

# Early Edition: the Daily Mail, British newspapers, and the moving image, 1896-1922

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## **Early Edition: The *Daily Mail*, British Newspapers and the Moving Image, 1896-1922**

### **Abstract:**

The first edition of the *Daily Mail* on May 4 1896 included an advertisement for the “latest scientific marvel,” the Lumiere Cinematograph. While historians have acknowledged the concurrent rise of film and the popular press, this article explores the varied and often-innovative ways in which British newspapers produced film and visual media. From the use of *Daily Mail* screens to relay election results, to the production and promotion of the newspaper’s own film in 1910, these early interactions allow us to understand better the emergence, evolution and endurance of Britain’s modern media system.

**Keywords:** Newspapers, Press, *Daily Mail*, lanterns, education, industrial film, film competitions.

## **Early Edition: The *Daily Mail*, British Newspapers and the Moving Image, 1896-1922**

In October 1899, estimated crowds of up to 40,000 gathered on the banks of the Thames in London. They stood to watch a yacht race – the America’s Cup between the American entrant, Columbia, and the British challenger, Shamrock.<sup>1</sup> The race was not, however, taking place on the Thames, but rather some 3,500 miles away in New York and the crowd were watching the events via a newly created device, the so-called “cineyachtograph.” While evidently deriving its name from the latest motion picture technology, the cineyachtograph functioned very differently from its near-namesake, creatively representing the race through a huge painted screen, depicting the Atlantic, which had two grooves cut out. The competing yachts were each represented, through the wonders of electricity, by a different coloured light. Every ten minutes, as cables provided updates on their progress, the lights were repositioned on the screen, up and down the grooves (see Figure 1).<sup>2</sup>

The cineyachtograph was erected behind the offices of the *Daily Mail* in Carmelite Street as a publicity stunt from its sister publication, *Evening News*. The *Evening News* editor, William Kennedy Jones, recalled the “good advertising” generated by this “circus business,” with coverage widely reported in both the *Evening News* and *Daily Mail*. The stunt met with such “extraordinary popularity” that the police ordered its removal after the first two days of racing, after the Embankment had become completely blocked.<sup>3</sup>

The *Evening News* cineyachtograph – to give it its full title – served then primarily as advertising and publicity for the newspaper, both for this specific publication and also, in showcasing the rapid transatlantic circulation of news, the media form. This was a moment of unprecedented growth and expansion for the popular press and the tactics employed mark the

seismic shifts in how this news media would now work (and self-promote). In this instance, Kennedy Jones recalls an evening in which the newspaper effectively chose to make up the news themselves. With no wind in New York, and thus no developments in the race, the operators of the cineyachtograph constructed a narrative of their own, moving the lights every ten minutes to cheers from the crowds, until eventually after a few hours the yachts slotted back into their original position.<sup>4</sup> Putting aside the creative license here – a clear recognition on the part of this new popular press, that news was entertainment and storytelling – the cineyachtograph visualises a new transatlantic economy. Its depiction of movement across the Atlantic Ocean, is achieved through telecommunications, phones and electricity, a network that would connect and economically empower America and Britain and that would harness the expansion of the news media. The example of the cineyachtograph also positions the print media as one part of a larger media system, reporting and bringing news to the public through a combination of new technologies.<sup>5</sup>

The rapid rise of the popular, affordable British newspaper coincided with, and depended on, the emergence of these concurrent technologies. In this context, it is striking that the first edition of the *Daily Mail* on May 4 1896 contained advertisements for the “latest scientific marvel,” the Lumiere Cinematograph, which was playing at the Empire in London. The Cinematograph, which famously had its first public presentation in Paris less than five months earlier, has been widely and popularly located as a starting point for histories of cinema. The concurrent growth of the *Daily Mail* – which with a daily circulation of one million by 1900 was the largest selling newspaper in the world – is the most striking example of a new popular, affordable press.<sup>6</sup> Certainly both the *Daily Mail* and the moving image – while often seen as ephemeral, fleeting and disposable – would exercise a hugely influential

position within a rapidly-transforming British society, responding to shared anxieties and both speaking to a rising working and middle-class population.<sup>7</sup>

This article examines the correlation between print and visual media and identifies a moment in the first half of the 1910s when this intermedial history evolves. These early interactions largely predate the more direct involvement in film business (and, in particular, in newsreels) of newspaper proprietors, such as Lord Beaverbrook and Edward Hulton after the First World War. Through the example of the *Daily Mail*, the article reveals how film was both shaped by its media interactions – whether as pedagogical, political or popular form – and also how, in turn, it functioned to promote the print media, as the two forms intertwine. Writing a history of newspapers in 1913, George Binney Dibblee noted the influence of cinema on the form of the British newspaper. He argued that the emergence in Britain of the “picture newspaper” – exemplified by the *Daily Mirror* (which like the *Daily Mail* was owned and run by the Harmsworth brothers, Alfred and Harold) – “is intimately connected with the popular success of the cinematograph theatres.” Dibblee attributed this to the public’s preference for images over words, an “intense modern desire to see things and judge them, each for oneself.”<sup>8</sup> Had he waited a couple of years, Dibblee might also have noted the advent of the *Daily Mail*’s Teddy Tail, the first daily cartoon strip in a British newspaper in 1915, as further evidence of the development of visual storytelling in the newspaper.

Film historian Richard Abel, writing of the American context, also identifies this moment in the first half of the 1910s as the point when newspapers would shape the development and dissemination of film culture. Abel quotes Sam Spedon, Vitagraph’s publicity manager, who claimed (albeit somewhat generously) in 1915 that “There were over 400 newspapers in the United States with established Motion Picture Departments,” reporting on film.<sup>9</sup> Yet, while

acknowledging Abel's rich, detailed historical study, this article shifts the focus, not only geographically to Britain but also by examining newspapers not as reporters or disseminators of film discourse but as *producers* of visual media. Whether producing films or lantern slides, exhibited in schools or on outdoor screens, the *Daily Mail* used film to negotiate its place within the media landscape and to extend and define the paper to a younger, moviegoing audience.

### ***From Forest to Breakfast Table (1910) to The Making of a Newspaper (1921): The Daily Mail on Screens***

In July 1910, the *Daily Mail* reported on the largest shipment of paper ever received in England, which had arrived from the works of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, in Canada. The report explained that the 2,343 tons of paper would be used for printing the *Daily Mail* and, in celebrating the scale of this modern industrial process, clarified that this could amount to 30,000,000 twelve-page copies of the newspaper, with more than 22,000 miles of paper passing through the printing press. The report noted a further way in which this shipment would bring the *Daily Mail* to audiences – not only through its literal transformation, but also through the visualisation of this process – explaining that “on Saturday, cinematograph photographs of the unloading of the paper were taken.” These pictures would feature in the *Daily Mail*'s own film, *From Forest to Breakfast Table* (1910), which from its first screenings a week later (on July 18) would play extensively and successfully across the country and overseas, at cinemas and theatres, schools and clubs.<sup>10</sup> Supported by advertising campaigns within the newspaper and an essay-writing competition during 1911, the film would serve to promote the *Daily Mail* 'brand,' celebrate its modern methods – through both the industrial processes depicted on screen *and* the means

of presenting this (film) – and position the newspaper as both an educational, and political, force. For both film and the *Daily Mail* – born within months of each other – this partnership functioned to target a shared, young working and middle-class audience, and to reposition both media as socially responsible, progressive forces.<sup>11</sup>

As an early example of an industrial film, *From Forest to Breakfast Table*, charted and celebrated the mechanical process of producing the *Daily Mail*. Opening with the felling of trees at a logging camp in Newfoundland, the film works through “stage by stage,” as the trees are trimmed and cut and transported on the river to the “most complete paper making plant in the world,” which the *Daily Mail*’s founders, Alfred Harmsworth (later Lord Northcliffe) and his brother Harold (later Lord Rothermere) had set-up in 1909.<sup>12</sup> The journey continues by train, before their dispatch to England, where we see further shots of machinery (the linotype machines, the casting of plates, and threading onto the printing machines). The film offers a “romance of industry,” which showed, in the words of the *Daily Mail*, the “various adventures of a tree in its transformation into the *Daily Mail*, neatly folded upon the reader’s breakfast table.” The *Daily Mail*’s synopsis repeatedly emphasised the scale of production, explaining that the machines will “print and automatically count 60,000 copies of the Daily Mail per hour.”<sup>13</sup> Indeed, *From Forest* presents the *Daily Mail* as a distinctly modern and global institution – one that utilised and supported modern transportation and industrial developments, across an imperial network – yet through the film’s promotion, the *Daily Mail* simultaneously positioned itself as an educational and socially conservative force, safely bringing its values to the family and to the breakfast table.

The *Daily Mail*’s film production offers an early example of its work across media, already evident with its Ideal Home Exhibition, which began in 1908, and its Educational Book Co.

which would publish accessible “textbooks” like *Harmsworth’s Atlas* (from 1906), *The Harmsworth History of the World* and, over eight volumes, *The Children’s Encyclopaedia*.<sup>14</sup> *Harmsworth’s Atlas* provides a useful example of the ways in which the *Daily Mail* functioned as part of a multi-media institution, with these other media forms helping to promote and define the newspaper. In September 1909, the *Daily Mail* announced across its front page that it would be offering £1000 of prizes to those with access to the *Harmsworth Atlas*. Motivated by the notion that “geography has been badly and dully taught,” the *Daily Mail* positioned its intervention (and thus itself) as modern and timely (in promoting “new geography”) while aligning itself with established expertise, through the three judges (Sir Clemens Markham, H.J. Mackinder and Ernest Shackleton). The competition generated coverage and sales for the *Daily Mail* – as questions, application forms and further details appeared across the paper until the competition closed in February 1910 – while also generating widespread advertising and sales for the Atlas (as entrants needed to read the Atlas to answer questions). In looking to educate the “ordinary busy man or woman” – generously described as “anyone of average intelligence” – the *Daily Mail* defined its own readership and its place as a newspaper, educating the masses. The *Daily Mail* suggested the “new source of interest and knowledge” as the “real” prize – although readers were likely more drawn to the trip around the world and £200 spending money – and presented this knowledge as essential to better understanding your “morning paper,” effectively seeking to train its own readers to see the world through the eyes of the *Daily Mail*.<sup>15</sup>

*From Forest to Breakfast Table* served primarily then to promote the *Daily Mail*, but equally the *Daily Mail* was used to promote the film. The value of the newspaper’s publicity was repeatedly emphasised to potential exhibitors (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). Each week the newspaper would list the venues at which the film would be exhibited, favourable responses



(invariably from itself) – “no more enthralling set of pictures has ever been produced,” “the hearty applause of enthusiastic audiences” – and details on how exhibitors could secure screenings.<sup>16</sup> Other Harmsworth publications also promoted their connections to the film; “*The Daily Mirror* has a large holding of shares in the Newfoundland enterprise, and draws some of its supply of paper from the mills whose operations are shown on the films.”<sup>17</sup> The film’s travels across the country were further advertised in local newspapers. A screening in Hartlepool in September 1910 advertised “the greatest educational film ever exhibited in the North.”<sup>18</sup> At this point, the *Daily Mail* made available, at a charge of 3s a night, a complete set of lantern slides depicting scenes from the film, alongside an explanatory pamphlet written by William Beach Thomas, the *Daily Mail* journalist (and former schoolteacher). The *Daily Mail* was now bringing together media forms to further direct the film’s pedagogy, with requests directed to “the manager of the Cinematograph Department.”<sup>19</sup> This was not new and, as early as 1903, the *Daily Mail*’s proprietor, Alfred Harmsworth, had written a lecture, “The Romance of the Daily Mail,” which was accompanied by lantern slides. Harmsworth’s lecture and slides, available to hire, celebrated the early development of the newspaper and, in providing a “peep behind the scenes,” promised to show the activities that “go to the making of a modern daily newspaper” (see Figure 4).<sup>20</sup> Years later, in 1921, the *Daily Mail* widely distributed two lectures – each with more than seventy illustrated slides – called “The Romance of the Daily Mail” and “Secrets of Fleet Street,” which offered, respectively, a history of the newspaper and a stage-by-stage guide to its production. Available from the *Daily Mail* lecture department, and widely advertised over the next few years in the newspaper, the lectures offered early examples of the newspaper’s interest in visual education, across media, and presage the *Daily Mail*’s much more extensive intervention in this field after the second world war, when it established a school-aid department. The *Daily Mail* School-Aid Department would become a leading player in the

growing market of visual education, not only curating the discourse through publications like its *Visual Aid Year Book*, but also creating content, reportedly becoming the second largest producer of film strips in the UK by 1950.<sup>21</sup>

By the start of 1911 – a point at which *From Forest to Breakfast Table* had already enjoyed a successful initial run in prominent venues in, and beyond, London – the *Daily Mail* made the film available freely for “schools, clubs and other institutions.” There is further evidence of the paper’s owner, Lord Northcliffe, displaying an interest in visual education two years later, when at the start of 1913 he was at the front of the queue trialling the latest invention, The Pathoscope, a portable, small-gauge projector offering to bring film to the home and schools. “I am anxious to see whether the Pathoscope can be used for the education of children,” he wrote, upon sending the new device to a school in Wales.<sup>22</sup> Crucially the pedagogical and political were never far apart. When the *Daily Mail* offered *From Forest* to schools and clubs in 1911, it was as part of a programme illustrating British industries, also alongside “moving pictures of interesting events in the overseas dominions” (principally Canada it seems), which had been “specially taken for the *Daily Mail*.” The programmes helped to situate the *Daily Mail* (and, given Northcliffe’s ownership of multiple newspapers, the newspaper industry more broadly) within the context of other established modern industries and, through its emphasis on its business and trade with Canada, foregrounded imperial economic links. The programme also hints at a wider interest and involvement in film production and distribution from the *Daily Mail*, one that was (at least) partially politically motivated. The *Daily Mail* noted here that “for the convenience of Conservative clubs a political programme can be arranged upon special terms.”<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, in December 1910 *From Forest* played alongside “Daily Mail screens” that were set up to relay the General Election results in fifteen locations around London (and a further eight beyond the capital). The venues included hotels, *Daily Mail* newspaper offices, pubs, shop walls and Conservative clubs. These announcements and displays continued every night for a week, with *From Forest* appearing alongside political posters, cartoon sketches, portraits of celebrities, and gramophones which would entertain the crowds while waiting for results. The *Daily Mail* reported on the large crowds gathered in the rain, with “rival songs and battle cries, cheers and counter-cheers” from 9pm to 1am. The screens even extended to the *Daily Mail*’s new offices in Paris, where the political affiliations were abundantly clear. “Every time a Unionist gain was announced cheer upon cheer rang out, accompanied by waving of hats, sticks and umbrellas,” the paper noted, interspersed with the crowd singing Rule Britannia.<sup>24</sup>

Film historian Charles Musser notes earlier incarnations of the newspaper screen across America for the 1896 election, presenting this variety of communications technologies as the “nineteenth century antecedent to the late-twentieth century TV newsroom.” As one example, William Hearst’s *New York Journal* erected screens outside its offices and at seven other locations, showcasing election results via an electrified map, a series of stereopticons, moving pictures (depicting, or recreating, the candidates) and live music. In charting the emergence of a range of technologies across the American political landscape in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century – from film and the phonograph to the telephone – Musser notes how it was often Republicans that mobilised the latest “media novelties.”<sup>25</sup> In the UK it has often been right wing groups that have pioneered and first adopted new media, exemplified by the Conservative Party’s use of mobile cinema vans in the 1920s. To take an earlier example, the *Daily Mirror* reported on the novel method of electioneering adopted by the Unionist

candidate, W. H. Horne in 1905. In a bid to highlight the dangers of liberal policy and, more specifically “the evils of unchecked alien immigration into England,” Horne turned to the Cinematograph. Horne first showed images of immigrants arriving at the London docks, which were then followed by shots of English workmen “crowded out by the aliens” and forced to move overseas to find work. Adopting a rhetoric and approach still prevalent in sections of the press today, further films showed the “filth and unsanitary habits of the undesirable immigrant.”<sup>26</sup> Film and media scholars have long noted the integral place of colonial wars, such as the Spanish-American War (1898) and the Boer Wars (1899-1902), in the rapid popularisation of the tabloid press and in the evolution of news film. The *Daily Mail*'s early exploitation of multiple media forms suggests a continuity, with the political logic of nationalism central to these emerging multi-media companies.

The adoption of screens by newspapers to relay news events, whether the cineyachtograph or election screens, positions the newspaper as part of a larger media system, one that we can more readily identify today in the age of rolling news. The screens reposition the newspaper, which is traditionally read alone, as a group experience, which in turn invites participation and helps to direct a more collective response. In so doing, these new media forms help to construct the news and politics as spectacle. For the *Daily Mail*, this process would become more pronounced after 1929 when Esmond Harmsworth, the son of the newspaper's co-founder, Lord Rothermere, would become co-owner of British Movietone News, the first talkie newsreel in Britain. British Movietone News would employ numerous *Daily Mail* journalists, with Harmsworth's Private Secretary, Gerald Sanger, becoming the newsreel's founding editor.<sup>27</sup>

The location of the election screens (and the related events that surround them) literally and figuratively position the newspaper within British society and at the centre of a modern media and communication system. Indeed the *Daily Mail* had used screens for previous elections in 1906 and for the recent January 1910 election, with correspondents telegraphing results to Carmelite House (*Daily Mail* headquarters) before the *Daily Mail* would telephone results directly through to the theatres, and outdoor screens, ready to present the results to the waiting public. While functioning as advertising – with the *Daily Mail* emblazoned above the screens – it also further established the paper as part of a wider, cyclical, modern media network, one that involved not only a printed press but outdoor screens, telecommunications and, in its later showing of *From Forest*, moving pictures.<sup>28</sup>

*From Forest to Breakfast Table* had then, by the start of 1911, already been presented in a variety of contexts, from commercial display in prestige venues, to educational screenings in schools and outdoor political gatherings. Yet, during 1911 the *Daily Mail* would further merge the educational and commercial, as in March it launched a widely-advertised essay competition in support of the film (see Figure 5). Entrants were required to write a 1500-2000-word descriptive account of the industrial processes shown within the film. While the popularity of the contest (and it did prove extremely popular) was perhaps not a cause of celebration for those tasked with marking the essays, the exercise encouraged viewers to see the film as educational, albeit in a largely uncritical way that required them to articulate what they had seen on screen. It aligned the *Daily Mail* with educational campaigns and generated sustained advertising for both the film and the newspaper. Each week the newspaper would list the venues showing the film, while offering a £10 prize to the manager of the venue at which the winning entrant viewed the film. In this way, the *Daily Mail* was incentivising exhibitors to book the film (see Figure 6).<sup>29</sup>

The cost for the showman was estimated at £2 2s a week, but this included “a practically unlimited supply of ‘throwaways,’ booklets, and double-crown and six-sheet colored posters,” as the *Mail* showered venues with related materials, effectively bringing the newspaper to the filmgoer; a young, socially-aspirational working class audience that was a shared target for both film and this printed press.<sup>30</sup> Advertising the “Daily Mail Cinematograph Competition” became a means of advertising both the film and also the newspaper while, as trade advertisements emphasised, the venues that showed the film, in turn, received free advertising via their listing in the newspaper.<sup>31</sup> The paper received more than two hundred entries in its first few weeks and, with more than ten venues listed each week and applications for bookings “very numerous,” the interest “far exceeded” expectation.<sup>32</sup> By the time the results were finally announced in October, the *Daily Mail* had distributed more than a million copies of the rules and conditions to venues across the country. With entries arriving from as far afield as the Dominions – the film had played in Australia and New Zealand in 1910 – the *Daily Mail* estimated that “something like a million and a half people” had now viewed this “romance.”<sup>33</sup> The *Daily Mail* awarded seven prizes which, despite the make-up of early cinema audiences, all went to men.<sup>34</sup>

The *Daily Mail*'s widespread exploitation of newspaper competitions served both to conceptualise its readership and also to position this media as a form of entertainment. Many of its competitions were aligned to its Ideal Home Exhibition and often targeted a readership beyond the metropolitan centre – whether offering prizes for the best bunch of sweet peas in 1911 or the best village sign in 1920 – while others aligned with affluent, or at least socially aspirational, readers, most notably with the \$1000 prize money offered for the best set of twelve amateur holiday photographs in 1912.<sup>35</sup> In this instance, the competition had close ties

with Kodak, who directly referenced the competition in their advertisements in the *Daily Mail*, and with other Harmsworth publications (winning photographs appeared across the *Daily Mirror* as well as the *Daily Mail* and *London Magazine*). It also generated coverage for the *Daily Mail* in specialist photography journals and magazines.<sup>36</sup>

Newspaper film competitions would become particularly prevalent in the inter-war period. In 1919, the *Daily Mail*'s proprietor, Lord Northcliffe, called for more film coverage after noting the escalating public interest in film: "I had no notion the topic of public conversation among all classes films have become."<sup>37</sup> Both the *Daily* and *Sunday Express* would run numerous film competitions, as its proprietor, Lord Beaverbrook, saw this as a way both to generate publicity and also attract a female readership. Richard Abel notes the proliferation of competitions in America in the first decade of the 1910s – from film criticism to scenario writing, from lookalike contests to star searches – but British film historian Chris O' Rourke identifies a slightly later post-war timeframe in the UK as part of a newspaper "circulation war." Many of these film competitions were now targeted directly at women, including a "Girls' Own Stories Movie Competition" in the *Daily Express* in 1919, and the *Sunday Express*' "Search for a Cinema Star" competition in the same year, which offered the winner £200 and a contract with the Stoll Film Company. O'Rourke notes that both the *Express* and *Daily Mail* supported separate intermedial star competitions in 1920, with the Northcliffe papers (like the *Daily Mail*) promoting the "Golden Apple Challenge," shown on Gaumont's cinemazine, *Around the Town*. Lord Beaverbrook's *Daily* and *Sunday Express* advertised, endorsed and editorialised on the Pathe Screen Beauty Contest, shown weekly onscreen on the *Pathe Pictorial* which, in an early example of media convergence, was also now co-owned by Lord Beaverbrook. The *Daily Mirror* ran a 300-word film essay competition for "boys and girls" in 1919, which required entrants to write on one of the Marvels of Universe

educational films. The paper explained that competition aimed to popularise film as an educational tool and to establish how children would like to be taught through film. A little while later, the *Daily Express* would run a 50-word film criticism competition (in 1929 and 1931), while from 1931 the *Daily Mail* ran a “Spot the Stars” contest, with a weekly prize of £1000, which sought to boost circulation by requiring entrants to collect and fill out a coupon from the paper from each day of the week (see Figure 7).<sup>38</sup> The Spot the Stars contest was also advertised at cinemas, with a one minute advertisement, in effect, selling the *Daily Mail* to this cinema audience by explaining that “All you have to do is to identify the pictures of famous film players which are appearing daily in the Daily Mail.” Much like the earlier essay competition for *From Forest to Breakfast Table*, the advertisement formulated a close, symbiotic relationship between the newspaper and the cinema theatre, concluding that “Regular attendance at this Cinema Theatre will enable you to ‘spot’ them [the stars] accurately.”<sup>39</sup>

By 1920, *From Forest to Breakfast Table* was still circulating and played at that year’s *Daily Mail* Ideal Home Exhibition. The exhibition included a series of lectures (with accompanying slides and film), which both utilised respected expertise and directly referenced initiatives championed in the newspaper (for example, there was a talk from the runner-up of the newspaper’s labour-saving house competition discussing his design, while the winning design was partly erected at the exhibition). The appearance on the main conference hall screen of *From Forest to Breakfast Table*, which the *Daily Mail* now described as showing “the mechanical miracles and marvels of organisation necessary to produce a ‘Million Sale’,” foregrounded the newspaper in this event. In so doing, it aligned its industrial production with the modern innovations championed at the exhibition, and once again presented the newspaper to this wider, socially aspirational audience.<sup>40</sup>



It is possible that producer Rex Wilson used footage from *From Forest to Breakfast Table* when he was commissioned by the *Daily Mail* to produce a new film, entitled *The Making of a Newspaper*, in 1921. Certainly, *The Making of a Newspaper* includes many now-familiar tropes, such as sequences of the *Daily Mail* paper mills and the “Daily Mail Forest” in Newfoundland. The industrial process was again celebrated most pointedly in a shot showing a copy of the *Daily Mail* perched on a chopped down tree, with a title stating “Reincarnation.”<sup>41</sup> The paper’s own review for the film also continued the rhetoric widely adopted by Lord Northcliffe, referring to this “tale of very real romance” and describing the *Daily Mail* as “more a breakfast-table institution than anything else.”<sup>42</sup>

However, *The Making of a Newspaper* deviates from *From Forest to Breakfast Table* in its attempts to narrativize the industrial process. This functions to promote the *Daily Mail* to advertisers and, in particular, to showcase its free life insurance scheme. *The Making of a Newspaper* initially introduces “The Happy Suburban Home of John Watson,” positioning him alongside his wife, son (and dog) as an archetypal *Daily Mail* reader. We see John Watson travelling by train to work, before the process of newspaper production reveals his fate. A tape machine collects news of a rail crash which is then relayed to the sub editor. It moves in turn from tube to printer, is put into type and run through the printing process, before traveling (by van and rail) from “London to Land’s End.” While the film showcases the inner workings of Carmelite House, the technological scale of production and the transportation links used to distribute the paper – marked by the *Daily Mail* vans – this process is now personalised, with Watson identified as one of the victims of the rail crash.

This narrative structure also functions to define the role of the newspaper for its disparate readership. Watson is one of a number of loyal readers introduced, from the crowds of commuters waiting for their train, and the girl in Mayfair reading in bed, to the farm hand taking a break from his work. In showing varied snapshots from the newspaper – filmed during October 1921 – *The Making of a Newspaper* highlights the paper’s broad appeal, yet in so doing it privileges the *Daily Mail*’s social function in shaping and (financially) supporting all aspects of the British family.<sup>43</sup> For example, as a woman cuts out an advertisement for Selfridges, the title reads “Searching for Bargains: The Housewife’s Help.” The film seemingly appeals here directly to advertisers, first in showing how the newspaper can shape consumer behaviour and then, as it showcases the life insurance scheme that we see John Watson take out shortly before his death, by highlighting the *Daily Mail*’s efforts to strengthen and support its substantial and regular readership.

The *Daily Mail* first offered free life insurance to its newspaper subscribers at the start of 1914, open to all readers between 16 and 70 (“the millionaire and pensioner are equally entitled”).<sup>44</sup> By 1921 when the film was produced, this was a lucrative and hugely competitive subscription device, widely offered by other publications such as the *Daily Express*, *Daily Chronicle*, *Westminster Gazette* and *Daily News*, which saw its circulation double after introducing the scheme during this year.<sup>45</sup> While the newspaper insurance scheme can be traced back to the 1880s in the UK – and Alfred Harmsworth suggested earlier still in France and America – it was more widely adopted and promoted after the war, imagined partly as a way to generate subscriptions and thus establish a loyal, long-term readership (the film refers to the reading of the *Daily Mail* as “a daily habit”).<sup>46</sup> The scheme also positions the *Daily Mail* as a continuing source of support for the British family, often depicted on screen around the breakfast table. In the film, John Watson takes out the free

insurance scheme and his forlorn wife is later handed a cheque for £3,500. The *Daily Mail* widely advertised the scheme (particularly after expanding the available benefits at the end of 1921) and would publish daily news and details of fresh payouts. This somewhat macabre practice – effectively listing how many of its readers had been maimed or killed each day – reveals a fresh tension within a film that simultaneously celebrates modern technology (as *From Forest to Breakfast Table* had a decade earlier) but also now marks its dangers.<sup>47</sup>

The *Daily Mail*'s review for *The Making of a Newspaper* appeared directly above a lengthy description, and subscription forms, for the free insurance scheme and next to a full-length column outlining details of each recent claim (organised by type and location of accident). As with the earlier essay writing competition for *From Forest*, the vendors were also rewarded with £1, as the paper listed the name (and financial benefit) of each newsagent responsible for the victim's subscription. While the film did not appear to enjoy extensive commercial exhibition or the level of promotion afforded to *From Forest to Breakfast Table*, its appearances were often carefully selected for both advertisers and influential figures. The first public exhibition of *The Making of a Newspaper* was a three-day run at The Kinema Palace in St Leonard's, Sussex, in February 1922, which accompanied a lecture given by Collingwood Hughes, "an advertising specialist" with the *Daily Mail* and soon-to-be Conservative MP for Peckham, at the annual meeting of the local Borough Association.<sup>48</sup> The Borough Association, which was responsible for promoting this seaside location, would advertise over the next few months in the *Daily Mail*, and indeed the *Daily Mail* ran a small piece about their annual meeting, extolling the value of advertising for holiday resorts.<sup>49</sup> A few months later, in June 1922, the *Daily Mail* organised private screenings in towns and cities across the country, playing before local dignitaries, including the Mayor and Mayoress in Portsmouth and Hull.<sup>50</sup> This would become a common tactic. For example, when the *Daily*

*Mail* chartered a yacht throughout the summer of 1928, which would operate as a broadcasting station as it travelled to seaside venues across the UK, it invited local leaders and councillors to attend and speak to the gathered crowds. The paper would report on enthusiastic responses from these leaders – a councillor in Llandudno was quoted as saying that “We have advertised and we know. No other paper can touch the *Daily Mail*. We get nothing like the results from any other source.”<sup>51</sup> *The Making of a Newspaper* would appear to reflect this increasing focus on advertising revenue (which was tied to circulation figures), so that the industrial process on screen now represented not only the newspaper’s journey from forest to breakfast table but also its role in shaping and supporting the reader’s journey from cradle to grave.<sup>52</sup>

### **Towards a Visual Media**

While *From Forest to Breakfast Table* and *The Making of a Newspaper* functioned primarily to present the *Daily Mail* to readers and, latterly, advertisers, the *Daily Mail* also used film and visual media to campaign for social change. One of the most significant and far-reaching examples here, was the Standard Bread campaign of 1911, supporting the widespread production of better-quality wholemeal bread. In response to growing fears of poor nutrition, health and physique, the *Daily Mail* launched a sustained campaign, starting with a manifesto in January 1911, in which it sought the introduction of legislation that would require bread to be made from “unadulterated wheat.”<sup>53</sup> Lord Northcliffe demanded that the paper feature a story on the topic “every day for a year,” alongside postcards, free showcards for bakers, lists of bakers selling standard bread, and endorsements from medical officers and nobility. Kevin Williams notes 202 articles on the topic in the paper during 1911, but argues that the newspaper’s campaigning was more “commercial than political,” with its greatest impact on

the “enormous” publicity generated for the *Daily Mail*. Historian Mark Weatherall argues that the campaign served to “sell bread, sell newspapers and sell science,” proving a “lucrative moneyspinner” for the *Daily Mail* through increased advertising revenue, while also further solidifying its reputation as a campaigning newspaper.<sup>54</sup>

As part of this campaign, the *Daily Mail* turned to visual media. In February it supported an “entertaining and instructive” film made by the Crystal Film Company in London, which showed the process of production for the Standard Loaf, “from the moment the soil is prepared to the baking of the bread.” Much like *From Forest*, this industrial process was presented as a romance, showcasing the “beautiful old mill recently described in these columns.”<sup>55</sup> This mill also featured in the *Daily Mail*’s lantern lecture, *The Staff of Life*, which was circulated freely to schools and other organisations from November. The twelve-page lecture booklet and 42 slides showcased the industrial process and the “scientific reasons for the superior food value of standard bread.” The *Daily Mail* would include short articles over the next month, drawn from these slides – for example on the Brompton hospital sanatorium – explaining on each occasion how to order the lantern slides. The slides also included micro-photography – a feature of early scientific, educational visual media – and were described using exactly the same language adopted for the film, as “instructive and entertaining.” The slides foregrounded royalty, including five slides of the King and his baker, and concluding with a slide of the Queen. Crucially, the lantern also emphasised the “history of the campaign, which the *Daily Mail* has conducted,” highlighting, once more, the ways in which both the campaign, and the use of non-print media, functioned to promote the *Daily Mail* itself.<sup>56</sup> By January 1912, the *Daily Mail* claimed that “The Staff of Life” was “proving very popular throughout the country” and was now “principally” responsible for taking the Standard Bread campaign to the home.<sup>57</sup>

The *Daily Mail*'s campaigning work would become more directly political with the outbreak of an imperial war in 1914. The paper now produced and commercialised a range of visual media – from “The History of the War in Portraits,” a *Daily Mail* picture album of prominent figures available in newsagents and bookstalls, to its popular *Daily Mail* war postcards – and announced in October 1914 a series of lectures, with each one accompanied by eighty lantern slides. The newspaper aligned itself with educational and religious authorities, now calling on clergymen, schoolmasters and members of municipal and district councils to book the lectures and suggesting that they could “make an interesting extra to their syllabus.” The lectures extended the paper’s print journalism – they were written by prominent *Daily Mail* journalists, such as F.A. McKenzie (its war correspondent) and Hamilton Fyfe (formerly the editor of the *Daily Mirror*) – and served to raise money for the Prince of Wales Relief fund. By January 1915, the *Daily Mail* reported that it had booked 2133 lectures, raising £3,600.<sup>58</sup>

The *Daily Express* would also turn to film at this moment. In January 1915, it began its serialisation of the recently-produced War Office film, *Wake Up! or a Dream of Tomorrow*, a warning tale of England under invasion. The *Daily Express* commissioned the writer, Lawrence Cowen, to adapt his recruitment film for its newspaper, which it published daily over the next month and subsequently as a book (now described as “The ‘Daily Express’ great war story”). While there are plenty of pre-war examples of newspaper serialisations, the *Daily Express* used this serialisation not only to bring the movie and its message to its readers but also, in effect, to lay claim to the film itself (see Figure 8).<sup>59</sup> The *Express* subsequently published a weekly list of venues showing the film with details of how to book it, as the *Daily Mail* had previously for *From Forest to Breakfast Table*. It also now published regular audience reports and, in doing so, repeatedly labelled *Wake Up!* as a “Daily Express war

film.” Indeed, a typical report in May referred to the “Daily Express film” on six occasions. The *Express* took on a central role in advertising the film and also organised gala screenings. *Bioscope* wrote of a “Daily Express matinee” at the Opera House, Convent Garden, comprising an audience of wounded soldiers, “influential people” and Boy Scouts. Advertisements explained that in each town there would be a “rally of Boy Scouts to view the film,” while the paper regularly reported on screenings attended by wounded soldiers and nurses, with military figures providing lectures in support. The *Daily Express* positioned itself as an official, national authority, by aligning itself with this War Office production – one “exhibited with their [War Office] full approval” – and highlighted the positive impact of screenings on recruitment. It claimed, for example, that more than two hundred new recruits signed up after screenings at the Palace Cinema, Kentish Town-road.<sup>60</sup>

The *Daily Express* would develop as part of a far-larger media empire over the next decade, one acutely aware of the power and possibilities of film. In 1916 Lord Beaverbrook (Max Aitken), a Conservative MP from 1910-1916, had bought a controlling stake in the newspaper. His motivations were political – he was a staunch imperialist and in 1916 helped to remove the Liberal government of Herbert Asquith – while his work during the war revolutionised the ways in which the British government saw film. He led the War Office Cinematograph Committee in 1916 and, in his role of Minister of Information in 1918, oversaw and championed the impact on popular morale of the *Topical Budget* newsreel. By 1920, with the *Daily Express* and the newly-established *Sunday Express* growing rapidly, Beaverbrook’s film interests were said to be on “a mammoth scale” and now included the acquisition of the means of exhibition (Associated Provincial Picture Houses, Ltd) as well as production.<sup>61</sup> This moment, in the aftermath of war, is a significant precursor to the media landscape we recognise today, with politically motivated (and invariably politically-

conservative) proprietors extending their influence across multifarious forms. While the media forms evolve, many of the fundamental questions around political control, and the influence on, and management of, readers exercised by these media corporations, remain as urgent as ever.

Writing in 1920, Low Warren, editor of the *Film Renter and Moving Picture News*, speculated on what he saw as the dangerous impact of newspaper proprietors entering the field of film production. Warren singled out newspaper proprietor Edward Hulton's acquisition of *Topical Budget* in 1919 (which was renamed the *Daily Sketch Topical Budget* from 1922-23) and Beaverbrook's controlling investment in *Pathe Gazette*, arguing that "between them the printed page and the pictured presentation of public events are the most direct means of communication with the proletariat." Warren envisaged a future in which the "organizing methods of the up-to-date newspaper will be applied to the preparation and collection of news pictures." He further suggested, in a line that still resonates a century on, that this combination of media might "make for a more powerful press and the perfection of a system of subtle propaganda that would be far-reaching in its effects."<sup>62</sup>

Exploring the connections between the newspaper and the newsreel is beyond the remit of this article, but Warren's fears respond to a media convergence that had evolved and strengthened over the previous decade. While existing scholarship has rightly noted the integral role of the daily newspaper in the development of the cinema industry – from the star system to the establishment of film criticism, from censorship debates to advertising strategies – the newspapers also function here as producers of film and visual media. Their interactions were innovative and inventive, from the *Daily Mail* election screens to the essay competitions accompanying their own film. These interactions reveal the development of



news as spectacle, the often-blurred boundaries between education, entertainment and politics, the progressive methods used to sustain conservative control and the trends in consolidation. They invite us to recognise film and the popular press as part of a wider intermedial history, one that prompts us to revisit the origins and evolution of both the popular press and film in Britain but that also paves the way for a media system that remains remarkably resilient in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks to the anonymous reviewer and Greg Waller for their helpful feedback, and to Lee Grieveson for suggestions on an earlier draft.

<sup>2</sup> *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, October 14, 1899, 5; "Cineyachtograph," *Daily Mail*, October 7, 1899, 5; Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe* (London: Cassell, 1959), 260.

<sup>3</sup> Kennedy Jones, *Fleet Street and Downing Street* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1920), 159-161; "Repeating the Race in London," *Monmouthshire Beacon*, October 6, 1899, 8.

<sup>4</sup> Jones, *Fleet Street*, 160.

<sup>5</sup> The *Daily Mail* would subsequently use other forms of cineyachtograph. For the 1926 Boat Race, it set up replicas of the two boats in front of a panorama of the course on stage at the Rialto Theatre in London. As updates were received through the *Daily Mail* Marconiphone loudspeakers, the replicas were moved to "equivalent positions on the panorama." "Loud Speakers," *Daily Mail*, March 25, 1926, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Daily Mail*, May 4, 1896, 4. Adrian Bingham and Martin Conboy, *Tabloid Century: The Popular Press in Britain, 1896 to the Present* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015), 7-8. Historians have, of course, recognised the concurrent emergence of the moving image and a popular printed press at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, aligning these developments with other markers of modernity, including urbanisation, consumerism and population growth, migration and colonialism, and technological and transportation advances.

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<sup>7</sup> The rapid rise of the *Daily Mail* was a by-product of increased literacy across British cities in light of the Education Act of 1870 and, within this context as an affordable, accessible daily, may appear a democratising tool. The moving image was also, by the turn of the century, emerging as a working-class pleasure.

<sup>8</sup> G. Binney Dibblee, *The Newspaper* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1913), 186. Paul S. Moore and Sandra Gabriele show, in a Canadian context, how Sunday papers from the 1890s incorporated “cinematic forms of animation,” and further present this “newspaper-cinema relationship as intermedial.” Paul S. Moore and Sandra Gabriele, “‘L’Univers Illustré’ de *La Presse*: The Animation of Newspaper Pages in Late 19th Century,” *Nouvelles Vues*, 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Richard Abel, *Menus for Movieland: Newspapers and the Emergence of American Film Culture, 1913-1916* (Berkeley: University of California Press), 2015, 125-126.

<sup>10</sup> “Newfoundland Paper,” *Daily Mail*, July 11, 1910, 5. A detailed review for a screening in Australia stated that “The Picture is a very long one, containing over 2000 feet of film, so it is safe to predict that the subject is dealt with very comprehensively.” “Pollard’s Pictures: The London’s Daily Mail,” *Greymouth Evening Star*, December 14, 1910, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Outlining the ambitions for *From Forest to Breakfast Table* on its release, the *Daily Mail* explained that the film would “give the average man, perhaps for the first time, an adequate idea of the mechanical processes through which a great daily newspaper passes ere it reaches the breakfast tables of its readers.” “Making a Newspaper,” *Daily Mail*, July 27, 1910, 5.

<sup>12</sup> Northcliffe’s biographers Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth stated that it was Harold Harmsworth who was the principal organiser of the massive Newfoundland plant, describing it as “his monument.” Pound and Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 293.

<sup>13</sup> “Making a Newspaper,” *Daily Mail*, July 27, 1910, 5; *The Aberdeen Daily Journal*, September 5, 1910, 4; “£100 Prize Essay,” *Daily Mail*, October 2, 1911, 5.

<sup>14</sup> “Eight Great Books,” *Daily Mail*, January 18, 1911, 1.

<sup>15</sup> “£1,000 for Possessors of the Harmsworth Atlas,” *Daily Mail*, September 10, 1909,1; “Geography Made Easy,” *Daily Mail*, September 11, 1909, 3; “The Awards,” *Daily Mail*, September 16, 1909; *Daily Mail*, February 14, 1910, 9. Details of the winning entries appeared in September 1910. “£1000 Geographical Prizes,” *Daily Mail*, September 19, 1910, 6.

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<sup>16</sup> *Daily Mail*, July 27, 1910, 5; "'Daily Mail' Pictures," *Daily Mail*, July 22, 1910, 3; "Making 'The Daily Mail'," *Daily Mail*, July 18, 1910, 5. *The Stage*, August 4, 1910, 15.

<sup>17</sup> "From Forest to Breakfast Table," *Daily Mirror*, July 20, 1910, 5.

<sup>18</sup> *Northern Daily Mail* (Hartlepool), September 24, 1910, 1.

<sup>19</sup> "'Daily Mail' Lantern Slides," *Daily Mail*, September 29, 1910, 5.

<sup>20</sup> The lecture, occasionally listed as "The Romance of a Great Newspaper," was delivered by the socialist J. C. Foulger at St James' Hall in 1903. "Romance of a Newspaper," *Daily Mail*, November 6, 1903, 3; "What Great Papers Cost," *Daily Mail*, November 10, 1903, 3; "Some Foreign News," *Newspaperdom*, December 3, 1903, 1. Harmsworth had published an extended article, entitled "Making a Modern Newspaper: Some Secrets Revealed," in *The Harmsworth Magazine* (July 1898), which largely outlined the process described in the subsequent slides and films. The article opened with an image of a tree, captioned "From Forest."

<sup>21</sup> "Fleet Street Secrets," *Daily Mail*, September 14, 1921, 5; "Daily Mail Lectures," *Daily Mail*, March 15, 1923, 5; "Daily Mail Lectures," *Daily Mail*, December 13, 1923, 12; "How National Newspapers are Developing their Activities in Book and Periodical Field," *Newspaper World*, January 5, 1950, 13, 15.

<sup>22</sup> Pound and Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 438. For more on the Pathoscope, which was widely promoted through newspaper tie-ins in the United States, see Haidee Wasson, *Everyday Movies: Portability and the Transformation of American Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021), 43-45.

<sup>23</sup> "Making 'The Daily Mail'," *Daily Mail*, January 11, 1911, 5.

<sup>24</sup> "Where to See the Results," *Daily Mail*, December 3, 1910, 7; "Excited Street Crowds in the Rain," *Daily Mail*, December 5, 1910, 8; "Unparalleled Crowds in London," *Daily Mail*, December 7, 1910, 7.

<sup>25</sup> Charles Musser, *Politicking and Emergent Media: US Presidential Elections of the 1890s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017), 126-130, 6.

<sup>26</sup> "Pictures that Win Votes," *Daily Mirror*, April 14, 1905, 6.

<sup>27</sup> For more on Sanger, see News on Screen, "Gerald Fountaine Sanger,"

<http://bufvc.ac.uk/newsonscreen/search/index.php/person/5187>, accessed 20 Jul 2021.

<sup>28</sup> "Results Tonight," *Daily Mail*, January 15, 1910; "Enthusiasm of the Crowds," *Daily Mail*, January 18, 1910; "Election Fever," *Daily Mail*, January 22, 1910. Pound and Harmsworth reported that Northcliffe had supervised the public screening of the election results "by Daily Mail magic lanterns operating on the Embankment and in Trafalgar Square" in 1906. Pound and Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 296.

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<sup>29</sup> The rules for the competition appear in "Making the 'Daily Mail'," *Daily Mail*, March 30, 1911, 5. Examples of the weekly listings and updates on the competition, all under the heading "Making the 'Daily Mail'," appear in *Daily Mail*, April 8, 1911, 6; *Daily Mail*, April 17, 1911, 2; *Daily Mail*, April 24, 1911, 8; *Daily Mail*, May 8, 1911, 6; *Daily Mail*, May 15, 1911, 6; *Daily Mail*, May 22, 1911, 10.

<sup>30</sup> "£160 in Cash prizes," *The Bioscope*, March 30, 1911, 17.

<sup>31</sup> *The Stage*, March 30, 1911, 30. *Kinematograph Weekly* noted that one of the figures responsible for the film's publicity campaign was Christopher Clayton Hutton, who would later work for MI9 during the Second World War, devising escape aids and gadgets. "European Publicity," *Kinematograph Weekly*, September 10, 1925, 62.

<sup>32</sup> *Daily Mail*, April 8, 1911, 6; *Daily Mail*, April 17, 1911, 2; *Daily Mail*, May 22, 1911, 10.

<sup>33</sup> "£100 Prize Essay," *Daily Mail*, October 2, 1911, 5. "From Forest to Breakfast Table," *Wairarapa Age*, November 9, 1910, 5; "Antipodean Doings," *Kinematograph Weekly*, October 6, 1910, 1455.

<sup>34</sup> *Daily Mail*, October 2, 1911, 5; The top prize of £100 was awarded to Bernard Keen, a 20-year-old student who had walked by the cinema while taking a break from revising for his final Physics exams at University College London. Keen would enjoy a long and distinguished career as a soil scientist and was knighted in 1953 (although not for his services to *Daily Mail* competitions). His success also brought £10 to J.H. Wilson, the manager of the General Picture Palace in Southend, where Keen had first seen the film. One of the runners up was Dixon Scott, a prominent exhibitor in the North East (and great-uncle of director Ridley Scott) who put on the film at his own cinema, The Kino, in Jarrow-on-Tyne, in May. Sir Charles Pereira, "Bernard Augustus Keen," *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the Royal Society*, vol xxviii (1982), 206. *Kinematograph Weekly*, October 26, 1911, 1433.

<sup>35</sup> "Some 'Daily Mail' Prizes," *Daily Mail*, May 4, 1921, II.

<sup>36</sup> "£1,000 Holiday Prize," *Daily Mail*, June 12, 1912, 5; "£1,000 Prize," *Daily Mail*, December 5, 1912, 7.

<sup>37</sup> Quoted in Bingham and Conboy, *Tabloid Century*, 107.

<sup>38</sup> Abel, *Menus for Movieland*, 130-139. Chris O'Rourke writes extensively about the newspaper competitions in Chris O'Rourke, *Acting for the Silent Screen* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2017), 99-132. "£500 Free for Movies," *Daily Express*, July 7, 1919, 9; "Beauty Versus Brains," *Daily Express*, April 10, 1919, 7; "The Search for a Cinema Star," *Daily Express*, April 12, 1919, 5; "Films Awaiting 'Sunday Express' Star," *Daily Express*, May 6, 1919, 7;

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“Wanted, A Cinema Star,” *Daily Express*, May 9, 1919, 9; “Pictures as Help to Education,” *Daily Mirror*, September 23, 1919, 15; “Great ‘Daily Mail’ Film Contest,” *Daily Mail*, February 13, 1931, 11.

<sup>39</sup> See *Spot the Stars* (1930), BFI Player, accessed at <https://player.bfi.org.uk/free/film/watch-spot-the-stars-1930-online>, July 7, 2020.

<sup>40</sup> “Experts on the Home,” *Daily Mail*, January 17, 1920, 3; “To-Day’s Programme,” *Daily Mail*, February 9, 1920, 5; *The Times*, February 13, 1920, 10. The *Daily Mail* commissioned The Commercial and Maritime Film Service to produce further films in 1929 on *Daily Mail* exhibitions and on newspaper production. The film on *Daily Mail* newspaper production was available as part of a series on “Great British Industries” from Educational Films Bureau in 1932. *Kinematograph Weekly*, July 31, 1930; “The Daily Mail Film,” *Daily Mail*, December 31, 1932, 14.

<sup>41</sup> The film is listed as “Daily Mail – 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary” in the AP archive and is available to view at [www.aparchive.com](http://www.aparchive.com).

<sup>42</sup> “The Story of the Daily Mail,” *Daily Mail*, June 26, 1922, 3; “Making a Newspaper,” *Daily Mail*, June 23, 1922, 6.

<sup>43</sup> The issues of the *Daily Mail* used within the film include October 7, October 8, October 12, and October 22, 1921, offering an indication of when this footage was shot.

<sup>44</sup> “£2 a week for Life,” *Daily Mail*, January 7, 1914, 6; “1914 Gift to *Daily Mail* Readers,” *Daily Mail*, January 1, 1914, 5.

<sup>45</sup> Clive Trebilcock, *Phoenix Assurance and the Development of British Insurance: Volume 2, The Era of the Insurance Giants 1870-1984* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 576; Laura Beers, *Your Britain: Media and the Making of the Labour Party* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 93.

<sup>46</sup> Pound and Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 90-91.

<sup>47</sup> There is a further tension here between the newspaper and nervous insurers, as the *Daily Mail* sought to pay out as much as possible, and report this as widely as it could, to incentivise further subscribers.

<sup>48</sup> *The Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, February 18, 1922, 1, 7.

<sup>49</sup> “Value of Advertising,” *Daily Mail*, February 23, 1922, 4.

<sup>50</sup> “A Private View,” *Hull Daily Mail*, June 8, 1922, 5; “The Making of a Newspaper,” *Portsmouth Evening News*, June 9, 1922, 2.

<sup>51</sup> “They Know: The Advertising Pull of ‘The Daily Mail’,” *Daily Mail*, August 11, 1928, 12.

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<sup>52</sup> The Northcliffe-owned *The Times* also produced a film in 1921, showcasing very similar stages of production on its newspaper. It was shown when Henry Wickham Steed, editor of *The Times*, gave a lecture to journalism students on “The Making of a Newspaper” in October 1921 and again to a public audience at a cinema in London in April 1922. “The Making of a Newspaper,” *The Times*, October 18, 1921, 7; “‘The Times’ on the Film,” *The Times*, April 10, 1922, 11.

<sup>53</sup> “Bread Reform,” *Daily Mail*, January 27, 1911, 3.

<sup>54</sup> Henry Hamilton Fyfe, *Press Parade: Behind the Scenes of the Newspaper Racket and Millionaires’ Attempts at Dictatorship* (London: Watts and Co., 1936), 84; Kevin Williams, *Read All About It: A History of the British Newspaper* (London: Routledge, 2010), 132; Mark Weatherall, “Bread and Newspapers: The Making of ‘A Revolution in the Science of Food’,” in *Science and the Culture of Nutrition, 1840-1940*, ed. Harmke Kamminga and Andrew Cunningham (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 179-212.

<sup>55</sup> “Free Showcards for Bakers,” *Daily Mail*, February 24, 1911, 8.

<sup>56</sup> “Standard Bread Pictures,” *Daily Mail*, November 13, 1911, 5; “Standard Bread Lecture,” *Daily Mail*, November 21, 1911, 10; “Standard Bread,” *Daily Mail*, November 27, 1911, 3; “The King’s Bakers,” *Daily Mail*, December 9, 1911, 3; “Standard Bread Slides,” *Daily Mail*, January 27, 1912, 3; The Newton and Co. catalogue contains further details on *The Staff of Life*, including the title of each lantern slide. See Newton and Co, *Seventh Section of the Complete Catalogue of Lantern Slides* (London: Newton and Co., 1920), 832.

<sup>57</sup> *Daily Mail*, January 27, 1912, 5; “Standard Bread,” *Daily Mail*, January 30, 1912, 6. The *Daily Mail* referred to the “beautiful workmanship” of the slides and further emphasised that it showed the “rise and progress of the national movement for a healthy loaf.”

<sup>58</sup> “War Lectures,” *Daily Mail*, October 9, 1914, 8; “The ‘Daily Mail’ War Postcards,” *Daily Mail*, September 7, 1916, 5; “‘Daily Mail’ Lectures,” *Daily Mail*, December 5, 1914, 7; “‘Daily Mail’ War Lectures,” *Daily Mail*, January 18, 1915, 10.

<sup>59</sup> *Daily Express*, January 2, 1915, 3; *Daily Express*, January 5, 1915, 2. For example, the London *Evening News* serialised *Sons of Martha* in the summer of 1907, which was discussed in “Biographing a Serial Story,” *The Kinematograph and Lantern Weekly*, June 20, 1907, 98. See also, “‘Evening News’ Serial Story on the Bioscope,” *Daily Mirror*, June 26, 1907, 8.

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<sup>60</sup> "Wake Up! Matinee," *Daily Express*, January 21, 1915, 6; *Daily Express*, April 3, 1915, 2; *Daily Express*, April 23, 1915, 2; *Daily Express*, May 14, 1915, 6; *The Bioscope*, January 7, 1915, 22, 12; *The Bioscope*, January 28, 1915, 303.

<sup>61</sup> *Wid's Daily*, July 27, 1920, 2. Beaverbrook's movements in the film world were widely reported in 1920, from his close alliance with Adolf Zukor to his reported opposition to block booking and the banning of American pictures in his cinemas, a move championed in the *Daily Mail* and his own *Daily Express*. See also Luke McKernon, *Topical Budget: The Great British News Film* (London: BFI, 1992).

<sup>62</sup> "Animated Papers," *Wid's Daily*, April 30, 1920, 3, 6.