed (<i>Newcastle Chronicle</i>).
1. General Exhibitions Fund, subscribed by Newspaper Proprietor (value £160).	4. The Norfolk News Co., Ltd. (per Mr. A. Cozens-Hardy).
2. The Yorkshire Newspaper Society (Second Exhibition) (value £160).	5. The Surrey Newspapers Association.

SOURCE: Syllabus of Courses, Diploma for Journalism, 1938-1939.

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Appendix XXII

National Union of Journalists

Extract from a letter to Education Committee Members from H.S. Toynbee,
22nd August, 1944.

(1) UNIVERSITY OF LONDON DIPLOMA FOR JOURNALISTS (Confidential)

The Journalism Course is estimated to cost an initial outlay of £2,000 and, if the University can provide floor space, £1,000 a year (after allowing for fees) or if the floor space cannot be given, £2,000 a year.

(Figures based on 120 students - i.e. 60 doing the first year, 60 doing the second - 'the maximum number which it is thought that the profession can absorb').

Before going to the Senate with estimates, the Journalism Committee is asking us - and other interested bodies - whether the project has our full support and if so how much we are prepared to contribute.

The scheme to be submitted to the Senate will be available at the meeting. Its heads are:

Conditions of Admission. These include intention to pursue a journalistic career, and a knowledge of shorthand and typewriting.

Syllabus.

Courses. Practical work is to take up one day a week.

Staff. - (1) Director (2) Secretary and Assistant (3) and (4) two part-time lecturers in Practical Journalism (5) Provision for 12 lectures on special subjects in practical journalism (6) Tutor to journalism students (7) part-time lecturers in various subjects. Cost- £5,000 per annum.

Accommodation. Cost £1,000 a year if University cannot provide it free.

Furniture and Equipment. Cost £2,000 initial outlay (of which £5,000 for books of reference).

Administration. Cost £1,000 per annum.

Income and Expenditure. Proposed fee is 40 guineas per annum, plus one guinea registration. This yields £5,000 per annum. The expenditure is £7,000 per annum - deficit £2,000 p.a.

The Journalism Committee of the University 'particularly asks' that we treat this information as confidential until the Senate has come to a decision.

Yours sincerely,

H.S. TOYNBEE.
Education Officer.

Note: Compare costs with those in Chapter 6, p 28/9

Appendices

Appendix XXIII

Tom Clarke's letter to *The Times*, Saturday, August 18th 1945.

STUDENT JOURNALISTS

Sir, The reference to journalism in Mr. A.L. Rowse's letter on university students emboldens me to offer some observations on the present state of university education for journalism in this country. It is, of course, in no state at all. I mean in the specialized sense. The University of London diploma course for journalism was a sudden war-time casualty, just as it was getting into its stride. There is no sign of its early revival, and I think I am right in saying that no other university in Great Britain has any authentic links with the profession of journalism.

Is this as it should be? Because of my association with the pioneer London University course I am receiving many enquiries from home and abroad about its future. Is it to go forth that neither in London nor anywhere else in Great Britain will there be a university offering studies for would-be journalists? I am aware of the serious difficulties of accommodation, staff, multiplicity of students, and so on. I am also aware of the distinction between 'education for journalism' and 'training for journalism.' I deeply appreciate the jealousy of academic bodies regarding their standards and their fears of endangering them by the merging of academic and practical studies which is essential in any journalism worthy the name. But surely that stumbling-block can be overcome by goodwill and understanding. It has been overcome in the United States. The alternative to journalism at the universities might be a journalism society - such as the Law Society - providing its own programme of studies, its professional code, and its avenues of recruitment; but this seems something afar off.

This Second World War has brought about changes in our education system which must affect journalism. The standard of education for routine newspaper work will need to rise above the common level. No field of human endeavour will call for a wider variety of powers of intellect and character than that of the men and women who report and write for the Press. News will travel faster and get sooner out of hand. It will need to be presented as never before in this bewildered world with knowledge, with truth, with balance, and with decency. It will no longer do if it has not the power of knowledge behind it. Journalism and the universities should get together.

Yours sincerely,

TOM CLARKE.

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Appendix XXIV

Press Studies at Sussex

1. The University of Sussex has been interested for the last two years in the idea of setting up a Centre for the study of communication in modern society.

2. The Centre would be concerned with:

- (a) an examination of the relationship between the techniques and arts of communication.
- (b) an analysis of content and performance.
- (c) problems related to the impact of one medium of communication on another.
- (d) problems connected with recruitment, training and education of people engaged in this field.
- (e) conferences, refresher course and workshop activities designed to bring together people engaged in the field and people inside the university.

3. It has always been recognized that the setting up of such a Centre requires careful planning and the fullest possible cooperation of interested bodies and organizations outside the university. It has also been recognized that the best way of proceeding is to move step by step rather than to seek to set up a large institutional complex at once.

4. Work is already beginning on television in the university with the help of outside funds, and it is now suggested that pilot work could begin concerning the Press. The difficulty in relation to this latter development has always been that of finding the right kind of person who would be able to explore possibilities and initiate plans.

5. It is now understood that Mr. Tom Hopkinson would be interested in a Senior Research Fellowship at the university to carry out for two years a pilot survey:

- (a) of questions relating to the recruitment, training and education of journalists and
- (b) examining the changing role of the Press in the communications network.

If funds are available, such pilot work could begin in October, 1968. It could be decided during this period what long-term pattern of organisation and activities would be desirable.

6. To make a Senior Research Fellowship of this kind possible- and the university has a similar Fellowship already in existence- a sum of £5,000 a year would be necessary for each of the two years. This would pay for the Senior Research Fellow and secretarial help, allowing a margin for necessary costs of travel and administration.

March 1966.

Asa Briggs, Dean,
School of Social Studies.

Appendices

Appendix XXV

National Council for the Training of Journalists
6 Carmelite Street, London E.C.4.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY APPEAL
LIST OF DONORS

Donor	£
Westminster Press	1000
United Newspapers	1000
Thomson Organisation	1000
International Publishing Corporation	1000
Birmingham Post & Mail, Coventry Evening Telegraph, Cambridge News	800
National Union of Journalists and National Training Council (royalties from a jointly produced book)	500
Kent and Sussex Courier, Tunbridge Wells	500
East Midland Allied Press, Peterborough	500
Yorkshire Conservative Newspaper Co., Leeds	500
Bristol United Press	500
Portsmouth and Sunderland Newspapers	500
Eastern Counties Newspapers, Norwich	300
Tillotsons Newspapers, Norwich	210
F.J. Parsons Ltd., Sussex	200
Berrow's Newspapers, Worcester	105
Express & Star, Wolverhampton	100
Worthing Herald	100
Kent Messenger, Maidstone	100
Oldham Evening Chronicle	50
Evening Argus, Newport	50
Halifax Courier	50
Croydon Advertiser Group	50
Home Counties Newspapers, Luton	50
Surrey Comet, Kingston	50
Merritt and Hatcher Ltd.	50
Barnet Press Series	50
London Counties Newspapers	50
Kentish Times Series, Sidcup	50
Chronicle Advertiser, Mansfield	50
Surrey Advertiser Group, Guildford	50
Parliamentary Press Gallery	50
Guild of British Newspaper Editors	50
Institute of Journalists	50
Private donation	50
Total:	£9,715

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Appendix XXVIa

Articles in the National Union of Journalists' *The Journalist*

Year	Month	Article and author
1923	April	The Education of the Journalist (Stanley J. Bond)
1925	July	Education for Journalists (I) Existing Facilities
	August	Education for Journalists (II) Organised Reading Scheme (both articles by H.T. Hamson)
	October	Journalists' Education Problem. An Appeal to British Universities (Education Committee letter to Universities)
	September	Education for Journalists. N.U.J. Reading Course
	November	Literature and Journalism (I) Origins - 17 th Century (by J. Isaacs, Assistant Lecturer in English Language and Literature, King's College, University of London)
	December	Journalism and French History. The History of Modern France. (by A. Elizabeth Levett, Lecturer in History, King's College)
1926	January	Journalism and Literature - II - Progress and Politics - 18 th Century (by J. Isaacs)
	March	Journalism and Literature in the Age of Johnson. (by Kathleen C. Nott, University of London Diploma for Journalism 1925, Exhibitioner of Sommerville College, Oxford, 1926)
	April	Journalism and Literature - 1800-1830 (by G.B. Harrison, Assistant Lecturer in English Literature, King's College)
	May	Education: The Lasting Ferment (from 'A Correspondent') Journalists' University Courses (Southampton)
	October	Power and Functions of Local Government. (by John J. Clarke, author of 'The Local Government of the United Kingdom.')
	December	On Learning and Earning. A Journalist's Best Education. (by R.L. Megroz, Author of Walter de la Mare: a Biographical and Critical Study. 'The Sitwells, 'Joseph Conrad', and 'Personal Poems.')
1927	February	Industrial History of England. The Progress of Manufacture and Commerce (by Professor A.W. Kirkcaldy, MA, B.Litt., M. Commerce, of the Economics and Commerce Section of University College, Nottingham.) Pertinent Tips for Reporters. Made in America, But Useful Elsewhere (Oregon University School of Journalism.)
	March	A Great Chance for Union Members. Educational Courses by Post. Pitman's School Makes a Splendid Offer. What is Psychology? (by F.A.P. Aveling, MC, PhD, D.Sc, University Reader in Psychology, King's College, London.)
	April	Books about Journalism
	May	Books about Journalism
	June	Lectures for Journalists. Interesting Experiment at Liverpool. How the Scheme was Worked. (by J.G. Gregson.)
	September	International Training for Journalists. (by A. Goodhead.)
1927	November	Useful Lectures for Working Journalists. Liverpool's Good Example (by J.G. Gregson, N.E.C.) Training and Tests for Journalists. Should the N.U.J. become the Pioneer? (by T. Cox Meech, Education Committee.)
1929	January	Lectures to Liverpool Pressmen
	January	Descriptive Reporting in Newspapers. How it is, and Might Be, Done. (by Edith Shackleton.)
	February	The Art of Leader-writing (by H.M. Richardson)
	March	Journalism at London University. Report on Exhibitions
	March	The Art of Sub-editing (by F.J. Mansfield)

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April	Books for Journalists (includes Francis Gribble's subtitled 'The First School of Journalism.')
April	What an Editor Expects of a Reporter (by Valentine Knapp, Ex-President of the Newspaper Society.)
July	Book Reviews. Including 'Barrie as Journalist and Author. Training for Literature, (by F.J. Harvey Darnton.)
1930 January	Liverpool Lecture Circle Subjects
February	The Teaching of Journalism in America (University of Missouri)
March	The Question of Status. The New Journalists' Views.
April	The Question of Status. Examinations thought to be a First Step. (by James Fieldhouse, Chairman, Burton branch.)
July	A Code for Journalists. International Federation of Journalists proposed Court of Honour.
August	N.U.J. Exhibition. 'Tommy' Winter Wins It. 1938 Dip J. Ast. Editor, News, BBCTV in 1960s.
1931 February	Don't Close the Ranks - Stop the Failures. Make Membership Conditional on Ability. (by James Fieldhouse)
March	Members' Rostrum - Readers Letters on Subject of Entry Examination and University training raised above.
1932 June	Education Committee Article - No 1. The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press (J.G. Gregson)
July	(continued)
August/September	(continued)
October	Education Committee Article - No 2. Journalism Came Before Newspapers. Elizabethan News Pamphlets (by J.S. Dean.)
December	No 3. (though not so titled): Are Journalists Born or Made? Which is Better 'Flair' or Education? (by J.W.T. Ley)
1933 January	Education Committee Article - No 4. Journalists and Education. What Young Men Have to Face (by T. Cox Meech.)
February	Education Committee Articles - No 5. Can Journalism Be Saved From the Gutter? An Optimistic Appeal to Young Journalists (by W.J. Chamberlain.)
March	Education Committee Articles - No 6. Great Stuff This Education. From Cynical Sophistication to Economic Right and Cultural Ideals. (by Harold Downs.)
May/June	Journalists and Education. A Word to Hannen Swaffer. (by J.S. Dean, Secretary, Education Committee.)
July	Journalists and Education (by Semper Fidelis.)
1934 September	Book Review. 12,000 Learning Journalism in U.S.A. (by F.J.M.)
1935 October	Training and Education. Why Should the Journalist be Exempt? (by H.T. Hamson.)
November	Training and Education. Is H.T. H. on the Wrong Bus? (by Joseph Whittaker.)
1936 January	Education for Journalists. A Straight Talk to Branches. (by J.G. Gregson, Chairman, N.U.J. Education Committee)
February	Education for Journalists. Advantages of a Correspondence Course. (by H.T. Hamson.)
1936 March	Journalists and Education. What is the Attitude of Union Members? (by J.W.T. Ley, Member, Education Committee.)
April	(1) Things to Think About. (First of a series of articles on subjects of practical interest to journalists.) (by F. J. Mansfield, Author of 'Sub-editing' and 'The Complete Journalist.')

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April	(2) Education and the Union. Journalists' Limitations. (by B.D. Whiteaker.) '... dreams of the Union running some kind of Academy of Journalism, regulating entry into the profession on the same lines as corresponding bodies in medicine, law, accountancy, or architecture... which he had raised 10 to 15 years earlier in an essay competition...'
June	Education and the Union. The Great Importance of Experience. (by Harry Prout.) Apparently an opposing view to the Whiteaker article.)
November	(Editorial): Journalists and Education... on the occasion of the re-constitution of the Education Committee.
December	This Dangerous Thing... (... a Little Learning.) (by the General Treasurer.)
1937 January	Journalists and Education. Points which May Be Useful to Members. (by J.W.T. Ley, Convenor to the Education Committee. This lists 'appropriate' universities and courses throughout the country.
April	Prizes for Essays. Awards in Education Committee Competition.
October	Education Committee Notes. (by J.W.T. Ley.)

Appendices

Appendix XXVIb

References from Institute of Journalists PROCEEDINGS on education, status, professionalism.

1896	IJP No. 17, Sept, p18-19: W W Yates (Dewsbury) on THE PRESS & HISTORICAL RESEARCH P13-16: journalism as a profession by G V Patton, LLD
1899	IJP No. 2, Sept. p20-23: PROFESSIONAL EXAMINATIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. J.Cumming Walters (B'ham)
1900	IJP No. 82, Sept. p17: adjourned debate on PROFESSIONAL EXAMINATIONS
1902	Special (Late) Supplement to the January 1902 issue of the PROCEEDINGS, No. 39. Speech by Sir Edward Russell. University men in j'sm a good thing if they become good j'sts (See YORKSHIRE POST 27 Jan 1902 for report on Yorkshire lectures/exams. See also IJP 68, May, 1909)
1903	IJP No.44, May, p.10: Books of reference (for journalists) IJP No.45, July, p. Syllabus prepared by Dr. MACNAMARA (later Labour MP & Cabinet Minister)
1907	IJP No. 62, p.20: degrees in journalism
1908	IJP No. 63, p.7: January: New School of Journalism proposed in (University College, Cork) p.9: London Assoc. Dinner 30 Nov, 1907, guest H G Wells: 'A good novel – is journalism...the discussion of living interests. Reference to A.E. Mason's BROKEN ROAD. May, p. 11-12: Training of young j'sts:work of (Yorkshire) District Education C'tee 5 lectures 'to improve STATUS' (IJP 68, 1907, p23) Sept, p.3-4: STATUS OF THE JOURNALIST by Alfred F Robbins, Pres, IOJ p.4: reference to 'Brain-Product' p.20: the professional education of journalists by Dr. Michael Sadleir p.23: The Question in America
1909	IJP No.67, p.9 Jan: 1 st lecture at Trinity College Dublin by Alfred Robbins. Mr Justice DODD: 'The prof of j'sm had taken its place with the profs of medicine, law & the Church' 16 Jan, 1909, Dublin. p.10: THE EDUCATION OF THE JOURNALIST by Prof D J Medley, Glasgow University. Jan 23. No. 68, May, p.10: J A Spender: 'The Education of the Journalists' March, Dublin. No. 69, July: Prof Walter Williams quoted on 1 st year of University of Missouri School of Journalism. No. 70 Sept, 21-3: THE PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION OF JOURNALISTS – Lecture by Williams
1910	IJP No. 71, Jan, p.5: University course for journalism students. Motion that

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	<p>London University: 'be requested to provide the necessary facilities for students in such a course, & to hold examinations for a Degree in connect therewith.'</p> <p>No. 72, May. p.4: 2 year curriculum/Cork 3 yr course.</p> <p>No. 72: Memorandum by Mr F Miller: professional education for Journalism, School suggested.</p> <p>Syllabus, p.7</p> <p>No.74: Sept, p25-7: Theodore A Cook: 'The Specialist in Professional Journalism.'</p> <p>Robert DONALD: 'What Journalism wants from the schools' p 30-1</p> <p>A G Gardiner: 'What Journalism wants from the University' p.33-4</p>
1911	<p>IJP No. 78, Sept, p.22-4 education for professional journalism. Norval Scrymgeour- Chair of j'sm.</p>
1912	<p>IJP No. 80, July, p.6-9: 1st course of London University lectures, Principal of London University.</p> <p>No. 81, Sept, p.20: Fred MILLER: the only training in a newspaper office is self training.</p>

Appendices

Appendix XXVII

Academic Staff, London University Diploma for Journalism, 1927-1939

English Literature J. Isaacs 1896-1973 A.W. Reed 1873-1957 G.B. Harrison 1894-1991	Political Science Herman Finer 1898-1969 K. Smellie 1897-1987 N.F. Hall 1902-83	Economics Lionel Robbins (later Lord Robbins) 1898-1984 H.L. Beales 1898-1988 T.H. Marshall 1893-1981 J.R. (later Sir John) Hicks (1972 Nobel prize winner) 1904-89 N.F. Hall 1902-83
Psychology F. Aveling 1893-1941 Cyril Burt (later Sir Cyril Burt) 1883-1971 Beatrice Edgell 1871-1948 1st woman professor in psychology	History of Political Ideas H. Laski 1893-1950	English Composition Edward G. Hawke Frederick S Boas G.B. Harrison (Sir) Roger Fulford
Philosophy John MacMurray 1891-1976 later Grote professor of the philosophy of mind and logic L.S. (Susan) Stebbing 1885-1942 became Britain's 1st woman philosophy professor in 1933 (Sir) Cyril Burt	Principles of Criticism Lascalles Abercrombie 1881-1938 Laurence Binyon 1869-1943 B. Ifor Evans (later Lord Evans) 1899-1982.	English Literature & Criticism U.N. Ellis-Fernor 1894-1958 G. Tillotson 1905-69
History C.H. Williams 1891-1981 C.H. Driver M.A.Thomson	Social and Economic Structure of Today (1937-39) H.T.N. Gaitskell 1916-63 Doreen Warriner 1904-72 Harold Barger A. T. Grant	History of the Modern World (1937-39) Norman Gash 1912-2009 Priscilla Boys-Smith d. 1939
Modern English Literature from 1850 (1937-39) W.P. Barrett Edith C. Batho 1895-1986	Military Studies E.B. Mathew-Lannowe 1875-1940 Lionel Robbins (later Lord Robbins) 1898-1984 (Economic Problems of War Paper)	

Journalism Educators	
Tom Clarke(1884-1957)	London, 1935-39
J.C. Collins(1848-1908)	Birmingham, 1907
J. Dodge (1930-1985)	N.C.T.J; 1 st Professor of Journalism, City University, 1983.
H.T. Hamson (1868-1951)	NUJ Education Committee
G.B. Harrison (1894-1991)	London University
F.J. Mansfield (1872-1946)	Practical Journalism Lecturer, London University 1925-35.
R.A. Scott-James(1878-1959)	London University part-time lecturer 1920-22
E.G.Hawke (d. 1942)	London University part-time lecturer 1919-35
William Hill (1852-1932)	City of London School 1903-06
V. Knapp(1860-1935)	London University, Journalism Committee Chairman, 1922-32
Joan Skipsey(1915-1999)	Assistant to Clarke, Director of Practical Journalism, 1937-39, at London University.

Those involved in setting up the London University Syllabus:

Frederick Miller (1863-1924) T. Lloyd Humberstone (1876-1957) Frederick Peaker (1867-1942)
Others: George Viner, NUJ Education Officer (d.1983) David John Anderson(1837-1900)
Founder of 1st London School of Journalism.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXVIII

Education For Journalism London University Experiment, Institute Conference Report in The Times, Wednesday, Sep 11th 1935.

Dr. G. B. Harrison, Reader in English Literature at London University, gave an address on 'The Universities and Journalism' at the annual conference of the Institute of Journalists, which was continued at Stationers' Hall yesterday. Mr. Alan Pitt Robbins, the president, was in the chair.

Dr. Harrison said that where the Press was muzzled, readers would have no chance of forming an independent judgment. But where the Press was free, then the responsibility of the journalist was greater, not only for giving true news and disinterested comment, but news in its true proportion. A Press with false news values was even more dangerous than a dictator's Press. Since the journalist's responsibility was so great, no education was too good for him and no training too arduous. As might be expected, a considerable number of university graduates entered the profession. A generation or two hence it would be from the universities and not from the secondary schools that recruits would enter journalism; not only into the exalted positions, but into the lowest ranks. With the exception of London University no English university as yet gave special attention to the education of journalists. In London there was a special diploma course in journalism. They were now beginning a period of five years' experiment. The course had been reorganized and the new scheme would come into working order this autumn. A new post of Director of Practical Journalism had been created and would be occupied by Mr. Tom Clarke.

There were two peculiarities about the profession of journalism which amazed laymen like himself. One was that although journalism was one of the most important influences in modern life, yet a man without any particular training or recognized qualification could so easily enter; the other was that a journalist with the highest qualifications could so easily be turned out. To those outside the profession neither was a happy state. Those who were readers of newspaper in their millions must rely so much on their journalists that they had a right to an opinion on the way in which they should be trained and qualified. Sooner or later the profession of journalism would necessarily go the same way as the teaching profession, and demand some sort of qualification from recruits. The diploma granted in London University was at least a beginning. A degree in journalism was perhaps not desirable. A chair in the history of the Press would seem worth endowing. If there was any newspaper looking for a means of publicity which would give its readers satisfaction and itself profit it would gain enormous prestige over its rivals by putting up the capital to found a university chair, or by establishing scholarships to enable the children of registered readers to go to the university. Either would be an investment immediately more profitable and far less costly than a beauty competition.

A resolution was passed expressing the hope that no opportunity would be lost to improve relations with the National Union of Journalists.

Mr. Frederick Peaker, hon. Treasurer and a past president, said that a federation of the two bodies had been suggested and it was not the fault of the institute that the proposal was not carried out. The relations of the institute and the National Union of Journalists were cordial and had been for some time.

A further resolution was passed condemning the employment of non-journalists for purely journalistic duties, and calling on those who had the placing of news or sport reporting to be loyal to their own profession in all instances when qualified journalists were available. Complaint was made by various speakers that ministers of religion, cricketers, grocers, news agents, and other non-journalistic persons were engaged in newspaper reporting and performing duties which could be carried out by journalists.

The conference passed a resolution pledging itself to support every effort to secure Parliamentary approval of the Journalists (Registration) Bill. It was stated during the discussion on the motion that the subject of the Bill was not to bring in State regulation of journalists, but to enable the profession to regulate itself.

The business sessions of the conference will be concluded today.

Appendices

Appendix XXIX

Training For Journalism Experiment At London University
The Times, Saturday Dec 14th 1935

The first term of a five year's experiment in the Course of Journalism at London University was described by Mr. Tom Clarke, Director of Practical Journalism at the University, when he was entertained at luncheon, at the Café Royal yesterday, by Colonel E.F. Lawson (chairman of the Journalism Committee), Sir Leicester Harmsworth, and Sir Harry Brittain.

Mr. Clarke said that the practical side of the work had been considerably developed. The chief clerk at Bow Street Police Court had allowed the presence of four students twice a week to do practical reporting, and, with the approval of Sir Rollo Graham-Campbell, 'the Chief Magistrate, provided them with accommodation. Six student reports were sent each week to the London County Council, and the attendance of two student reporters was permitted at the periodical conferences with the Press at Broadcasting House. The Port of London Authority provided facilities for students looking for news stories about ships, and docks and warehouses, about ivory imports, and wool sales, and wine storage. Nearly 100 had already been on such practical assignments at the docks. The other days a party of students went to describe the arrival of the M.P.s at the opening of the new Parliament. Their copy had to be handed in within two hours, as if it were for an evening paper. The work was on the whole creditably done. Other assignments had included visits to exhibitions and receptions. Advertising agencies had permitted visits for students to learn 'how advertisements happen', and there was great competition among the students for the six places assigned for reporting the Prince of Wales at the annual meeting of the Travel Association this week.

Every week they received actual and current Press Association copy to study and work on and from time to time, also, Reuter's sent them copy to deal with. The Post Office had supplied a quantity of press telegraph forms and the students actually wrote action news stories on such forms; parties also visited the Central Telegraph Office and International Telephone Exchange to study the transmission of news.

If this course did not serve the newspapers it was useless, declared Mr. Clarke. He believed there was an increasing demand for newspaper work of higher quality. This was the justification for the new step. Education for the journalist was surely an essential public service, and in that service the University of London had led the way in showing its desire to cooperate with the newspapers. On the question of finance, Mr. Clarke said that the students cost twice as much as their fees, the deficit being made up by grants from the State and L.C.C., and on the practical side by the generosity of a few newspaper owners. The future depended on the support of the profession. If they had another £2,000 a year they could proceed with a scheme nearer their ideals and hold up their heads to their American rivals.

Those who accepted invitations to be present included:-

Mr. J.C. Akerman, Major J.J. Astor, Mr. Herbert Bailey, Mr. R. M. Barrington-Ward, Mr. Percy Bayley, Mr. E. Benn, Sir Enest Benn, Mr. Stanley Nell, Mr. Adrian Berrill, Mr. R.D.Blumenfield, Jr. J.H. Brebner, Sir Robert Bruce, Mr. J.E. Butt, Lord Camrose, Sir Emsley Carr, Mr. A. Christiansen, Mr. A.L.Cranfield, Mr. B.F. Crosfield, Mr. A.J. Cummings, Mr. A.L. Currhoys, Mr. E.W. Davies, Mr. J. Wentworth Day, Sir Edwin Deller, Mr. J.S. Elias, Colonel Ivor Fraser, Mr. G. H. Gater, Mr William Graham, Dr. W.R.Halliday, Dr. G. B. Harrison, Mr. Esmond Harmsworth, Sir Harold Harmsworth, Mr. B. Rickatson-Hat, Mr. H. J. Heitner, Mr. Kenneth Henderson, Mr. H.N. Heywood, Mr. J. B. Homan, Mr. E. Hukinson.

Lord Illiffe, Mr. Allan Jean, Miss Jebb, Sir Roderick Jones, Mr. T. Korda, Sir Walter Layton, Mr. Albert Leek, Mr. Robert Lynd, Sir Thomas McAra, Mr. Percival Marshall, Mr. T. H. Marshall, Mr. Henry Martin, Major Gladstone Murray, Mr. A. Paterson, Mrs Peacocke, Mr. F. Peaker, Mr. O. Pulvermacher, Mr. J.R. Raynes, Mr. E.W. Record, Professor A. W. Reed, Mr. H. M. Richardson, Mr. E. J. Robertons, Mr. N. Robson, Mr. E.W. Russell, Professor Sisson, Mr. W. Lints Smith, Sir George Sutton, Sir Stephen Tallents, Mr. H.A. Taylor, Mr. H.E. Turner, Mr A.E. Watson, Sir Robert Webber, and Mr. William Will.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXX

Letter to *The Times* by Tom Clarke 'The Making of Journalists An Advertisement of 140 Years Ago'. Tuesday Nov 1st 1949.

Sir, Lord Kemsley's letter clears the air. It recognized the important distinction between 'education' and 'training' for journalism. The experience of several years as Director of Practical Journalism in the ill-fated diploma course at London University enables me fully to endorse Lord Kemsley's conclusions. Like other (but more formally organized) professions, journalism must surely link up with the universities for education, and, for training, with centres where the profession is practiced. Space, I fear, forbids detailed exposition of ways and means; but if any future Press Council seeks to lay down the necessary qualifications for a journalist it might do worse than take as a text (as I did for my students) the following advertisement in *The Times* for an editor more than 140 years ago:-

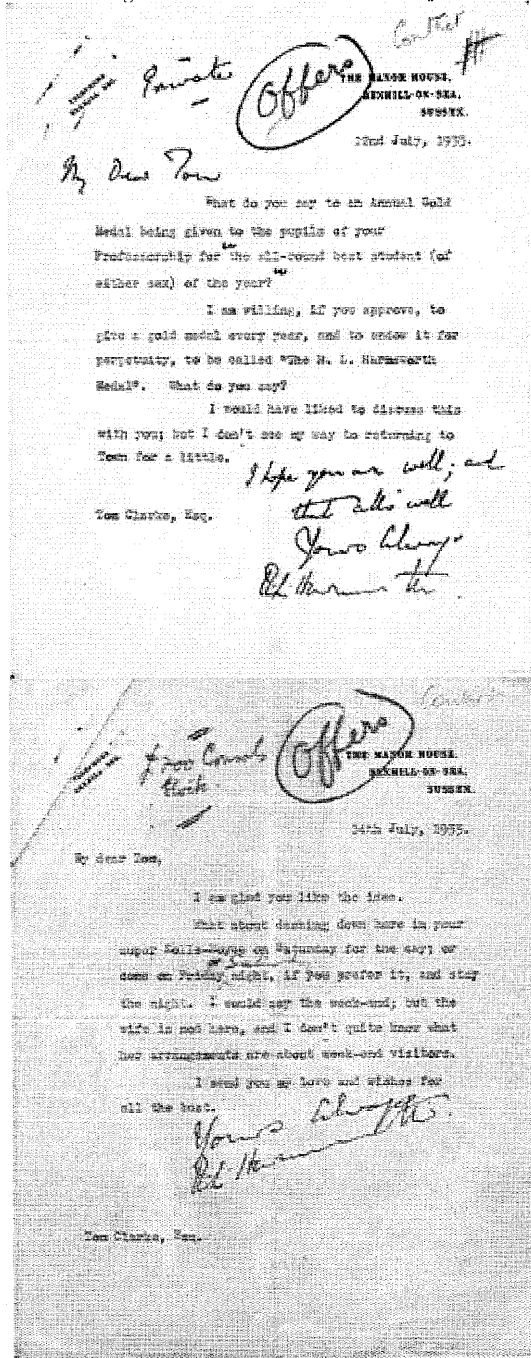
'Literary Employment.- to superintend a long-established and respectable LITERARY CONCERN, a GENTLEMAN is WANTED who combines with liberal education a general knowledge of the work, and intimate acquaintance with the occurrences of the present times... an active mind and the habits of attention are also essentially necessary. Some acquaintance with the mechanical arrangements of the Press would be desirable, though it is not essential'

Yours truly,
TOM CLARKE.
Great Dene, East Horsley, Oct 29.

Appendices

Appendix XXXI

Letters from Sir Leicester Harmsworth in 1935 offering Tom Clarke funding for an annual Gold Medal to be given to the best all round student journalist.



Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXXII(a)

Diploma for Journalism Exhibition Examination for 1937 set by Tom Clarke.
Page 1

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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

JOURNALISM EXHIBITIONS EXAMINATION:
1937

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND AFFAIRS OF TODAY

TUESDAY, June 1.—Morning, 10 to 1

[Questions 1, 4 and 7 must be answered, and not more than
THREE others.]

1. Give your reasons for wishing to take up a newspaper career; name any six newspapers and state which one you would like to work for, and why.

2. Discuss this argument briefly and objectively:—
"If the Ottawa agreements are renewed this year and Great Britain then concentrates on a definite policy of Imperial economic unity, and avoids European political entanglements, it will make for a less troubled world."

3. Name six events of major news importance since the beginning of this year. Give brief reasons for your selection.

4. State very briefly what you know of any six of the following and anything of interest they have done recently:—Mr. Baldwin, General Franco, J. B. Priestley, Jack Pottorzen, Sir John Reith, Lady Astor, H. G. Wells, Herr von Ribbentrop, Lord Beaverbrook, Sir James Jeans, A. P. Herbert, Lord Nuffield, Sir Samuel Hoare, "Mr. Thurn," Don Bradman, Myra Loy, S. M. Bruce, Montagu Norman, Lord Hawtrey, C. R. Attlee.

5. Who is the Home Secretary and what are the main functions of his office?

8281 2/2/37 1937 Turn over

Appendices

Appendix XXXII(a) (continued)

Diploma for Journalism Exhibition Examination for 1937 set by Tom Clarke.

Page 2

6. What struck you most, and why, about the 1937 Budget?

7. Write not more than 300 words about any three of the following subjects:—

- (i) Broadcasting.
- (ii) Railway Electrification.
- (iii) Spain.
- (iv) Britain's Defence Policy.
- (v) Air Mails.
- (vi) Theatre v. Film.

8. On leaving this room you receive orders to proceed to Bulawayo in 48 hours. What arrangements would you make concerning route, travel tickets, passport and expenses?

9. Define, and give an instance of, (a) Dominion, (b) Commonwealth, (c) Self-governing Colony, (d) Crown Colony, (e) Protectorate, (f) Mandated Territory.

TOM CLARKE.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXXII(b)

Interviewing notes on short-listed candidates for Diploma for Journalism Exhibitions in 1937.
Geoffrey Pinnington was the successful applicant with an aggregate evaluation of 416. It is probable Tom Clarke was responsible for the doodling on page two.

JOURNALISM EXHIBITIONS EXAMINATIONS, 1937

3101. ^{Lina} ~~Miss~~ BAGLEY, Catherine Lina 37 Colchester Road, Leyton, E.13. 323
(66)

③ Age: 18 (3 May 1919)

Education: Leytonstone County High School
School Certificate, June 1935

Optional Subjects: English History, German, Latin

Testimonial from Headmistress

MS: Essay

Parents' Income: 2500 - 4300

3102. KING, Peter 103 High Street, Hungerford, Berks. 282
(416)
(66)
(72)

① Age: 18 (12 March 1919)

Education: Newbury Grammar School
Cambridge School Certificate

Optional Subjects: English History, French, German

Testimonial from Headmaster

Parents' Income: 2312

3103. PINNINGTON, Geoffrey Charles 27 Crossington Ave., Birkenhead 416
(82)

① Age: 18 (21 March 1919)

Education: Harrow County School, 1933-35
Beck Ferry High School, 1931-37
Northern Universities Matric., July 1935
Northern Universities Higher School, July 1936

Optional Subjects: European History, Geography, French.

Testimonial from English Master.

MS: 2 Essays; Story in School Magazine.

Parents' Income: Nil.

- 1 -

Appendices

Appendix XXXII(b) (continued)

3104. SHIELDS, Michael Alexander 129A Bedford Hill, Balham, S.W.12. 387

(2) Age: 18 (21 March 1919)

Education: Lee School General School with Matric. Exemption, June 1935

Handwritten: "Herald" "N. C." "Travel" "23 a week" "one other child" "10/1000000"

Optional Subjects: English History, Latin, French

Testimonial from Headmaster:

ESS. etc.: 3 Essays (2 in School Magazine)

Parents' Income: £23 a week

3105. TURNER, Raymond David George 93 Woodfield Road, Leigh-on-Sea, Essex 331

(4) Age: 17 (28 March 1926)

Education: Westcliff High School for Boys General School with Matric. Exemption, June 1935

Handwritten: "New" "Dress" "2 Essays" "1 in School Magazine" "one other children" "10/1000000"

Optional Subjects: English History, French, German

Testimonial from Headmaster:

ESS. etc.: 2 Essays (1 in School Magazine)

Parents' Income: £300

3106. WISSNER, Joan Margaret Fishponds, Lubbock Road, Chislehurst, Kent 311

(5) Age: 17 (29 September 1919)

Education: Blackheath High School; Brockley High School; Royal School, Bath; General School with Matric. Exemption, June 1935

Optional Subjects: European History, French, Geography

Testimonial from English Mistress:

Parents' Income: £240

3107. WHITMORSE, Frank Rowland 30 Altyre Way, Beckenham, Kent 353

(7) Age: 17 (11 July 1919)

Education: Beckenham and Fenge County School for Boys General School Examination, June 1935

Handwritten: "M.C." "D.T." "Parents' Income: £22"

Optional Subjects: European History, Geography, French

Testimonial from Headmaster:

ESS.: Essay

Parents' Income: £22

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXXIII

Article by Tom Clarke 'Can Journalism Be Taught?' published in *British Press Review* in December 1935.

DECEMBER, 1935 BRITISH PRESS REVIEW

CAN JOURNALISM BE TAUGHT?

THE NEW POLICY AT KING'S COLLEGE By TOM CLARKE

Mr. Tom Clarke, former editor of News-Chronicle, and the author of "The Journalist's Diary," was recently appointed to a new post created by London University and of Director of Practical Journalism.

It follows that the standards of training for newspaper work must keep in step with modern progress.

That, as I see it personally, is the background for this new step by an important academic institution like the London University. But if the need for sound academic training has become more urgent, so, with the increasing complexity of

and at other schools which have followed.

News Stories Covered

The students cover news stories like ordinary reporters, handle copy like ordinary sub-editors, and in some cases produce their own newspaper under real rush conditions. They practice the selection of news and the insertion of headlines, and, what is equally important, they are taught something of the work of the commercial, advertising, editing and other vital departments of a newspaper organization, and the need for co-operation between them all.

Some editors and owners of newspapers have been prejudiced against all schools of journalism because they have felt that some of the private ones have tended to flood the market with optimistic amateurs hoping to make small fortunes.

Others object to schools—quite illogically to my mind—because "journalists are born and not made." But even a "born" journalist needs education, both academic and practical, and if a responsible school exists which supplies his particular needs in a special and considered form, it seems to me he should thank it.

There are exceptions—many of them. Men famous in journalism have come into it, sometimes quite late in life, from other occupations. The editor of *The Times* was a private secretary till he was 31 years of age. Lord Beaverbrook was getting on for 40 when he straddled into journalism. Lord Rothermere was a civil servant in his early days. An American newspaper owner not satisfied with the production of his picture pages only got them as he desired when he replaced the man in charge by the engineer from his private yacht. And did not the great Northcliffe once shock Fleet Street by putting his hand to the tiller to supersede the advertisements?

For the vast majority who set their hopes on a career in jour-



Mr. Tom Clarke

FOR some years there has been a Diploma Course for Journalism at the University of London. The aim now is to bring it ahead of modern newspaper requirements. As far as I know it is the only University in the British Empire that has taken such a step in recognition of the growing importance of journalistic work, and the developments that are ahead.

Newspapers have made prodigious strides in the last 20 years. That progress has been due among other things to the improvement of technical and mechanical processes, to the improvement of communications, and to the growth of the science of Advertising. Big capital and business were attracted, new methods of management were introduced, and the newspapers became industrialized.

Their power of influencing the public, despite all statements to the contrary, has increased with their sales. It is perhaps this that has annoyed the politicians.

The intellectual work of the journalist suffered some eclipse during the process of industrialization and hence competition for circulation, but there are now signs that the journalist, the writing man, the intelligent and responsible reporter and interpreter of events is coming again into his own.

Neither the radio nor the newspaper at the cinema will displace the written word. In other words the newspaper is an indispensable and increasingly important factor in our social life. What is equally true is that the public are in the long run the Masters of the Press. They are inevitably becoming more thoughtful and more discriminating.

newspaper technique and mechanism, has the need for at least a rudimentary practical knowledge for the majority of those about to begin a journalistic career. Even if one has the natural flair for journalism and some basic qualifications there is not the least need for sound and early study of its practical aspects.

Opinion is not unanimous whether journalistic training outside a newspaper office is of value. The critics of schools of journalism argue with truth that an course of practice is worth a pound of theory. So far as England is concerned the matter has not been put to the test with such vigour as in the United States of America, where the famous Joseph Pulitzer founded and endowed the first School of Journalism at Columbia University. The practical side is stressed there

Appendices

Appendix XXXIII (continued)
Article by Tom Clarke 'Can Journalism Be Taught?' published in *British Press Review* in December 1935.

BRITISH PRESS REVIEW

CAN JOURNALISM BE TAUGHT?

...all the more the mode of entry to the profession must be less haphazard than in these exceptional cases. With hundreds coming in where there used to be only tens there must in time be a recognised doorway for the rank and file, and that implies some attempt at standardisation of training in practical as well as academic things.

I believe London University is pointing the way, and I believe that the new journalism required for the future can be taught, or at least a satisfactory grounding given in its fundamentals. Journalism can never be a closed profession. There will always be gifted people "drifting" into it; but recruiting for the routine work of *average* journalism seems to deserve less casual methods than have obtained in the past.

At London University the aim of the practical course is as yet modest—the turning out of young men and young women with sufficient knowledge of elementary reporting and elementary sub-editing to justify their being recommended for a start in an average newspaper office, not necessarily a national daily. That is as high as I can put my task at the moment.

While there are some lectures in the course the students are expected to learn by doing. As they progress they are given actual assignments.

ASSIGNMENT FORM

To be returned to the Director on completion of course. October, 1935

The bearer, _____ is a journalism student at London University. Any facilities that may be conveniently extended to _____ for the purpose of practical reporting will be much appreciated.

Director of Practical Journalism, University of London.

Already quite a number have shown themselves capable of reporting police courts and meetings of local authorities; or of organising the collection and transmission of news.

Occasionally they are set actual news problems that have come my way during my newspaper career. After the students have offered their solutions I tell them exactly what I did myself, and then we have discussions. The most needed

lesson of all to "put over" is, I think, accuracy, the essential factor in journalism.

There are one or two interesting reasons why the training of journalists will be more difficult in the future than in the past. The radio broadcasting of news and the pictorial news service at the cinema are to some extent taking the former place of the journalist as the first recorder of a happening. The journalist will have to develop a sharper eye and ear for the things his more mechanical rivals have missed.

Scope For Writing Man

He will get the news behind the news. He will get in vital details but which there will be an eager public. I have no fear that the observant journalist will not hold his own. The public will need him more than ever, even if only, as my friend and famous editor, R. D. Blumenfeld, has said, "to confirm what they hear on the wireless."

Another factor in favour of the writing man is the phenomenal development of air mails. Cables and wireless and telephones, by speeding up, if somewhat costly, transmission of news from the most distant places, tended to restrict the activities of the slowest pen of the journalist.

Although he was a great believer in the rapid transmission of hard news the late Lord Northcliffe always regretted restriction of the writing man. He was a firm believer in correspondence from his staff men in distant parts and of the public liking for it. Years ago he predicted to a talk with me the coming of the Air Era when the old "London Letter" service to distant parts of the world would come back to life and recognition.

It is here perhaps sooner than he expected. The use that is being made by the Press of the speedy air services to the Continent, to India, South Africa, Australia and elsewhere is astonishing. Much that used to be cabled is now written out and sent by air mail to reach the distant public in comparatively few days at comparatively low cost. This is all to the good of the journalist.

A survey of the "secondary" Schools of Journalism will appear in our next issue.

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXXIV

Practical Journalism course schedule for Autumn term 1937 with notes by Tom Clarke.

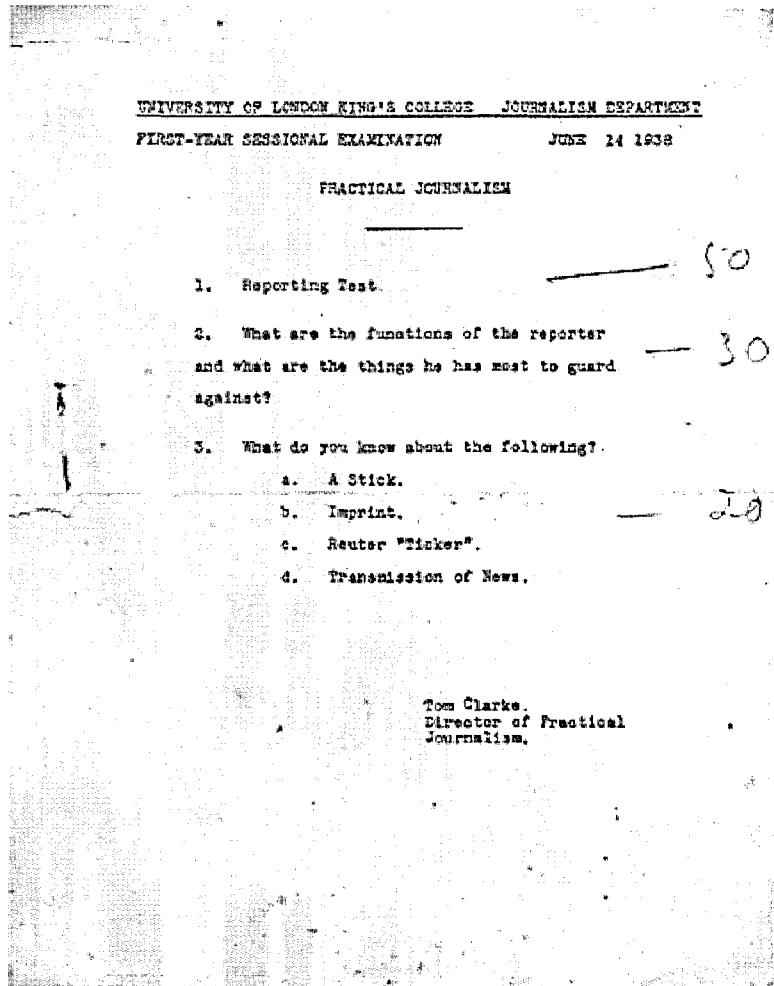
Tuesdays (1st year)		Thursdays (2nd year)	
1937-1938		Oct. 7	"Smalling copy stories" Assignments all round.
Oct. 13	Introductory elementary Practical Points First Reporting Test	Oct. 14	(1) Smalling last week's copy (2) Sub-editing
Oct. 19	Preparation of copy for the Press.	Oct. 21	(1) 25 to Port of London Authority (2) Making up news page (2nd sub-editing test)
Oct. 26	Albert Leck: "Police Court Procedure"	Oct. 28	News Agencies (P.A. and Reuter copy)
Nov. 2	News: where and how to get it	Nov. 4	Arthur C. Watson: "Editing in Fleet Street" (to be reported)
Nov. 9	<i>Private Test (Lipman)</i>	Nov. 11	(1) 25 to Port of London Authority (2) Making up news page (2nd sub-editing test)
Nov. 16	Editing for the Press. Newspaper styles.	Nov. 18	Morgan G. Hayes: "The Newspaper & Advertising" (to be reported)
Nov. 23	2.0 p.m. J. H. Freeman: "Methods of News Transmission" 3.30 Tour of G. P. O. Dents.	Nov. 25	Modern Transmission of News. (6 to Royal Sch. Newleak)
Nov. 30	The Reporter's Duties. Specimen First Day in Newspaper Office.	Dec. 2	A. J. Cunningham: "Political Journalism" (to be reported)
Dec. 7	News resources: writing copy for news page (copy) 3.30 6 to Penwick, Bond St.	Dec. 9	Making up news page (3rd sub-editing test) 2nd yr
Dec. 14	News values. <i>Small test</i>		

Tom Clarke

Appendices

Appendix XXXV

Practical Journalism course paper set by Tom Clarke in 1938.



Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXXV (continued)

Practical Journalism course paper set by Tom Clarke in 1939

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON KING'S COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM

FIRST YEAR SESSIONAL EXAMINATION 1939

PRACTICAL JOURNALISM

(13 June 1939 2 - 4 p.m.)

1. Reporting test.
2. As a junior reporter on a provincial newspaper, how would you attempt to acquire and keep the goodwill of the police?
3. Define briefly the following terms:
 - a. stick
 - b. imprint
 - c. copytaster
 - d. clerk of the court
 - e. police court evidence
 - f. county borough

4
Tom Clarke,
Director of Practical Journalism.

Appendices

Appendix XXXVI

Schedule set by Joan Skipsey for student journalist assignments at Bow Street Police Court during the Easter Term 1938.

BOW STREET. EASTER TERM 1938

FIRST-YEAR JOURNALISTS - Mondays 10.0 am. Copy in by 6.0 p.m. same day.									
JAN. 16	JAN. 23	JAN. 30	FEB. 6	FEB. 13	FEB. 20	FEB. 27	MAR. 6	MAR. 13	MAR. 20
Suzanne Whitworth	Ruth Tomalin	Mary Tompson	Mae Cronin Thomas	Ade Shapiro	Harrison Philipp	Ann Hen	Molly Lefkowitz	Joy Jonathan Smith	Mary Janetovic
Luan Kimbridge	Grisselde Tschumtcher	Ruth Stearns	Mary Shields	Nada Reventlow	Jean North	Rosemary Melton	Hazel Lane	Margery Jones	Eira Hudson
Shaub	Seadling	Piston	Mattamery	Holland	Marr	Martinson	Kiraly	Harrison	Friend
Stephens	Rivington	Olan	Moore	Mills	Lees	Kureishi	Hollander	Frood	Frew

SECOND-YEAR JOURNALISTS - Saturdays 10.0 am. Copy in by 11.0 p.m. Saturday 10.0 am.									
JAN. 14	JAN. 21	JAN. 28	FEB. 4	FEB. 11	FEB. 18	FEB. 25	MAR. 4	MAR. 11	MAR. 18
Jean Krieger	Jean Yeak	Evelyn Zukerman	Lordaida Postnikov	Dorothy Lake	Patricia Langley	Grisselde Margaret Haynes	Joyce Greenwell	Ursula Franklin	Eileen Lander
Katharine Walker	Margaret Thain	Joy Salmon	Margaret Hatley	Margaret Lester	Etselbeth Alabonovski	Jean Harrison	Leila Gotler	Josephine Edge	Winifred Cooke
Widmark	Spence	Shields	Morley	Koster	Jamieson	Guyatt	Glas	Finland	Davison
Szymanski	Stekler	Prinnington	Loh	Tips	Hunk	Gray	Gerrish	Dauphin	Davies
								Joan Skipsey	Editor

Hacks and Dons - Teaching at the London University Journalism School 1919-1939: Its origin, development and influence.

Appendix XXXVII

Notes on Journalism Course. 1936 by Tom Clarke

The case for centralisation of a specialist Course with the peculiar necessities of Journalism has not been newly made out. It was made out more than five years ago, before I had any direct connection with the course, when the Journalism Committee recommended it.

My own first-hand experience as Director of Practical Journalism in the past year makes me feel it a duty to endorse that recommendation. I do so entirely as a person with 30 years experience in the executive and administrative fields of modern journalism; and I do so in the interests of the course and its successful continuance.

It does not matter at which particular college the course is centralised, but centralised it certainly should be. The case for centralisation was stated, as I say, more than 5 years ago. It was stated again this year, when, after long discussion the Journalism Committee, voted, except for University College representatives, in favour of centralisation.

It is not for me to go over that ground again. The arguments for and against are before you. My task, I take, is to explain the difficulties of the present system as they have become apparent to me since I took up the Directorship of the practical work of the Course.

These difficulties are very real as far as I am concerned. It is not my province to discuss the academic side. Yet it does seem to me that one difficulty bearing on the question is that the two colleges mainly concerned have different opinions as to what this course should be. There are two conflicting policies.

One takes the view of a general cultural course; the other a view of turning out people for a career in journalism. Now a great part - the major part - of the course, must obviously be cultural. I would be the last man to wish to reduce the intellectual training. But the purely cultural policy brings in many students neither fitted for journalism, nor helpful to the Course.

The more definite career policy reveals the Course as it is understood and accepted by the profession, and, if but in small degree at the moment, is backed by them. Some day to day work difficulties on the practical side are:- It is impossible properly to supervise the work of students in practical journalism within the limits of their two hours a week attendance at King's. The present system provides no means of overcoming that difficulty. I would like to see it in a still better room, with still more of the newspaper atmosphere, but, for what it is, it is the meeting room on all days outside lecture hours for Journalism students.

My view is that you cannot teach practical journalism simply by lecturing about it. The student can only learn journalism by doing journalism from day to day - by watching the raw material of news coming in and seeing from the newspapers how it is treated by the professional journalist; by actually going out on reporting assignments - and, more important still, having a 'deadline' time at which he must hand in what he has written, as if he or she were working on a newspaper or other journal.

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That is my conception of teaching practical journalism. Now what happens? In the Journalism Room Reuters have fitted up, on loan, the latest kind of Creed teleprinter which brings the news of the world daily to the students. If the course were centralised every student would see that machine at work every day and be able to study at first-hand the treatment of news. It may be argued that this is more in the nature of a disadvantage to the student at colleges other than King's rather than a practical difficulty for me.

Of course I am not there every day, but it does happen that when there is important news about, I can go down to the Journalism Room, and discuss it with such students as may be there. The fact that half the students cannot possibly be there because their working centre is elsewhere prevents my doing so as often as I would like.

Take reporting assignments. Almost as important as getting the facts, and writing them, is their speedy transmission to headquarters. That is why I have a 'deadline.'

One of the most difficult things to drive into the heads of students is the importance of the Time factor in journalism, and how severe in this matter newspaper office discipline must be.

To insist on University students handing in their copy at King's outside the recognised lecture times inflicts a hardship on them, and my difficulty is that I am always having to make exceptions which would never be made in a newspaper office. One is always having to listen to excuses which might be quite reasonable from the student's point of view, but from mine are a hindrance to efficiency.

Another difficulty is the difference of term dates. There seems to be no coordination here. It has happened that students from one college have missed the opening demonstration - and it is a handicap in a progressive course like that of Practical Journalism to have to turn back. Centralisation would put this right.

Among the assignments to which importance is attached are the London County Council and Bow Street Police Court. They are important for the reporting experience but also for the knowledge they bring of local government on the one hand and of libel pitfalls on the other.

These assignments are not usually on the days set aside for Practical Journalism. They are in the nature of extra work. Owing to the clashing of times of other lectures - different in the different colleges - it takes trouble and time selecting students; and while I can keep an eye on those at King's those at University College are often outside my ken. Centralisation would enable us to overcome this difficulty. It would also save needless journeys from college to college and the consequent interference with other work.

With the Journalism Room at King's and the Practical work centred it is difficult - in fact almost impracticable to appoint students not gettable there to the posts of News Editor and so on. With a centralised course one can be in quick and regular touch with all the students - not merely a part of them. In relation to the Earl Beatty funeral, I could not get in touch with students outside King's. I have to put notices on a board and I have no time to send out notices!

Centralisation would save the tedious and time-wasting correspondence between colleges about students. In this connection at the end of terms I have received requests from University College for my reports on the practical work of their students. I have supplied them, and in turn, made written and verbal requests for the reports on their academic work. These requests have been, to say the least,

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overlooked. Such reports are available for me at King's. Not to have the students about at University is a handicap to me in trying to take an all-round view of a student's work.

Another big difficulty, which centralisation and unity of control would solve, is that of admission of students. There are still too many, and the deplorable English of quite a number should have been an immediate disqualification for a course in which the power of expression in simple English is essential.

University College has up to now not shown any disposition to consult me about the suitability for the practical course of students they have enrolled. Centralisation would bring control of admissions under a simple and definite policy. For these - and other reasons - I hold the opinion that a specialised practical course like this can only be properly managed if centred in one place.

It may be argued that the course has worked well in the past. We are dealing not with the past, but with the future, and attempting to meet changes which have come about in the newspaper field and in the education world.

It was recognition of those changes that brought about revision of the Journalism Course two years ago: and reorganisation of the practical side to bring the Course abreast of modern newspaper requirements.

I think I can claim to know the general feeling of the newspaper profession towards this course. I have known it for years, and still know it, from the inside. It is more friendly than it was, but it is still anything but enthusiastic. It is still watching what we are doing to make it really efficient. We have some very good friends in the profession, but we have still got to get the general body to take us seriously.

That object is not likely to be realised so long as we decline to lend an ear to the considered opinions of the professional men we have invited to serve on our Journalism Committee. One thing they have urged as the next step after the recent reforms is a Centralised Journalism Department at one college.

If that cannot be brought about some of us who feel strongly the urgent need for real cooperation between University and Press must push ahead for the setting up in the University of an independent School of Journalism.

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Appendix XXXVIII

Journalism at the University. Report by Tom Clarke 3rd September 1938

There is an increasing demand for newspaper work of a higher quality. The papers want it because the public want it.

This is the justification for the new step taken by the London University in bringing their curriculum for the Journalism Diploma abreast of modern newspaper requirements and for re-organising the practical side.

In the light of modern world tendencies, education for journalism is surely an essential public service in which there should be close and effective cooperation between the newspapers and the universities.

Especially so because of the way public discrimination and intelligence has broadened.

In the new world that lies ahead I do not see the influence or usefulness of the Press being diminished very much, if at all, by the newer ways of disseminating information by radio or film.

They will, of course, make things more competitive; and it will be all the more necessary to maintain, and improve, the intellectual qualifications and practical fitness of the working journalist.

Thus I look on journalism as a growing profession. Despite temporary setbacks in other countries I believe it is going to augment its importance as an essential factor in the social life. I am thinking of world as well as domestic affairs.

In that development the Press needs the cooperation of the universities.

London University has shown great public spirit in giving a lead by polishing up the curriculum in keeping with the needs of the day and by recognising the need for re-organising the practical journalism studies.

What does the journalist beginner of the future need?

First, a sound liberal education. Whatever reorganisation takes place there can be no reduction of the present academic standard, which aims at the minimum intellectual training calculated to promote professional efficiency.

The journalism course includes such compulsory subjects as:- English Composition, The Principles of Criticism, Social and Economic Structure of Today, History of the Modern World from 1789, Modern English Literature from 1850. There is also choice of one of other subjects – English Literature, A Modern Language, Philosophy and Psychology, or History of Art.

Secondly, enough pounding in of the elementary practice of journalism to fit him for the earlier stages of work in a newspaper office.

That is my job. Aim will be to make this a newspaperman's school of journalism.

It is said that the best newspaper university is the newspaper itself. But more people are coming in and the complicated processes of newspaper production today make it more difficult than ever for all but a select few to gain sound training in the fundamentals. News editors have not time. The catch-as-can methods of picking up practical knowledge are a reflection on the newspaper industry. The evil results are often apparent in some of our newspapers.

Some people say these elementary things cannot be taught outside a newspaper office. Opinion is divided. As a former News Editor and Editor I believe they can. The instruction a news editor gives a reporter can be given as well in a university as in an office.

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The difference is that in schools the tendency is to tell the student how to do a thing, whereas in the newspaper office he is told to do it.

This one hopes to overcome. There is little of theory in my plan. I hope to be able to tell my students not only how to get news, but to make them get it. No dearth of writers; but dearth of news-collectors. That is the chief commodity.

We cannot print a newspaper yet, (This happened in 1939 at the *Daily Telegraph*. The interview on the accompanying CD with Geoffrey Pinnington provides an account) but we shall try to get the real atmosphere of a newspaper office. It will take time. The key to the practical side – certainly for the more advanced students in the two year course - will be that they consider themselves on a job of competitive work for a daily paper that is going to press in the next few hours.

The chief work will be Reporting - the basis of all journalism, even in its higher and more specialised departments. The students must learn by doing. They must be real reporters. I don't want any others. I want them to get newspaper 'character'. The motto for them will be the old one, 'Truth is stranger than Fiction.'

The function of the practical side is not to educate the aspirant to a newspaper career, but to show him, as an editor in a paper office would, if he had time, how to apply the knowledge he has won elsewhere to the practical purposes of a newspaper.

Although I hope to get the students doing things rather than merely talking about them, there must of course be some instructional lectures and demonstrations. The *case-method* and *simulations* may be useful, the instructor drawing on his actual practical experience and then inviting discussion.

Without the goodwill and cooperation of the Press, in which the America, has set us such fine an example, this newly arranged London University Journalism Course cannot be the success we hope for. The past lukewarmness of many owners and editors is happily passing with the realisation that the aim of the Course is Quality rather than Quantity. It wants to assist newspapers in search of future recruits for their rank and file.

Already there are auguries of a re-awakening interest in our efforts.

One distinguished newspaper owner wishes to present a Gold Medal every year to the best all-round student.

Another newspaper executive has offered the use of the actual editorial rooms in his office for occasional practical demonstrations.

Several others are supporting the course with endowments.

Experienced practical newspapermen have offered to assist at demonstrations.

American universities with departments of Journalism are watching developments with keen interest. Already messages of goodwill have been received from the University of Missouri and Rutgers University.

Dr. Walter Williams (Missouri) whose letter reached me only after his death, wrote: 'It means a marked progress in the work of an institution which has already done so much for education in preparation for professional Journalism.'

Imperial significance of the new development is indicated by receipt of inquiries about the course from New Zealand, Tasmania, and New South Wales.

I hope in the next five years the Course will make a useful contribution to the newspaper life of the next generation.

Tom Clarke.

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Appendix XXXIX

Draft article prepared by Joan Skipsey for *World's Press News* based on a lecture given by Morley Stuart to the Diploma for Journalism students 15th March 1938

'Cambridge unsurpassed as Journalistic Training Ground' - Morley Stuart

Twenty-one King's College journalism students dispersed to newspaper offices all over England last weekend, for their first vacation practice work.

Morley Stuart, Editor of the Cambridge Daily News, put them into a 'local' frame of mind in a lecture at the College on Tuesday, March 15th.

Cambridge, seat of town and county government, was unsurpassed as a training ground, declared Mr. Stuart. 'Everybody comes to Cambridge, great men of every calling to take part in the University life, or, during vacation, in some conference. Every member of the Royal Family has been there. Queen Mary often motors over when at Sandringham, and in the last year or two she has brought Queen Elizabeth with her twice.

A book to be published this week, 'In the Words of the King', is based on speeches by the present King. It shows he has made eight speeches at Cambridge, two as an undergraduate. References in our columns provided Mr. Hector Bolitho for the account of the King's varsity career in his 'Life'.

Yet with all these varied interests there was something very intimate and friendly about the town, and local newspaper readers were quick to respond to an appeal or enter into the spirit of any new project for their amusement. Picture competitions were a great success, such as 'Who Is It?', showing the backs of local personalities, and 'Where Is It?', now running, showing a small piece of scenery or architecture. The Chairman of the Cambridge Chapter of Architects had recently written that these photographs were doing much to raise the standard of architectural interest in the town, adding 'We wish to express our appreciation of your efforts in this direction and hope you will continue the series for some considerable time and, if possible, extend your efforts in this direction.'

In nine years over 11,150 children had joined the 'Robin Fellowship', maintaining a Robin Cot in the Hospital. Early members, now growing up, were to be called 'Goodfellow', and next month a Goodfellows' Ball has been arranged to bring them together.

People primarily bought a local paper to read about themselves. The provincial journalist required an entirely different technique from the national man. 'We like our papers to look bright,' said Mr. Stuart. 'We like a fresh angle to an old story, but we also want the *report*. It is our job to record the daily activities of a town and that cannot be done in a few bright headlines and a stick or two of type.

It is easy to scoff at long reports and say that no one troubles about them in these days. That is not my experience.

We in Cambridge - and I must emphasise Cambridge again because other towns may not be quite the same - attach a good deal of importance to an adequate report of a meeting or function and not just a few spicy titbits from it. Our evening paper, which celebrates its jubilee this year, has been built up on fairly long reports. There

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were four weeklies as well as the daily when I went to Cambridge 29 years ago. Today all four are incorporated in our weekly - the youngest of the four - and I think it is true to say that the long reports in the daily had not a little to do with the failure of those weeklies.

If you have a distinguished visitor speaking on a subject of national or international importance, then a column report may be as informative as one of those four-column leader page articles in which our national dailies delight, for which, I have no doubt, they pay pretty heavily.

In the provinces shorthand was still very necessary. In a Town Council discussion, at a political meeting, or a Union Society debate the speaker's words and not the reporter's paraphrase of them were often wanted. Fleet Street men who did not know shorthand often had to rely on the 'locals' to help them out.

The letter that lands the job

Sometimes after advertising a post, said Mr. Stuart, I have been astonished by the replies. Some send a few lines and refer me to someone else if I want to know more. Another, perhaps attempting to be bright and original, writes a 'perky' letter suggesting that he is the one man needed on our staff to make the paper a success and telling me to be sure and not do anything until I have interviewed him. To me this makes no appeal. Nor am I greatly impressed if a man informs me that he knows half a dozen languages and has passed all sorts of examinations. I should be more impressed if I were satisfied that his English were all right.

What I do like is a letter written with care in which an applicant states his qualifications concisely and modestly but not without a certain confidence. I like to know about his experience, his studies, his special interests, if any. It is an advantage if he can say, with truth, that he is a cyclist and that he takes a verbatim note and can turn out his copy neatly, promptly and accurately. It would be better still if someone else said that on his behalf. It is surprising how many trip up on these simple things.

Don't get bored with your work, he urged whether it is a British Legion supper, a Women's Institute meeting or an Infant Welfare Centre gathering. You may even get a 'kick' out of that if the organisers should ask you, as they once did an 18-year-old had on our staff, 'Have you brought your wife and child?'

Just at present it seems to be the fashion for young publicists to parade their personalities in pages of pithy paragraphs. Apparently proprietors are prepared to pay preposterous sums for the privilege of print the piffle. (Cheers).

Fleet Street is not the only place in the world. You probably won't make fortunes in provincial newspaper work, unless you happen to have some shares in the business, but you will make hosts of friends. And you will have Peace of Mind, which believe me is worth a lot.

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Appendix XL

JOURNALISM DIPLOMA COURSE
MEMORANDUM FROM TOM CLARKE
APRIL 1943.

The London University Journalism Diploma Course was founded after the last war as part of the Government's scheme to assist back to their careers young men whose education had been interrupted by war service. The course was continued, with the co-operation of the Press, after it had fulfilled its original purpose. A Journalism Committee was formed, which, in addition to academic members, included several leading figures in journalism, and also representatives of the Newspaper Society and the Newspapers Proprietors' Association (employers); and of the National Union of Journalists and the Institute of Journalists (working journalists).

In 1935 the Committee, under the chairmanship of the present Lord Burnham, planned a new syllabus to bring the course abreast of the requirements of modern newspaper life and practice. Mr. Tom Clarke was invited to help in this reorganisation. The course was developing, with full complements of students when, on the outbreak of the present war, it was suspended.

The course was intended to provide advanced general education, together with practical instruction in newspaper work. It extended over two academic years, and was open to students of not less than 17 years of age and women of not less than 18.

On the academic side the instruction was co-ordinated to give a comprehensive survey of the modern world, its history, problems and thought – a study which a young man or woman might reasonable be expected to cover in two years.

On the practical side the basis of instruction was the collection and preparation of news as nearly as possible under working newspaper conditions.

During the period between the two great wars new standards in education for Journalism were set by this course. Its students have made a not insignificant contribution to the responsible newspaper life of today.

The Second World War has stimulated changes in our education system which must affect journalism. The standard of education for men and women entering the profession will need to rise above the common level. The field of reporting is widening in the home, Empire and international spheres. A more discriminating and better educated public will be looking for better newspapers.

The task of those responsible for the journalism of tomorrow is to keep abreast of this new and more critical generation of readers. No field of human endeavour will call for a wider variety of powers of intellect and character than that of the men and women who report and write for the Press after this war. News will travel faster and get sooner out of hand. It will need to be presented quickly with knowledge, with truth, with a sense of proportion, and with decency. And, it will not do if it has not the power of knowledge behind it.

Leaders in the newspaper world, proprietors and writing journalists, realise that journalism will require the best trained brains and a specialised education. That is why they are attaching the greatest importance to the revival of the University Diploma Course, with a revised curriculum based on the lessons of the past and the needs of the future.

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There is still no examination for entry to journalism. In the past the majority of recruits just "drifted" in, the younger ones from ordinary or secondary schools, the elder ones from public schools or universities. The newspaper office slogan was, "Catch em young" for practical training, and the question of training often became confused with that of education. What happened, of course, under this haphazard system – if system it can be called – was that education stopped at sixteen or thereabouts for most lads going into journalism and they were pitchforked into newspaper offices to get any further education as they went along. The Journalism Diploma Course is recognised by all responsible men in the profession as a major step towards a better system of recruiting men and women for serious journalism. They realised that after this war we cannot afford to be the one great country without a university course for journalism.

Records of journalism students are difficult to trace. The following is a list of some we have heard of from time to time. It is very incomplete; but it will serve as an indication of how the students fared in various branches of Press work. It should be remembered that many of the students who attended the reconstructed course from 1935 to 1939 were of necessity absorbed into the services and no records of them are available.

(Where brackets [] are used this indicates later information added by the author. The list has been checked against Senate lists of Diploma awards and class lists for the years 1921-2, 1927-8, 1935-9. Those who received the award of Diploma are in bold CAPITALS. Those underlined in CAPITALS were awarded a Certificate after the war as they only studied 1938/39. Where the surname is in *italics*, then no record has been found; if it is underlined it means no award was made to that name. Tom Clarke's original list, from which I worked, was a poor photocopy and mistakes in names may arise from my inability to read his writing.)

Barrington-Hudson, (1927-8) b. 1908. Feature writer *S.Dispatch*; Ed'l staff *Morning Post*; Asst Ed *Empire* magazine; Pathe Gazette commentator.

Beaumont, Elisabeth, (1938-9) *Daily Mirror*.

Bethell, Eva (1935-7) Successful f/l till marriage 1940.

BLACKBURN, A (1938-9) Showing promise when called up. Wounded, permanent invalid.

Bloom, Ursula [letter to FH says never on the course].

BOOTH, Marjorie (1936-8) Women's Page Editor, *Natal Mercury*, later Admiralty, London.

BURDON, Tom (1929-31) *Newcastle World*, *Sunday Express*, Gainsboro (Films?) Press Publicity Director.

Bradley, Mary (1935-6) M.O.I. special writer.

Chen Mildred (1936-9) Chinese Embassy.

CHRIST, George [1921-3] *Daily Telegraph* Parliamentary Corr.

Christie, Elsa (1937-8) *Drapers' Record* till marriage.

CLARKE, Evelyn (1935-7) *Farmer & Stockbreeder* editorial dept.

CLARKE, John C. (1935-7) *Daily Express*, Manchester. *Evening Standard*, London. Director, *Globe* news agency, Calcutta.

Currie, Eleanor (1936-8) *Sunday Chronicle*, then *The Queen*.

DEAN, Basil (1934-6) *Daily Herald*, *Hamilton Star*, (Ontario). Press Officer, Canadian Air Force.

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Dev, D.Y. (1935-7) On Lucknow newspaper, then Indian Govt. Press Department.
EASTWOOD, J.H. (1936-8) *World Review*.
Evans, Trevor *Daily Express* Labour correspondent. [NOT on course, conversation with FH, 25/11/78]
Esselstein, G. van (1936-7) Dutch East Indies newspaper, 1939.
Foley, Charles (1928-9) *Daily Express* Foreign Editor.
FRANKLIN, Ursula (1937-9) Sub in A.T.S.
Francis, R.E. (1936-7) *Birmingham News*; then Army Intelligence Department.
GERRISH, John (1937-9) Intelligence Corp. HQ. Karachi.
Gray, Dorothy (1935-6) Reporter in Montreal; then Press Dept., British Embassy, Santiago de Chile.
GUNTON, Doreen (1934-6) Freelance work till marriage.
HARDING, (maiden name Salmond) Joy (1937-9) *Illustrated* magazine; then P.R.O. with U.S. Army in Europe.
HINCHLIFFE, John (1929-31)
HINCHLIFFE, Laurence (1933-5) *News of the World* Foreign Ed. RAF 1939.
HOLLAND, Eunice (1937-9) *March of Time*, London office.
JAMIESON, Peter (1937-9) P.O.W. Japan.
Jancoloviz, Mary (1938-9) M.O.I.
JOYNTON-SMITH, J. (1937) Reporter on Chichester paper; then joined forces.
Jofo, Paul (1937-9) Killed.
KING, Robert (1936-8) Admiralty Press Department.
LAL, Prem (1937-9) Royal Indian Air Force, Peshawar, 1943.
LESTER, Margaret (1937-9) *Oxford Mail*.
Lofaburn, Molly (1937-8) Engaged to John Sherrish (?)
McKay, Ian *News Chronicle* Labour corr. Never on course.
McNanemy, A (1938-9) Killed.
Meester, Elisabeth de (1936-7) In Holland.
NAGIB, M. (1920-3) *al Mieri* rep. London.
NIXON, Jack R.N. (1927-9) BBC Foreign Correspondent.
Picton, Richard (1937-9) Killed.
PRESTON, Joan (1934-6) Editor *Acton Times*.
Pryor, H.C. (1935-6) Reporter Argentine, US papers; US Navy.
Reid, Joan (1934-6) W.A.A.F.
Rao, Balwart (1937-8) Indian Govt. Press Department.
ROBSON, Norman (1919-21) Westminster Press Parliamentary corr.
SHIELDS, Michael (1938-9) Killed.
SHERRIS, Dorothy Roma (1935-7) Reporter Gloucester; then *Vogue* till marriage?
Scadding, S.A. (1937-9) *Birkenhead Advertiser*, then Army, RA.
SKIPSEY, Joan (1934-6) British Information Service, U.S.A.
Spon, J.S. (1936-7) left the course. On *Daily Mirror*?
Thain, Margaret (1937-9) M.O.I.
TIMPSON, Mary. (1937-9) *Daily Telegraph*.

Note: M.O.I. is the Ministry of Information.
 RA is Royal Artillery.
 WAFF is Women's Auxiliary Air Force.

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Appendix XLI

Transcript of interview extract with former Diploma for Journalism student Margary Green (née Woods) and extract from a letter written to Fred Hunter by Joan Skipsey

Green: Well, I always wanted to write from the very earliest days. I went then by very happy chance to Cheltenham Ladies College, and then decided there and then that I was going to write. And from there I got stuff published in the school magazine almost at once – poetry, you know, bad poetry, you know the sort you write when you're sixteen. And from then on I got something published in *Punch*, when I was only eighteen. After two years at Cheltenham I went to the School of Journalism at University College, because of my lack of matriculation, and I think they said 'Your only way in would be through the journalism course, which runs together with the librarianship course.' So I chose that way in. People like Oswald Doughty and Middleton Murry gave lectures which were attended by all the people who were studying for their degree.

Hunter: You were studying for the Diploma?

Green: I was studying for the Diploma, because they said I wouldn't make the degree.

Hunter: But you still had to take the same exams papers?

Green: I had to take exactly the same exam papers.

Hunter: But when you were there, as a journalism student, there was really no journalism taught?

Green: Very little journalism. We did have outsiders coming in to give just a little information, but...

Hunter: This was 1921 to 1922?

Green: 1921 to 1923.

Hunter: Can you tell us who was on the course with you?

Green: here was Glenda Mosbacher [really Phyllis, graduated 1926], Stella Gibbons was with me on it, and Elizabeth Bowen, who is now dead, but who wrote some very good novels. It was not good enough for them, and they left before the end of the course and started writing novels. I think I must have read the first novel Elizabeth Bowen ever wrote, because she asked me to go to her house and read it over, and I did.

Skipsey: Most women on the London University journalism course in its early days wanted to write novels, (see Chaper Ten) not news. Small wonder. Even the newspapers that backed the course weren't all crying out for women. When I left school at 16 in 1931, my parents, and one brilliant English teacher, thought journalism was *it* for me. So did I. Their model was Rebecca West. I just wanted a job. A saintly neighbour of ours was Chief Reporter of the *Stratford Express* (East London). No women on his paper of course. But he took me to court with him, coached me and got my stuff into print with his. A freelance we met on holiday gave me more clues. Before long my clippings got me two jobs, both of which I lost. But I'd heard of the London course at King's in the Strand and got a place by then. Professor G. B. Harrison accepted me. My impecunious Papa financed me, and I never looked back.

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I remember nothing of the first year except the vitality of the whole scene, there where Fleet Street meets the Strand. Marvellous. And the dynamism of G. B. Harrison, and Professor Jacob Isaacs - drooling poetry. And of course the Journalism Room, but the journalism students hadn't much in common. Life was beyond.

Practical Journalism? It appeared to be simply one afternoon a week. A kindly gnome [F. J. Mansfield, of *The Times*] hunched over a table on a rostrum, talking. I don't think he ever asked us to write anything. Nobody did, except G. B. Harrison. Nothing this gnome said sank in, for me. None of it seemed to relate in any way to my employment experience, first on a printing trade paper, then on two painfully down-market fashion magazines, plus a smattering of freelancing that did, at least once, hit the *Sunday Times*.

By the first summer vacation (1935) I was nevertheless sufficiently switched on to turn a war film experience in a Devon village into a cynical 800 words rejected by the *Daily Herald* and re-submitted instantly to the *News Chronicle*. Next morning there it was, all over the leader page. Doubtless it did me no harm when I appeared with this apple for the teacher, at Tom Clarke's first appearance in the Journalism Room that October. I was shrewd enough not to show it to my fellow students, and I'd signed it simply 'by a war baby.'

That room was alive from then on. There was work to do. TC [Tom Clarke] started by driving it home that everything, but everything, in a newspaper is news. Ads, births, marriages, and deaths, even editorial opinion. The lot. I don't think any of us had thought that way before. We began to *devour* newspapers. Tom required us to report him and his professional friends he introduced [to speak and lecture to us] We were regularly assigned to Bow Street Police court. He marked and discussed it all.

The death of King George V in the Summer of 36 brought the chance for broader activity. 'We'll cover this funeral', said TC. He appointed me news editor and others, no doubt, to more erudite roles. But he knew what he was up to. I was in heaven. As news editor I deployed all available hands, covering the route beginning to end. Some I kept back to sub, and write headlines. One, assigned to Aldwych, got the best scoop. The cross on the Imperial Crown toppled on the coffin as it passed.

I got my Diploma and G.B. Harrison steered me to a job on the *Daily Telegraph*, running a readers' fund to get a new organ for Westminster Abbey, for Edward VIII's coronation. But the King abdicated, the story died, and the Abbey swallowed up the Rothschild cheques and little old ladies' postal orders.

My fairy godmother G.B. Harrison (who was editing the first Penguin Shakespeare) fluttered the wires again to say Allen Lane of Penguin Books had gone solo with his great new venture and needed a secretary. It wasn't journalism, but I knew it was news. Look at it now! I was the first woman to be hired. He'd left the Bodley Head for a small top room in Great Portland Street. After a few months, I quit, lured back to King's to be Assistant to the Director of Practical Journalism. Tom Clarke's approach drastically needed a Girl Friday.

Heaven knows what I thought up for the students to cover. Tom conned a stream of big names to come and talk about their working lives: Webb Miller, American correspondent straight from the Spanish Civil War; Hilde Marchant, ex-Hull *Daily Mail* telephonist brought to the *Daily Express* by Lord Beaverbrook. She'd chased Mrs. Simpson and the King down to the South of France. A.J. Cummings - *News*

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Chronicle Foreign Correspondent who survived to the end, covering the great Moscow trials. He told how he took not a single note in court. Held everything in his head until he could slip away to an obscure café and get it down on paper.

Tom brought in top advertising, circulation and production men to talk to students. Deadline was early next day, and all was marked and returned two days later at a second afternoon session. Handwriting, presentation, punctuation and spelling were marked stringently. Reporting improved dramatically, as these became more disciplined.

War was in the air, yet didn't seem credible. Tom urged me to go to the United States in the Summer vacation, 1939. Hostilities broke out before I needed to return. Bad for the course. Bad for the world. But a new world opening, yet again, for me.

8th April 1982.

Appendices

Appendix XLII

Audio on companion web-site

Track One: Interview by Dr. Fred Hunter with Mr. Geoffrey Pinnington at the offices of the *Sunday People* 1978.

Track Two: Interview by Dr. Fred Hunter with Ruth Tomalin 1992.

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Appendix XLIII

Comparing the King's College Diploma for Journalism examination papers with those set for the postgraduate journalism university diplomas at University College Cardiff and the City University in the 1970s.

Diploma for Journalism (2 years)	Postgraduate Diploma (1 year)	Postgraduate Diploma (1 year)
London University (1935-9)	University College Cardiff (1970-)	The City University (1976-)
a) Practical Journalism b) English Composition c) Principles of Criticism d) Modern English Literature from 1850 e) Social and Economic Structure of Today f) Modern History g) An optional subject chosen from: i) English Literature 1579-1850 ii) A modern language iii) Philosophy iv) Psychology v) History of Art vi) Military Studies (Note: Shorthand sessions were held outside college and students had to achieve certain standards to be able to sit other exams.)	1. Journalism examinations: a) <i>Practical Journalism</i> : the writing of a 700 word news story from a supplied handout, plus the subediting of a speech report (2 hrs) b) <i>Media Studies</i> : a critique or 'think-piece' on some topic involving knowledge of current media problems (1½ hours) c) <i>Editorial</i> : a 500 word leading article on any three or four current topics of public concern (2 hours) 2. A long investigative report (4-5,000 words) or a series of feature articles of equivalent length, on a subject chosen by the student and agreed with the full-time staff. 3. Continuous assessment. (Note: Hopkinson (1971) states there was a separate law examination and a Teeline shorthand test.)	1. Practical Journalism 2. News Analysis 3. History & Structure of the Media 4. Law for Journalists 5. Public Administration 6. Specialisms: one out of: a) arts journalism b) political journalism c) financial & economic journalism d) science journalism e) industrial relations journalism 7. Project: up to 5,000 words in the form of articles. 8. Shorthand: take N.C.T.J. Proficiency Test.

Appendices

Appendix XLIV

Goldsmiths has become the successor college to King's in the University of London federation to become a centre for practice journalism university courses. Since 1992 the College has developed one-year programmes in MA Radio, MA Journalism with emphasis on print, and MA Television Journalism. They are weighted 70% practice teaching and 30% academic theory.

MA Radio (1 year full-time)	MA Journalism (emphasis on print) (1 year full-time)	MA Television Journalism (1 year full-time)
1992- to present	1992 to present	2000 to present
Accredited by Broadcast Journalism Training Council	Accredited by Periodicals Training Council	Accredited by Broadcast Journalism Training Council
<p>1. Practical Radio Journalism at local, national and international levels. Training in TV journalism techniques also included. Radio journalism in a multimedia context through content production and editing of an externally published and professional standard community web-site http://www.eastlondonlines.co.uk Examined by portfolio after assessed news days in a professional-equivalent radio newsroom.</p> <p>2. Creative Radio. Montage features at 5 and 10 minutes duration. Final production of 15 minutes duration. Students can produce radio drama as well as documentary.</p> <p>3. Radio Studies - A Cultural Enquiry. An academic course exploring history and practice of radio. Examined by essay 4-5,000 words.</p> <p>4. Sound Story Telling. Radio drama writing course. Examined by half hour radio drama script.</p> <p>5. Media Law & Ethics. Examined by 3 hour unseen exam.</p> <p>6. 'Asking the Right Questions'- a course in journalism research techniques examined by the production of a portfolio of demonstrable journalistic research output.</p> <p>7. Internships in professional media organisations. Optional courses in: a) Teeline Shorthand for journalists. b) Narrative Practice theory, c) Factual Forum of visiting professionals.</p>	<p>1. Practical Journalism as a multi-media skill with an emphasis on print. News and feature journalism with courses in the techniques of television news techniques and web journalism. The news journalism is focused around the content production and editing of an externally published and professional standard community web-site http://www.eastlondonlines.co.uk In features students produce a website or magazine proposal. Examined by portfolio of original journalistic work. Assessment of work produced over the year including assignments and contributions to group projects and discussions.</p> <p>2. Theory course linking practice and theory issues in journalism and access to a course on the political economy of the media. Examined by a 3-4,000-word essay related to issues of multi-media journalism.</p> <p>3. Media Law & Ethics. Examined by 3 hour unseen exam.</p> <p>4. 'Asking the Right Questions'- a course in journalism research techniques examined by the production of a portfolio of demonstrable journalistic research output.</p> <p>5. Teeline Shorthand for journalists.</p> <p>6. Internships in professional journalism media organisations. Optional courses in: a) Narrative Practice theory, b) Factual Forum of visiting professionals from radio, online, film, television and print.</p>	<p>1. Television News content; the establishment of a news agenda, newsgathering, researching and interviewing. Digital television journalism in a multimedia context through content production and editing of an externally published and professional standard community web-site http://www.eastlondonlines.co.uk</p> <p>2. Television Production: pre-production planning and research, camerawork, sound-recording, basic lighting, editing, post-production techniques, scripting, voice-production and studio-work. Both 1 & 2 assessed by production portfolio and assessment of coursework.</p> <p>3. Broadcast Television Theory course integrated into practice teaching and enhanced by programme of lectures looking at broader critical & theoretical frame-work. Assessed by 5-7,000 word dissertation.</p> <p>4. Media Law & Ethics. Examined by 3 hour unseen exam.</p> <p>5. Internships in a professional television news or current affairs organisation.</p> <p>6. 'Asking the Right Questions'- a course in journalism research techniques examined by the production of a portfolio of demonstrable journalistic research output. Optional courses in: a) Narrative Practice theory, b) Documentary theory & practice, c) Factual Forum of visiting professionals from radio, online, film, television and print.</p>

N.B. Programme content as of 2011

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Appendix XLV

How It All Begun

Talk given to LUJS course students 9th June 1938 by Frederick Peaker (1867-1942)

When I received the invitation [from Miss Skpsey] to give this lecture ["How to Get a Job, and How to Keep It"] I should have liked to say "No"... but could not very well refuse anything that would help this course. Just after the war [1919] I was one of its founders, and it may interest you, as students of the course, to hear a little of what happened. An emissary of the Board of Education came to see me to ask whether the journalistic profession would be prepared to absorb its quota of ex-servicemen after the war. I said it would be impossible to take anybody who thought he would like to be a journalist, and the answer was that of course they would have to be trained and the Govt. would be prepared to pay the expense. That put another light on it, so I, as representative of the Institute of Journalists, came here to King's College, and saw the late Sir Sidney Lee. He thought well of the project, and between us we sketched out a scheme which was eventually, with some alterations, accepted by both Govt. and the University... In two or three years the ex-service people were worked out, but even before that other people, having heard of the course, were anxious to be admitted, and it became evident that there was room for a course of this sort under the auspices of the University. I did not know that in the early days we contemplated that there would be so many women students, but it is all in accord with the tradition of this University that women should be received on equal terms with men. That is how the thing began and you know most of its history since... But I can point to men and women occupying very good positions in the journalistic world who owe their chance to the fact that they were trained here.

Appendices

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Institute of Journalists *Proceedings* [IJP]
Journalism
The Journalist (IoJ)
The Journalist (N.U.J.)
Media Reporter
Newspaper Society *Monthly Circular*
Newspaper World
The Journalist and Newspaper Proprietor
The Journalist Today (IoJ)
The Writer
UK Press Gazette [UKPG]
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Illustrations

104	London's Fleet Street in the early 20th century taken by the US Bain News Service and archived in the Library of Congress. No known restrictions on use. LC-DIG-ggbain-20207
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107b	The best selling novel by Philip Gibbs on the life of a Fleet Street journalist published in 1909, based on <i>The Tribune</i> 1906-8. Scan of cover of book in possession of Tim Crook.
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110	Telegram sent by a Diploma for Journalism student to explain his absence as a result of a culture of professional discipline introduced to the course by Tom Clarke in 1936. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
110b	The L.U.J.S. Gazette produced by students on the Diploma for Journalism course in 1927. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
111	King's College, University of London, originally founded in 1829 and eventually the centre for journalism teaching on the Diploma course. Copyright Tim Crook.
111b	King's College at the beginning of the 21st Century and the building used by the students on the Diploma for Journalism course. Copyright Tim Crook.
112	The author, Dr. Fred Hunter interviewing former Diploma for Journalism student Geoffrey Pinnington when he was editor of the <i>Sunday People</i> in 1978. Copyright and permission estate of Geoffrey Pinnington and <i>Sunday People</i> .
112b	The Harmsworth medal awarded to Geoffrey Pinnington, above, when a student on the London University Diploma for Journalism course in 1937-39. Copyright estate of Geoffrey Pinnington.
113	Clare Lawson Dick was a successful graduate of the University of London Diploma for Journalism course between 1931 and 1933. Copyright estate of Clare Lawson Dick.
114	Leila Berg, graduate of the Diploma for Journalism Course 1937-39, who became a distinguished children's author. Copyright and permission Leila Berg.
114b	An inspiration for women journalists at the end of the 19th century: Lady Florence Dixie (1857-1905). Public domain image researched by Fred Hunter.
115	The journalist and author, Ruth Tomalin when a student on the Diploma for Journalism course 1937-39. Copyright and permission Ruth Tomalin.
115b	The novel <i>The Sound of Pens</i> written by Ruth Tomalin in 1955 and published by Blackie in their 'Books for Girls' list. Scan of book cover in possession of Tim Crook.
116	A Diploma for Journalism certificate issued to Margery Vera Hunter Woods (later Green). Copyright and permission estate of Margery Vera Green.
117	Margery Vera Hunter Woods (later Green), born in 1904, attended University College from 1921-23 gaining her Diploma for Journalism aged 19. Copyright and permission estate of Margery Vera Green.
117b	The entrance to King's College, University of London bearing the motto 'Sancte et Sapienter' (With holiness and wisdom). Copyright Tim Crook.

Bibliography

118	Joan Skipsey assistant to Tom Clarke while he was Director of Practical Journalism on the Diploma for Journalism course 1937 to 1939. Copyright and permission the estate of Joan Galwey.
118b	Joan Skipsey, now Galwey, in the 1960s, when she began her career with Citizens Advice Bureau at Notting Hill in London. Copyright and permission the estate of Joan Galwey.

Images in Appendices

277	Letters from Sir Leicester Harmsworth in 1935 offering Tom Clarke funding for an annual Gold Medal to be given to the best all round student journalist. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
278	Diploma for Journalism Exhibition Examination for 1937 set by Tom Clarke., Page 1. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
279	Diploma for Journalism Exhibition Examination for 1937 set by Tom Clarke. Page 2. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
280-1	Interviewing notes on short-listed candidates for Diploma for Journalism Exhibitions in 1937. Geoffrey Pinnington was the successful applicant with an aggregate evaluation of 416. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
282-3	Article by Tom Clarke 'Can Journalism Be Taught?' published in British Press Review in December 1935. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
284	Practical Journalism course schedule for Autumn term 1937 with notes by Tom Clarke. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
285	Practical Journalism course paper set by Tom Clarke in 1938. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
286	Practical Journalism course paper set by Tom Clarke in 1939. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.
287	Schedule set by Joan Skipsey for student journalist assignments at Bow Street Police Court during the Easter Term 1938. Joan Skipsey (later Galwey) Papers.