

The University of Liverpool

Racism, Tolerance and Identity: Responses to Black and Asian Migration into  
Britain in the National and Local Press, 1948-72

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By

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Abstract.

This thesis explores the response of national and local newspapers to issues of race and black and Asian immigration in Britain between 1948 and 1972. Scholars have highlighted the importance of concepts of race, identity and belonging in shaping responses to immigration, but have not yet explained the complex ways in which these ideas are disseminated and interpreted in popular culture. The thesis analyses the complex role newspapers had in mediating debates surrounding black and Asian immigration for public consumption.

By engaging with concepts of race and tolerance, newspapers communicated anxieties about the shape British culture and society would take in the postwar years. Their popularity granted them opportunities to lead attitudes towards black and Asian people and multiculturalism. The influences of social, political and cultural developments on both the national and local level meant newspapers often adopted limited definitions tolerance which failed to combat racism. In other cases, newspapers actively encouraged racist definitions of belonging which privileged their largely white audiences.

In order to understand newspapers' engagement with concepts of race and identity, this thesis analyses the various influences that informed their coverage. While the opinions and ambitions of prominent journalists had a significant impact on newspaper policy, the thesis highlights the language and genres newspapers used to appeal to large audiences. It argues that this had a significant influence on how responses to immigration were communicated in the public sphere.

*For Grandma, Granddad, Nan Young and Ollie.*

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## Table of Contents

<u>Introduction.</u>	p.1
 <u>Part I: Literature Review and Methodology.</u>	
<b>Chapter 1:</b>	
From ‘Race Relations’ to Multicultural Racism: A Literature Review of Racism and Immigration in Britain.	p.11
<b>Chapter 2:</b>	
Methodology: The Potential of Contemporary Newspapers as a Source.	p. 34
 <u>Part II: The National Press</u>	
<b>Chapter 3:</b>	
The <i>Daily Mirror</i> ’s Crusade Against the Colour Bar, 1953-60.	p. 58
<b>Chapter 4:</b>	
‘A Welcome Mat with Strings’: The <i>Daily Mirror</i> ’s Responses to Racism and Immigration, 1961-72.	p. 106
<b>Chapter 5:</b>	
‘Vanishing’ Britain: Immigration, Empire and white Britishness in the <i>Daily Express</i> and <i>Sunday Express</i> , 1945-72.	p. 157

**Chapter 6:**

‘An Ugly, Raging, Black Question’: The *Express* Newspapers and ‘Race’ in the Domestic Sphere. p. 186

Part III: The Race and Immigration in the Local Press of Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester.

**Introduction To Part III** p. 205

**Chapter 7:**

‘The “Lost Souls” of Liverpool’: The portrayal of Liverpool’s Black Community in *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* 1948-72. p. 210

**Chapter 8:**

‘Boltonians, Britons or Merely Exiles?’: The *Bolton Evening News* and Asian Immigration into Bolton, 1958-72. p. 252

**Chapter 9:**

Moss Side Story: The Representation of Social Decline and Black and Asian Immigration the Manchester’s Local Press, 1950-72. p. 304

Conclusions: Newspapers, Racism and Missed Opportunities. p. 357

Selected Bibliography. p. 373

### List of Figures

Figure 1: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 2 September 1958.	p. 71
Figure 2, <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 16 September 1958.	p. 72
Figure 3, <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 3 December 1953.	p. 74
Figure 4, <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 15 March 1954.	p. 78
Figure 5: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 26 July 1958.	p. 83
Figure 6: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 8 September 1958.	p. 90
Figure 7: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 14 December 1954.	p. 94
Figure 8: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 3 September 1958.	p. 102
Figure 9: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 2 November 1961.	p. 114
Figure 10: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 17 November 1961.	p. 116
Figure 11: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 6 November 1961.	p. 118
Figure 12: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 5 December 1961.	p. 120
Figure 13: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 21 August 1961.	p. 122
Figure 14: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 11 November 1964.	p. 125
Figure 15: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 3 March 1970.	p. 147
Figure 16: <i>Daily Mirror</i> , 3 March 1970.	p. 150
Figure 17: Distribution of Liverpool's Black Population, 1976.	p. 217
Figure 18: Map of St James Place, Upper Parliament Street, Wesley Street, Park Place and Upper Stanhope Street.	p. 224
Figure 19: Map of Bolton 1975 Ward Boundaries.	p. 257
Figure 20: The areas of Manchester designated for slum clearance.	p. 313
Figure 21: West Africans, Indians and Pakistanis in certain Manchester Wards	p. 314

## Introduction.

This thesis explores how concepts of race and national identity were communicated to the public by British newspapers between 1948 and 1972: from the start of a period of unrestricted black and Asian migration into Britain, to the point when British citizenship was legally defined on white racial terms. The 1972 Commonwealth Immigration Act, by defining eligibility to enter Britain in terms of ancestry, effectively removed the rights black and Asian people had enjoyed as citizens of the Commonwealth. At the same time, Britain's imperial decline meant that ideas of Britishness and race were increasingly important and in flux in the postwar years. The period was also one of great importance for British newspapers, as some national newspapers began to reach circulation figures of up to five million, while certain local newspapers enjoyed a market more free from competition following the decline of many provincial titles after the First World War. As most adults read newspapers, and often multiple national and local titles, newspapers held a powerful position to influence popular attitudes. The high-profile nature of debates about race ensured that immigration and racism received widespread coverage in newspapers, and so they navigated readers' perceptions about its effect and significance.

Race is a mutable historical artefact, the meaning of which has been 'continually contested and redefined' by media in response to economic, social and cultural change.<sup>1</sup> The task of the historian, and the aim of this thesis, is 'to reconstruct the process whereby racial

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<sup>1</sup> Laura Tabili, 'The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth-Century Britain: The Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925', *Journal of British Studies*, 33, 1 (January, 1994), p. 60. I use the term 'race' throughout the thesis without the use of quotation marks in order to avoid confusion in chapters that use extensive quotations from primary source material. My use of race as a term reflects its ideological power and enduring influence in shaping material and social relations rather than its scientific validity.

differences have been defined and assigned meaning'.<sup>2</sup> Political, social, industrial and cultural forces all play a role in the construction of ideas about race and identity. Newspapers both reflected and reinterpreted these forces and communicated them to mass audiences. This was not a simple process. Instead, the various ideological and commercial interests and the attitudes of owners, editors and journalists shaped the policy of newspapers and the language they used. This thesis not only explores the content of newspapers, but also the diverse voices they represented, the aims of owners and journalists and how they influenced press responses to immigration and debates about race and identity.

The thesis focuses on a selection of national and local newspapers. By the 1950s, the *Daily Mirror* had become the country's most popular newspaper and had pioneered a tabloid, popular language which had allowed it to communicate clearly and directly to massive audiences. Its rival the *Daily Express* was close behind it in terms of circulation throughout the period, and had itself pioneered new approaches to journalism in its early adoption of bold headlines and the clear presentation of news. Both newspapers offered different perspectives on race and immigration and represented diverse opinions and strategies of attracting and leading their readers.

The diverse patterns of black and Asian migration into the North West of England provide opportunities for this thesis to explore the influence of local socio-economic contexts on newspaper representations of race and immigration. Liverpool already had a long-standing black population by 1948. Subsequently, the marginalisation of its black communities and the scarcity of employment opportunities in the city discouraged any significant rise in immigration and heightened the ambivalence of the surrounding white community. Bolton experienced substantial, and predominantly Asian, immigration only in the 1960s, by which

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

time national debates about race were already prevalent and its housing and industry were in a state of decline. Both Liverpool and Bolton had local newspapers which held a monopoly over the local market, and so exerted a significant degree of influence. Manchester experienced substantial levels of black immigration in the 1950s, and Asian people began to migrate to the city in the 1960s. Both black and Asian immigrants often settled in wards associated with urban decline and social problems. Manchester also had a number of prominent and influential local newspapers.

This thesis argues that national and local newspapers represented and manufactured diverse and multifaceted concepts of race in their responses to black and Asian immigration. These concepts were not just a reflection of political or cultural ideas, but were instead reinterpreted, reinforced or challenged deliberately by owners, editors and journalists attempting to lead public opinion. The concepts of tolerance, supported by each newspaper to some degree, were as influential as ideas of race. By defining tolerance in different ways, newspapers could reinforce or challenge racism while maintaining a liberal image. Tolerance was a powerful tool in formulating and modifying ideas about race, identity and belonging.

#### The History of Black and Asian Migration and Immigration Legislation.

The history of black and Asian migration into Britain and the development of political immigration law is complex, but some brief observations must be made in order to provide context to the current study. The rate of black and Asian migration, which rose steadily from 1948 to 1972, defined political and public debates about race and identity in the postwar years. A basic summary of key moments in this history is essential to understanding the coverage of race and immigration in British newspapers. Of particular importance to the context of the current thesis is the racist nature of post-1962 British immigration legislation

and the increasing rates of predominantly Asian immigration throughout the 1960s and early 1970s.

The 1948 British Nationality Act defined postwar patterns of immigration by creating the 'United Kingdom and Colonies' citizenship that granted entry rights to black and Asian members of Commonwealth countries.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the 1950s, the black and Asian population of Britain expanded significantly as migrants took advantage of the Act. Between 1951 and 1961, the population of West Indians in Britain rose from an estimated 15,300 to 171,800 and the West African population from 12,000 to 29,600.<sup>4</sup> The Asian population also saw an increase in the 1950s, with the number of Indians in Britain rising from 30,800 to 81,400 between 1951 and 1961, while the Pakistani population rose from 5,000 to 24,900 during the same period.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of changing economic conditions, Britain's changing relationship with Commonwealth countries and public and political prejudice, attitudes towards black and Asian immigration hardened in the late 1950s.<sup>6</sup> Despite these complex motivations, public debates about immigration seemed to shift towards support for restrictions following the Nottingham and Notting Hill riots of 1958.<sup>7</sup> In 1962, the Commonwealth Immigration Act was introduced and limited immigration by creating three categories of citizenship. The

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<sup>3</sup> The reasons for the passage of the act and its finer legal details are far more complex than this. For a more detailed discussion, see Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-war Era* (London, 1997), pp. 1-24; Randal Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 35-61.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth J. Rose *et al*, *Colour and Citizenship: A Report on British Race Relations* (Oxford, 1969), p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> This, again, is a simplification of a rich scholarly debate about the reasons for changing attitudes towards race. See Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, pp. 111-169 and Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration*, pp. 80-99 for a more detailed account of these reasons. Chapter one of the thesis will cover the historiographical debate in more detail.

<sup>7</sup> Panikos Panayi, *The Impact of Immigration: A Documentary History of the Effects and Experiences of Immigrants in Britain since 1945* (London, 1999), p. 25.

bottom category (C) placed a quota on the unskilled migrants granted entry each year and has widely been considered to deliberately discriminate against black and Asian people.<sup>8</sup>

While the 1962 act restricted primary migration, the maintenance of entry rights for dependants in fact led to an increased rate of Asian migration into Britain.<sup>9</sup> Because immigration restrictions meant temporary migration into Britain, to secure wages to be sent home, would no longer be possible, many migrants decided to settle in Britain. Acting upon their rights of entry, the families of migrants already in Britain came to settle in the country permanently. The period before the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Bill became law itself saw a spike in the numbers of Indian (42,000), Pakistani (50,170) and Caribbean (98,090) migrants entering Britain respectively between the announcement of the bill and its passage in June 1962.<sup>10</sup> Between July 1962 and 1967 an even greater number of Indian (95,850), Pakistani (64,630) and Caribbean (59,160) people migrated into Britain.<sup>11</sup> The Labour Government put further restrictions on the amount of vouchers granted each year in 1965 and only 87,530 were granted to black and Asian people 1962-67, but the continued rate of immigration far exceeded this total.<sup>12</sup> Migration into Britain during this period was thus dominated by Asian dependants.

In 1968, the expulsion of Asians from the newly-independent state of Kenya prompted the passage of another amendment to the Commonwealth Immigration Act. Ten thousand British passport-holding Kenyan-Asians had entered the country in February 1968

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<sup>8</sup> For more details, see Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration*, pp. 100-124; Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, pp. 131-169.

<sup>9</sup> While the gender ratio of Caribbean immigrants was largely balanced by the 1960s, even in 1965 the majority of Asian immigrants were men seeking work, see Ian R. G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939* (London, 1997), p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> Rose, *Colour and Citizenship*, p. 83.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85. For an account of Labour's 1965 legislation, see Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration*, pp. 146-152.

alone and demonstrated the continued inability of immigration legislation to limit rates of Asian immigration.<sup>13</sup> In 1968, Labour again restricted the rates of immigration in a controversial move to curtail East-African migration into the country.<sup>14</sup> Under Conservative rule, the 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act essentially reduced the status of black and Asian citizens to that of aliens by basing eligibility to enter the country on British ancestry, a feature which clearly favoured white immigrants over black and Asian ones.<sup>15</sup> In August 1972, 29,000 Ugandan-Asians who still held British passports entered Britain after being expelled from their country by Idi Amin.<sup>16</sup> This demonstrated both the racist nature of post-1962 immigration law and the difficulty successive governments faced when trying to reverse the rights granted to black and Asian citizens in the 1948 British Nationality Act.<sup>17</sup>

Despite the passage of increasingly restrictive immigration law the black and Asian population of Britain had risen from 1.2 million in the late 1960s to 2.1 million in 1981.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, while the 1972 Commonwealth Immigration Act was the most severe example of an immigration law based on race, around 40,000 predominantly Asian people migrated to Britain in that year alone.<sup>19</sup> Recognising the discrimination Britain's black and Asian population faced, the Labour Government introduced the 1965 Race Relations Act. While the act and the added power given to it by the 1968 Race Relations Bill were relatively limited in their power to convict establishments and institutions practising discrimination, it did

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<sup>13</sup> Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1939*, pp. 140-142. Kenyan-Asians were said to be migrating into Britain at a rate of 1,000 per month throughout 1967: see Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration*, pp.153-178.

<sup>14</sup> Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration*, pp. 169-179. The number of East-African Asians eligible to enter Britain yearly was reduced to 6,000.

<sup>15</sup> 'Patrials', the group which had unrestricted entry rights to Britain, was defined by having a parent or Grandparent of British descent. See Hansen, p. 33.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 143-146.

<sup>17</sup> Hansen argues that the definition of citizenship put forward in 1948 was difficult to abandon and shaped the legally peculiar and racist terms of subsequent legislation: See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration*, pp. 3-34.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146. The figure did not fall below 20,000 a year before the passage of the 1981 British Nationality Act.

demonstrate both the reality of racism in Britain and the growing powers of anti-racist campaigners and organisations to counter it.<sup>20</sup>

This rising rate of immigration, and especially high-profile cases of Asian refugee migration in 1968 and 1972, ultimately had a negative effect on public opinion. In the context of increasingly white definitions of belonging underpinning political policy after 1962, there was a growing sense of public resentment that black and Asian immigrants continued to be granted entry and legal rights into the 1970s. British newspapers alternatively reflected, reinforced and challenged these attitudes between 1948 and 1972.

### The Structure of the Thesis.

Chapter 1 of this thesis considers scholarly approaches to race, immigration and identity in Britain. While scholars have adopted a wide variety of approaches to studying race, in recent years attention has focused on how ideas of race and identity were constructed and communicated across the public sphere. While historians have exposed the racist attitudes that often shaped political and industrial responses to black and Asian immigration, they remain unclear on how these ideas were communicated to and interpreted by the public. Some scholars have demonstrated how films, television, literature and newspapers all featured content engaging with race, but few attempt to understand how this content was shaped.

Chapter 2 suggests recent approaches to the history of newspapers and journalism offer an insight into the complex ways in which media content is formed in response to ideological, political and commercial motivations. The chapter suggests a similar approach to the study of responses to immigration in newspapers can strengthen our understanding of

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<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138-146.

how and for what reasons concepts of race and identity were communicated to large audiences. A number of approaches to gathering newspaper source material are considered, while the value of digitised newspaper archives is emphasised. The chapter warns against neglecting local newspaper sources, which offer their own unique insights to our understanding of how race and immigration was characterised in the public sphere.

Chapter 3 of this thesis analyses the *Daily Mirror*'s response to immigration and racism in the 1950s. The newspaper had launched a 'crusade' against racial discrimination in these years under the impetus of editor Hugh Cudlipp. In doing so, the chapter suggests the *Daily Mirror* challenged racist attitudes. The newspaper's own concept of tolerance, however, had its limitations and will be shown to have allowed for black and Asian people's rights to be challenged in the late 1950s. The chapter focuses on the diverse genre strategies each section of the *Daily Mirror* employed to communicate its policy on racism and argues that the tabloid style of the newspaper was deliberately used by Cudlipp in an attempt to lead public opinion.

Chapter 4 investigates the dilemmas the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror* faced in the 1960s as public approval of anti-immigration legislation and the newspapers' own support for the 1964-70 Labour Governments challenged their commitment to immigrant rights. While the *Mirror* newspapers tried to maintain their anti-racist stance, they came to make compromises in their support for increasingly restrictive immigration laws. Despite this, Cudlipp maintained his support for challenging racially exclusive definitions of Britishness. In the early 1970s, the *Daily Mirror* made a number of bold gestures which demonstrated its ability to challenge popular ideas about race and identity.

Chapters 5 and 6 analyse the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*'s responses to immigration and highlights the racist concept of white British identity they communicated to audiences. Chapter 5 highlights how owner Lord Beaverbrook's obsession with antiquated ideas of empire and racial hierarchies shaped the *Express* newspaper's policy on immigration. Black and Asian migration into Britain was defined as a reversal of traditional imperial relationships, which had encouraged white migration to colonial territories, and the newspapers called for a complete denial of colonial citizenship rights to non-white people. Chapter 6 will show that feature articles about the effect of black and Asian immigration on the domestic lives of white Britons reinforced this policy by representing black and Asian people as disruptive to the white culture of the metropole.

In part two of the thesis, attention turns to the local press. As Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester each experienced distinct patterns of immigration, the effect of regional variations is analysed. The marginalized position of black Liverpoolians (explored in Chapter 7) meant that the city's newspapers felt little responsibility to represent them or to challenge institutional discrimination towards them. While research into racism in the city gained the attention of the local press, the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Echo*'s reliance on official sources, and desire to appeal to an ambivalent white audience, resulted in black Liverpoolians being relegated to reporting about their perceived threat to public order. In Bolton (Chapter 8), predominantly Asian immigration in the 1960s was a new phenomenon, and the *Bolton Evening News* responded to it with a sense of alarm; privileging the rights of local white people in a time of industrial decline and housing resettlement. As community relations movements were given more power by the Labour Government in the late 1960s, those challenging racism were given representation in the *Bolton Evening News*. By the early

1970s, the tone of the newspaper had begun to shift to accepting Asian Boltonians, while remaining anxious about further immigration.

Finally, Chapter 8 analyses the special relationship between the *Guardian* and the *Manchester Evening News*, and how this allowed local coverage of immigration in Manchester to take both a liberal and illiberal line in the 1950s and 1960s. While the *Guardian* largely remained committed to defending the rights of black and Asian people, the *Manchester Evening News* called for an end to immigration and a consolidation of white privilege. The chapter will show that the coverage of both newspapers, and part-time local rival the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, focused on the district of Moss Side. As this area symbolised anxieties about immigration and urban decline, its increasingly positive stance in the early 1970s demonstrated that community action in Manchester was beginning to improve the city's newspapers attitudes towards multiculturalism.

## **Chapter 1**

### **From ‘Race Relations’ to Multicultural Racism: A Literature Review of Racism and Immigration in Britain.**

Scholars have followed two broad strands of thought when attempting to explain negative responses to black and Asian immigration into Britain. Firstly, many historians have argued that specific social and economic conditions at the grassroots level and international political relations at the elite level determined British attitudes towards black and Asian immigrants. Secondly, historians have increasingly focused on the cultural production of racialised attitudes and the role of institutions in shaping concepts of racial difference. Some historians have begun to consider the dialectical relationship between grassroots social experiences and broader cultural conceptualisations of race and identity. This chapter will survey the development of literature relating to race and immigration in Britain and will argue that the construction of racialised national identities has been central to British responses to black and Asian immigration. The chapter suggests historians must investigate the ways these identities were formed in response to specific social and cultural relationships and anxieties. The balance between national and local case studies in the current thesis’s analysis of the British popular press explores this relationship further and so contributes to the scholarly debates highlighted in this chapter.

#### **The Spectre of Enoch Powell and the Core Themes of British Immigration Scholarship.**

Before detailing the extensive scholarship concerning racism and immigration in Britain, it is

important to sketch out the broad historiographical themes that inform the current thesis. While adopting diverse approaches to the subject, historians appear to be united in their interest in Enoch Powell.<sup>1</sup> While Powell is not the focus the current thesis, debates about his anti-immigration rhetoric feature prominently in each of its case studies. This individual has received so much scholarly attention since he first delivered his infamous ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech in 1968 because his rhetoric symbolises wider themes concerning the nature and influence of racism in Britain.<sup>2</sup> First, his political influence indicates the existence of racism at an elite level; second, the popular support he received exposes the prominence of public hostility to black and Asian people; and third, the rhetoric he employed highlights the power of concepts of liberalism, white identity, Britishness and belonging.<sup>3</sup> The significant debates his speech prompted inform studies of political, popular and working-class racism and the social construction of race and identity. The themes historians have tackled when analysing these debates have informed the current thesis and are the focus of this chapter.

Of particular relevance to the current thesis, Powell’s speech and its fallout provides historians with an example of how individual prejudices, political discourse, and cultural ideologies interacted to inform responses to black and Asian immigration and were

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<sup>1</sup> The first scholarly account of Powell’s racist attitudes appeared only a year after his views were aired in 1968. See Paul Foot, *The Rise of Enoch Powell: An Examination of Enoch Powell’s Attitude to Immigration and Race* (London, 1969). While few historians have dedicated studies to Powell, he is found in the index of most studies of race in postwar Britain. As a notable example, John Solomos identified political expressions of racism in the late 1960s under the term ‘Powellism’. John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain* (London, 2003). Powell also features prominently in the introduction to Bill Schwarz’s latest monograph and on the cover of Randal Hansen’s most influential book. Bill Schwarz, *Memories of Empire Volume One: The White Man’s World* (Oxford, 2011); Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*.

<sup>2</sup> When seeking out online resources concerning Powell for use in undergraduate seminars, I was disturbed to find that the ‘Powell was right’ chorus dominated the comments section of many relevant online video and news websites. The ghost of the ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech was also dredged up once again by popular historian David Starkey on the BBC’s current affairs show *Newsnight* in reference to the England riots of 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Enoch Powell, ‘Speech at Birmingham, 20 April 1968’, in John Wood ed. *Freedom and Reality* (London, 1969), pp. 213-19.

communicated to and interpreted by the public.<sup>4</sup> How were elite politicians such as Powell and the working-class factory workers who supported him able to draw upon such similar racialised language to address their disparate experiences and to express their fears about black and Asian immigration? This question remains unanswered and often unspoken in current scholarship and necessitates further engagement with the ways in which ideas about ‘race’, citizenship and belonging were communicated across postwar Britain. Social and cultural histories which have highlighted both the constructed nature of concepts of race and the influence of popular media on public attitudes offer methods that can be employed to answer a variety of questions. How have individuals and institutions shaped and challenged racialised discourse? What methods have they employed? What effect has this had on popular attitudes?

The debate surrounding the ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech also highlights the importance of acknowledging the power of language and how it was employed when individuals and institutions talked about racism and immigration. The introduction to the first volume of Bill Schwarz’s *Memories of Empire, The White Man’s World*, argues Powell’s anti-immigration rhetoric deftly linked ideas about racial and cultural difference to prevalent fears about British decline which were as potent as they were ‘invisible’ and ‘nameless’.<sup>5</sup> In seeking to identify ‘The Thing’ which inspired Powell’s racist language and the public support it received, Schwarz argued that ideas about Britishness, national identity and belonging were inextricably – and often subconsciously – linked to concepts of race, cultural difference and

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<sup>4</sup> According to two Gallop and National Opinion Polls conducted in 1968, 74 percent and 67 percent of surveyed members of the British public, respectively, agreed with Powell that black and Asian immigration was a danger to Britain and should be stopped. See Amy Whipple, ‘Revisiting the “Rivers of Blood” Controversy: Letters to Enoch Powell’, *Journal of British Studies*, 48, 3 (July, 2009), p. 718.

<sup>5</sup> Schwarz, *The White Man’s World*, p. 4.

whiteness in postwar discourse.<sup>6</sup> Schwarz's argument is the latest entry into an academic scholarship which has emphasised the importance of closely analysing linguistic discourse in order to understand how racialised attitudes are formed, reinforced and challenged at elite and popular levels.

The true meaning of Powell's language—'The Thing' driving it—has ultimately been so elusive to historians because of the contradictions which lay at its heart. His rhetoric appealed to common sense, decency and liberalism while simultaneously undermining the moral implications usually associated with those concepts. This is typical of how racist ideology is communicated in Britain, and historians must attempt to understand how concepts of British tolerance and liberalism informed the guises prejudice took on in the postwar era. As this chapter will show, historians such as Adrian Favell, Tony Kushner, Bill Williams and Gavin Schaffer have developed approaches by which we can understand the dialectical relationship between concepts of racial difference, Britishness and tolerance.<sup>7</sup> The question, asked by Colin Holmes—of whether or not Britain has historically been a tolerant country—needs to be shifted to ask how liberal tolerance has helped inform the 'invisible' forms of racism that have permeated British culture.<sup>8</sup> Having identified the themes addressed when historians talk about Powell, this chapter will now move on to consider their relevance in the wider context of postwar responses to black and Asian immigration.

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-10.

<sup>7</sup> Adrian Favell, *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain* (2001); Tony Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Oxford, 1994); T. Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in British Society during the Second World War* (Manchester, 1989); Bill Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance: Middle-Class Manchester and the Jews, 1870-1900' in A. J. Kidd and K. W. Roberts (eds.), *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 77-84; B. Williams, *The Making of Manchester Jewry, 1740-1875* (1985); Gavin Schaffer, 'Re-Thinking the History of Blame', *National Identities*, 8, 4 (2006) pp. 403-404.

<sup>8</sup> Colin Holmes, *A Tolerant Country? Immigrants, Refugees and Minorities* (London, 1991).

## Racism and Discrimination Britain.

Panikos Panayi's *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* drew together the multifaceted approaches of historians of migration and highlighted the need for immigration and migrants themselves to be included more prominently in social, political and cultural studies of modern Britain.<sup>9</sup> The scholarship which forms the basis of Panayi's historiographical overview highlights the political, social and cultural influence of racism in Britain. In a white-dominated medium such as the press, it is especially important to understand how racialised attitudes informed their coverage and how this influenced popular culture. As the press only described particular strands of migrants' experiences, it is important to contextualise the current thesis's analysis within a wider history of racism and anti-racism in Britain.

Histories of migrant communities in Britain have highlighted the prejudice and discrimination they faced, and have emphasised the importance of acknowledging and understanding the influence of racism on modern British society. Colin Holmes and Peter Fryer produced exhaustive accounts of the long history of migration into Britain and portrayed the experience of many migrant groups as a struggle against xenophobic and racist attitudes.<sup>10</sup> In emphasising the active attempts of white Britons to isolate black and Asian people from economic and social resources, Holmes and Fryer reacted against the sociological literature of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, which suggested social discrimination

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<sup>9</sup> Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (London, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (Basingstoke, 1988); Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London, 1984). See also: Michael Banton, *Promoting Racial Harmony* (Cambridge, 1985); John Solomos and L. Back, *Racism and Society* (Basingstoke, 1996); J. Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain*.

and segregation were simply the result of social in-group/out-group tensions.<sup>11</sup> These sociological investigations had created a burgeoning field of ‘race relations’ literature which often failed to place the experience of black and Asian people within a wider historical context related to diverse and fluctuating social, economic and political circumstances.<sup>12</sup> As a result, the concept of ‘race relations’ itself has come under scrutiny since the 1980s.<sup>13</sup>

Fryer focused specifically on black communities and provided a harrowing account of both the violence and discrimination they have faced and their successes in surviving and overcoming such experiences.<sup>14</sup> In an especially affecting case study of racialist exclusion in the 1950s, Edward Pilkington gave a voice to the victims of prejudice themselves through the oral testimony of West Indian Londoners. Their accounts not only showcased the extent of discrimination in the housing and employment markets, but outlined the way in which landlords and employers appealed to racialist myths to justify their actions.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For the most prominent examples of sociological studies which emphasised in-group/out-group tensions, see Kenneth Little, *Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society* (London, 1947); Shelia Patterson, *Dark Strangers* (London, 1963); Ruth Glass, *Newcomers: West Indians in London* (London, 1960); Anthony Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1942-51* (London, 1954); Michael Banton, *The Coloured Quarter: Negro Immigrants in and English City* (London, 1955); Rose, *Colour and Citizenship*; Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, *The Problem of Coloured School Leavers* (London, 1969).

<sup>12</sup> The work of Fryer and Holmes reflected Kenneth Lunn’s 1985 call to historians to re-consider ‘race relations’ within broader contexts. See Kenneth Lunn (eds.), *Race and labour in twentieth-century Britain* (London, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> Semmit Saggat has suggested that anti-racist legislation established by the 1965 Labour Government – which was based in the assumption that black and Asian immigration had to be halted in order for relations to improve – was a perfect example of the way in which the concept of ‘race relations’ was loaded with assumptions about the superiority of white cultural values and the perceived inherent ‘problems’ non-white communities posed. See Semmit Saggat ‘Re-examining the 1964-70 Labour Government’s Race Relations Strategy’, *Contemporary British History*, 7, 2 (1993), pp. 254-258. Hansen has also argued that the idea that ‘good race relations...depended on strict migration control’ was ‘endlessly repeated’ by politicians in the 1960s. See Hansen, *Citizenship and immigration in Post-war Britain*, pp. 26-27. This policy will be analysed in more detail in later chapters.

<sup>14</sup> Fryer, *Staying Power*.

<sup>15</sup> Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country: West Indians and the Notting Hill White Riots* (London, 1988), p. 42 argued that white Britons’ refusal to work and live with West Indians was justified by representing them as being ‘lazy’ and ‘dirty’, and that their resulting position at the bottom of the social scale appeared to justify these assumptions.

Subsequent studies of the experience of black and Asian people in Britain have complicated the relatively narrative approaches of Holmes and Fryer by highlighting the diverse and complex forms British racism has taken. Robert Miles and Laura Tabili have demonstrated the hegemonic and malleable nature of concepts of race in their studies of relations between white and black workers. Miles argued that modern concepts of race have been the result of class struggles and have in turn informed industrial relations.<sup>16</sup> Tabili supported this claim in her analysis of industrial disputes during which racial myths were sometimes drawn upon to exclude black workers, but in other cases ignored in order to allow collaboration between white and black workers against employers.<sup>17</sup> Representing a much larger corpus of Marxist studies of racism, Miles and Tabili have revealed the diversity of responses to black and Asian people and the influence of distinct and shifting social relations.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Robert Miles, *Racism and Migrant Labour* (London, 1982). This line of argument owes a debt to the work of Pierre Van den Berge who referred to the segregated American south and apartheid South Africa as 'herrenvolk democracies' wherein concepts of racial hierarchy were adopted by white workers to privilege their economic position over that of the black population. Pierre Van den Berge, *Race and Racism* (New York, 1967).

<sup>17</sup> Laura Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice: Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain* (Cornell, 1994). This was highlighted during an episode in which a group of men including "200 Empire-born Negroes" protested against a union-sanctioned hiring of an Arab crew in Manchester's ports. During this incident a West African Mancunian 'appeared to be acting as a spokesman for both white and coloured men'. This opposition was withdrawn when the group were satisfied that these Arabs were in fact 'local men'. The fact that West African, Arab and white seamen defined each other as 'local boys', Tabili believes, 'confounds prevalent understandings of...racial difference as an ineluctable impediment to social harmony' (pp. 1-2).

<sup>18</sup> For further Marxist accounts of racism and industrial relations see: Mark Duffield, 'Rationalization and the Politics of Segregation: Indian Workers in Britain's Foundry Industry, 1945-62', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4, 2 (1985), pp.142-172; L. Tabili, 'The Construction of Racial Difference in Twentieth Century Britain: the Special Restriction (Coloured Alien Seamen) Order, 1925' *Journal of British Studies*, 33, 1 (January 1994), pp. 54-98; Jacqueline Jenkinson, *Black 1919: Riots, Racism and Resistance in Imperial Britain* (Liverpool, 2009); J. Jenkinson, 'Black Sailors on Red Clydeside: Rioting, Reactionary Trade Unionism and Conflicting Notions of 'Britishness' Following the First World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, 19, 1 (2008), pp. 29-60; Dianne Frost, 'Colonial Labour and Work Palaver: Labour Conflict in Britain and West Africa', in P. Alexander and R. Halpern (eds.) *Racializing Class, Classifying Race: Labour and Difference in Africa, USA and Britain* (London, 2000), pp. 150-167; D. Frost, 'Diasporan West African Communities: The Kru in Freetown and Liverpool', *Review of African Political Economy*, 29, 92: *Africa, the African Diaspora and Development* (2002), pp. 285-300; Satnam Virdee, 'Racism and Resistance in British Trade Unions, 1948-79', in Alexander and Halpern (eds.) *Racialising Class and Classifying Race*, pp. 122-149; Marika Sherwood, 'Strikes! African Seamen, Elder Dempster and the Government, 1940-42', in D. Frost ed. *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Seafarers in the UK* (London, 1995), pp. 130-145; M. Sherwood, *Many struggles: West Indian workers and service personnel in Britain, 1939-45* (London, 1985).

While racism has been a persistent element in postwar social relations, responses to black and Asian immigrants changed over time, were shaped by specific contexts, and were consistently contested and re-defined. Accounts such as Fryer's *Staying Power* attest to the power ideas have had on the experiences of black and Asian immigrants, but suggests these ideas are rooted in social relations. The new perspectives offered by Miles, Tabili et al suggest these ideas were highly complex, heterogeneous and malleable. While historians continue to broaden our understanding of the experiences of black and Asian people, the complex concepts of race which appear to inform them require further analysis. The present study emphasises the importance of understanding how ideas about race were formed, contested and communicated. In doing so, it goes some way to explaining how apparently vague concepts of racial difference could be evoked in such diverse contexts.

#### Whose Voice Matters?: Communicating Racialist Discourses.

By tackling the formation and communication of concepts of race, the current thesis analyses the voices which influenced popular attitudes towards black and Asian immigration. As suggested by its consistent emphasis on Powellite rhetoric, the relative influence of political and popular voices has become a major point of contention in the scholarship on racism and immigration in Britain.<sup>19</sup> Since postwar political records have gradually become available to historians, a number of studies have searched for the origins of racist discourse in the highest echelons of institutional power. This has turned the focus of many historians away from grassroots social relations and prompted important questions concerning which institutions

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<sup>19</sup> Indeed, even the earliest significant study of the response to Powell's racist rhetoric highlighted how it raised questions about the relative influence of political and public attitudes. See Donley T. Studlar, 'British Public Opinion, Colour Issues, and Enoch Powell: A Longitudinal Analysis', *British Journal of Political Science*, 4, 2 (July, 1974), pp. 371-381.

and individuals had most influence over political, social and cultural responses to black and Asian immigration.<sup>20</sup>

The debate is characterised by the influential and contrasting work of Kathleen Paul and Randal Hansen, who argue for the power of political and popular voices in dictating responses to immigration respectively. Both have responded to Bob Carter, C. Harris and S. Joshi's assertion that:

Successive [postwar] governments not only constructed an ideological framework in which black people were to be seen as threatening, alien and inassimilable but also developed policies to discourage and control black immigration...and in so doing reinforced a conception of Britishness grounded in colour and culture.<sup>21</sup>

Paul's *Whitewashing Britain* analysed political responses to immigration and highlighted how political definitions of nationality legitimised 'separate spheres' of belonging in British society.<sup>22</sup> Belonging, she argued, was defined by the belief of certain politicians that Britishness was defined by biological and cultural white heritage. As these concepts were communicated to the public through speeches, reports and policies, Paul suggests politicians shaped postwar responses to black and Asian immigration.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> This debate in current scholarship reflects similar themes in previous historiography noted by Layton-Henry. Assessing the 'politicisation of the race issue' he identified a dual set of arguments in which some scholars argued that 'politicians and the [national] press stimulated popular concern over immigration and then used manifestations of such concern to justify the introduction of immigration controls'. Others, he continued, 'argue[d] that policy makers...have been reluctantly forced to give in to popular demands for immigration controls': See Zig Layton-Henry, *Politics of Race in Britain* (London, 1984), p. 30.

<sup>21</sup> Bob Carter, Clive Harris and Shirley Joshi, 'The 1951-55 Conservative Government and the Racialisation of Black Immigration', in W. James and C. Harris (eds.), *Inside Babylon: The Caribbean Diaspora in Britain* (London, 1993), pp. 55-72; B. Carter *et al.*, 'Immigration Policy and the Racialisation of Migrant Labour: The Construction of National Identities in the USA and Britain', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 19, 1 (1996), pp. 135-157.

<sup>22</sup> Kathleen Paul, *Whitewashing Britain: Race and Citizenship in the Post-war Era* (London, 1997), pp. 12-13, 21-26.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

Hansen's *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain* shifted scholarly attention back to public expressions of prejudice. While not discounting the racism of some British politicians, he rejected the idea that racism was elite-driven. Instead, he argued racist policies were constructed during attempts by British governments to balance diplomatic commitments to inclusive and liberal Commonwealth policies with hostile voter responses to black and Asian immigration.<sup>24</sup> While politicians constructed the exclusive policies of the 1960s, the racist ideology informing them was present in wider society, and elite anti-racist laws helped temper more extreme demands for discriminatory policy.<sup>25</sup> Paul addressed key historiographical themes—whiteness, Britishness and liberalism—but her exclusive focus on elite discourse does not consider its wider, cultural influence. While Hansen raises this concern, his own focus on the legal details of nationality law ignores the social influences influencing public attitudes towards immigration.

While seemingly offering contrary and reductionist arguments, both Paul and Hansen drew attention to the influence of concepts of identity and how they are communicated through language and discourse. This reflects, and has reinforced, the cultural turn in history which has encouraged the study of the creation, dissemination and social impact of cultural artefacts and ideologies.<sup>26</sup> Cultural history approaches to the study of racism and immigration are particularly relevant as Gavin Schaffer has argued that race came to be understood as a

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<sup>24</sup> Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Post-war Britain*, pp. 11-18. In fact, Hansen highlights the role of those politicians and civil servants who spoke out against discrimination in both public and political domains. For example, Hansen cites the fact that Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd threatened to resign over proposals to restrict entry of non-white British subjects and that, while Conservative MPs such as Peter Griffith and Enoch Powell used racist language to oppose non-white immigration, they were in fact widely discredited in parliament for their actions. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup> This is reflected in the failure of right-wing groups to come to political prominence in Britain, see David Lewis, *Illusions of Grandeur: Mosley, Fascism and British Society* (Manchester, 1985).

<sup>26</sup> For accounts and analysis of the 'cultural turn' in history, see Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Edinburgh, 2006); Victoria E. Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (eds.), *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (London, 1999). Historians of race and immigration in Britain adopted these approaches in response to the call in the early 1980s by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies for a wider understanding 'the complex processes by which race is constructed as a social and political relation'. Quoted in Solomos, *Race and Racism*, p. 28.

signifier of cultural, rather than biological, difference following the decline of scientific race theory in postwar Europe.<sup>27</sup> As a result, culture became both a sphere in which racist language and ideas were disseminated and a concept which was drawn upon in their construction. As cultural media such as the popular press communicated political discourse to the public, but also provided a voice for diverse individuals and groups, they offer historians examples of how elite and public ideology concerning race and immigration interacted and were interpreted and communicated.

Wendy Webster has argued that film, television and newspapers have informed public attitudes towards black and Asian people.<sup>28</sup> Cultural media is shaped and interpreted in relation to the social and economic changes that the British public faced in the decades following the Second World War. They demonstrate the dialectical relationship between political, social and cultural definitions of race in Britain. In particular, they offer convincing accounts of the prominence of references to white domesticity in media representations of the perceived threats of black and Asian immigration. The influence ideas about domesticity had on the anxieties of filmmakers, journalists, members of the public and politicians alike, suggest ideas about race and identity were not only the result of elite propaganda, but reflected more diffuse anxieties about postwar British identity. Schwarz's *The White Man's World* marks only the most recent landmark in this scholarly engagement with the cultural

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<sup>27</sup> Gavin Schaffer, *Racial Science and British Society, 1930-62* (London, 2008); G. Schaffer, 'Fighting Racism: Black Soldiers and Workers in Britain during the Second World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 28, 2 (2008) p. 248-252.

<sup>28</sup> Webster has challenged historians who support a 'minimum impact thesis' regarding the influence of ideas of empire on the popular consciousness of the British public. She supports Schwarz's contention that concepts of white British superiority, reinforced through the hierarchy of empire, had a significant effect on the attitudes of the public. Wendy Webster, *Englishness and Empire, 1939-1965* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 1-5. For more detailed accounts of the minimum impact thesis, see Stuart Ward, *British Culture and the End of Empire* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 1-15; Stephen Howe, 'Internal Decolonisation? Politics Since Thatcher as Post-Colonial Trauma', *Twentieth Century British History*, 14, (2003), pp. 286-304.

impact of postwar concepts of 'race'.<sup>29</sup>

Despite their thoughtful approaches, Schwarz, Webster and Ward's methodological and thematic focus on the influence of 'memories of empire' has often restricted their source base to accounts which directly reference or reflect imperial relationships. In doing so they neglect the wider socio-economic influences illuminated by Miles and Tabili and provide examples of newspaper and television sources removed from the context of their wider coverage. Their selective analysis of numerous cultural media also prevents Webster and Ward from providing a detailed analysis of the voices shaping and challenging media representations.<sup>30</sup> The current thesis responds to these problems by collecting a much larger and more comprehensive source base of newspaper articles and analysing the various voices they spoke for.

The value of focusing on the voices behind media engagement with racism has been demonstrated by Chris Waters, Marcus Collins and Gavin Schaffer. Their studies suggest media representations were informed by many different individuals, groups and institutions such as academics, authors and prominent broadcasters.<sup>31</sup> Schaffer's account of the production of the BBC comedy *'Till Death Do Us Part* provides a particularly illuminating

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<sup>29</sup> Schwarz, *The White Man's World*; Webster, *Englishness and Empire*; Webster, *Imagining Home: Gender, 'Race', and National Identity, 1945-64* (London, 1998); Webster, 'There'll Always Be an England: Representations of Colonial Wars and Immigration, 1948-1968', *Journal of British Studies*, 40 (2001), pp. 557-584. See also, B. Schwarz, 'The Only White Man in There: The Re-Racialisation of England, 1956-1968', *Race and Class* 38, 1 (1996), pp. 65-78; Ward, *British Culture and the End of Empire*.

<sup>30</sup> As chapters 3 and 4 of the current thesis will demonstrate, Webster's selective use of *Daily Mirror* articles misrepresented the wider approach the newspaper adopted to the coverage of racism and immigration.

<sup>31</sup> Waters and Collins stressed the influence of academic writers and novelists respectively: Chris Waters, 'Dark Strangers in Our Midst: Discourses of Race and Nation in Britain, 1947-1963', *Journal of British Studies*, 36, 2 (April, 1997), pp. 207-238. Marcus Collins, 'Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 3 (July, 2001). Schaffer adopted a more detailed approach by analysing the various creative minds behind BBC programmes about racism and immigration. See G. Schaffer, 'Till Death Us Do Part and the BBC: Racial Politics and the British Working Classes 1965-75', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 45, 2 (2010), pp. 454-477; G. Schaffer, 'Race on the Television: The Writing of Johnny Speight in the 1970s' in L. Forster and S. Harper (eds.), *British Culture and Society in the 1970s: the Lost Decade* (Newcastle, 2010), pp. 107-118.

account of the complex motivations driving media engagement with race and racism. His analysis of the show's production reveals that both its creator and the BBC executives who commissioned it intended to craft a critical commentary on British racism. Instead, the show's racist protagonist was perceived by many to be a cult hero speaking the mind of the 'average' Briton.<sup>32</sup> Schaffer offers a demonstration of the diverse influences that shape media responses to racism and immigration. His account also makes it seem unlikely that the politicians, journalists or filmmakers referenced by Paul, Hansen and Webster could simply produce and communicate a racialist discourse which was then accepted by the public in the manner originally intended. Instead, Schaffer demonstrated the way audience responses to media discourse could challenge and alter its meaning and prompt its creators to restructure or reaffirm its intended purpose.

Historians have demonstrated that the meaning of race in postwar Britain was re-enforced, re-interpreted and contested through diverse mediums and in heterogeneous ways. National and local newspapers provided a forum where the different interpretations and responses to race and racism identified by historians could be collected, reinforced, reinterpreted and communicated to significant audiences. The influence social change, personal experiences and anxieties had on the public and political elites alike informed how the language of various newspapers was constructed and perceived by readers.<sup>33</sup> The influence of this approach on the current study is emphasised in both its analysis of the popular press and the close attention paid to social change and public anxieties in its case studies of the local press. Thematically, the current thesis analyses how concepts of British identity drove cultural engagement with race and immigration. Historians who have engaged

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<sup>32</sup> G. Schaffer, ' *Till Death Us Do Part* and the BBC'.

<sup>33</sup> Schwarz uses the example of Enoch Powell and his supporters alike struggling with a sense of an 'unnameable' 'loss' to show that—rather than one influencing the other—both reinforced their own personal anxieties and the future of Britain. Schwarz, *The White Man's World*, p.9.

with the concepts of liberalism, tolerance, whiteness and Britishness offer illuminating methods by which to tackle these themes.

### Liberalism, Tolerance and Multicultural Racism: ‘The Central Driving Force of British Racism’?

Panayi’s *Immigration History* concluded that, while racism and discrimination have consistently influenced the lives of migrants, black and Asian people have also experienced significant levels of integration and social mobility. He called the contradictory co-existence of racism and tolerance in British society ‘multicultural racism, the ultimate contradiction’. This highlights the historical complexity of migrant life in Britain.<sup>34</sup> While the phrase was coined by Panayi, the work of Adrian Favell, Bill Williams and Tony Kushner has provided the most sophisticated approaches to understanding the nature of multicultural racism and how, despite its contradictory nature, it has influenced political and community relations in Britain. Favell believes liberal institutions, by their very nature, must allow for the ‘plurality of values’ central to both the concept of multiculturalism and a laissez faire attitude towards the potentially prejudiced beliefs of the indigenous population.<sup>35</sup> The liberal ideals which define Britain’s unwritten constitution allow for the continued existence of *both* multiculturalism and racism. While Holmes argued that Britain’s institutional and conceptual ‘liberal tradition’ has obscured the formation and influence of racialised attitudes from public memory, like Panayi he has shown how liberalism itself has also been *central*, both racist and anti-racist responses to black and Asian immigration.<sup>36</sup> In order to navigate the complexity of

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<sup>34</sup> Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 318.

<sup>35</sup> See A. Favell, *Philosophies of Integration*, pp. 90-99 for an account of how liberal definitions of postwar British citizenship—made popular by Trevor H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge, 1950)—led to the policy of the 1964-1970 Labour Government being viewed historically as a ‘natural’ enlightened response of Britain to black and Asian immigration rather than a complex socio-politically determined policy. This policy is in turn covered in more detail later in this chapter.

<sup>36</sup> Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?*.

British responses to migration, the current thesis engages with the development and influence of ‘multicultural racism’ in the British press.

The contradictory influence of liberalism was demonstrated in Kushner’s investigations into the changing status of Anglo-Jewish communities since the nineteenth century. He argued that the freedoms which liberalism allowed guaranteed Anglo-Jewry a place in British society while also contributing to the survival and power of anti-Semitism.<sup>37</sup> He found the rights of native Britons were often privileged by governments, and so no active anti-discriminatory policy was adopted to protect migrants.<sup>38</sup> While black and Asian migrants were afforded considerable rights in twentieth century Britain, Conservative and Labour Governments anxious to allay the racist fears of white Britons offered these groups little protection from public discrimination. The ongoing inability to ensure migrant rights marks the continued failure of Labour and Conservative Governments to solve the contradictions multicultural Britain poses to liberal polity. The current thesis concerns itself with better understanding the processes in which multicultural racism is reinforced and its contradictions navigated in the popular sphere.

Williams’s study of Jewish communities in nineteenth century Manchester highlights the importance of understanding the influence of ideals of tolerance. It provides the most powerful account of the effect of multicultural racism on migrant communities. He argued that the distaste of the British bourgeoisie for public prejudice, coupled with an institutional inability to actively combat it, led to public and political pressure – through both abusive newspaper articles and limited political rights – being placed on Anglo-Jewry to assimilate

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<sup>37</sup> T. Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Anti-Semitism in British Society during the Second World War* (Manchester, 1989).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*; T. Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal Imagination: A Social and Cultural History* (Oxford, 1994).

into British culture.<sup>39</sup> While Jewish people often experienced the acceptance and social mobility highlighted by Panayi, Williams argued this was dependent on their conformity to the values of bourgeois British society and led to the destruction of many Jewish cultural practices. ‘Liberal tolerance’, Williams argued, was complex and conditional, and had the power not only to perpetuate and challenge racist ideologies, but also to have a dramatic effect on the lives of migrants.<sup>40</sup>

The current thesis reinforces Williams’s assertion that liberal toleration has been ‘the central driving force in British racism’.<sup>41</sup> It focuses on the press as a forum which held great power in communicating the anxieties of Britain’s liberal institutions and native population. By concentrating on national and local press publications, the current thesis highlights the diverse and contradictory ways in which concepts of tolerance and liberalism were actively used to reinforce the rights of white Britons, challenge racism and highlight the importance of harmonious community relations.

### White Britain: Identity, Britishness and Whiteness.

While the current thesis’s engagement with concepts of tolerance and liberalism adds to our understanding of the history of ideas, it is also concerned with the historical and cultural construction of identities. As demonstrated by Williams, the idea that ‘being British’ entailed

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<sup>39</sup> Bill Williams, ‘The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance’. Similar concepts have been developed in American scholarship which has questioned ideas of ‘assimilation’. The meaning of assimilation has been seen alternatively as eliminating immigrant cultures from a hegemonic ‘American’ culture or integrating immigrant cultures into a wider ‘shared’ American culture. See Russel A. Kazal, ‘Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History’, *American Historical Review*, 110, 2 (1995), pp. 437-471; Charles Jaret, ‘Troubled By Newcomers: Anti-Immigrant Attitudes and Action during Two Eras of Mass Immigration to the United States’, *Journal of American Ethnic History* (Spring, 1999), pp. 9-39; Ruben G. Rumbaut, ‘Assimilation and its Discontents: Between Rhetoric and Reality’, *International Migration Review*, 31, 4 (1997), pp. 923-960.

<sup>40</sup> Bill Williams, ‘The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance’, pp. 77-84.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

adherence to particular social and cultural practices was used to delegitimize recent migrant cultures. Crucially, multicultural racism itself has held such sway in Britain partly due to the close association of British identity and tolerance.<sup>42</sup> The dialectic relationship between the representation of black and Asian immigrants and the construction of white British identity in the postwar period has been increasingly acknowledged by historians. Central to this historiography—and the present study itself—has been the belief that the construction of national identity in Britain has been racialised.<sup>43</sup>

Kenneth Lunn's re-evaluation of historical and modern concepts of British identity acknowledged the influence of studies of racism which have argued that it has been actively formed and reformed in relation to concepts of 'race' and difference.<sup>44</sup> In particular, Stuart Hall and Paul Gilroy have pioneered the study of identity politics and its influence on both racist and anti-racist movements in Britain.<sup>45</sup> Conceptualisations of race as an exclusive marker of belonging isolated black people from official and cultural definitions of Britishness, and had a negative effect on their social and economic position.<sup>46</sup> Their scholarship demonstrates the importance of understanding how concepts of Britishness changed in the post-war period, and the effect this had on responses to black and Asian immigration. As this chapter has already shown, prominent historians such as Paul, Hansen,

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<sup>42</sup> See Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?* for the argument that a reputation for liberalism and tolerance is one of the key myths behind popular understandings of British identity.

<sup>43</sup> Benedict Anderson pioneered the concept that the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century depended on creating 'imagined communities' in which disparate groups were united under a 'shared' cultural ideology and ancestral past. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

<sup>44</sup> K. Lunn, 'Reconsidering 'Britishness': The Construction and Significance of National Identity in Twentieth-Century Britain', in A Jenkins and S. Sophos (eds.), *Nation and Identity in Contemporary Europe* (London, 1996), p. 86.

<sup>45</sup> Stuart Hall, *Questions of Cultural Identity* (1996); Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Racism* (London, 1987); Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, 1993).

<sup>46</sup> It is important to also note that concepts of racial identities have also been used by black people to organise resistance against racism and form strong cultural identities. See Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*.

Schwarz and Webster show how anxieties about British identity often drove racist ideologies.

By focusing on white-dominated institutions like the popular press, the current thesis is mindful that responses to black and Asian migrants not only affected the lives of those people but reinforced, challenged and reformed understandings of the privileges accompanying being white and British. Debates about immigration and racism can tell us a lot about the social and cultural meaning of whiteness and reveal white identity itself as a constructed and racialised concept. American ‘whiteness studies’ in particular have informed the current thesis’s attention to the racialised nature of concepts of citizenship, Britishness and belonging.<sup>47</sup>

Whiteness studies have argued that white identities are formed through the same interactions, between complex social relations and racial cultural images, which produce racialised conceptions of non-white ‘others’. Peter Kolchin has noted that whiteness studies have ‘underscored the historical process of racial construction’, and have revealed the human agency in the ‘making of race’ and the instability and intangibilities of racial concepts.<sup>48</sup> While the American historical experience of race and racism is distinct from Britain’s, Stephen Small has argued that racialisation has been imbedded in British life in similar

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<sup>47</sup> The historiography of American slavery and the African-American Civil Rights movement has highlighted the continual contestation and reinterpretation of ‘race’ through history, power relations, language and culture in ways which can tell us much about similar processes in Britain. See Henry A. Giroux, ‘Rewriting the Discourse of Racial Identity: Towards a Pedagogy of Politics and Whiteness’, *Harvard Education Review*, 67, 2 (1997), pp. 193-195.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Kolchin, ‘Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America’, *Journal of American History*, 89, 1 (2002), p. 170. The ‘intangibility’ of race is a concept borrowed from Caroline Knowles, see C. Knowles, ‘The Landscape of Post-imperial Whiteness in Rural Britain’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31, 1 (2008), p. 168.

ways.<sup>49</sup> Historians should be open to applying American theoretical approaches to British case studies.

In his paradigm shifting book *The Wages of Whiteness*, David Roediger provided an illuminating examination of the social construction of whiteness. Roediger's American case studies exposed the methods by which politicians, individuals and the media have used the seemingly natural status of white identity to reinforce white social privilege and have even altered the parameters of what constitutes 'being white' to suit their purposes.<sup>50</sup> For British historians, this approach is important to understanding how depictions of black and Asian migrants in Britain were deployed to reinforce concepts of white British virtue and privilege. As Schwarz argued, discussions about race were related to concerns about the anxieties of white Britons in a postwar and post-imperial environment. The current thesis suggests concepts of whiteness were used by British politicians and newspapers to obscure the contradictions of multicultural racism under a seemingly natural cultural order. It argues this cultural order—like whiteness itself—was heavily racialised and emphasises the ways in which left-leaning national and community newspapers also challenged concepts of white Britishness and privilege.

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<sup>49</sup> Stephen Small, *Racialised Barriers: The Black Experience in the United States and England in the 1980s* (Kent, 1994), pp. 1-7. Alastair Bonnet has highlighted, however, that the theory of whiteness must be adapted when considering British society. He argued that changes in concepts of whiteness in Britain were related to the structural changes specific to the country's twentieth-century transformation from a laissez-faire capitalist industry to a welfare-based social structure. See Alastair Bonnet, 'How the British Working Class Became White: The Symbolic (Re)formation of Racialized Capitalism', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 11, 3 (1998), pp. 316-340.

<sup>50</sup> David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London, 1991). Roediger most famously used the example of Irish immigrants to show how ethnic groups in America could 'become' white when it benefited social and economic relations. For example, formerly ostracised ethnic Europeans became considered white so that white workers could rally together against African-Americans. For accounts inspired by the approach of Roediger, see: Theodore W. Allen, *The Invention of the White Race* (London, 1994); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Colour: European immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Harvard, 1998).

## Local Britishness: Contextualising National Debates with Local Case Studies.

The heterogeneous nature of concepts of race, outlined in the surveyed literature, requires historians to test dominant theories with focused case studies. The current thesis not only focuses on particular national press titles, but also on local newspapers and the distinctive experiences they interpreted. The work of historians focusing on local case studies have provided sophisticated analysis of the key themes outlined above and how they have affected responses to black and Asian immigration in specific contexts.<sup>51</sup> Some of these studies, perhaps due to their narrow geographical focus, have not featured prominently in the historiography of racism and immigration in Britain but have nonetheless influenced the approach of the current thesis.

Historians Semit Saggar and Madge Dresser have contextualised the thematic debates dominating national studies of racism through the use local case studies of communities experiencing immigration. As Peter Jackson and Vaughn Robinson contended, many forms of racism have had an ‘explicitly territorial dimension’ and should be considered as a response to local socio-cultural circumstances as well as changing concepts of identity and belonging.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, Saggar used case studies of Ealing and Barnet boroughs to place the experiences and activities of black and Asian citizens within a wider context of changing

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<sup>51</sup> Local case studies had been used extensively in the sociological literature of the 1960s and 1970s, but have been criticised for failing to place contemporary conditions uncovered in these communities within a wider background of social and political development at the national level and across British constituencies. For examples, see Christopher Bagley, *Social Structure and Prejudice in Five English Boroughs: A Report Prepared for the I.R.R. Survey of Race Relations in Britain* (London, 1970); John Rex and Robert Moore, *Race, Community and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (Oxford, 1967); J. Rex and Sally Tomlinson, *Colonial Immigrants in a British City: A Class Analysis* (London, 1979). See also S. Saggar, *Race and Public Policy: A Study of Politics and Government* (London, 1991), pp. 10-14 for a detailed analysis of this literature. For criticisms of the language used in these studies, see Waters, ‘“Dark Strangers” in Our Midst’.

<sup>52</sup> See Peter Jackson, ‘The Idea of ‘Race’ and the Geography of Racism’, in P. Jackson (ed.), *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography* (London, 1987) , pp. 14-17; Vaughan Robinson, ‘Spatial Variability in Attitudes Towards ‘Race’ in the UK’, in P. Jackson (ed.) *Race and Racism*, pp. 185-186.

national approaches to ‘race policy’ in the 1960s.<sup>53</sup> He argued the Labour Party’s commitment to anti-racist legislation provided a political platform for black and Asian groups through various Community Relations Councils and the Race Relations Board. As a result, the position of black and Asian people within their local communities was secured at the same time that their identity as British citizens was being threatened by the racially exclusive policy and language being espoused at national levels.<sup>54</sup> Saggar’s account suggests local case studies can be used to analyse how multicultural racism operated in practice.

The approach of the current thesis has been inspired, in particular, by Dresser’s study of the 1963 black activist boycott of Bristol Omnibus Company (BOC) which concentrated on local newspaper coverage.<sup>55</sup> The boycott was a response to local tensions concerning labour competition and rising rates of immigration, which resulted in the employment of West Indian workers being banned by the BOC. The *Bristol Evening News* provided a forum for public debate, and its coverage highlighted the presence of multicultural racism as the newspaper and many of its readers opposed the BOC’s policy, while acknowledging the cultural difference and implied inferiority of West Indian people. While their position and rights were defended, many letters and editorials proposed the segregation of black workers and restricted immigration as the solution to tensions.<sup>56</sup> Once again, a local case study

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<sup>53</sup> S. Saggar, *A Study of Politics and Government* (London, 1991).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* Similar results have been uncovered in other local case studies. See: Katherine Young, ‘Racial Disadvantage’, in G. Jones *et al* (eds.), *Between Centre and Locality* (London, 1985), pp. 40-65.; Gideon Ben-Tovim, John Gabriel, Ian Law and Kathleen Stredder, *The Local Politics of Race* (London, 1982); Rajindah Dudrah, ‘Diasporicity in the City of Portsmouth: Local and Global Connections of Black Britishness’, *Sociological Research Online*, 9, 2 (2004), pp. ; N. Evans, ‘Regulating the Reserve Army: Arabs, Blacks and the Local State in Cardiff, 1919-45’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 4, 2 (1985), pp. 68-115; Jenkinson, ‘Black Sailors on Red Clydeside’. Laura Tabili—drawing upon evidence gathered in a case study of the naturalization of immigrants as British subjects in South Shields between 1879 and 1947—argued that British nationality was ‘formed in dialogue between locality and state, a dialect containing significant discrepancies between local and national definitions of belonging’. L. Tabili, “‘Having Lived Close Beside Them All the Time:’ Negotiating National Identities through Personal Networks’, *Journal of Social History*, 39, 2 (2005), pp. 369-387.

<sup>55</sup> Madge Dresser, *Black and White on the Buses: The 1963 Colour Bar Dispute in Bristol* (1986).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

approach demonstrated how the seemingly contradictory nature of multicultural racism worked in practice to inform community relations.

These case studies have confirmed the influence of specific local pressures on the heterogeneous and shifting social meanings of race in postwar Britain. Panayi, Saggar and Dresser also demonstrated how liberal policies and respect for cultural difference existed alongside and often in contention with prejudice and discrimination. By comparing national and local responses to race and racism in forums such as the press, historians can analyse how cultural concepts of race and identity are constructed, drawn upon, reinforced and contested in response to specific social impulses. By focusing on the individuals, groups and institutions which informed these responses, historians can also come to understand the ways in which ideological, economic and social motivations helped determine how British people responded to black and Asian immigration.

### Conclusions.

The disconnection between the concept of Britain as a tolerant country and the social realities of racism and discrimination has driven decades of scholarship concerning responses to black and Asian immigration. This has inspired historians to look for individuals or institutions, be they elite politicians or trade unionists, to blame for encouraging and spreading racist discourse to further their own ends. While concepts of race have been used as tools to privilege the social position of white Britons, it is reductive to look for their origins in any one source. Responses to black and Asian immigration were informed by the dialectic relationship between diverse political influences, social relations, anxieties about social and cultural change and heterogeneous and malleable concepts of race and identity. It is now essential for historians to turn their attention to the many individuals, groups, institutions and

cultural mediums which influenced how this relationship was communicated to wide audiences.

The following chapter will demonstrate how the analysis of postwar national and local newspapers can broaden our understanding of how the themes identified in race scholarship were formed and communicated to public audiences. It will assess recent approaches to the study of newspapers and suggest that they have showcased exciting new ways of thinking about how concepts of identity and culture were talked about in the popular sphere. The chapter will also outline the methodological approach of the current thesis and contemplate how historians can come to conclusions about how disposable cultural artefacts from decades ago might have been received by their contemporary audience.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Methodology: The Potential of Historic Newspapers as a Source.**

In order to contribute to the historiography of racism and immigration in Britain, this thesis will analyse how national and local newspapers represented black and Asian people and communicated ideas about race and identity to their readers. It employs a content analysis approach to news reports, feature articles, editorials and reader correspondence in national and local newspapers. In doing so, it analyses the relative impact of social, political and cultural processes and institutions in framing the public's perceptions of racism and immigration in postwar Britain. The thesis provides an analysis broader than any previously conducted into the ways newspapers responded to black and Asian immigration and incorporates several local case studies. It does so by analysing the content of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* across a period spanning over twenty years and by using the most recent innovations in digital archives. It supplements this approach with traditional research methods based on microfilmed newspaper archives.

As well as considering the history of race and immigration in Britain, this thesis also contributes to our understanding of the social and cultural roles of newspapers. Special attention is also given to the structure of newspapers and the ways in which different columns employed different narrative strategies in the presentation of news and commentary. Unlike many studies of British newspapers, it complements the analysis of national newspapers with a detailed investigation into the microfilmed archives of the local press in Liverpool, Bolton

and Manchester. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates how newspapers were vitally important in reinforcing and challenging popular concepts of race and identity and are very valuable primary sources regarding postwar popular attitudes. The sophisticated methodological approach to newspapers showcased in this thesis provides historians with new ways to approach the study of the press.

Adrian Bingham argued that gender and sexuality, like race, are concepts which draw upon many sources and influences in their construction. His approach to analysing the content of newspapers to chart changing ideas about gender and sexuality in modern Britain offers opportunities in regards to understanding the social construction of concepts of race. The popular press both reflected and shaped the attitudes of its readers and:

British newspapers were right at the heart of British popular culture....The huge circulations achieved by the leading popular newspapers inevitably conferred political, social and cultural authority on them....They helped to set the tone of popular culture, and their contributions to public debate were closely monitored by politicians, policy makers, campaign groups, as well as other media.<sup>1</sup>

Newspapers are discursive ‘arenas’ in which a variety of political, social and cultural opinions and images competed for mass representation.<sup>2</sup> The attitudes towards race, identity and Britishness they delineated had a significant influence on how the public and politicians interpreted and responded to black and Asian immigration. Indeed, contemporary journalists

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<sup>1</sup> Adrian Bingham, *Family Newspapers? Sex, Private Life and the British Popular Press, 1918-1978* (Oxford, 2009), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A. Bingham, *Gender, Modernity and the Popular Press in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 6-17.

such as Hugo Young (Assistant Editor, *Sunday Times* 1965-77) believed newspaper's role in encouraging or combating racism was 'crucial'.<sup>3</sup>

The perspectives presented in newspapers were the products of the complex economic, political and socio-cultural forces in which they were produced.<sup>4</sup> Due to the commercial nature of the press, newspapers had to appeal to readers and advertisers while incorporating the perspectives of the social elites and institutions that owned them, regulated them and provided them with sources.<sup>5</sup> Martin Conboy argued the language of newspapers borrowed vocabulary from, and sought to speak for, both elites and the public.<sup>6</sup> In constructing a rhetoric that could communicate to and speak for their diverse audiences, they popularised a way of representing contemporary popular and political debates in a simple and direct vernacular.<sup>7</sup> The terms they used to describe racism, immigration and concepts of identity, and the way coverage was presented, communicated complex ideological, political and cultural ideas in easy-to-digest terms. Their popularity shaped how people spoke about and thought about ideas of race and identity.

Considering the contemporary population demographics of Britain, it can be assumed that the vast majority of *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* readers were white: certainly the majority of journalists and editors would have been.<sup>8</sup> The voice national and local

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<sup>3</sup> Clement Jones (ed.) *Race and the Press: Four Essays* (London, 1972), p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> For examples of the way these forces influenced newspaper coverage see Paul Hartman, Charles Husband and Jean Clarke (eds.), *Race as News: A Study of the Handling of Race in the British National Press from 1963 to 1970* (Paris, 1974), p. 12; Paul Hartman and Charles Husband, *Racism and the Mass Media: A Study of the Role of the Mass Media in the Formation of White Beliefs and Attitudes in Britain* (London, 1974), p. 148; S. Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of Mods and Rockers* (New York, 1980), p. 7; Umberto Eco, *The role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington, 1979), pp. 5-7; Tuen A. Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press* (London, 1991), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, pp. 3-5, 176-187.

<sup>6</sup> M. Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers* (London, 2010), pp. 5-12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> According Lionel Morrison, less than two dozen black journalists were employed in Britain's newspapers, making up only 0.09 per cent of employment market. Lionel Morrison, 'A Black Journalists Experience of

newspapers attempted to adopt was that of white Britons. When newspapers spoke about black and Asian immigrants, they were largely communicating to their white audiences' assumptions about the manners, status and problems of 'outsiders'. In this way, the complex nature of producing and commenting on news for mass audiences contributed to the restructuring of definitions of white Britishness highlighted in the accounts of Webster and Rose. Their handling of black and Asian immigration played an equally important role in determining how race and whiteness was understood in the public sphere.

#### Analytical Approaches to Newspaper Sources.

##### *The Language of Newspapers*

As the content of newspapers is driven by a combination of market forces, by the influence of prominent owners, by the styles and perspectives of editors and journalists, by the availability of sources of information and by the social, political and cultural contexts of their production, they should not be considered to be representative of a fixed reality.<sup>9</sup> Instead, newspapers *frame* reality and *construct* meaning through discursive language. Language is a 'representative system' used to articulate individual ideas and beliefs, to communicate them and, in the process, to construct shared understandings.<sup>10</sup> Conboy argues that, addressing huge audiences, newspapers utilise language which appears to reflect and reinforce the ideals and values of their readers.<sup>11</sup> This thesis explores the influence these motivations and stylistic techniques had on the coverage of racism and immigration.

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British Journalism' in Charles Husband (ed.), *White Media and Black Britain: A Critical Look at the Role of the Media in Race Relations Today* (London, 1975), pp. 165-179.

<sup>9</sup> Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*, pp. 18-21

<sup>10</sup> Stuart Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London, 1997), pp. 1-3.

<sup>11</sup> See Martin Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*; Conboy, *Tabloid Britain*. Conboy argues that appearing to represent, and assure the loyalty of, a 'community' of readers, serves both the commercial and political agendas of newspapers.

Newspapers navigated the field in which their readers came to understand the concepts of racial difference prevalent in contemporary British society by employing various linguistic and thematic frameworks.<sup>12</sup> Within these frameworks, race and immigration came to be defined and understood through their consistent association with other concepts such as disorder, tolerance and cultural difference. This thesis investigates how newspapers depicted black and Asian people in Britain and what terms and themes were most commonly used in articles referring to them. It analyses the contexts in which it was deemed relevant to discuss these groups and explore how consistently certain frameworks of representation were reinforced or adapted. As Cohen argued, newspapers repeatedly used ‘inventories’ of stylised and stereotypical language which could crystallise these associations into more organized opinions and attitudes.<sup>13</sup> By selecting certain sources of information in their reportage, newspapers both determined and limited the perspectives available to readers. The commentary and presentation of these ‘facts’ and opinions in newspapers applied meaning to them, which was then communicated to readers. Analysing this process reveals the various and complex ways in which ideas about race and identity were communicated to mass audiences.<sup>14</sup> By analysing the language, ideas and images newspapers employed in their responses to racism and immigration we can improve our understanding of contemporary popular concepts of race and identity.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Hartman and Husband, *Racism and the Mass Media*, p. 113. See also John Elridge, Jenny Kitzinger and Kevin Williams, *The Mass Media and Power in Modern Britain* (1997), pp. 4-12; Tuchman, *Making News*, pp. 1-12; James Curran, ‘The Press as an Agency of Social Control’, in *History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, pp. 73-75.

<sup>13</sup> Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, pp. 19-34.

<sup>14</sup> For an interpretation of media as a ‘key site of contestation and cultural negotiation’ between various institutions, see Sarita Malik, *Representing Black Britain: Black and Asian Images on Television* (London, 2002).

<sup>15</sup> Hemant Shah, ‘Race, Nation, and Citizenship’, p. 254; Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, p. 33; S. Hall, *Representation*, p. 6.

This thesis employs some of the socio-linguistic content analysis strategies employed in studies by Stuart Hall, Hermant Shah and Tuen Van Dijk.<sup>16</sup> Newspapers, for example, provided specially selected facts about racism and immigration and applied meaning to them in their presentation of and commentary on news.<sup>17</sup> Hall found the use of the terms ‘race riot’ and ‘colour problem’ to be methods by which newspapers could apply a variety of associated meanings and connotations to stories involving non-white immigrants.<sup>18</sup> He identified these associations as ‘racialised regimes of representation’ which influenced the ways white Britons perceived black and Asian people’s position in society.<sup>19</sup> Newspapers not only produced meaning, but shaped the way their readers thought about and responded to immigration.<sup>20</sup>

### *Audience Reception*

Newspapers provide the ‘main window’ for many of their readers onto national and international events and the perspectives of various authoritative institutions and individuals.<sup>21</sup> People purchase newspapers in order to inform themselves of current affairs and perspectives, and so their knowledge and opinions are likely be shaped by what they read.<sup>22</sup> The existence of the Press Council—however ineffective it may have been in practice—increased the public’s faith in the veracity of what they read in, even if readers would have expected, and probably enjoyed, the sensational flourish applied to popular

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<sup>16</sup> See S. Hall, *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order* (London, 1978); Hemant Shah, ‘Race, Nation, and Citizenship: Asian Indians and the Idea of Whiteness in the U.S. Press, 1906-1923’, *Howard Journal of Communications*, 10, 4 (1999), pp. 249-267 ; Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33-39.

<sup>18</sup> Hall, *Policing the Crisis*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>19</sup> Hall, *Representation*, p. 240.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 8-9; p. 263.

<sup>22</sup> Hall suggests that because of this, the media has a ‘mediating role’, connecting the public with official institutions they would otherwise not have access to. See Hall, *Policing the Crisis*, pp. 63-64.

journalism.<sup>23</sup> Historians can expect readers to have drawn certain meanings from newspapers based on their format and assumed function.<sup>24</sup> While the personal perspectives of readers—which could be influenced by their class, age, gender, ethnicity, social experiences and cultural and historic traditions—would influence their response to the opinions of editors and journalists, their opinions would have been informed and shaped by the content of daily newspapers.<sup>25</sup>

There are limits to the influence historians can claim newspapers had over the opinions of readers. The agency of individuals to interpret and use news in unexpected ways should be acknowledged, as should their ability to disagree with or reject certain opinions or attitudes.<sup>26</sup> Studies of the twentieth century press provide special insights to how readers responded to newspaper coverage of black and Asian immigration, and further highlight the value of utilising a newspaper source base. Mass Observation conducted a survey of how readers interacted with newspapers in 1947. The usefulness of their report for understanding responses in the selected period is limited: the massively popular and tabloid-styled newspapers associated with the postwar period had yet to emerge when readers were surveyed. Also, the organisation themselves admitted that answers they received were most often ‘general’ rather than sophisticated and revealing.<sup>27</sup> The most valuable contribution of

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<sup>23</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>25</sup> S. Hall, *Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse* (Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1973); U. Eco, ‘Interpretation and History’ in Stefan Collini (ed.) *Interpretation and Over-interpretation* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 64.

<sup>26</sup> Historians such as David Allen and Mark Towsey, for example, have recently questioned how readers interpret the meaning of a text and use textual sources in the construction of their own ideas and attitudes. Newspapers are, however, an entirely different media than books, and so readers approach them with a different set of expectations. See Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and Their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750-1820* (Leiden, 2010); David Allen, ‘Some Methods and Problems in the History of Reading: Georgian England and the Scottish Enlightenment’, *Journal of the Historical Society*, 3 (2003), pp. 91-124. For a similar argument concerning the wide variety of meanings working class Britons drew from literary works in the late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century see Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (London, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Mass Observation, *The Press and Its Readers* (London, 1949), p. 26.

the report is its emphasis on reading habits. Headlines, front page articles and columns by particularly popular journalists were most widely read, and respondents often browsed several newspapers in conjunction.<sup>28</sup> The report also demonstrated that readers were aware of the personalities and ideologies of newspapers, and so it can be assumed that long-running ‘crusades’ would have had particular influence.<sup>29</sup>

More useful to the current thesis are the results of Paul Hartman and Charles Husband’s surveys of reader responses to newspaper coverage of racism and immigration between 1963 and 1970.<sup>30</sup> After analysing the results of questionnaires concerning the values of a sample of Britons, Hartman and Husband argued the primary effect of newspapers was to create public awareness of the ‘problems’ associated with racism and immigration, and concluded that ‘local situations and events come to be experienced and interpreted in terms of images, concepts and perspectives derived from the media’.<sup>31</sup>

When asked what they could recall reading in the press, many respondents to Hartman and Husband’s survey referenced stories about crime, immigration legislation, discrimination and white hostility: the same topics were said to dominate their sampling of news reports concerning black and Asian people.<sup>32</sup> When asked their views on black and Asian immigration, the respondents conveyed their fears and anxieties concerning those same issues.<sup>33</sup> The content of newspapers was regularly cited by respondents as influential in

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-35.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-28; 94-109.

<sup>30</sup> Paul Hartman and Charles Husband, *Racism and the Mass Media: A Study of the Role of the Mass Media in the Formation of White Beliefs and Attitudes in Britain* (London, 1974).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-139. Newspapers surveyed included the *Daily Mirror*, *Times*, *Daily Express* and *Guardian*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-126. For example, the idea that blacks were bad for the country was supported by 48% of children respondents and 50% of adult respondents.

shaping their negative opinions about immigration.<sup>34</sup> For many people, attitudes towards black and Asians were not formed as a result of direct experience, but through engagement with immigration debates.<sup>35</sup> These results indicated the powerful role newspapers had in influencing public attitudes, and how they could frame issues of race.

Hartman and Husband found the social context of the respondents to have a significant influence on their responses. Those living in areas with high black and Asian populations, yet had little *direct* contact with immigrants, were more likely to hold prejudiced attitudes and to reference more specific problems such as housing and employment when justifying them.<sup>36</sup> Those in predominantly white areas, while appearing less hostile to immigration, still shared the same awareness of the ‘problems’ it could cause due to their exposure to media coverage.<sup>37</sup> Personal attitudes and behaviour were influenced by individual and local experiences in conjuncture with exposure to media representations. Newspapers seemed to have created a framework which influenced how the public defined, understood and spoke about the ‘problem’ of immigration. The importance of local circumstances highlights the potential influence of provincial newspapers. In areas experiencing high rates of immigration, newspapers would be more likely to make references to the perceived effect

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<sup>34</sup> The most common phrases, relating to immigrants, used by respondents directly citing the influence of what they had read in newspapers included: ‘they are poor’, ‘they can’t find jobs’, ‘they live in slums’, ‘they sleep ten to a room’, ‘they cause riots’, ‘there are too many of them coming in’, ‘there’ll soon be more blacks than whites in the country’, ‘they take white peoples jobs’ and ‘they cause a housing shortage’. *Ibid.*, pp.109-111.

<sup>35</sup> When attitudes were said to have been developed through actual interaction with black or Asian people, the responses of interviewees were in fact far more positive. In these cases, the use phrases like ‘some are good’, ‘they are just like whites’, and ‘they should have the same rights as anyone else’ was more common. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 105-106; 108-109.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108-111. 56% of all responses concerning the issues associated with black and immigration mentioned ‘prejudice’, ‘cultural differences’, ‘equalitarian’, ‘anti-stereotype’, ‘unfavourable’, ‘poor housing’ and ‘disadvantage’, but those in areas with high black/Asian population were far more likely to emphasise negative associations. When asked what issues they associated with immigration due to what they experienced in media, ‘prejudice’, ‘disadvantage’, ‘poor housing’, ‘trouble’, ‘numbers’, ‘taking jobs’, ‘taking houses’ and ‘anti-immigration’ were most commonly mentioned. When asked what issues they associated with it due to personal experience, very similar responses were given but with greater emphasis on ‘favourable’/‘unfavourable’, ‘resentment’, ‘cultural clash’ and ‘personal like/dislike’.

black and Asian settlement had on neighbouring social, economic and cultural relations. As such, they could further reinforce or challenge national narratives in the contexts of local events which would have had a significant effect on regional attitudes.

The specific contexts in which people interpreted the national press's 'framing' of events appears to have had a significant impact on how they responded to particular features within it. Analysis of the provincial press provides evidence as to the different experiences which influenced people's attitudes. It can also provide an example of the extent to which local discussions and definitions of racism and immigrations corresponded to or differed from national frameworks. This provides evidence of how the public—including provincial journalists—interpreted the content of national newspapers. While very valuable, the study of Hartman and Husband provides historians with an account of how some newspaper readers interpreted a limited sample of newspapers. This thesis uses a broader sample of local newspapers over an extended period in order to examine in further detail the coverage of race and immigration in different contexts.

### The 'Genres' of Newspapers.

Frank Mort has bemoaned the lack of serious studies of twentieth-century newspapers, and has criticised the lack of attention afforded to the 'genres through which the press codified cultural and political change for popular consumption'.<sup>38</sup> He highlights the importance of exploring the different stylistic and linguistic conventions employed by different journalists and in different sections of the newspaper. A better understanding of the contrasting narrative strategies informing feature writing, editorial comment and news reportage would allow historians to understand 'the meanings that journalists and editors disseminated into the field

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<sup>38</sup> Frank Mort, 'Intellectual Pluralism and the Future of British History', *History Workshop*, 72, 1 (2001), p. 215.

of popular culture and beyond'.<sup>39</sup> The current thesis identifies some of the generic characteristics of journalism across the various columns of newspapers, and how these devices were used to further reinforce, elaborate and sometimes challenge editorial policies.

In Chapter Three, the content analysis of the *Daily Mirror* in the 1950s is divided into considerations of its news reportage, feature articles, editorials and correspondence pages respectively. The chapter argues that each of these sections approached the topic of racism and immigration in different ways, and employed distinctive linguistic and stylistic tools in doing so. While the following chapters do not separate their analysis of these sections, they remain mindful of the different genres of journalism and their respective power. Interestingly, news reportages, feature writing, editorial commentary and correspondence followed similar conventions across all of the surveyed newspapers, and were used in interesting and complex ways. This chapter will provide a broad outline of the purpose and presentation of each of these four core sections of newspapers.

### *News Reportage*

News reportage, supposedly revealing the 'facts' behind incidents or events, often followed certain conventions and played a significant role in representing events in certain ways. News reports are particularly important as a Mass Observation report on the habits of newspaper readers found that 80% of *Daily Express* readers and 53% of the *Daily Mirror*'s audience read them.<sup>40</sup> Their often short length and clear headlines encouraged this trend, and meant that news reports were likely the most widely read feature of newspapers. Often, readers would *only* read the headlines of news reports and may have sampled those of many

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<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Mass Observation, *The Press and Its Readers*, p. 33

newspapers on a newsstand.<sup>41</sup> The position of a news report would also influence how widely it was experienced, with front page news garnering most attention. The language of headlines, the sources of information used by journalists and the overall selection of newsworthy topics shaped the discussion of current affairs in discursive ways.<sup>42</sup> Certain conventions were common across all newspapers. Headlines would often draw attention to the element of the story which was considered most attractive or which best fit the newspaper's editorial line and so offer clues to how it might have been understood by readers.<sup>43</sup> Close attention will also be paid to the sources drawn upon to obtain the 'facts' of news reports. Certain sources who could offer an informed, or at least interesting, perspective on events would likely have been contacted by journalists rushing to meet deadlines and influenced whose perspectives were represented in newspapers.<sup>44</sup> By distilling often complex events into short columns, such reportage provided an often simplistic narrative to explain the news to readers. As such, it provided readers easily consumable perspectives on current affairs.

### *Feature Articles and Investigations*

Newspapers used feature articles and investigations to enhance their image as socially relevant and influential. Often taking the form of human interest stories or exposés, there is a long history of newspapers using feature articles to bring social issues deemed important or

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<sup>41</sup> See *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21; Hartman and Husband, *Racism and the Mass Media*, p. 128.

<sup>42</sup> Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, p. 45.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51; P. H. Tannenbaum, 'The Effects of Headlines on the Interpretation of News Studies', *Journalism Quarterly*, 30 (1953), pp. 189-197

<sup>44</sup> Gaye Tuchman's account of the various influences on the production and content of modern newspapers argued that looming deadlines meant that journalists often relied on limited but tried-and-tested individuals and organisations to get the 'scoop' as quickly as possible. Certain sources, such as members of the police and law courts, were often the first to be contacted by journalists, and their versions of events would ultimately inform the content of the articles. See Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (1978).

newsworthy, to the attention of the public and politicians.<sup>45</sup> Covering newsworthy issues with sensationalist reporting and a focus on investigations of the human realities behind the news, they demonstrate how the language and style of newspapers were used in an attempt to achieve social and political influence as well as to attract audiences. Using these methods engaged readers about social and political issues which they otherwise might have avoided in favour of stories of titillating columns.<sup>46</sup> In other cases, interest in sex and crime trumped investigative integrity.<sup>47</sup> Newspapers employed feature articles as tools in defining the ‘key issues’ editors and journalists wanted to highlight in relation to often controversial topics. Their direct engagement with their readers through stylistic and emotive language defined their often discursive representation of social issues. This thesis will show that the opinions of journalists were reinforced by the exclusive evidence they provided in feature articles, even if the findings from their investigations contradicted their attitudes. In other cases, investigations did challenge the attitudes of journalists and readers.

### *Editorials*

Editorials often address their audiences directly and explicitly outline their newspaper’s overall personality and position on specific issues.<sup>48</sup> They provide the most direct articulation of an editor’s perspective and often articulate their perceived political and social influence. Editorials, while not always written by the editor themselves, sought to inform the reader on how they should approach any given issue and, by communicating to a community of readers,

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<sup>45</sup> For examples of this, see Raymond Schults, *Crusader in Babylon: W. T. Stead and the Pall Mall Gazette* (Lincoln, 1972); Christopher Criche, *Moral Panics and the Media* (Buckingham, 2000); Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 157-171.

<sup>46</sup> For example, Jonathan Rose provides evidence that working class newspaper readers in the early twentieth century were much more interested in human/sensationalist stories than the coverage of current affairs. See Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*, p. 104.

<sup>47</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 1-6.

<sup>48</sup> Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*, p. 52.

reinforced ideas concerning the ideal readership they claimed to speak for.<sup>49</sup> Newspapers also attempted to to apply political pressure by claiming to speak for ‘the people’ and demanding, on their behalf, certain policies or political concessions. In order to carry out these aims, editorials adopted an assertive vernacular that was both clear and concise and often impassioned. As Conboy argued, they adopt the ‘language of the people’ in order to attach a popular authority to their opinions.<sup>50</sup> Although the impact of editorials on readers experiences of any given paper must not be overstated (for example, Mass Observation found that while 24% of *Express* readers editorials, only 3% of *Mirror* readers did so), I approach them as framing each paper’s overall coverage.<sup>51</sup> It is beyond the scope of this content-based study to reconstruct the complex relationships between editors, assistant editors, sub-editors and journalists, but it attempts to show the influence of prominent individuals and, where possible, accounts of how they ran their newspapers.

### *Reader Correspondence*

While newspapers often claimed to speak for their audience, it was only in correspondence columns that readers had the opportunity to directly express their own opinions. The publication of letters was another strategy employed by newspapers to present topics in a certain way and claim to either be representative of public opinion or have an important responsibility in leading it. While most accounts of newspaper letter selection are based on surveys of modern press offices, they show how editors of newspapers ultimately decided

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*; Van Dijk, ‘Racism and Argumentation: Race Riot Rhetoric in Tabloid Editorials’, In F. H. van Eemeren, R. Grootendorst, J. A. Blair, & C. A. Willard (eds.) *Argumentation Illuminated*, pp. 243-249; T. A. Van Dijk, ‘Race, Riots and the Press: An analysis of Editorials in the British Press about the 1985 Disorders’, *Gazette*, 43 (1989). pp. 229-253.

<sup>50</sup> Conboy, *The Language of Newspapers*, p. 40.

<sup>51</sup> Mass Observation, *The Press And Its Readers*, pp. 48-50.

what letters would be published.<sup>52</sup> While appearing to be the spontaneous views of ‘ordinary’ people, letters could in fact be selected to maintain a consistent presentation of ‘public opinion’ or even edited before publication.

Letters act as ‘highly structured’ exchanges between editor and reader, which included the public in the newspaper’s dialogue in a way that reinforced definitions of debates set by the press.<sup>53</sup> Selected letters often indicated the views the editors *wanted* to see voiced. Studies on letters to the editor, and those who write them, have suggested letters chosen by editors are often fairly balanced, but that we cannot take the views they offer as being representative of public opinion. They have suggested letters are most often critical, negative and conservative in their views and written by most often older male readers.<sup>54</sup> While Chapter 8 will question this assumption, it is clear that reader correspondence often followed its own narrative conventions as their authors would adopt a far more personal, uninformed and often offensive language than newspaper articles and editorials. Alternatively, correspondence pages could be used by campaigning individuals or groups to address and challenge views presented in the press. In these cases, evidence and perspectives not often present in newspapers could be published. It must be remembered that letters do offer evidence about who read newspapers, how they responded to stories and campaigns and how they interacted with each other. In the local press in particular, letters pages were seen as a forum of debate, demonstrating reader agency.

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<sup>52</sup> Van Dijk, *Racism and the Press*, p. 252. For more details on the possible methods editors use to select letters for publication see Karin Raeymaeckers, ‘Letters to the Editor: A Feedback Opportunity Turned into a Marketing Tool, An Account of Selection and Editing Practices in the Flemish Daily Press’, *European Journal of Communication*, 20, 2 (2005), pp. 199-221.

<sup>53</sup> Hall, *Policing the Crisis*, p. 121.

<sup>54</sup> For an analysis of the content of letters, and the social background of their authors, in modern contexts, see Christopher Cooper, H. Gibbs Knotts and Moshe Haspel, ‘The Content of Political Participation: Letters to the Editor and the People who Write them’, *Political Science and Politics*, 42 (2009), pp. 131-137; Albert Atkin and John E. Richardson, ‘Arguing About Muslims: (Un)Reasonable Argumentation in Letters to the Editor’, *Text and Talk*, 27, 1 (2007), pp. 1-25; Andrew J. Perrin and Stephen Vaisey, ‘Parallel Public Spheres: Distance and Discourse in Letters to the Editor’, *American Journal of Sociology*, 114, 3 (2008), pp.781-810.

## Selecting a Representative Source Base.

### *The National Press*

Given the labour-intensive task of collecting relevant material from a source base published daily, academic studies of newspapers have tended to be narrow in focus and so have played a supplementary role in histories of modern Britain.<sup>55</sup> This approach risks understating the social influence of newspapers, removing them from their historical context and neglecting shifts in their language, coverage and policy over time and across different publications. Bingham's method of selecting a theme and investigating its coverage in newspapers over an extended period has resulted in many fascinating conclusions about how gender and sexuality were represented in the public sphere, the different influences that drove journalism and the wider significance of newspapers in this period.<sup>56</sup>

In order to trace the intricacies and evolution of responses to racism and immigration over 27 years, and across thousands of individual publications, it was necessary to sample a select few newspapers which were representative of diverse perspectives, audiences and areas. The *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express*—and sister papers the *Sunday Mirror* (1963-) and *Sunday Express*—were selected for being definitive popular newspapers of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s and due to their interesting comparative opportunities. As Anthony Smith observed:

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<sup>55</sup> Anthony Smith's study of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* during the mid-twentieth century, for example, focused either on coverage of specific events or on significant articles or moments in each paper's history. See Anthony C. Smith, *Paper Voices: The Popular Press and Social Change 1935-1965* (London, 1975). More recently Wendy Webster, investigating representations of black people in various media sources, also analysed only select articles from a range of newspapers. Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, pp. 149-181. Other historians have used newspapers as a source of information about the details of, and official responses to, historically significant events. For examples in British 'race' historiography see Fryer, *Staying Power*; Paul, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*; Andrea Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto : racism and reaction in Liverpool, 1918-1948* (Liverpool, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*

the Second World War to the mid-1960s was the period in which these two papers [the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express*] established an unchallenged command over the daily newspaper reading public in terms of circulation....[they] provide us with striking contrasts, distinctive personalities and styles. They occupy opposed positions in the party-political spectrum...[and] each had a circulation spread across the social pyramid.<sup>57</sup>

The *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* respectively held the first and second highest circulations of all newspapers in this period, peaking at around five million and four million readers per day respectively.<sup>58</sup> Although their Sunday equivalents did not dominate the market, they were still popular during the selected period.<sup>59</sup> According to Mass Observation, one adult in every four read the *Daily Mirror* and/or the *Daily Express*.<sup>60</sup> While *Daily Express* readers were fairly evenly distributed across age and income groups, the *Daily Mirror*'s readers were more commonly in the younger and lower-income groups.<sup>61</sup> The majority of *Daily Express* readers who declared a solid political affiliation identified themselves as Conservative, while a similar majority of the *Daily Mirror*'s readers identified themselves as Labour supporters.<sup>62</sup> The papers themselves certainly differed in their perspectives and style. The *Daily Express*, published in a broadsheet format, openly

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<sup>57</sup> Smith, *Paper voices*, p. 12.

<sup>58</sup> In 1945, the *Express* had a circulation of 3,239,000 while the *Mirror* lagged behind at 2,000,000. By 1965, however, the *Mirror*'s circulation peaked at 5,019,000 while the *Express* fell behind at 3,987,000. These figures gave the two papers a clear dominance in the market. While rising and falling during the period, the *Mirror* and *Express* both maintained a similarly substantial readership. Other comparable newspapers that were published throughout the selected period, such as the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Herald*, never exceeded three million (the *Mail* reaching a peak of 2,825,000 in 1960 while the *Herald* peaked at 2,017,000 in 1950) and so were less suitable as comparable source bases. See Seymour-Ure, *The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 28-29 for newspaper circulation 1945-1994.

<sup>59</sup> The *Sunday Mirror* reached its peak circulation of 5,538,000 in 1965, while the *Sunday Express* peaked at 4,263,000 in 1970. Both the *News of the World* and *Sunday People* maintained consistently higher circulations. For further details see *Ibid.*, pp.30-31.

<sup>60</sup> Mass-Observation, *The Press and its Readers* (London, 1949), p. 110.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111. Responses to the *Sunday Mirror* and the *Sunday Express* demonstrated similar patterns. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

supported the Conservative Party and presented its own political perspective on issues such as empire trade and anti-Europe propaganda. The *Daily Mirror*, published as a tabloid, presented a youthful image, openly supported the Labour Party and focused on human interest elements of politics, news and entertainment. While a further analysis of the policy of both newspapers will be provided in Chapters 3-6 their alternate attitudes provide rich opportunities for comparative analysis.

### *The Local Press*

Content analysis of local newspapers offers opportunities to consider the effect local contexts might have had on producing alternative framings of race. Dresser and Tabili emphasised how attitudes to race and immigration were formed in specific social contexts and so varied between different cities.<sup>63</sup> Focusing on national papers can give us a perspective on how certain themes were covered in a medium available across the country, but tell us little about how the same themes were covered in local contexts. The history of immigration in the North West in particular has been neglected by historians, despite the diversity of social conditions and local responses that immigrants experienced across its towns and cities. Also, as the area experienced Caribbean, African and Asian immigration it represented the ethnic variety of migration into Britain. This region offers interesting comparisons while also illuminating some neglected histories of black and Asian people in Britain.

The history of immigration and the provincial press in Liverpool, Manchester and Bolton make those cities special cases. Liverpool is famous for its long standing Black community dating back at least to the eighteenth century, yet experienced only small amounts of immigration following the Second World War. Throughout the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s,

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<sup>63</sup> Dresser, *Black and White on the Buses*; Tabili, "Having Lived Close Beside Them All the Time".

Liverpool experienced disparate bouts of disturbances and controversies, associated by many with the presence of a black community on the fringes of its city centre. Manchester—considered to be a historically multicultural city—experienced consistent rates of predominantly West Indian immigration in the 1950s.<sup>64</sup> Immigration soon became controversial as the national and local press associated it with the ‘slum’ areas of the city—such as Moss Side—which were at the heart of the significant changes the city experienced during a period of slum clearance in the 1960s. Bolton, in contrast, was a traditionally white mill-town which experienced high rates of predominantly Asian immigration only in the 1960s. Immigration in Bolton coincided with the city’s decline as influential city in the cotton industry.

Local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester provide special cases for analysis. While the history and policy of the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Echo*, *Bolton Evening News*, *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, *Manchester Evening News* and the *Manchester Guardian* (*Guardian*, 1959-) will be addressed in more detail in Chapters 7-9, some broad observations can be made. While the provincial newspaper market was in a period of decline in the postwar years, these newspapers—with the exception of the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* which closed in 1963—had a monopoly over local audiences. Manchester offers a particularly special case as the *Manchester Evening News* and the *Guardian* were both co-owned but followed contrary editorial lines. Local papers, in order to attract local readers, maintained a close relationship with local politicians, community groups, prominent figures and ordinary citizens and often aired their opinions through articles and letters pages. The analysis of local newspapers offer clues about the different commercial social forces that influenced, and were influenced by, the responses to racism and immigration within their

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<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of the multicultural tradition of Manchester, see C. Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?* p. 98.

communities. Interestingly, they largely employed the same genre strategies as national newspapers, perhaps in an attempt to appeal to broader audiences. They offered a wider diversity of perspectives, which shaped their responses to immigration

#### Accessing Digital and Physical Newspaper Sources.

Given their contemporary popularity and influence, it is no surprise the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* were amongst the first daily newspapers to be digitised and made available via online archives. The digitisation of these papers has granted historians the opportunity to develop new methods of collecting and analysing newspaper source material.<sup>65</sup> Digital archives make it easier for historians to make detailed investigations into the development of the social and political policies of newspapers over an extended period of time, and to consider how their styles changed. The archival website *UKpressonline* offers a particularly advanced search engine which allows researchers to search for relevant articles by using key words, names, terms and dates and to organise results by date or relevance.<sup>66</sup> By using search terms often associated with postwar debates about racism and immigration— ‘colour bar’ ‘coloured’, ‘immigrant/immigration’, ‘colour problem’ and ‘race relations’—and by surveying periods when they received increased exposure, it was possible to collect an extensive and representative source base.

Search engines pose the risk of excluding articles which, although relevant, may not include key terms. In order to avoid this problem, a wide variety of potentially relevant terms were utilised. Before using the online archives, microfilm copies of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* were surveyed during relevant dates (for example, the aftermath of Notting

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<sup>65</sup> For full details on the various newspapers available via online digital archives see A. Bingham, ‘The Digitization of Newspaper Archives: Opportunities and Challenges for Historians’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 21, 2, 2010, pp. 225–231

<sup>66</sup> *Ukpressonline*, <http://www.ukpressonline.co.uk/ukpressonline/open/index.jsp>

Hill in 1958, or reactions to the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act). This provided a better understanding of the format and style of each newspaper and their broad policies. Boolean search techniques enable the *UKpressonline* database to retrieve sources referencing at least one of multiple search terms. For example by using Boolean OR/AND logic, articles containing ‘immigrant’ *or/and* ‘migrant’ would be retrieved. Using the ‘word begins’ option, search terms such as ‘immigra’ would recover articles containing the words immigration, immigrant, immigrants, etc. Use of search engines must be complimented with a detailed qualitative analysis of all the retrieved articles, which can identify other key terms and dates to search. Alternatively, periods of increased exposure to debates about race and immigration could be surveyed by analysing each page of every relevant issue individually.

Articles were only selected for analysis if they directly referenced black or Asian migrants, racism or immigration. The pages of the newspaper each article was featured on were surveyed in order to assess the structural and topical context in which it was represented. For example, an article about racial discrimination might feature on the same page as an article about concerns about immigration, and this would have likely been a deliberate and effective tool by the editor to link the themes present in both reports. As results could be ordered chronologically, articles were analysed in conjuncture with others retrieved from the same newspaper, or which had followed on from or made reference to reports published in earlier editions.

As the archives of the *Sunday Mirror* and *Sunday Express* have yet to be digitised, alternative methods were utilised for collecting evidence from these newspapers. Sunday newspapers were approached as a complementary source which tested the extent to which

similar themes persisted across newspapers with different styles of presentation.<sup>67</sup> Full microfilmed editions of Sunday newspapers were sampled in relation to peak periods of coverage selected from their daily counterparts. This provided a source base which could test the consistencies of coverage across daily and Sunday newspapers.

As national newspapers are the most likely candidates for future digitisation, the increasing use of online archives threatens to distract historians away from detailed studies of local newspapers; something which highlights the importance of including the local press in the current study. The *Guardian* online archive provides special research opportunities for studies of newspapers in the North West. For much of the selected period, it still featured detailed Manchester and North West coverage. The use of search engines revealed a wealth of *Manchester Guardian* and *Guardian* reports on events concerning racism and immigration in all three selected North West locales.<sup>68</sup> These results provided both a background to the history of black and Asians in the North West during this period as well as a selection of key dates to research. Microfilmed archives of Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester newspapers were then used to follow up local newspaper coverage around these key dates, as well as around dates of general significance in the history of black and Asian immigration and race relations in each city. Local sociological and political surveys, the papers of relevant individuals and organisations and council records held in local archives were also investigated and provided more references to events which were likely to be covered by local newspapers.

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<sup>67</sup> For a discussion of the significance and influence of Sunday newspapers see Raymond Williams, 'The Press and Popular Culture: An Historical Perspective', in *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, p. 41.

<sup>68</sup> The same search terms used when researching the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* were repeated, yet terms such as 'Liverpool', 'Manchester', 'Bolton', 'Moss Side', 'Toxteth', and 'Liverpool 8' were also used. Once the results of these searches were assessed, more searches were carried out using the names of politicians, individuals and organisations mentioned in relevant articles.

These approaches provided extensive source material for use in the current thesis and demonstrated the wider use of digitised newspapers to historians: utilising them, alongside other methods and resources, can result in new approaches to collecting data from local hard-copy newspaper sources. While the research process used in collecting these materials remains somewhat organic—following leads from diverse sources and making unexpected discoveries during research sessions in physical and online archives—the methodology this thesis employs offers some perspectives on how to approach the research of newspapers. Using these approaches, this thesis adopts a systematic analysis of responses to racism and immigration in the two most popular national newspapers of the postwar period. It also provides a detailed analysis of previously neglected local newspapers. It compares the representation of race and identity in each of these newspapers. Finally, it analyses the different sections of newspapers and considers their distinct function. In doing so, this thesis advances both the study of newspapers and journalism and the history of popular, social and political responses to racism and immigration into Britain.

## **Part 2**

# **The National Press**

## Chapter 3

### The *Daily Mirror*'s Crusade Against the Colour Bar, 1953-60.

This chapter will show how, under the editorship of Hugh Cudlipp from 1953, the *Daily Mirror*—the most popular newspaper in the country—consistently defended the citizenship rights of black and Asian immigrants and opposed the practice of racial discrimination.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the 1950s, its response to racism and immigration evolved as the newspaper incorporated diverse viewpoints into its journalism, responded to racism and attempted to reconcile its own liberal perspective with the anxieties of its readership. Under Cudlipp, the *Daily Mirror* launched a ‘crusade’ against the ‘colour bar’, demonstrating that racialised representations of black and Asian people in media and political discourse were challenged by influential voices in the postwar period. The newspaper’s response to racism illustrates the heterogeneous and contested nature of concepts of race and identity in public-sphere and highlights the important role popular newspapers had in setting the tone for debates on the topic. The *Daily Mirror*’s coverage was not *driven* by racialised concepts of difference and belonging, but rather engaged with and contested them by challenging the preconceptions of its audience, and by discrediting definitions of belonging based on white privilege. Racism

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<sup>1</sup> The reputation the *Daily Mirror* gained for its rousing denunciation of both the Nazi party was a key factor in its postwar popularity. For an account of the *Mirror*’s stance against appeasement see A. Bingham and M. Conboy, ‘The *Daily Mirror* and the Creation of a Commercial Popular Language. A People’s War: A People’s Paper?’, *Journalism Studies*, 10, 5 (2009), pp. 639-654; Michael Bromley, ‘Was it the *Mirror* Wot Won It? The Development of the Tabloid Press During the Second World War’, *Millions Like us? British Culture in the Second World War* (Liverpool, 1999), pp. 93-114. For an account of the role of the *Daily Mirror* in the revival of the Labour Party see Martin Pugh, ‘The *Daily Mirror* and the Revival of Labour 1935-1945’, *Twentieth Century British History*, 9, 3 (1998), pp. 420-438.

was presented as a moral problem that could be solved by uniting a community of ‘decent’ readers against prejudice.<sup>2</sup>

The *Daily Mirror* used various genres to narrate its anti-colour bar crusade. Across news reports, feature articles and editorials, a wide variety of voices and influences were represented. Each section of the newspaper served a certain function and followed genre conventions which shaped how they communicated information and ideas to their readers. News reports informed readers about racism through attention-grabbing headlines. Feature articles distilled complex social relationships into attractive and emotional human narratives which demonstrated the effects of racism. Editorials used assertive and clear language to dictate the newspaper’s policy of anti-racism to readers and attempted to lead public and political opinion. Correspondence pages, meanwhile, gave space to the thoughts of the readers, and were used to reinforce and justify the *Daily Mirror*’s crusade. While each of these sections of the *Daily Mirror* are considered in this chapter, special prominence is given to feature articles and editorials: the driving forces of the newspaper’s policy.

The policy of the *Daily Mirror* reflected Cudlipp’s belief that popular newspapers could help build a fairer, more democratic postwar British culture. He believed the newspaper’s popularity had to be reinforced with a sense of ‘prestige’, and that by communicating social, political and moral problems to the masses in a simple, attractive but socially conscious way, what the newspaper said could shape British life.<sup>3</sup> He defined this approach as the ‘crusading zeal’ to exposing ‘social evils’ he wanted to bring to the newspaper during his editorship.<sup>4</sup> Demonstrating the important contribution anti-racism had in reinforcing the newspaper’s identity, Cudlipp defined the front-page publication of

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<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, 432/2/1 Hugh Cudlipp to Cecil King 21 September 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Cudlipp, *Publish and Be Damned!* (London, 1953), pp. 6, 215-220.

photographs of the lynching of African-American men in Maryland in 1933 in as an early sign that it sought to 'expose unpleasant truths'.<sup>5</sup> Reflecting on the history of racism in Britain in 1996, Cudlipp said he had always tried to encourage a 'tide' of public acceptance of black and Asian people that would compel politicians to fight discrimination through legislation.<sup>6</sup> As this chapter will show, this desire was reflected in the editorial policy of the *Daily Mirror* in the 1950s.

The communication of the *Daily Mirror*'s liberal policies was shaped by the commercial nature of tabloid journalism.<sup>7</sup> Attempting to appeal to a mass audience, and faced with competition from television and radio, in 1943 King told Cudlipp the *Daily Mirror* could no longer sell itself based on the reportage of news and politics. Lamenting that a significant proportion of the newspaper's readership was 'feather-brained', he argued 'while instruction [through journalism] should be given...our main function is, and is likely to remain to be, entertainment'.<sup>8</sup> By presenting news in a sensational fashion, the newspaper could also draw the attention of the widest audiences to the problems of racism by presenting it in way attractive to readers; even if such an approach simplified complex socio-economic conditions that shaped the experiences of black and Asian people. As Bingham recognised, 'editors and journalists were so confident about the rectitude and value of their investigations, most did not pause to reflect on the methods they used or consequences of exposure'.<sup>9</sup> According to surveys carried out by Hartman and Husband in the late 1960s, it was likely that the association of black and Asian people with social and human problems reinforced some

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>6</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, 432/4/5 Hugh Cudlipp address to New England College, 1996.

<sup>7</sup> For a survey of the development of 'tabloid language', see Conboy, *Tabloid Britain*.

<sup>8</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, 432/2/1 Cecil King to Hugh Cudlipp, 18 December 1944.

<sup>9</sup> Bingham, *Family newspapers?*, p. 169.

of the anxieties of readers about the effects of immigration.<sup>10</sup> While the *Daily Mirror*'s populist language ensured messages were received and understood by huge audiences, the it failed to prevent the forms of public and official racism that would rise to prominence in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The manner in which the *Daily Mirror* addressed its readers demonstrated it perceived them to be predominantly white. While this reflected the commercial necessity of appealing to the largest proportion of readers, addresses to a community of 'tolerant Britons' were used as a rhetorical tool with which the newspaper could attempt to define the obligations of the white public to black and Asian fellow-citizens. Another tool employed by the *Daily Mirror* was the representation of black and Asian people as respectable and able to be integrated into British society. While both these strategies were motivated by anti-racism and attempts to lead reader opinion, they ultimately promoted a limited definition of tolerance that defined the good character, rather than the innate rights, of black and Asian people as the reason they should be treated as equals. By suggesting racism was a threat to British society, the newspaper had prioritised public order over citizenship rights, and so its policy was challenged by the disorder public prejudice was beginning to encourage in the late-1950s. Although the newspaper's policy was certainly progressive, the harmony it attempted to procure did not equate to equality. Towards the end of the 1950s, the *Daily Mirror*'s concept of tolerance and integration had started to buckle under the strain of increasing racialised tensions and negative public opinion which threatened to shatter the newspaper's unstable conception of multicultural Britishness.

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<sup>10</sup> Hartman and Husband, *Racism and the Mass Media*, pp. 205-209.

## The Construction of the 'Daily Mirror Style'.

The *Daily Mirror* has been recognised as the first fully realised popular tabloid and redefined how social life could be discussed, represented and interpreted in the public sphere.<sup>11</sup> By the 1950s, the newspaper was vibrant and exciting and massively popular. The newspaper had abandoned its middle-class identity after 1934 as it came to identify the potential of appealing to an un-tapped audience of working-class readers.<sup>12</sup> The development of the newspaper's working-class language was partly in response to the commercial potential of filling a gap in the newspaper market.<sup>13</sup> By developing a popular rhetoric to appeal to this audience, throughout the late 1930s and early 1940s the *Daily Mirror* 'provide[d] the daily talk and perhaps the daily thinking of millions who had never read a daily paper before'.<sup>14</sup> By 1945, its circulation had risen to 2.3 million copies a day.<sup>15</sup>

The postwar journalism of *Daily Mirror* defined a new approach to the potential of newspapers in an age of mass consumption. Sylvester Bolam (*Daily Mirror* editor 1948-53) had highlighted the purpose of the newspaper on a front page 'manifesto' expressing a dedication to 'sensationalism' which Cudlipp said had influenced his own approach to journalism.<sup>16</sup> Bolam said that:

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<sup>11</sup> Adrian Bingham and Martin Conboy, 'The *Daily Mirror* and the Creation of a Commercial Popular Language', pp. 639-654; Michael Bromley, 'Was it the Mirror Wot Won It? The Development of the Tabloid Press during the Second World War' Bromley, pp. 93-144; Martin Pugh, 'The *Daily Mirror* and the Revival of Labour, 1935-1945', pp. 420-438. For an analysis of the debate concerning the extent to which the *Mirror* represented radical, left wing political views or simply a 'tabloidized', sensationalist interpretation of everyday life see James Thomas, 'Reflections on the Broken Mirror: the Rise and Fall of Radical Journalism Re-Considered', *Media History*, 9, 2 (2003), pp. 103-121.

<sup>12</sup> Bingham and Conboy, 'The *Daily Mirror* and the Creation of a Commercial Popular Language', p. 640.

<sup>13</sup> Roy Greensdale, *Press Gang How Newspapers Make Profits from Propaganda* (London, 2003), pp. 57-59 argues that King's political convictions took second place to his commercial instinct that appealing to working-class readers would be very profitable.

<sup>14</sup> Bingham and Conboy, 'The *Daily Mirror* and the Creation of a Commercial Popular Language', p. 339; quotation from, Francis Williams, *Dangerous Estate* (London, 1957), p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> Roy Greensdale, *Press Gang*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Cudlipp, *Publish and be Damned!*, pp. 250-251.

the sensational presentation of [important] news and views...[is] a necessary and valuable public service in these days of mass readership and democratic responsibility....Sensationalism does not mean distorting the truth. It means the vivid and dramatic presentation of events so as to give them a forceful impact in the mind of the reader. It means big headlines, vigorous writing, and simplification into familiar everyday language.<sup>17</sup>

This statement perfectly encapsulates the method by which the *Daily Mirror* presented its crusade against the colour bar. Sensationalism was not simply a consequence of the need to maintain high circulation, but formed the basis of a philosophy about the power of popular newspapers. While the broadsheet press had largely spoken to an intellectual audience, journalists like Bolam and Cudlipp recognised the much wider influence informing and leading the working-class ‘masses’ could have. The development of the newspaper’s sensational style influenced how race and immigration were represented in the postwar press.

Harry Guy Bartholomew (*Daily Mirror* Editorial Director, 1933-52) had been responsible for developing the modern tabloid style that defined the postwar *Daily Mirror*. The war-time *Sunday Pictorial*, under editor Hugh Cudlipp, had taken a more radical anti-fascist stance, which became very popular with the public and the armed forces.<sup>18</sup> While Cudlipp was fired by a jealous Bartholomew and worked briefly for the *Sunday Express*, vice-Chairman of the *Daily Mirror* Cecil King ousted the press baron from his position in 1951.<sup>19</sup> As the newspaper’s new chairman, King appointed Cudlipp as editor in 1953, writing

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. Cudlipp’s position as commanding officer of the armed forces’ British Newspaper Unit only reinforced the extent to which he was believed to have a closer connection with the ‘average’ reader.

<sup>19</sup> Greensdale, *Press Gang*, pp. 11-13; 56.

to him ‘let’s get together, and make a dent in the history of our times’.<sup>20</sup> In the 1950s, their partnership would indeed have an influential role in shaping reader attitudes towards postwar British life and identity.

Following the intervention of King and Cudlipp, the sales of the *Daily Mirror* rose to around 4.6 million and its policy became more focused on progressive engagements with social and cultural change.<sup>21</sup> Its policies were not solely the product of King and Cudlipp’s ideology, or the newspaper’s commercial motivations. The input of other journalists helped shape and communicate its policy. Even some of the most prominent contributors to the newspaper, such as Donald Zec and Marje Proops, however, argued that despite the variety of voices on the newspaper’s staff, Cudlipp’s thoughts and views remained dominant.<sup>22</sup>

In particular, this chapter highlights the influence of writer and journalist Keith Waterhouse, whose vivid writing style set the tone for feature articles about race and immigration throughout the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. Waterhouse said his journalism was also inspired by Bolam’s sensational approach, and the style of his feature writing for the *Daily Mirror* reflected this.<sup>23</sup> Cudlipp had recognised his talents in 1951, and worked closely with him as editor.<sup>24</sup> Reminiscing on his time at the *Daily Mirror*, Waterhouse said he was used by Cudlipp to cover the ‘bread and circuses’—the serious topics and fun diversions—that shaped the bulk of the newspaper’s coverage.<sup>25</sup> Cudlipp would one week send him to investigate social evils, of which Waterhouse believed the colour bar was the ‘most serious’,

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<sup>20</sup> Cecil King, *Strictly Personal: Some Memoirs of Cecil H. King* (London, 1969), p. 123.

<sup>21</sup> Greensdale, *Press Gang*, p. 90.

<sup>22</sup> Donald Zec, ‘There was an Old Woman in Stoke...’, *British Journalism Review*, 4, 3 (1993), pp. 9-12. When consulting in the writing of her biography, Proops suggested that Cudlipp had ‘created her’ by shaping the content of her writing and its presentation. See Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, Marje Proops to Hugh Cudlipp, 8 August 1995.

<sup>23</sup> Keith Waterhouse, *Streets Ahead: Life After City Lights* (London, 1995), p. 56.

<sup>24</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Keith Waterhouse Papers, (un-catalogued) Correspondence 1946-61, Hugh Cudlipp to Keith Waterhouse, 16 January 1951.

<sup>25</sup> Waterhouse, *Streets Ahead*, pp. 74-76

and the next to a dog show.<sup>26</sup> Cudlipp believed Waterhouse's powerful writing—he was also an author famous for writing *Billy Liar*—suited him to covering 'difficult' subjects like racism in short, powerful articles.<sup>27</sup> His contributions to the colour bar crusade, and his close relationship with Cudlipp, offer insight into how policy was formed in collaboration between editors and journalists. The division of 'serious' news and entertainment was a key function in the commercial and ideological strategy of the *Daily Mirror*.

### The Sections of the *Daily Mirror*.

By dividing its analysis of the *Daily Mirror* core columns—news reporting, feature articles, editorials and reader correspondence—this chapter will reflect upon the structural and rhetorical strategies newspapers used to communicate opinions about racism and immigration to their readers. All *Daily Mirror* content came under the scrutiny of the editor and policy was 'roughly parallel' between the different sections of the newspaper.<sup>28</sup> Despite this, differences in style and content were significant.

News reportage in the *Daily Mirror* throughout the 1950s drew its readers' attention to the existence of racism by detailing examples of public discrimination in housing and industry. Both the sources journalists referenced—the testimony of the victims of racism, the campaigns of anti-racist politicians and organisations, and official reports—and the emotive language journalists used, raised public awareness. While the detail in news reportage was often sacrificed to save column space for more entertaining features, 'sledgehammer

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; Waterhouse, 'In Search of the Sunday Papers', *British Journalism Review*, 9, 3 (1998), pp. 30-36.

<sup>27</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Keith Waterhouse Papers, (un-catalogued) Correspondence 1946-61, Hugh Cudlipp to Keith Waterhouse, 19 March 1954.

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Cudlipp, *At Your Peril* (London, 1962), p. 92.

headlines' became a powerful tool in clearly communicating the key points journalists and editors wanted to get across from any given story.<sup>29</sup>

Feature articles often employed investigative journalism, photographs, large headlines and extended column inches to tell the human stories behind the news. They proved to be a key strategic tool used by King and Cudlipp in the construction of an entertaining yet socially conscious newspaper. King wanted to keep the number of news reports to the barest minimum, and instead favoured 'well-informed, very simply written and very short' feature articles that could communicate in easily-digestible doses of information about topics of interest.<sup>30</sup> Feature articles were the purest example of the fusion of commercial and socially conscious motivations that informed the genres of journalism in popular newspapers. A feature article could summarise a particular story as it had developed over weeks in a much more effective manner than short, daily and disposable reports. Feature articles allowed journalists to assume the roles of 'detective and judge' by investigating the 'social problems' of the day.<sup>31</sup> Following traditions of crusading journalism, 1950s feature articles investigated the lives of black and Asian immigrants in Britain, and sought to expose and condemn racism through emotional narratives and appeals to readers.<sup>32</sup> By entering immigrant communities and interviewing the perpetrators and victims of racism, journalists could then incorporate a wider variety of voices in their writing while also appealing to public interest through human narratives. This strategy resulted in some powerful articles that challenged racism, but often failed to get across the complex realities facing immigrants and settlers.

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<sup>29</sup> This was the term used by Cudlipp to describe large-type, black font headlines, especially those that appeared on front pages. Cudlipp, *Publish and be Damned*, p. 64.

<sup>30</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, Cecil King to Hugh Cudlipp, 27 December 1952.

<sup>31</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, p. 159.

<sup>32</sup> W. T. Stead's investigation into child prostitution is the most famous example of such crusading articles, while Bingham has demonstrated that this practice was still prominent well into the twentieth century. See Schults, *Crusader in Babylon*; Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 159-200.

The *Daily Mirror*'s editorial columns reaffirmed inclusive Commonwealth citizenship rights, implored the public and politicians alike to bring an end to racism in Britain and ultimately endorsed a problematic and unstable concept of tolerance and multiculturalism. Unlike other newspapers, such as the *Daily Express* and the *Times*, editorials were not featured every day. When they were featured, they had more of an effect in defining an issue as significant to readers: they were often short and used a popular vernacular to address the public and politicians directly.<sup>33</sup> While not always written by Cudlipp, they usually reflected his views and he would have been carefully monitored so as not to contradict the newspaper's policy.<sup>34</sup>

Reader correspondence of the *Daily Mirror* was most frequently collected in the popular 'Old Codgers' pages which, being placed alongside comic strips was generally considered an entertainment section.<sup>35</sup> However, for serious issues such as racism and immigration, reader correspondence was published in articles which were said to represent the reader opinion on the matter. By doing this, the newspaper could frame its own policy alongside, or even against, popular opinion. This reinforced either the view that the *Daily Mirror* was the voice of the people, or emphasised the role it should take in leading public opinion away from prejudice.

#### 'End The Colour Bar': News Reportage and Exposing Racism.

While news reportage is an essential component to any newspaper, the *Daily Mirror* utilised it to increase public awareness of racial discrimination. While reports were shaped by

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<sup>33</sup> Woodrow Wyatt, *Distinguished for Talent: Some Men of Influence and Enterprise* (London, 1958), pp. 50-51.

<sup>34</sup> Journalist Keith Waterhouse, for example, occasionally wrote *Daily Mirror* editorials, but said that his writing was 'transcribe[d from] my notes of [Cudlipp's] trenchant thoughts on some issue'. Keith Waterhouse, 'In Search of the Sunday Papers', *British Journalism Review*, 9, 3 (1998), p. 31.

<sup>35</sup> Woodrow Wyatt, *Distinguished for Talent*, p. 51. Wyatt claims that in 1958 'Old Codgers' was the most popular part of the *Daily Mirror*, trumping even the entertainment and sports pages.

journalists' access to authoritative sources and the deadline demands of the daily newspaper market, the content, presentation and frequency of coverage of racism and immigration was used as a vital part of the *Daily Mirror*'s anti-racist crusade.<sup>36</sup> As a result, many news items about black and Asian immigrants in the early 1950s concerned colour bars and efforts to combat them.

Headlines such as 'END THE COLOUR BAR, PUBLICANS ARE TOLD'<sup>37</sup>, 'NO COLOUR BAR IN COURTS, M.P TOLD'<sup>38</sup>, 'BUSMEN ARE TOLD: DROP COLOUR BAR'<sup>39</sup> and 'Labour says 'Colour bar must end' highlighted in clear terms both the existence of discrimination and official opposition to it.<sup>40</sup> While reporting the actions of racists, stories placed emphasis on those unions, politicians and organisations that fought against them. This strategy represented racists as extremists at the fringes of legitimate opinion. For example, the opposition workers boycotting the employment of black bus conductors in West Bromwich in 1955 faced from the Transport and General Workers Union, the magistrates' courts and the Trade Union Council was the focus of related news reports.<sup>41</sup>

Another key focus of the *Daily Mirror*'s news coverage of racism and immigration was the role of the Labour Party in calling for an end to discrimination. While Conservative 'inaction to prevent...colour bars' was highlighted, Labour MPs were presented as a consistent voice of protest. In particular, the repeated efforts of Labour MP Fenner Brockway were often covered by the newspaper. Referred to as the man who 'wants to ban the colour bar', his repeated failure to pass his bill—by 1960 Brockway had attempted and failed to do so five times—cemented Labour's image as the voice of Britain's conscience, while the

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<sup>36</sup> For an account of the stressful demands of newspaper news journalism, see Tuchman, *Making News*.

<sup>37</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 5 February 1954.

<sup>38</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 December 1954.

<sup>39</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 23 February 1955.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 October 1956.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 February 1955; 26 February 1955.

Conservatives were said to be afraid to act against racism.<sup>42</sup> Reinforcing the association of Labour with anti-racism, detailed coverage was provided of the 1956 Labour conference in Blackpool which had ‘overwhelmingly’ supported calls for the next government to outlaw racial discrimination and to embrace the ‘plural society’ of the British Commonwealth.<sup>43</sup>

The tone and subject of the newspaper’s coverage changed significantly during the immediate aftermath of the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots of 1958. Front page headlines during the weeks surrounding the disturbances were dominated by details of the ‘colour riots’, violence and ‘pitched battles’ that had ‘engulfed’ the districts and were often accompanied by pictures of huge crowds and the injuries of those involved in the fighting, including the police.<sup>44</sup> The *Daily Mirror*’s early responses to the riots were particularly powerful. A news report about arrests made at Notting Hill took up the majority of a front page along-side a Vicky cartoon equating the actions of white ‘hooligans’ with the policies of Hitler (see Figure 1). Reflecting the sense of alarm that accompanied the newspaper’s response to the riots, the role of black and white rioters were emphasised, and the stabbing of a white man was said to be the origin of the disturbances.

The primary focus of news reports about the 1958 riots was the disorder racism had encouraged. Gradually, however, black people themselves were said to be innocent in precipitating violence. A front page article argued that ‘white youths’ were responsible, and ‘no coloured people were involved’ in much of the violence. Coverage of a magistrate hearing highlighted the verdict of court chairman Arthur Turney that ‘the coloured population has nothing whatsoever to do with this violence....Their increase in Nottingham has been

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 June 1956; 12 April 1960.

<sup>43</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 5 October 1956.

<sup>44</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 1 September 1958; 3 September 1958; 6 September 1958.

used as an excuse for lawless elements'.<sup>45</sup> The conclusions of Justice Salmon concerning the riots were considered to be vitally important, and were quoted in a huge article covering the front and back pages of the newspaper (see Figure 2).<sup>46</sup> The judge's words were given prominence as they corresponded to the *Daily Mirror*'s own perspective: that racism was the result of an 'insignificant' minority, was considered disgusting by the 'decent' public and was something that could not be tolerated in Britain.<sup>47</sup> Much like prejudice itself, the riots were considered 'SAVAGE ATTACKS ON PEACEFUL CITIZENS'.<sup>48</sup>

News reportage of the 1958 riots in the *Daily Mirror* appealed to the public's tolerance and highlighted the social difficulties facing areas like Notting Hill. In a story which filled the column space of page nine, a policeman's court testimony that Notting Hill was a 'FLASH POINT' because discrimination in housing was given prominence.<sup>49</sup> Reflecting the *Daily Mirror*'s anxiety about working-class racism, another report with a page-dominating headline emphasised the Trade Union Council's condemnation of the riots and renewed commitment to opposing discrimination in employment.<sup>50</sup> Following the initial, alarmist descriptions of disorder and the threat of racial warfare, later coverage gave prominence to those official voices dismissing the actions of the ignorant few. Amongst the official voices present in reports were those politicians calling for restrictions to immigration

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 16 September 1958.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 17 September 1958.

<sup>50</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 4 September 1958.

# 36 ARRESTS

## IN NEW 'COLOUR' RIOTS



**DAILY MIRROR REPORTER**  
**RIOTING** broke out over a wide area of West London last night. Police reinforcements were called to Notting Hill Gate as white youths and coloured people clashed again.

More than a hundred policemen were patrolling the trouble-spots on the **THIRD** night of violence. But as one incident was dealt with, another flared elsewhere.

Thousands of people were milling round the streets and a police spokesman said the atmosphere was "electric."

**LATE LAST NIGHT 36 PEOPLE WERE UNDER ARREST.**

Some were coloured people said to have been found in possession of offensive weapons.

Police threw a cordon round Notting Hill police station as a succession of

### 100 POLICE TOUR AREA

Black Marls drew up outside with the arrested men. A police spokesman said: "All the incidents have concerned white and coloured people."

In the battles that led to last night's arrests, rival gangs wielded bottles and iron bars.

But just before midnight a white man was stabbed by a coloured man.

Gangs from other parts

Continued on Page 20

Advertiser's Announcement

## COAL MINING PRACTICE

New and completely up to date—The Most Comprehensive and Practical Book on Coal Mining Produced in Recent Times. Edited by Professor I. G. F. Stokman, Emeritus Professor of Mining in the University of Sheffield, and assisted by 17 leading experts.

Figure 1: Daily Mirror, 2 September 1958. ©Mirrorpix

in response to the riots.<sup>51</sup> News reports' focus on calls for limitations reflected the *Daily Mirror*'s own anxieties about immigration and public order. While headlines eventually celebrated that there would be no 'ban' on entry, a subheading—'But the no-goods may be sent home'—betrayed the fact that political scepticism about equal citizenship rights was beginning to feature more prominently.<sup>52</sup>

Figure 2: *Daily Mirror*, 16 September 1958. ©Mirrorpix

With its focus on youth criminality and disorder in the summer of 1958, the *Daily Mirror* had represented racism as a moral panic.<sup>53</sup> Ultimately, both the alarm Cudlipp and his staff likely felt following the riots and the news-worthiness of the dramatic accounts of violence and punishment of young 'Teddy Boys' influenced news reportage in 1958. The

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 9 September 1958.

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed account of how newspapers construct moral panics, see Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*, pp. 47-79.

high-profile nature of the violence had provided the newspaper with an opportunity to communicate its commitment to anti-racism in more effective ways than had previously been possible. While headlines about violence dominated early reports, official responses gradually returned into focus. Consistently, the continued emphasis on the maintenance of harmony in news reports put concerns about public order above those of the rights of black immigrants. This element of the *Daily Mirror*'s coverage of race and immigration would influence its growing concern about the sustainability of black and Asian migration into Britain.

#### 'No Colour Bar Here': Feature Articles and Investigations into Racism in Britain

Through feature articles, the *Daily Mirror* balanced its news coverage with first hand investigative journalism which reflected the complexities of attitudes towards race and the experiences of black and Asian people in 1950s Britain. Webster argued that feature investigations into immigration were presented as educational in order to 'establish the liberal credentials' of newspapers, but often presented black communities as exotic 'dark continents' within Britain, and their presence as a 'colour problem'.<sup>54</sup> While feature articles were used by the *Daily Mirror* to reinforce the newspaper's commercial and ideological image as a liberal and campaigning, they also challenged many of the racist assumptions Webster identified. *Englishness and Empire* argued that tensions caused by the cultural differences of immigrants, rather than colour bars, were defined as the 'colour problem', yet several *Daily Mirror* feature articles across the 1950s contested this view. The 'problems' identified by Webster as dominating media coverage of the period—such as poor housing conditions, unemployment and crime—were

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<sup>54</sup> Webster highlighted the similarities between investigations into black communities and past exploratory accounts of colonial Africa and poverty-stricken urban environments, Webster, *Englishness and Empire* p. 150.

covered by *Mirror* feature writers, but were often associated with white racism, rather than the cultural difference of black and Asians.

Following criticisms of the exclusion of black people from the Queen's welcome in Bermuda, a feature article, 'a *Daily Mirror* Crusade', demanded action by highlighting the

JOHN WALTERS investigates

# How the colour bar works in BRITISH BERMUDA

**Bermuda, Wednesday.**  
THE leading white people here are furious with nine coloured members of Bermuda's Parliament.

These M.P.s, led by Dr. E. F. Gordon, yesterday asked the island's Colonial Secretary if they could meet Sir Winston Churchill for four reasons:

- 1.—To ask him to set up a Royal Commission to investigate social, economic and political conditions in the Colony.
- 2.—To draw Sir Winston Churchill's attention to Bermuda's lack of social security legislation.
- 3.—To protest against the exclusion of Negroes from the recent State banquet for the Queen.
- 4.—To protest against Bermuda's uncommercial voting system, because it favours only property owners.

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## A 'Daily Mirror' Crusade

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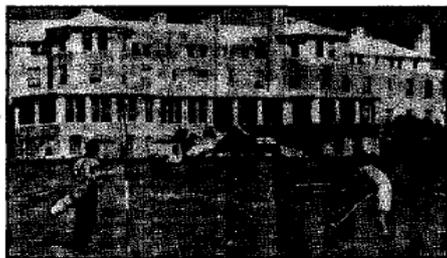
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Coloured boy on the golf-course of Bermuda's Mid-Ocean Club— rendezvous of the Churchill-Clanhowar meeting ... But he wouldn't be there if he weren't a cad.

store as a cleaner or a delivery boy or an upholsterer, but he could never serve at the counter. And Bermuda's substantially clean hotel industry reserves all substantial jobs for whites.

HE might like to become a professional photographer — but even then there can be snags.

One Negro photographer told me now as an ambitious young man he sought assignments from tourist authorities. He was told: "It would not be proper for a coloured photographer to go into hotels to talk to white guests."

If Jim is a sportsman he cannot play cricket with the whites or use their sports grounds. He is barred from many tennis courts and the golf-courses which, strangely enough,

You'll be wrong. There are separate white and coloured units. There are separate ex-Servicemen's associations for whites and Negroes. And a coloured man wounded at Dunkirk was refused permission to parade with his white ex-Servicemen's comrades.

Jim and his friends, out for an evening of fun, mistook a serious white by mistaking their bars of cigarettes. Some white public houses, however, have generously provided small rooms — hidden away at the back of the premises—where coloured drivers of white taxis may drink.

WHAT happens when Jim dies? His body will be attended by a coloured undertaker. In some cemeteries, his body would be buried in the Jim Chow section, away from the graves of white people.

A Negro family owning a grave outside Hamilton parish church have been asked to give it up and allow the bodies of their ancestors to be transferred to another spot, some distance away.

The only explanation for this extraordinary request is that the too scarce white graves.

It is curious to reflect that there is no freedom for 60 per cent of the population of the place where the welfare of the free world is now being debated.

There's computer military service in Bermuda. Surely (you'll say) there is no nonsense here!

He had plenty of hair 4 years ago

—BUT HE IGNORED WARNINGS SIGNS



The photograph on the left was taken in March 1949. Less than 4 years later, deterioration in hair-roots had reached the stage shown in one photograph above.

One day you may be in this position—and probably will—unless you are prepared to be intelligent about the care of your hair. Loss of hair seems to come so quickly, but it rarely occurs without warning signs, and up-to-date knowledge of hair growth makes hair health a matter of plain common sense.

Hair is made from as many as eighteen different substances, called amino-acids. If even one of these amino-acids is missing, your hair will not grow correctly—it may not grow at all—few lack of proper nourishment.

The simplest way to make up for any shortage is to massage Silvikrin into the scalp. For Pure Silvikrin contains all the 18 amino-acids vital for the formation of healthy hair.

Silvikrin, which is a unique bio-chemical treatment, aims at a fundamental improvement in your hair health.

For severe cases of dandruff, greasy scalp and itching hair, you must use Pure Silvikrin (11) for a month's supply. For less severe cases use Silvikrin Hair Tonic and for dry heads Silvikrin Hair Dressing (a lotion with oil). Bottles 2/6 and 4/4.

**Silvikrin**  
THE HAIR'S NATURAL FOOD

## The wife who took up darts

"I'm looking forward to next Sunday, and I'll tell you why. Not so long ago I was thinking about the five-day week. My husband has had it for years.

But it was still seven days for me—and not my husband's fault that it wasn't eight. Work! No, just every day, but every minute.

But Sunday was the day I fought for. There I was, slaving away with the dinner as soon as we got back from church, and there he was, enjoying himself at the local.

When I tackled him about it, he stared at me or through I was mad, and said he worked hard during the week and had earned his time off on Sundays.

All right. But what about me? I think I can seem time off, too, and I told him so.

Of course, he knew darn well what I did all day, nothing but gossip and listen to Woman's Hour.

I could have brained him. When I do it's ten to Woman's Hour. There's always a pile of mendage and gossip to be done.

This argument didn't get anywhere. Finally, I said I didn't know why I couldn't

go to the pub with him on Sundays and play darts. He could help me with the dinner first, and I could have it in the pub. Well, you'd have thought I'd asked him to go to work

want on strike. He set off for the pub. I set off for a walk. I took sandwiches, left some for him with a note and thoroughly enjoyed myself!

What a surprise when I got back. There he was, as meek as a lamb—and I felt a bit mean.

But it worked. And now we have a hot Sunday dinner on Saturday and cold meal on Sunday. I'm getting quite a hand at darts at the local.

by MARJORIE GRAY

WHO IS BRITAIN'S TEEN QUEEN?

and who are the Ten Men that British girls admire most?

WATCH THIS PAGE TOMORROW

**Everybody needs Tenbra UNDERWEAR**

Men's Singlets, Trunks and Jockeys. Shorts are made in various qualities from 4/11 to 6/6.

TENBRA LTD (Managing Director): G. W. ANDERSON LTD LONDON

Figure 3: *Daily Mirror*, 3 December 1953. ©Mirrorpix

suffering of black Bermudans (see Figure 3).<sup>55</sup> Journalist John Waters encouraged readers to ‘judge for [them]selves whether it is improper to highlight racial discrimination’ by reviewing for them ‘the life of a typical coloured inhabitant of Bermuda’.<sup>56</sup> The feature included the hypothetical story of the anonymous ‘Jim’, spanning from his birth in the ‘coloured’ section of a hospital to his burial in a segregated plot. Waters used this approach to highlight the discrimination faced in all aspects of Bermudan life, and the hypocrisy of discussions about Commonwealth relations taking place in such an unequal setting.<sup>57</sup> The emotional element of an otherwise political issue was exploited by the *Daily Mirror* in order to justify its criticism of colonial governments.

Waterhouse, at an early point in his collaboration with Cudlipp, was also drawn upon to contribute to the crusading colour bar features. His articles showed off his literary skill through their rich imagery and subverted many popular conceptions in order to challenge his readers. His first feature article about racial discrimination linked its subject—the black community of Brixton—to familiar imagery of African-American slums and the underclass of the British poor. A sense of cultural difference permeated Waterhouse’s account which seemed to follow the methods of ‘othering’ and social exploration identified by Webster.<sup>58</sup> ‘I might have been in the middle of Harlem’, the report began. Presenting the black community as something alien to Britain, Waterhouse described in vivid detail his surroundings:

It was a hot, sultry night. At the end of the street a few Negroes were rolling dice round a litter bin.

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<sup>55</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 December 1953.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> For an excellent account of defining identity against the ‘other’, see Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*, pp. 115-127.

Somewhere there was a ukulele picking out a blues number. A pretty coloured girl, hips swinging, walked lazily down Coldharbour Lane.<sup>59</sup>

Although reference to Coldharbour Lane rooted this account in London, the rest of the description used motifs, such as gambling, hot weather, American blues and a lazy yet rhythmic lifestyle, more at home in travel accounts of American-American urban districts.<sup>60</sup> This description was juxtaposed by a description of the typically British scenes Waterhouse encountered when leaving this ‘little Harlem’: ‘an accordion playing “Knees up Mother Brown”, in a pub, and the crowds...coming out of the pictures’. The investigation presented the black community as an alien anomaly within an otherwise recognisably British area and reinforced many of the popular depictions of black ‘slums’ in London.<sup>61</sup>

Waterhouse’s account used these motifs to subvert expectations and question British values. While the black community was presented as segregated from the wider white community, those within it were presented as sincere and welcoming. The title of the article, ‘Ain’t no colour bar here..’ referred not to London, but to the black community’s willingness to welcome strangers regardless of their skin colour.<sup>62</sup> Waterhouse also contested the idea, presented in other media of the time, that cultural differences alone were the reason for the growth of black ‘slums’.<sup>63</sup> While not explicitly addressed in this article, the argument that segregation was a result of the unjust actions of white prejudice would be developed in future articles penned by Waterhouse.

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<sup>59</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 18 August 1953.

<sup>60</sup> For an account of the popular practice of ‘slumming’ – white middle class people exploring and exoticising working class African-American culture in early twentieth-century America – see Chad Heap, *Slumming: Sexual and Racial Encounters in American Nightlife, 1885-1940* (Chicago, 2009).

<sup>61</sup> London had featured prominently in sociological accounts of black ‘slums’, see Banton, *White and Coloured*; Patterson, *Dark Strangers*.

<sup>62</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 18 August 1953. A member of the local church told Waterhouse that ‘This here’s a coloured church – black, white, any colour’.

<sup>63</sup> See Waters, ‘Dark Strangers in our Midst’.

Waterhouse returned to the topic of racial discrimination with a series focused on the plight that ‘60,000 bitterly persecuted coloured folk suffer here today’.<sup>64</sup> With the emotive title ‘BLACK, BLIND HATE’, the article acted as a harangue against racism in Britain, which was presented as widespread problem affecting every single black Briton.<sup>65</sup> It defined the colour bar as the product of ‘contempt and ignorance and jealousy and black blind hate’ which had distorted the norms of British society; driving ‘apparently normal’ white Britons to shout abuse at, and deny jobs and housing to, black people. Including a photograph of a young black man, the article challenged readers to consider the effect of racism, asking ‘What happens in the heart of a coloured man when you call him a wog?’ (see Figure 4).<sup>66</sup> As regular interaction with black people was still something experienced by few in Britain, questions like this sought to engage the public’s conscience and guide their emotional response to the evidence presented in feature articles.

Waterhouse had spent fourteen days interviewing the victims of prejudice across the country and provided accounts of the emotionally crippling effect it had on their lives. By giving these communities their own voice, Waterhouse believed the problems associated with Black communities were the *result* of discrimination, not the impetus behind it. His account combated negative depictions of black communities. Contradicting images of black women which focused on unstable families and poor living conditions, an account of a black widow of a Nigerian seaman and her family in Liverpool referred to her as an ‘ordinary English mother’ living in an ‘ordinary English home’.<sup>67</sup> Outside her home, however, she would be

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<sup>64</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 15 March 1954

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* For examples of negative attitudes towards black women in postwar Britain see Webster, *Imagining Home*, pp. 25-45.

THE COLOUR BAR IN BRITAIN TODAY

'BLACK, BLIND HATE'



A MAN named Roy Campbell had a disagreement with a workmate at Kentish Town. The workmate, an apparently normal man of mature years, drew a deep breath and spat deliberately in his face.

Roy Campbell is coloured. A man named James Wynter went after a flat in Liverpool. The landlady opened the door, screamed, and fell down in a dead faint.

James Wynter is coloured. A qualified carpenter named Sebott Clarke, who has been out of work since October, tried to get a job washing down taxis in Burton. The manager said: "We don't want you people here."

Sebott Clarke is coloured.

IN the past fortnight I have met and talked with some 400 people who are a pretty average cross-section of the community. There were some intelligent people and some stupid. Some had been to universities and others had been to prison.

Good and Bad

They were doctors, joiners, bootmakers, road-sweepers, housewives, a few spies and priests, and many good family men with clean homes and bonny children.

They all have one thing in common. They are all black, or a shade of black.

They do not have a different shade of blood from yours or mine, or different brains, or thicker skulls. They do not look like apes.

But they are all black citizens. And because they are black they all had incidents to report like the ones I have described.

I have spent fourteen days investigating that broad band of contempt and ignorance and jealousy and superstition and black, blind hate that is called the colour bar.

Where does it exist? Why does it exist? How deep does it go? What happens in the heart of a coloured man when you call him a

wog and shut the door in his face?

THE colour bar touches every one of Britain's 60,000 Negroes.

A distinguished man, talking once to a meeting of coloured people in Liverpool about their problems, said: "If you don't like it here, why don't you go back to your own land?"

A coloured man got up and said: "I was born in Liverpool. What land do I go to?"

There are many people like that in Liverpool's colony of 10,000 coloured

The first of three important articles by KEITH WATERHOUSE

people who have never seen a plantation or a palm tree, except in a film.

I want to tell you today about one of these families: The Nowells. An ENGLISH family.

Mrs. Josephine Nowell is thirty-nine. She was born in Newford street, Liverpool. She speaks with a Merseyside accent.

An English Mother

Mrs. Nowell, the widow of a Nigerian seaman, lives with her seven children at FATHERLEY STREET, LIVERPOOL.

It is an ordinary English home, for of course, Mrs. Nowell is an ordinary English mother.

But she knows that when she goes into the street adult people will yell after her: "Dirty Black Nigger! Get back to your own country!"

Mrs. Nowell's eldest daughter, Juanita, 15, has never been out of Britain. But in a local shop the other day someone told her to go back to Man Man land.

This family was brought up to accept the colour bar like other people have to ac-

.. is what 60,000 bitterly persecuted coloured folk suffer here today

cept an illness. The youngest, Ramon, 34, and Josephine, 24, still run into the house crying when children dance round them shouting: "Nigger! Nigger! Nigger!"

But they will grow hardened to it, and Ramon will become quite used to being called Sambo and Coon. Josephine will grow up to be like Pauline, 13, who says indifferently: "I'm as good as you are" when people call her a dirty nigger.

BUT even a family that laughs at the colour bar has its problems. John, aged seventeen, is a trained ship's cook, has a union card, but has been out of work for fourteen months. He cannot take any of the four jobs he has been offered—because he cannot get into the seamen's pool to obtain a discharge book, without which he can't work.

No one says it's a colour bar. No one ever does.

No Job

But John knows plenty of white boys who got into the seamen's pool. And he doesn't know one white boy who is out of work at seventeen.

The Nowells keep out of trouble. They do not court the colour bar.

SOME time ago Mrs. Nowell wanted to go to a local dance hall. "You can't come in here. You're black," they told her at the pay desk.

"But I was BORN here," said Mrs. Nowell.

"It makes no difference. You're black," they said. Mrs. Nowell has never been to that dance hall since.

She has never been to the shops who leave coloured people to wait until everyone else has been served. She has never been to the

esies where Negro customers are ignored.

They do not look for prejudice, but prejudice sometimes looks for them. A friend who once went into Mrs. Nowell's home told her: "All black people are heathens."

A teacher at school once said: "They're all not flat noses in Africa—like Pauline Nowell."

Neighbours

Mrs. Nowell has a house, which is more than a good many coloured people have. But she had applied for ten houses before she got it—because the neighbours told the landlord they wouldn't have a nigger in the street.

All her life, Mrs. Nowell has been paying for the colour of her skin. "I don't worry about it," she says. "There isn't a black God and a white God, but you can't tell people that."

You cannot talk to

people like Mrs. Nowell and then say there is no colour bar in Britain.

I talked the other day with a man who had been a fireman on the railway. His master held meetings to get him sacked. He complained to the Colonial Office. From that day on his life was made hell at work.

One day, after a particularly vicious insult, he took up a pick and raised it against the man who had taunted him.

Luckily the pick fell from his hand. But the rage stayed in his heart.

He went away from work, this man whose skin was black, and he cried his heart out in the darkest corner he could find.

And you could not see his crying and say there is no colour bar in Britain.

TOMORROW: Keith Waterhouse goes to the Midlands—to Jim Crow

dy.

What happens in the heart of a coloured man when you call him a wog?

Bebe gets a rival

FOR four years Bebe Daniels—once the darling of Hollywood musicals—has had it her own way as radio's sandest actor Buchanan then. Miss Daniels also saw a lot of Ben Lyon. But here comes the differ-

Advertisement for CHAPPIE tinned soup. It features a can of CHAPPIE and the slogan "He's back again!". Below the can, it says "The original tinned CHAPPIE".

Figure 4: Daily Mirror, 15 March 1954. ©Mirrorpix

labelled a ‘Dirty Black Negro’ and told to leave the country: ‘All her life’, Waterhouse concluded, ‘Mrs. Nowell has been paying for the colour of her skin’.<sup>68</sup> Waterhouse used this case, and another of a man reduced to tears after being refused work, to show it was racism, rather than innate cultural differences, that had isolated black people from white British communities. Readers could not hear these personal accounts, he argued, ‘and say there is no colour bar in Britain’.<sup>69</sup>

Waterhouse’s second investigation focused on Birmingham and the social origins of the ‘problems’ associated with Commonwealth immigration. It exposed the ‘codes’ by which white people had justified and hidden the racial discrimination in the city:

No coloured man in this city will go after a flat where ‘respectable’ tenants are asked for – because respectable means white.

Or after a job where ‘experienced’ hands are needed – because experienced means white.

Or into a cafe where only ‘regular’ customers are served – because regular means white.

When you translate the code it means there’s no colour bar in Birmingham, if you happen to be a respectable, experienced, regular white man.

But for the 16,000 coloured population it is a Jim Crow city of violent colour hate and segregation.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 16 March 1954.

Racial discrimination existed, Waterhouse argued, because Britishness, and the privileges and sense of belonging associated with it, had become synonymous with whiteness. The ‘respectability’ often used by white Britons to define themselves as superior to black and Asian people, Waterhouse argued, had been unjustly exploited.<sup>71</sup> Questions about British identity were at the centre of the *Daily Mirror*’s concerns about the colour bar. The worst thing about racism in Birmingham, Waterhouse argued, was its presence in ‘*England – 4,500 miles from the U.S.A’s deep south.*’<sup>72</sup> Instead of focusing on fears about the ‘ghettoisation’ of inner-cities, the article was concerned that discrimination could turn this British city into a ‘Jim Crow’ city.<sup>73</sup> Bingham highlighted the common trend of popular newspapers to present ‘social problems’ as the corrupting effect of ‘unwelcome foreign influences’ which, in this case, were defined as racism itself rather than immigrants themselves.<sup>74</sup> This had the dual effect of challenging misconceptions about black immigrants and rallying a community of ‘decent’ readers against the un-British practice of racial discrimination.

In his final article, Waterhouse returned to Coldharbour Lane and argued that white ignorance and the prevalence of racialised myths was the reason black people were often segregated within Brixton.<sup>75</sup> He recognised many white Britons believed most black immigrants smoked dope, were stowaways, lived with white prostitutes and sponged off the dole. These beliefs, he argued, were fantasies contrived by ‘the man who hates niggers’ and had been contradicted by his own experiences. Waterhouse argued that in order to challenge this ignorance, the reader had to:

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* Juxtaposing the exclusion of respectable black people with the prejudiced hypocrisy of white Britons, Waterhouse recounted an incident in which cafe owners, ‘sitting alone among [their] cracked plates’, had refused black customers as they ‘want[ed] to keep this place respectable’ but still permitted (white) prostitutes.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* Italics in original.

<sup>73</sup> For an insightful account of the American South’s ‘Jim Crow’ laws, see Jennifer Ritterhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black and White Southern Children Learned Race* (North Carolina, 2006).

<sup>74</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?* p. 165.

<sup>75</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 17 March 1954.

UNDERSTAND why they are here.

UNDERSTAND what they are doing.

UNDERSTAND that they are not going to hurt us.<sup>76</sup>

This article directly addressed the newspaper's audience, challenged them and emphasised their responsibility in questioning their own attitudes.

Further demonstrating the use of the *Daily Mirror*'s most popular writers in the colour bar crusade, Marjorie Proops, the newspaper's popular 'agony aunt' penned an 'open letter' to black Guiana women who had recently flown into Britain to join their white British husbands in October 1954.<sup>77</sup> Proops had a troubled childhood due to her experiences of anti-Semitism, and shared the hatred of prejudice King, Cudlipp and Waterhouse had demonstrated.<sup>78</sup> Like Waterhouse, she challenged readers to abandon any negative attitudes they might have towards black immigrants. She wrote that:

Average British men and women are kind, warm and considerable.

But something strange happens to many of these kindly folk when they come face to face with human beings whose skin is a few tones darker than theirs.

Kindness and warmth vanish; humanity fades. They become thoughtless and sometimes...ignorantly cruel.<sup>79</sup>

Known for her bold positions on controversial topics, Proops challenged the values of readers in stark terms that engaged with many of the themes the *Daily Mirror*'s coverage had already

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<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Daily Mirror.*, 23 October 1954.

<sup>78</sup> Angela Patmore, *Marje* (London, 1993), p. 73.

<sup>79</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 5 November 1954.

addressed.<sup>80</sup> She suggested, like Waterhouse had, that prejudice was corrupting ordinary ‘decent’ Britons and the values they stood for. While addressed to the Guineans, the article spoke directly to the audience and challenged them to live up to the values they claimed to hold. By addressing a community of white readers in its crusade against racism, the *Daily Mirror* represented white racist attitudes and behaviour as the cause of the social problems its articles had uncovered.

While no black journalists were used to write about racism in Britain, the *Daily Mirror* had gained exclusive rights to publish passages from Trinidadian-British cricketer Learie Constantine’s firsthand account of discrimination in Britain. While publishing extracts from anticipated books had strong commercial benefits, the articles also contributed a unique perspective to the newspaper’s colour bar crusade. Titled ‘I ACCUSE’, the passages complemented the *Mirror*’s own strategy of blaming white racism for the poor conditions black immigrants faced in Britain and acted as an emotive plea to end discrimination (see Figure 5).<sup>81</sup> When focusing on the private experience of black Britons Constantine’s article addressed a topic which was conspicuous in its absence from the *Daily Mirror*’s early 1950s coverage: marriages between black and white people.

It has been well documented that ‘miscegenation’ was a highly controversial topic that often encouraged hostility from otherwise liberal Britons.<sup>82</sup> Constantine argued ‘mixed’ marriages were only problematic because of the ‘ignorant uproar’ it caused amongst whites.<sup>83</sup> With striking similarity to articles written by Waterhouse, the passage claimed negative

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<sup>80</sup> For an account of Proops’s support for the legalisation of homosexuality, see Bingham *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 193-194.

<sup>81</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 26 July 1958.

<sup>82</sup> For examples of this argument, see Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, pp. 150-158.; Mark Christian, ‘The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 21, 3 (2008); Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp.118-124.

<sup>83</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 27 July 1958.

public opinion about 'mixed' marriages was based on racialised myths about black sexual abnormality and the inferiority of 'half caste' children. Tackling these myths with accounts of stable family life in black communities, Constantine repeated the *Daily Mirror*'s own call for 'UNDERSTANDING'.<sup>84</sup>

# A famous Negro tells his story

**I AM black. My grandfather and grandmother were the children of slaves born into slavery.**

I am neither proud nor ashamed of these things. They are facts.

I had no more control over them than a man has over facts that may enable him to say: "I am white. My grandmother and grandfather were of the English royalty."

And because I am black I know every day the bitterness and cruelty of the colour bar.

What I am going to say next may shock you. But it is true. **SOME OF THE MOST PAINFUL EXPERIENCES OF COLOUR SEGREGATION THAT I HAVE SUFFERED WERE IN CHURCHES.**

Sometimes if such things happen in cricket or business you are to some extent accustomed against them. But when kneeling at prayer your armour is off—and the hurt seems to enter your soul.

**Suffered**

My belief in God has never wavered, but I have ceased practising my religion, formally because I have suffered so much at the hands of white priests and white worshippers.

**LOOK** what happened at a Paddington, London, church recently when a black baby was taken to be baptised.

According to the listed arrangements this baby was to be fourth to go through the ceremony. But when the baby's godmother advanced in her place, the priest held up a warning hand, shook his head and whispered: "Please wait. Meetly the woman raised.

Then she advanced as number five in the procession. Again the priest waved her back—this time with sarcasm.

Again... again... and again she was put back until all nine white babies had been baptised. Finally the little black child was allowed to come to I seem...

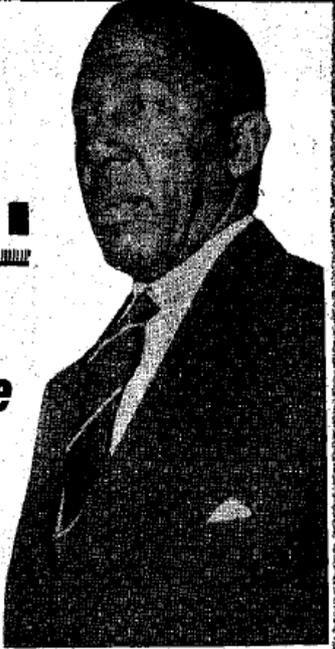
This shameful incident reminded me of the time when, praying in a New York church, I was told by a wergery: "Get out of here! Niggers at the back!" A Negro who helped serve at the altar of a Roman Catholic

These articles are reprinted by special permission from the Daily Mirror, London, and are published here for the first time.

# I ACCUSE...

by **Learie Constantine**

★ Great sportsman, great cricketer, Constantine (right) is a West Indian who has lived in Britain for 25 years. He was awarded the M.B.E. for his wartime welfare work.



**church in Belize** was told by the priest that he need not help the following Sunday, as it had been decided to use young people instead.

But when he attended the church he found that all the other men—white men—were still helping at the altar. It was his colour, not his age, that had offended the minister of God.

BUT that man still quietly attends the church. He explained to me: "One man has done me a wrong. But that is not going to separate me from God."

**WHEN** I was working for the Ministry of Labour in Liverpool I came into contact with Dr. David, the former Bishop of Liverpool, now dead. In all other ways a tolerant, kindly man, he rigidly supported colour segregation. His classes sitting in the pews when you arrived?

● **WOULD** you, and all your fellow church-goers kneel with coloured people at the altar for Communion?

● **WOULD** you have your baby christened in the arms of a Negro priest or your mother buried by one? Would you permit a coloured pastor to kiss your bride?

Christian missionaries have carried the teachings of Jesus throughout most of the coloured world—but they have no true equality to offer the Negro.

**Brotherhood**

How often is the relationship between missionary and Negro like that of master and servant? How often does the black man—with hope burning in his heart—learn the Gospels of one end of the coloured world to the other.

**A PEACEFUL** solution to the colour problem lies in the hands of Christian leaders.

If the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury would issue a brief, emphatic, uncompromising statement condemning all forms of colour discrimination in religion, vast numbers of coloured people would turn with thankful hearts to the Christian faith. It would open great springs of hope in the souls of millions.

No one knows better than coloured folk that they have much to learn. But if only they could feel a sense of **BROTHERHOOD**—**WELCOME** and **LOVE**, the worst of "The Black Man's Burden" would be swept away.

Christianity can win coloured converts only if it learns one vital lesson.

Practice what you preach.

**TOMORROW**

*Is it wicked to fall in love?*



Illustration by "Vandy" Fox

'Some of the most painful experiences I have suffered were in churches'

treated me courteously but apparently only because he was obliged to do so as a matter of business.

Like so many who gain a reputation for usefulness in the colour problem, all he appeared to want was to keep the coloured people sufficiently fed, clothed and housed—but definitely "in their place"...

**Cruel Answer**

is a black man REALLY accepted in Britain as fit to take part in a religious ceremony with white worshippers? In general the cruel answer is: NO.

Put it this way. In YOUR church...

● **WOULD** it make no difference if you found a score of coloured people of all social

Figure 5: *Daily Mirror*, 26 July 1958. ©Mirrorpix

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

Constantine's third article repeated the distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' immigrants which had been made in some news reportage of the 1958 riots. Having highlighted the religious devotion and desire for a stable family life of those 'respectable' immigrants already established in Britain, Constantine believed more recent immigrants were problematic. Seeking to make white Britons understand why West Indians came to Britain, the passage claimed that poor living conditions drove many, by whatever means possible, to migrate and to 'sponge' on British welfare which offered 'MUCH MORE THAN HARD WORK COULD EARN THEM IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY'.<sup>85</sup> The 'tragedy' of this process was that 'many stowaways are simple people with little education' who lived 'gay and gaudy lives....in exchange for a little law-breaking'. Because 'ignorant boys steal rides on banana boats and sometimes drift into crime', Constantine argued, 'respectable coloureds' faced poor treatment.<sup>86</sup>

Bill Williams identified similar responses amongst the established Jewish community of nineteenth century Manchester, who often portrayed new Jewish migrants as trouble-makers in order to secure their own respected position in society.<sup>87</sup> As Williams recognised, the need for such reactions indicated a troubling element to contemporary ideas of tolerance. Only when presenting themselves as 'respectable' members of the community, with stable jobs and homes, could black immigrants expect the tolerance of white Britons. The fact that significant numbers of black people did face unemployment and overcrowded housing as a result of discrimination, and so did sometimes drift into crime, is neglected in Constantine's account as the low status of new arrivals was blamed on their supposed care-free character. While Waterhouse's articles had tackled the reasons for poor conditions in some black

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<sup>85</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 28 July 1954.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance'.

communities, anxieties about ‘bad’ immigrants were aired more regularly in the *Daily Mirror* following alarmist news reports about the 1958 riots. The positive representation of black and Asian immigrants that was relatively consistent throughout the *Mirror*’s coverage was problematic in itself. The *Mirror* could only implore the public to tolerate black and Asian immigrants, and allay their concerns about the effect of immigration, by presenting them as respectable and valuable to Britain’s economy and reputation.

Even when debunking negative myths—sometimes those which the *Mirror* itself had previously reinforced—fears about the limits of British tolerance often compromised the liberal ambitions of feature articles. While Constantine’s article warned of the ‘paradise’ Britain’s welfare system promised West Indian migrants, a series of feature articles in March 1955 sought to debunk this idea by revealing the ‘truth’ about the ‘*BLACK MAN’S PARADISE*’ Britain supposedly offered. The series was written by Councillor H. N. White, Mayor of Lambeth - a man who ‘[knew] what he’s talking about’ given his experience with Brixton’s black community.<sup>88</sup> Acknowledging the main concerns white Britons held about black immigrants the articles promised to answer the questions:

- DO they come here to scrounge?
- ARE they breaking our laws?
- IS Britain being fair to them?<sup>89</sup>

The negative image of black crime and welfare dependence, White stated emphatically, was ‘A FALSE PICTURE’.<sup>90</sup> He instead claimed the vast majority of black people in Brixton were ‘a simple, decent, hard-working, clean-living and respectable folk’. Attempting to

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<sup>88</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 21 March 1955.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

negate fears about the effect of immigration on welfare benefit and wages, White argued that very few of black people drew any National Assistance and were rarely paid under the trade union rates.<sup>91</sup> Directly addressing other misconceptions, White highlighted the cleanliness of West Indian mothers, strong family values and the scarcity of police cases of dope-smuggling or crime within West Indian communities.<sup>92</sup> The article held up black Britons as good citizens that could easily be integrated into society.

White's second article highlighted the housing problems immigrants faced had potential to cause a future 'racial explosion'.<sup>93</sup> Detailing the ways in which white 'racketeer landlords' took advantage of segregation, poor housing conditions and the great demand for housing amongst Commonwealth immigrants, the article was presented as a report that would 'SHOCK' both the reader and the government. White complained that while 10,000 'of our own [white] people' were on the waiting list for new homes, immigrants were 'pouring in'.<sup>94</sup> While white landlords were blamed for causing the housing problems black communities faced, the article suggested that if black residents were placed elsewhere, they would take homes from white residents. Along with growing support for the British Union of Fascists and increases in racist attitudes and language, White warned '*anything could happen*' and areas like Brixton could become the centre for future troubles.<sup>95</sup> While isolated in their own communities, and causing few problems for the district, White presented black Britons as tolerable. When threatening the status of white people, however, White suggested British tolerance was a finite commodity.

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 22 March 1955.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

White defined the problems facing Brixton as a ‘colour problem’ because the public demonstrated little concern about the 50,000 white immigrants into the country yearly.<sup>96</sup> In order to solve the ‘race problem’ he encouraged the white public to ‘bring them [black immigrants] into our life and help them take part in all our democratic ways’.<sup>97</sup> Doing so, he argued, would make ‘good British citizens out of them’ and give black people the opportunity to ‘better themselves’ through integration into British society. White’s article presented a contradictory account of Britain’s ‘colour problem’. While classifying the problem as a social and economic one—the result of housing shortages and slum clearance in urban Britain—White’s solution focused on white people accepting and ‘bettering’ black Britons. Tensions about housing competition were reinterpreted as the tensions between white and black people, and the solution was mutual acceptance. What exactly this entailed was unclear, and based more on the vague concepts of tolerance the *Mirror* often alluded to.

Having highlighted the urgency of ending racism to maintain inter-racial harmony, the ‘race riots’ of summer 1958 drove Cudlipp to commission another series of articles by Waterhouse in an attempt to appeal to public tolerance. A front page banner drew readers’ attention to another ‘vitally important series of articles’ beginning the following week:

The dominant problem in Britain today is –

RACIAL RIOTS

And the basic reason for colour prejudice is

IGNORANCE

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<sup>96</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 23 March 1955.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

This ignorance enables thugs—fascist or otherwise—to ferment the violence that has disgraced the name of this country throughout the world.

The *Daily Mirror*, with its tremendous readership, can make an effective contribution. This newspaper is going to tell the white people of these islands all about the coloured members of the Commonwealth.

White citizens must know the facts about the coloured men and women in our midst.<sup>98</sup>

Aware of its potential influence over public opinion, this advertisement for the articles demonstrated the importance King and Cudlipp placed on feature articles and reinforced the idea that it was ignorance which drove prejudice, which in turn caused the social problems associated with immigration. Serving as an ‘introduction’ for white people to black and Asian people in Britain, Waterhouse’s articles reinforced the ‘simple truth’ that ‘people are human beings even though they come in different colours’.<sup>99</sup> Focusing on ‘THE BOYS FROM JAMAICA’, ‘THE MEN WHO COME FROM WEST AFRICA TO LEARN’ and ‘THE MEN FROM THE EAST [India and Pakistan] WHO LOOK WEST’, the three part series purported to be based on ‘FACTS’ about where immigrants came from and why they had come to Britain (see Figure 6).<sup>100</sup> The articles debunked myths that West Indians were ‘wasters’, ‘criminals’, ‘heathens’ and were ‘stealing our women’ and presented immigrants as hard workers both in British industry and higher education institutions. The articles highlighted the value of countries such as Jamaica, Nigeria, Pakistan and India to British trade and industry and the contribution people from these countries had made during Britain’s Second World War efforts.

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<sup>98</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 September 1958.

<sup>99</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 8 September 1958.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

By detailing the varied ethnic origins of ‘coloured immigrants’, the articles showed an awareness of the variety of demographic concentrations, cultures, religions, expertise and living conditions of immigrants. Rather than focusing on emotional narratives, Waterhouse responded to a variety of public concerns—such as crime and welfare ‘sponging’—with ‘facts’. In particular Waterhouse responded to some of the fears associated with the problems in London ‘trouble spots’:

- ARE THEY STEALING OUR WOMEN? After the war, all the Jamaicans who came here were men. Nowadays, half of them are wives and children – coming to rejoin their husbands.
- ARE THEY STEALING OUR HOUSES? Many Jamaicans live in derelict houses which white people would not take. Some have done renovations themselves.
- ARE THEY STEALING OUR JOBS? Jamaicans today are in steel, coal, Lancashire cotton and public transport. Colour bar or no, there are still few jobs that employers will give to coloured people if they can get white workers instead.<sup>101</sup>

In addition, West Africans were said to be mostly funded students learning skills here to take back home.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Daily Mirror.*, 9 September 1958.

**LEAD  
VER'**

rn has roared into an  
ver fellow countryman  
racing drivers' cham-  
pionday's Italian Grand

ad was only **TWO** points.  
he drove his Ferrari into  
gave him **SIX** points.  
d had to retire after his  
gear trouble.  
40 points followed by Stirling  
ve championships is at Casa-

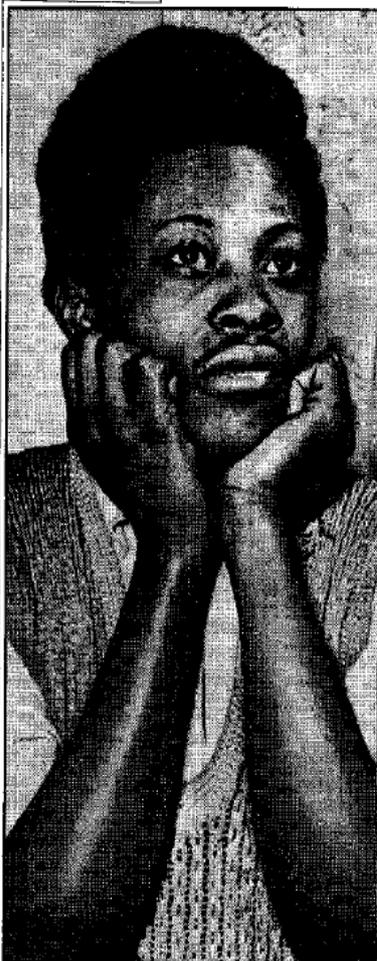
**No. 1: INTRODUCING TO YOU...**

**THE**



They were born in Jamaica. Do you recognise the uniform?

**BOYS FROM JAMAICA**



★ This man is Robert Clarke. He fought for the Commonwealth. Now he's eager to work for the Commonwealth.

● People are human beings even though they come in different colours. The main reason for race riots is plain **IGNORANCE** of this simple truth.

This is the first of a series which Keith Waterhouse is writing to give people the facts about the coloured people. Today—meet the Jamaicans:



Smiling Percival Bennett works on a co-operative farm in Jamaica.

<p><b>1 WHERE THEY COME FROM...</b></p> <p><b>H</b>ALF the 200,000 coloured people in Britain come from the West Indies, a string chain of islands in the Caribbean, between North and South America.</p> <p>About 70,000 of these are from the three counties of Jamaica—Surrey, Middlesex and Cornwall—British for 800 years.</p> <p>By the cheapest route, it costs £75 for them to come to Britain—on a British passport.</p> <p>Jamaicans have been leaving home to look for work since 1891. They helped to build the Panama Canal.</p> <p>They emigrated to the U.S.A., to Cuba, to South America. After the war, they began to come here.</p>	<p><b>2 WHAT THEY DO AT HOME...</b></p> <p><b>J</b>AMAICA makes the sunshine things. Sugar. Bananas. Coffee. Cocoa. Rum. Tobacco.</p> <p>About half its workers are in these jobs. And about half its produce comes to Britain.</p> <p>Jamaica exports £40,000,000 of goods a year. Yet unemployment is still one of its big problems.</p> <p>To keep its world markets, the country that desperately needs to create labour is obliged to import labouring machinery from Britain.</p> <p>Jamaicans come here for jobs—but Jamaica helps to keep Britain in jobs. We make their machinery. And we provide 40 per cent of their imports.</p>	<p><b>3 WHY THEY ARE HERE...</b></p> <p><b>J</b>AMAICA is the big-money island where jobs are few and pay is poor. The £200,000,000 tourist industry employs fewer than 5,000 people. The luxury tourist business, earning £10,000,000 a year, has jobs for only 5,000.</p> <p>One out of every five Jamaican workers is permanently out of a job. And there is big seasonal unemployment among those who do have a job. Pay is as low as this: An unskilled hand in the sugar business earns £2 18s. 6d. for a fifty-three-hour week. A van driver gets £4 15s. A grade one railway fireman gets £5 10s.</p> <p>Unemployment pay does not exist. The Jamaicans come here for work.</p>
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**WHEN WAR CAME...**

● During the war, 10,000 Jamaicans came voluntarily to this country to fight for Britain.

● Eight thousand of them went into the Armed Forces, and 2,000 into munitions work.

**FACTS**

- **ARE THEY WASTERS?** In three years, Jamaicans in Britain have sent home £10,000,000 in postal orders to their dependants
- **ARE THEY CRIMINALS?** No Jamaican can leave the island without police clearance. Those with criminal records are not allowed to come.
- **ARE THEY HEATHENS?** Three out of every five Jamaicans are members of a Christian church or group. In Britain, the churches they attend are packed.
- **ARE THEY STEALING OUR WOMEN?** After the war, all the Jamaicans who came here were men. Nowadays, half of them are wives and children—coming to rejoin their husbands.

- **ARE THEY STEALING OUR HOUSES?** Many Jamaicans here live in decrepit houses which white people would not take. Some have done renovations themselves.
  - **ARE THEY STEALING OUR JOBS?** Jamaicans today are in steel, coal, Lancashire cotton and public transport. Colour bar or no, there are still few jobs that employers will give to coloured people if they can get white workers instead.
- Twenty-two per cent of the Jamaicans coming to Britain were in white-collar jobs in the West Indies.
- But only four per cent can get office jobs here. Most become transport workers.
- And that—according to West Indian welfare workers—accounts for the good manners of Jamaican bus conductors.

**FACTS**

**TOMORROW: Meet the West Africans...**

Figure 6: Daily Mirror, 8 September 1958. ©Mirrorpix

Rather than criticising white readers for feeling an exclusive entitlement to the best jobs, housing and to white women, the articles reassured them. Black and Asian immigrants, it argued, were not a problem because they *didn't* threaten to take 'white' jobs, houses and women. Immigrants could be tolerated, it suggested, because they did not pose a threat. As numbers of black and Asian immigrants continued to grow in the late 1950s, it was increasingly unreasonable to suggest black and Asian people wouldn't take jobs and houses that would otherwise be occupied by white people, or that male immigrants wouldn't form relationships with white women. While Waterhouse had previously challenged white privilege, his 1958 articles reflected how, in the response to the 1958 riots, the *Daily Mirror's* editorial position on anti-racism had placed protecting public order over the rights of entry and equality of opportunity of black and Asian people.

#### 'What Our Readers Say About the Colour Bar': Reader Correspondence

By selectively publishing readers' letters, the *Daily Mirror* could reinforce claims that the newspaper's coverage reflected topics its readers were concerned about. Letters published about black and Asian immigration depicted a wide range of opinions, both positive and negative. Rather than being used to show that the newspaper's policy reflected public opinion, letters were selected to demonstrate the importance of leading public opinion away from the dangers of prejudice. By demonstrating that readers were torn between their liberal instincts and their racialised anxieties about black and Asian immigration, the *Daily Mirror's* crusade against the colour bar was said to be crucially important.

As the newspaper's principal letters page, 'the Old Codgers', most commonly featured responses by anonymous *Daily Mirror* staff to light-hearted readers' questions,

reader commentary on news items played a less prominent role in the newspaper.<sup>103</sup> Occasionally, readers would write to the ‘the Old Codgers’ to share their opinions about the colour bar, but these letters were rarely given significant attention. For example, ‘Mrs S’ wrote about the prejudice she had experienced as the black wife of a white man and called for the colour bar to be denounced in Britain.<sup>104</sup> Other letters responded to the *Daily Mirror*’s coverage itself. Mrs Zena Stunley wrote how tears ‘sprang to [her] eyes’ after reading Keith Waterhouse’s 1954 colour bar series as she was ashamed of British prejudice.<sup>105</sup> Another letter asked the newspaper how it could print such ‘sensationalist rubbish’ and whether it really believed ‘any right minded person want[ed] to associate with Africans who are not yet up to the standards we were four hundred years ago’.<sup>106</sup>

The *Daily Mirror* occasionally opened the subject of racism and immigration to its readers, and used the letters they received as part of its own ‘survey’ about public attitudes. Asking its readers how strong the colour bar was, and why it existed, the newspaper received ‘hundreds of frank, outspoken letters’. In December 1954, selected letters were features in an article which was said to represent ‘what our readers think’.<sup>107</sup> Reflecting the divisions in public opinion, the article highlighted that ‘many readers praised the ‘*Mirror*’s’ attack on the bar’, while others ‘wrote candidly about why they don’t want coloured people over here’ (see Figure 7).<sup>108</sup> Those who opposed the colour bar echoed the newspaper’s standpoint that the ‘respectable’ masses opposed racism. One reader believed the ‘worst offenders are people with a limited education’, while another believed prejudice was a result of the outdated

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<sup>103</sup> Cudlipp, *Publish and Be Damned*, p. 17.

<sup>104</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 10 May 1957.

<sup>105</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 19 March 1954.

<sup>106</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 18 March 1954.

<sup>107</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 December 1954.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

concepts of white superiority maintained by ‘older folk’.<sup>109</sup> Other readers believed interactions between black and white people would lessen suspicions and ‘kill’ prejudice. Non-white readers, meanwhile, relayed their experience of abuse and alienation at the hands of white racists.<sup>110</sup>

Other letters revealed the concerns many held about the effect black and Asian immigration had on British society. A letter from a ‘colour bar advocate’ told how he was forced out of his home due to the disruption the ‘strange habits’ of Jamaican landlords had on his family’s life. Other letters showed concerns about employers using ‘cheap coloured labour’ to force down wages and reflected fears that there would be ‘some sort of status lost when you’re working with a coloured man’. Concerns about the creation of slums raised in one letter were reflected in another which claimed that ‘before the war my street used to be respectable. But now we have the coloured people down here and it makes me sick. They spread immorality and are not fit to associate with decent people’.<sup>111</sup> Although the *Mirror* had published several features attacking the colour bar in 1954, it was clear that its readership were still divided.

While these letters demonstrated that many readers did believe discrimination was unjust, those explaining ‘WHY’ it existed indicated the serious concerns many individuals held. The *Daily Mirror* had attempted to allay these concerns in its feature articles. Editorials often directly addressed readers and attempted to lead their opinion. As such, letters such as those published in 1954 justified Cudlipp’s approach to trying to lead opinion through a strong and forcefully communicated editorial line.

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<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

What our readers say about the..

# COLOUR BAR

## HOW "One dance—and they called me a 'black man's girl' it works"

A COLOURED stage hand used to nip out of a London theatre for a quick one between shows. Then his "local" changed hands and the new landlord wouldn't serve him.

So eighteen stage hands went to the pub one night and ordered eighteen pints of bottled beer. When the tops were off the bottles, they told the landlord the coloured man was paying.

"No go," said the landlord.

"Okay," said the crowd... and all walked out leaving the beer.—D. Evans, London, W.

### INVITATION

I ACCEPTED a coloured man's invitation to dance and then not one white man would dance with me the rest of the evening.

I was told if I danced with coloured men I would be a "Black Man's Girl."

Now, regretfully, I have to refuse them.—Mrs. S. F. Barton, London, S.E.

I HEAR insults from the whites almost every day. Worst offenders are the people with a limited education.—Mr. Oladison Matekondunni, London, W.

PEOPLE in a crowd refused to get next to a coloured sergeant of the U.S. Air Force.

I spoke to him and found him a very well-read, well-set-up young man, vastly superior to the people who ignored him.—Major A. Dummins, Newbury, Berks.

**New VICK Discovery brings—  
Faster Cough Relief—2 ways!**

Thanks to **CETAMUM** and only VICK has it!

- 1. IN THE THROAT:** With Cetamum, VICK Cough Syrup penetrates into minute throat crevices—soothes cough irritations ordinary liquids can't even reach!
- 2. IN THE CHEST:** You get swift comfort too in congested bronchial tubes. VICK Cetamum Cough Syrup clears coughing—soothes inflammation—you've never had relief like this before! Children love its delicious new flavour.



read, well-set-up young man, vastly superior to the people who ignored him.—Major A. Dummins, Newbury, Berks.

I HOPE to marry a coloured boy.

We've been insulted on the streets. People walk in the gutter to avoid us.

But my fiancé says, "Don't worry, baby. They're going to look silly when they get to Heaven."—"Dixie," Harles.

LOVED... WE had a grand coloured doctor in our district. He was kind, courteous, charitable and tolerant. The ordinary folk loved him.

He was elected a councillor, and would have liked to be mayor. "Unthinkable," said the high-ups.

He would have liked to attend his own patients at the hospital. "Impossible," said those in power.—O. E. Nooks.

IT'S no coincidence that coloured workers have been directed into certain industries—textile work and mines.

## How strong is the colour bar in Britain—and WHY?

Those were the questions the "Daily Mirror" put to its readers.

The response was immediate—in hundreds of frank, outspoken letters.

And here we print a selection of the answers.

Many readers praised the "Mirror's" attack on the bar and wrote about racial intolerance in their towns.

Others wrote candidly about why they don't want coloured people over here.

REMEMBER? WHY condemn the whole black race for the actions of a few? Remember the terrible Harrow rail smash and how that coloured nurse, Abbie Sweetman, helped the injured and went to great personal risk to do so?

Would any white people who disliked coloured people be refused her help?—Mrs. Doreen Chancellor, aged 15, Triverton, Devon.

## ORWELL: The man behind 1984—and all that

by CHARLES CURRAN

GEORGE ORWELL, author of 1984, which was televised on Sunday night, was an extraordinary man who lived an extraordinary life.

He died in 1950, when he died from tuberculosis at the age of forty-seven. His real name was Eric Blair. His parents were hard-up, middle-class, and he won a scholarship to Eton.

Then he went into the Burma Police. A few years of that sickened him.

He threw it up. And he decided, deliberately, to do alone for Burma by going over to the side of the underdog. He became a doss-house tramp. He lived in the slums of Paris, working as a dock-watcher.

He took on himself the misery of the outcast.

He got rid of his name, too. He called himself Orwell from the Suffolk town he had known as a boy, and George because he was a solid, no-nonsense English name. And he began to write.

Down And Out in Paris And London was the title of the book that put him on the literary map.

Everything he wrote after that was a plea for the Common Man—the fellow who is shoved around and ordered about and badgered and bullied.

In the 1930s Orwell went to Lorraine to find out for himself what life was like on the dole.

When General Franco began his revolt against the Spanish Republic in 1936, Orwell went out to Spain to fight. He joined a Socialist militia in Barcelona, was badly wounded in action.

It was Spain, I think, that led him to write Animal Farm, which was hailed as the greatest book of its kind since Oliver's Travels. It related in fable form the betrayal of the Common Man in the Russian Revolution.

1984, his last book—written when he was approaching death—Orwell poured all his feeling for ordinary people, his belief in their essential decency, his fears for them.

I spent a day with Orwell just before he died. I sat on his sanatorium bed, tried to smoke the faintest cigarette he insisted on making for himself. I heard him say:

"The problem of the world is this: Can we get men to behave decently to each other if they no longer believe in God?"

## WHY "Fifteen of THEM drove us from our home" it exists

A JAMAICAN bought the house in which we had a flat and predicted "You won't be here long."

He moved about fifteen coloured people in. Their habits were strange, and they used to enter my rooms when my wife and I were out.

Eventually my wife became a nervous wreck on account of the constant noise and she moved.—Colour bar Advocate, Hornchurch, Essex.

OUR standard of living was obtained through bitter struggles with the bosses. I don't want it to be jeopardised by the mass importation of cheap coloured labour.—W. J. H., Birmingham.

I'M a bus driver and there's no getting away from the fact that there must be some sort of social status lost when you're working with coloured men.—N. Palmer, Birmingham.

BEFORE the war this street was respectable. But now we have the coloured people down here and it makes me sick. They spread immorality and are not fit to associate with decent people.—Mrs. L. A. Taiton, Stourley, London.

I WAS terribly hurt when my daughter married a coloured man, but made up my mind to accept him and make him feel he was wanted.

But he wouldn't work any self-improvement and crawl to his daughter.

After our whole family had gone through hell, the son-in-law was kicked out of the house and is now separated from his wife.—"Sad Mother," London, W.

CAN'T see why England should be a glorified workhouse for the rest of the world.

We are in danger of becoming the softest "bawls" on earth.—G. Page, Kennington Park-road, London, S.E.

WORK on a building site with many Jamaicans. Some want to be first in everything, from the pay queue to the bus queue.

Any request for politeness is met by "You whites exploited us and stole our country, and we're going to do just as we like"—Mr. W. D. Street, London, S.W.

here's new beauty magic by Richard Hudnut enriched Creme shampoo with egg

Try Enriched Creme Shampoo with Egg in the generous, economy size bottle, and make your hair more beautiful than you have ever known it—price 4/6d.

Look what it does for you

1. Enriched Creme Shampoo with Egg first of all cleans your hair thoroughly... gently... whether the water you use is hard or soft. Prove this for yourself by running your fingers through your hair. If it squeaks, it's clean—cleaner than has ever been possible before.
2. Enriched Creme Shampoo with Egg contains the natural oil Lactin, to lubricate the hair shafts, and Vitamin, a protein that works conditioning wonders on hard-to-manage, uncombed-out hair.
3. Enriched Creme Shampoo with Egg tones up your scalp and hair... brings out the full, natural colour... conditions your hair to a shimmering softness... you'll be able to set your hair exactly as you like it—quicker than ever.

from now on... your hair should only be washed and beautified with

**Richard Hudnut** enriched creme shampoo with egg

George Orwell

Figure 7: Daily Mirror, 14 December 1954. ©Mirrорpix

## What Has Gone Wrong With British Fair Play?: Editorials, *Daily Mirror* Policy and the Responsibility of the Reader

The *Daily Mirror*'s principles and beliefs were embedded into its editorial commentaries, which served an argumentative and persuasive purpose by both reproducing the editor's own ideology and by attempting to affect reader attitudes.<sup>112</sup> While the newspaper's anti-racist crusade had a strong political dimension – calling for government action against racism – it was defined as a moral crusade and engaged with ideological concepts of British values and identity. Rather than presenting a fully consistent and coherent discourse, editorials sometimes struggled with the danger immigration was perceived to pose to British society. The conceptions of British tolerance and equality at the centre of the editorial's discourse were questioned following threats of racial violence in Britain.

Early editorials concerning the colour bar concentrated on colonial relations and suggested that, as all British people shared fundamental values concerning equality, discrimination could not be tolerated in its Commonwealth. After revelations about atrocities committed against black soldiers in Kenya in 1953 and the barring of black guests from the Queen's reception in Bermuda the same year, an editorial demanded that 'PARLIAMENT MUST ACT on behalf of its 500,000,000 coloured subjects'.<sup>113</sup> While addressing the rights of black Africans, the editorial was equally concerned with defending a particular conception of Britain's moral identity challenged by colonial racism. Emphasising the 'shame' such actions had brought to Britain's name, the editor referred to Britain's moral obligation rather than to the rights of black Africans themselves. By highlighting public embarrassment over

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<sup>112</sup> While not specifically focusing on the *Daily Mirror*, Tuen Van Dijk argued that editorials in most newspapers followed these conventions. See Van Dijk, 'Racism and Argumentation', pp. 234-257.

<sup>113</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 30 November 1953. The court-martial of Captain S. L Griffiths in November 1953 revealed the sadistic treatment of Mau Mau soldiers: see *Daily Mirror*, 27 November 1953. For an account of the brutal treatment of African rebels, see David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London, 2005).

the inaction of politicians, the editorial depicted the *Daily Mirror* as a forum for making sure those in power understood the sentiment of the public, claiming its opposition to discrimination represented the voice of democracy.<sup>114</sup>

The *Daily Mirror* responded to colour bars within Britain with even more ferocity and continued to place British values of equality and, increasingly, tolerance at the centre of its commentary. Accusations that a London hotel had turned away black visitors led the editor to proclaim ‘THERE is no room in this country for a colour bar’.<sup>115</sup> In a clear declaration of intent, the editor insisted that ‘anything that smacks of racial discrimination must be challenged’ and implored readers to demonstrate that ‘**Britain wants no share of racial prejudice**’.<sup>116</sup>

As a significant portion of *Mirror* readers were working class, the newspaper’s policy was challenged by evidence of labour discrimination in Britain. In response, the *Mirror* delegitimized any action taken by white workers to exclude black colleagues.<sup>117</sup> When white workers’ concerns over the employment of black and Asian workers were expressed in both Birmingham and Nottingham in 1954, editorials claimed the protestors were a marginal group that had acted against the grain of wider public and union opinion.<sup>118</sup> Using the type of popular vernacular the *Daily Mirror* was famous for, the editor asked workers in ‘Brum’ to ‘give ‘em the answer: NO! NO! A THOUSAND TIMES NO’ and to oppose any form of

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<sup>114</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 30 November 1953. This was reinforced by the editor claiming responsibility for the government’s eventual action in Kenya and Bermuda and downplaying the appeals of other newspapers as well as Labour MPs. Black Bermudans were eventually invited to Winston Churchill’s state dinner, while an all-party delegation was set up to report on the situation in Kenya. The reinstatement of Hayward was also put under review, while £11,000,000 was pledged for emergency social development in the country. *Daily Mirror*, 11 December 1953.

<sup>115</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 10 August 1953. At the time, discriminatory practices in hotels were particularly infamous following the experience of Learie Constantine in a London hotel in 1943, recounted in Learie Constantine, *Colour Bar* (London, 1954).

<sup>116</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 10 August 1953.

<sup>117</sup> For examples of the complexities of immigration and labour relations, see Tabili, *We Ask for British Justice*.

<sup>118</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 15 February 1954; 18 February 1954; 14 December 1954.

discrimination.<sup>119</sup> It was said to be ‘**SHAMEFUL!**’ for ‘persecutors to pose as champions of the public welfare’.<sup>120</sup> Cudlipp presented his newspaper—rather than the workers themselves—as the legitimate voice of working class opinion.<sup>121</sup> Rather than addressing the industrial conditions which influenced hostility towards black workers, the issue was said to be a moral concern. A follow-up editorial called for the Conservative Government, in conjunction with workers and unions, to establish a policy to ensure the successful inclusion of black and Asian workers into British industry, but provided few insights into how this could be done.<sup>122</sup>

In isolation, the *Daily Mirror*’s early editorial commentary appeared to justify historians who have criticised the postwar press for insisting that the majority of Britons were intrinsically tolerant and thus obscuring the true extent of British racism.<sup>123</sup> Certainly, the newspaper’s concern for Britain’s moral reputation appeared to ignore the complexities of the housing and job markets which often determined immigrant experiences.<sup>124</sup> Cudlipp believed the public was more responsive to emotional pleas and ‘frank talk’ rather than to laborious evidence.<sup>125</sup> Facing increasing evidence of racism he used tolerance as a conceptual device to challenge *Daily Mirror* readers to abandon racist attitudes. The early-1950s commentary

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<sup>119</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 18 February 1954.

<sup>120</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 December 1954.

<sup>121</sup> This is a position backed up by the *Daily Mirror*’s famous support for the Labour Party in 1945, see Edelman, *The Mirror: A Political History*, pp. 171-190.

<sup>122</sup> The *Daily Mirror* demonstrated little understanding of trade union opinion itself, which was far from universally anti-discrimination in this period. For example, while the Trade Union General Council had in 1958 forthrightly condemned ‘every manifestation of racial prejudice and discrimination’, it also raised concerns about the ability to halt immigration if a ‘slump’ occurred. Transport unions in London, Birmingham and West Bromich, meanwhile, were already beginning to protest against the employment of black and Asian workers. Ron Ramdin, *The Making of the Black Working Class in Britain* (Aldershot, 1987), pp. 199-200.

<sup>123</sup> Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?*

<sup>124</sup> For an account of poor housing and employment conditions in 1950s Nottingham and Birmingham and their effect on the lives of black and Asian migrants, see John Corbally, ‘Shades of Difference: Irish, Caribbean and South Asian Immigration to the Heart of Empire, 1948-1971’, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of California 2009), Chapter 3.

<sup>125</sup> Cudlipp, *At Your Peril*, p. 52.

about racism culminated in a December 1954 editorial which emphasised the need to change the country's 'entire outlook' on the colour bar. It stated that:

We have been RIGHT to attack it [racial discrimination]. We have also been RIGHTEOUS about it. For we have always believed that colour prejudice had nothing to do with us. **It was something practised by intolerant people abroad. By white sahibs with big thirsts and little minds...WE HAD BETTER ALL THINK AGAIN.**<sup>126</sup>

The editorial warned that racism—considered to be a foreign vice—threatened to destroy the 'enviable reputation...for decency and kindness' of the British.<sup>127</sup> It suggested the true danger of colour bars was not solely their effect on the lives of black and Asian people, but rather their potential to undermine the values the *Daily Mirror* believed were essential to maintaining the nation's integrity.

Editorials challenged readers to question their own role in defending British values. It demonstrated the intent and ambition of the *Daily Mirror's* coverage of and commentary on racism: to influence the responses to black and Asian immigrants of the huge audience the newspaper now reached. While the postwar popular press has been criticised for overexposing 'race' related news, Cudlipp's editorials suggest he did so in order to raise public awareness of racism.<sup>128</sup> Cudlipp had supported the exposure and coverage of 'shock issues' as 'an exercise in brutal mass education'.<sup>129</sup> By asking 'WHAT has gone wrong with British fair play?' the editorial argued that, having read the previous exposés of discrimination in the *Daily Mirror*, the public should feel 'very uneasy about what is

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<sup>126</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 9 December 1954.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>128</sup> For an example of these criticisms, see Webster, *Englishness and Empire*; Van Dijk, *Racism and the Media*.

<sup>129</sup> *Independent*, 18 May 1998.

happening in this country'.<sup>130</sup> Racism could only be 'finally squashed', it argued, 'by the ordinary people of this country – by their actions, their tolerance and their conscience'.<sup>131</sup> Rather than reinforcing ideas of intrinsic white British virtue, the *Mirror's* editorials presented tolerance as a value which had to be strived for in order to accommodate black and Asian immigrants and to create a stable, inclusive national identity. Moreover, tolerance was defined as the personal obligation of the public. It was not just politicians' actions, but readers' own individual actions that would define Britain.

The *Mirror's* editorial response to the Nottingham and Notting Hill riots of 1958, during which fights between black and white residents had broken out, demonstrated the limits to editorial demands for the public to tolerate immigrants.<sup>132</sup> It classified the incidents as racial conflict, and as a portent to future social turmoil, rather than acts of social dissatisfaction.<sup>133</sup> Showing the newspaper's tendency to use sensationalist language, the editorial featured on the front page, beneath a large-font headline 'BLACK V WHITE'.<sup>134</sup> An accompanying image merged two pictures of a black man and a white man, used the caption: 'THE PROBLEM...in one picture' (See Figure 8).<sup>135</sup>

The 'Black v White' editorial reinforced the *Daily Mirror's* editorial image as a leader of public opinion by assuming it had an authority to tell its readers 'what we should do'. In response to the riots, the editorial intended to 'cut out the moralising', insisting that 'one practical suggestion is worth reams of preaching'. Referring to racial tensions in South

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<sup>130</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 9 December 1954.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> For first-hand West Indian accounts of these disturbances, see Edward Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country* (London, 1988).

<sup>133</sup> This tendency to racialise violence is well documented by historians, see Michael Rowe, *The Racialisation of Disorder in Twentieth Century Britain* (Aldershot, 1998); C. Holmes, 'Violence and Race Relations in Britain, 1953-68', *Phylon*, 36, 2 (1972), pp. 113-124.

<sup>134</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 9 December 1954.

<sup>135</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 September 1958.

Africa and the American South, the editorial declared that ‘the *Mirror* is probably more guilty than any other British newspaper in assuming it **couldn’t happen here**’.<sup>136</sup> The Nottingham and Notting Hill riots had, according to the editor, ‘brought our smug satisfaction to an abrupt end’ and forced the newspaper to ‘accept’ what it believed were the British tolerance and the public’s ability to integrate immigrants.

The key departure from the *Daily Mirror*’s previous editorial policy came in the column’s plan for ‘ACTION NOW’:

1. Commonwealth Citizens – whatever the colour of their skin – should not be allowed to enter Britain as immigrants until they have a job AND a home to come to.

....

2. SOME of the coloured people who have settled here are no-goods. As Commonwealth citizens, they cannot be deported. That is ludicrous. Our law must be amended so that they can be thrown out of Britain, just as English no-goods are thrown out of other Commonwealth countries.

....

3. COLOURED PEOPLE who want to come here to start a new life must be told – BEFORE THEY COME – the plain facts about

JOB

HOUSING

LIVING CONDITIONS

in Britain

....

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<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

4. WHITE HOOLIGANS who are found guilty of fomenting race riots in London and Nottingham must be dealt with by the courts with the utmost severity of the law. The guilty must suffer the maximum sentence.<sup>137</sup>

For the first time, the *Daily Mirror* endorsed a conditional definition of citizenship based on the ‘character’ of immigrants. While the fourth proposal did exhibit the newspaper’s hard-line against racism, the previous three all focused on restricting black and Asian people from entering the country. While earlier editorials had blamed racism on the discriminatory behaviour of a minority, it was now associated with social problems—such as housing and unemployment—which were related to high levels of immigration.

The 1958 riots and racism itself were portrayed as an example of the discontent immigration had created among urban ‘white’ communities. In particular, ‘no-good coloureds’ were blamed for encouraging prejudice towards respectable black and Asian people: a statement which both blamed negative stereotypes for increases in racism and reinforced the idea that a significant number of black and Asian immigrants *were* criminals.<sup>138</sup> These four proposals were repeated in an editorial the following day, which insisted ‘race rioting is a political and social problem which calls for political and social remedies’.<sup>139</sup> The editor implored the government not to ‘dither for fear of being considered unsympathetic to the coloured immigrants’.<sup>140</sup> Only by ignoring claims of racial prejudice—claims the *Daily Mirror* itself frequently voiced—could the government, according to the paper, tackle the threat of racism by restricting ‘problem’ immigrants from entering the country.

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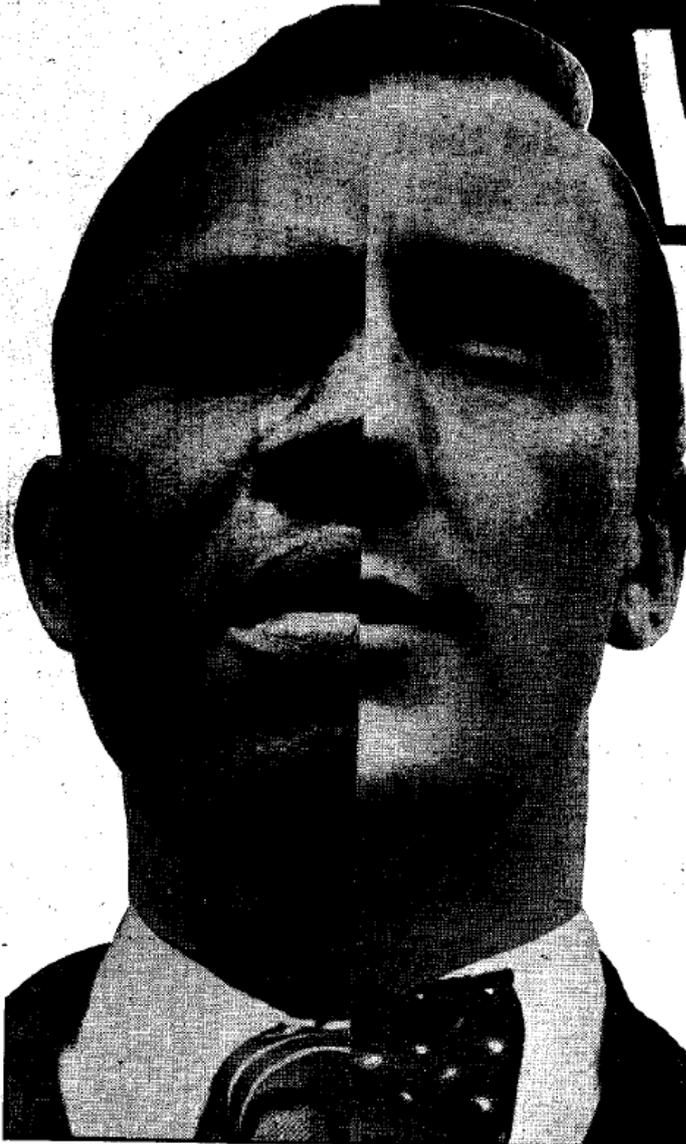
<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> For an account of the ‘circular’ nature of prejudiced attitudes, see Pilkington, *Beyond the Mother Country*, pp. 78-105.

<sup>139</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 4 September 1958.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

# BLACK v WHITE



## What we must do..

**EVERY** decent person in this country is ashamed of the outbreak of race rioting and hooliganism in British streets.

It has come like a kick in the pants to all of us. We have lectured other countries, but failed to prevent the stinking explosion in our own backyard.

The Mirror is probably more guilty than any other British newspaper in assuming that it couldn't happen here. It has. The events of the past few days have brought our smug satisfaction to an abrupt end.

Let's cut out the moralising. Here is the Daily Mirror's plan for ACTION NOW.

**1 COMMONWEALTH CITIZENS**—whatever the colour of their skin—should not be allowed to enter Britain as immigrants unless they have a job AND a home to come to.

Mr. Maurice Edelman, Labour M.P., had the courage to

**Continued on Page 20**

**THE PROBLEM... in one picture**

**Cyprus: Briton and wife shot** SEE PAGE THREE

### 'RIOT LIST' RACKET IS PROBED

By HOWARD JOHNSON

SCOTLAND Yard detectives are investigating complaints that a "protection" racket is being imposed on coloured people living in Notting Hill, London.

Several coloured people who run clubs and cafes in the area have told the police that they have been approached by members of a gang and promised "protection" for their premises for a fixed weekly payment.

One club owner said that, after he refused to pay for "protection" he was warned that he and his club would be put on the "riot" list—meaning that disturbances would be staged.

A report on recent "colour" riots will be made today by Deputy Commander Ewan Jones, chief of the Yard's Special Branch, to Mr. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary.

Special Branch detectives are trying to find out if there was any organisation behind the "colour" clashes.

Magistrate Calls for Riot Curfew—See Centre Pages.

Lavender Fresh

Shining Bright



A JOHNSON'S WAX POLISH FOR BEAUTIFUL HOMES so easy to shine

WITH DURASIL SUPER-SILICONE

Figure 8: Daily Mirror, 3 September 1958. ©Mirrorpix

After the alarmist response to racial violence in 1958, subsequent editorials again focused on the condemnation of racism and blamed the riots on the actions of an ignorant minority. It was ‘**hooligans**’, the editor argued, who had ‘fomented strife, fear and hate’ along with ‘the **thugs** who have nothing better to do than provoke race brawls....The **stupid stooges** of Mosley’s Union Movement who have been distributing disgusting anti-coloured leaflets’.<sup>141</sup> The editor also placed blame on the ‘**WICKED**’ black people who ‘foul[ed] the name and reputation of the vast majority immigrants’ by taking part in rioting and the editorial supported Conservative plans to empower immigration authorities to deport ‘undesirable Commonwealth settlers’.<sup>142</sup> The *Daily Mirror* established a dual category of immigrants which made it possible for its editor to support the exclusion of ‘undesirables’, while welcoming those ‘immigrants who work well and live decently....whatever the colour of their skin’.<sup>143</sup> By emphasising the requirement to ‘work well’ and ‘live decently’, the editor defined the rights of immigrants to enter Britain as being directly linked to their economic utility. Such language again neglected the poor social conditions many new immigrants had to deal with and racialised these problems as somehow indicative of the ‘value’ of the immigrants themselves. The *Daily Mirror*’s calls for new political policies on immigration were accompanied by new definitions of who belonged in British society.

### Conclusions.

Under Cudlipp, the *Daily Mirror* had approached its growing postwar popularity with a sense of responsibility to inform its readers and guide their attitudes. It was clear Cudlipp and his

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<sup>141</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 September 1958. For an account of the British Union of Fascists, see David S Lewis, *Illusions of Grandeur: Mosley, Fascism and British Society* (Manchester, 1985).

<sup>142</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 September 1958. The *Daily Mirror* had previously aired similar concerns in 1948 in response to the supposed ‘dubious’ manners in which Polish immigrants worked and lived in Britain: See Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, p. 154.

<sup>143</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 13 October 1958.

staff were passionate about fighting racism, and the newspaper's editorials and feature articles frequently offered powerful accounts of the personal cost of discrimination. It was unclear, however, whether the crusade against the colour bar was launched to protect the rights of black and Asian citizens or to protect British harmony and maintain public order. The concept of tolerance, rather than equality, was at the centre of the *Daily Mirror's* response to racism in Britain. It was Britain's identity as a 'tolerant country', and the centre of a 'multi-racial' Commonwealth, that the newspaper wanted to protect. In characterising black and Asian people as 'decent' citizens who could be integrated into society, the newspaper attempted to persuade readers that they could be absorbed without difficulty. As tensions—themselves largely the result of discrimination—rose in the late 1950s, this position was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. Instead of standing by its support for unrestricted immigration and an open definition of Britishness, the *Daily Mirror* suggested only 'decent' migrants should be allowed entry into Britain. In doing so, it reinforced the idea that the maintenance of Britain's reputation and public order was the newspaper's priority.

The *Daily Mirror's* support for some form of immigration restriction was a direct reaction to the 1958 riots. As the following chapter will show, in the early 1960s the newspaper maintained a commitment to open immigration (although this too would come under strain in the mid to late 1960s). While the newspaper's editorial response to the 1958 riots highlighted the newspaper's limited conception of tolerance, it would be wrong to ignore the progressive position the *Daily Mirror* often took. By choosing to confront racism, the newspaper shone a spotlight on discrimination in Britain and encouraged efforts to end it. The writing of journalists like Waterhouse provided informative accounts of the experiences of black and Asian people and challenged readers' assumptions about immigrants. Editorials

directly appealed to the consciences of readers to take personal responsibility in ending racism. The limits in the *Daily Mirror*'s concept of tolerance demonstrated that its journalists, as well as the public, held heterogeneous attitudes towards race that were informed and challenged by events like the 1958 riots.

The strategic coverage of racism across each of the prominent sections of the newspapers demonstrated a commitment beyond commercial interests. As letters from 1954 show, Cudlipp was aware his editorial stance was not popular with all *Daily Mirror* readers. The newspaper's response to immigration offers an example of how the *Daily Mirror* used the sensational presentation of news to attempt to inform and lead public opinion. Cudlipp believed the *Daily Mirror* could 'accelerate, but never reverse the popular attitude'.<sup>144</sup> He clearly felt, in the 1950s, that examples of racism were an exception to a popular, tolerant attitude, and that he could reinforce it with his crusade against the colour bar. The following chapter will show the difficulties the *Daily Mirror* had in trying to lead public opinion in this way. As it faced a dilemma in its policy towards racism and immigration due to increasingly public hostility towards black and Asian people and the newspaper's support for the 1964-70 Labour Government, its concept of tolerance would be further challenged and adapted.

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<sup>144</sup> Cudlipp, *Publish and be Damned*, p. 225.

## **Chapter 4**

### **‘A Welcome Mat with Strings’: The *Daily Mirror*’s Response to Racism and Immigration, 1961-72.**

This chapter focuses on the period 1960 to 1972 and analyses the *Sunday Mirror* and *Daily Mirror*’s dilemmas over immigration. The *Mirror* newspapers attempted to continue their crusading approach of the 1950s by welcoming immigrants and advocating tolerance. They sought to lead opinion, but demonstrated an awareness of shifting public attitudes to immigration. Certain flashpoints relating to immigration issues demonstrated that the *Daily Mirror*’s readers did not share its commitment to tolerance and challenged Hugh Cudlipp’s stance on racism and immigration. The *Daily Mirror*’s relationship with the Labour Party, which was particularly strong between 1964 and 1968, posed another dilemma to the newspaper as the 1964-70 Wilson governments introduced increasingly restrictive immigration legislation. However, Labour’s race relations policy, which introduced anti-racist legislation, offered the *Mirror* newspapers an opportunity to reaffirm its dedication to tolerance.

Ultimately, the newspapers’ editorial policy was an attempt by Cudlipp and his staff to adjust to new political definitions of citizenship and belonging introduced in the 1960s. While the *Daily Mirror*’s response to racism and immigration between 1961 and 1968 marked a compromise in its dedication to immigrant rights, it also attempted to use the

concept of tolerance to encourage readers to accept black and Asian people. The newspaper's use of the concept of conditional tolerance failed to defend the citizenship rights of black and Asian people. In the early 1970s the *Mirror* newspapers demonstrated a renewed dedication to an open definition of Britishness and emphasised the need for a stronger, more equal definition of tolerance. In order to trace this complex development of policy, this chapter analyses each section of the *Mirror* newspapers concurrently, but remains mindful of the different narrative strategies employed in news reports, correspondence pages, feature articles and editorials.

The *Mirror* newspapers' policy towards race was influenced by and challenged political responses to immigration and racism in the 1960s. In 1962, the Commonwealth Immigration Act introduced restrictions which primarily affected black and Asian migrants and demonstrated growing public and political support for racist definitions of citizenship. As the legislation allowed for the migration of dependants migration into Britain continued to grow. Unlike before the legislation was passed, migrants were predominantly Asian after 1962 and high-profile cases of public protests against immigration in Smethwick demonstrated growing hostility towards Asians. Reflecting the emerging anti-immigration consensus in Britain, the Labour Governments of 1964 to 70 introduced restrictive immigration measures in 1965 and 1968. While Labour also passed anti-racist legislation in the form of the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Bills, these laws faced public resentment in the wake of increasing Asian dependants and East-African refugee migration. When Conservative MP Enoch Powell voiced his hostility towards Asian immigration in a racist speech, he received public support. In this climate of public hostility, the Conservative Government passed the 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act and introduced citizenship

rights based on the privileges of white ancestry and which allowed them to limit to number of Ugandan-Asian refugees granted entry to Britain in 1972.

The *Daily Mirror* characterised the 1961 Commonwealth Immigration Bill as the political embodiment of the colour bar, and strongly criticised the Conservative Government. The newspaper saw the legislation as a defeat, as the support the restrictions received reflected the extent of anti-immigration public sentiment. Despite this, the *Daily Mirror* and the newly-established *Sunday Mirror* continued to spotlight and challenge racism. The newspapers encouraged the British public to live up to Britain's reputation for accommodating, even if coverage in the 1950s had offered readers only a limited definition of tolerance. By representing racism, and not immigration, as the threat to British values, the newspaper challenged political definitions of the immigration debate.

This policy was reinforced by the *Mirror* newspapers' support for the 1965 Race Relations Act, which was characterised as an essential tool in securing a harmonious, multicultural British society. In defending the legislation, the *Daily Mirror* appealed to the public's personal responsibility to challenge racism and its own racialised attitudes. However, Cudlipp and King's support for Labour, and the *Mirror* newspaper's own concept of conditional tolerance, informed a new editorial policy that argued the limits of white Britons' capacity to integrate black and Asian migrants necessitated immigration restrictions. The migration of Kenyan-Asians into Britain posed a particular challenge to the *Daily Mirror*, as it sought to reconcile its commitment to their rights with its belief in the need for restrictions. In response, the newspaper made references to growing public hostility and the threat this posed to public order, to justify its support for a more restrictive Commonwealth Immigration Bill in 1968.

The support Powell received in 1968 posed the greatest challenge to the *Mirror* newspapers' dedication to both anti-racism and reflecting the thoughts of their readers. Despite this, the newspaper condemned Powell and, when the Conservatives returned to power in 1970, was freer to condemn the racist 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act. This reflected the *Daily Mirror*'s renewed dedication to constructing new definitions of tolerance and integration which ensured greater equality and support for multiculturalism. In order to reinforce these concepts, the newspaper attempted to create a modified and more inclusive definition of Britishness that incorporated black and Asian migrants as British citizens entitled to equal rights. That it did so in a period of increased competition with new rival the *Sun* demonstrates the continued dedication of Cudlipp and his staff to combating racism despite the dilemmas they faced throughout the 1960s.

'Britain's Race Law': Responses to the Immigration Policy of the Conservative Government, 1961-62.

The *Daily Mirror*'s coverage of racism and immigration in the early 1960s was centred on attacking the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, which was defined as racist legislation. While it is now understood that the Conservative Party's efforts to restrict immigration were well developed in the 1950s, they did not receive public airing, and subsequent scrutiny, until the 1960s.<sup>1</sup> The anti-racist and pro-Labour principles of Hugh Cudlipp, outlined in the previous chapter, meant that Tory immigration policy was rejected on both moral and political grounds. The *Daily Mirror*'s opposition to restrictions to immigration marked a departure from its support for limiting the entry of black migrants in 1958. The early 1960s marked a return to its crusading stance against racism, and similar tactics to those developed in the 1950s were deployed to present the Commonwealth

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<sup>1</sup> Carter, Harris and Joshi, *The 1951-55 Conservative Government*; Paul, *Whitewashing Britain*, pp. 111-130.

Immigration Act as the latest and most official incarnation of the ‘colour bar’ in Britain. As such, it was presented as a threat to Britain’s values and to the country’s international standing as the centre of the Commonwealth. In using such tactics, the newspaper further ingrained tolerance into its conception of British identity and defined racism as a highly problematic political issue.

The *Daily Mirror*’s 2 November 1961 edition was devoted to analysing the cabinet debate on immigration that had taken place the preceding day. Under the over-arching headline ‘**BRITAIN’S RACE LAW**’, the front-page featured a critical editorial, a news report of political resistance to the legislation and a Franklin cartoon satirising the hypocrisy of the Conservative Party (see Figure 9).<sup>2</sup> The editorial argued it was dangerous to form political policy based on racist attitudes and that to bar a citizen from Britain due to the colour of their skin was ‘an outrage’. The legislation was said to be both an ‘attack’ on black and Asian citizens and ‘a slap in the face of everything the Commonwealth stands for’.<sup>3</sup> As in previous editorials, both Britain’s position and responsibilities within the Commonwealth and its moral obligation to liberal and tolerant policies were used as the crux to the *Daily Mirror*’s criticisms.

The *Daily Mirror*’s front-page was arranged to justify its calls for the Conservative Government to abandon official efforts to restrict immigration. A later editorial reiterated the moral objection to immigration, stating that it was:

...fundamentally **WRONG**’ to restrict Commonwealth immigration for two reasons:

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<sup>2</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 2 November 1961.

<sup>3</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 2 November 1961.

1. **BECAUSE restriction is bound to hit hardest at would-be immigrants from the West Indies, Africa, India and Pakistan. This would seem to them—and in fact would be—a colour bar.**
2. **BECAUSE the finest achievement of the British people is to have created a world-wide Commonwealth in which EVERYONE can proudly say: ‘I am a free and equal British citizen’.**<sup>4</sup>

Legal action restricting Commonwealth immigration could not be reconciled with this ideology, the editor argued, as it would by nature ‘cut right across this great principle’.<sup>5</sup> The newspaper’s stance was based on both moral and diplomatic considerations. The Commonwealth was used by the editor to symbolise the values of equality he felt the country stood for. Editorials frequently focused on the legislation throughout November and December 1961 and reiterated the position that the bill was an ill-conceived colour bar ‘steamrolled’ through parliament without proper planning and consultation.<sup>6</sup> The newspaper also challenged assumptions that black and Asian immigration was the cause of social problems within Britain. Editorials argued the poor social position of some black and Asian people was the result of the deficiencies of Britain’s demographic and economic climate and the failures of politicians to alleviate them.<sup>7</sup>

Editorial opposition to the Conservative government’s immigration policy was also reinforced by the ideological and political relationship between the *Daily Mirror* and the Labour Party. Another front-page devoted to the debate surrounding the Commonwealth Immigration Bill repurposed the language of Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell to define Tory

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<sup>4</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 1 November 1961.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 November 1961; 6 December 1961.

<sup>7</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 12 November 1961.

policy as a ‘**COLOUR BAR SHAME**’ (see Figure 10).<sup>8</sup> The argument he and MP Gordon Walker put forward bore a strong resemblance to that previously argued in the newspaper’s own editorials: the policy was said to be ‘ill-conceived’, a ‘plain anti-colour measure’ and ‘would do irrevocable damage to the Commonwealth’.<sup>9</sup> The association between ‘*Mirror* opinion’ and ‘Labour opinion’ was made explicit in an editorial in the following issue which, referring to the previous day’s Commons debate, claimed that ‘the **MIRROR’S** criticisms [had] been voiced again in Parliament’ by the opposition government.<sup>10</sup> Doing so emphasised the important role the newspaper had played in encouraging campaigns against discrimination in the 1950s, and in so doing it represented the Labour Party as the political arm of its campaign.

The *Daily Mirror* also framed its opinion within a wider consensus of ‘decent’ opinion which transcended partisan politics. Under the sub-heading ‘decency’, an editorial noted how both certain cross-party MPs and newspapers also condemned immigration restrictions. Noting recent anti-restriction articles in both the ‘*Conservative Times*’ and the ‘*Liberal Guardian*’, it placed the *Daily Mirror* within a consensus that transcended political lines and was upheld by respected contemporary broadsheets.<sup>11</sup> Given the newspapers’ circulation and early entry into the debate, it could also claim to be a leader of such opinion and the most populist manifestation of it. As such, the editorial brimmed with confidence and its headlines direct address to ‘Mr Butler’ showed how Cudlipp and King used their

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<sup>8</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 17 November 1961.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 18 November 1961.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

newspaper to collect, articulate and lead dissenting voices in a way which encouraged their readers and the government to act against the Commonwealth Immigration Bill.<sup>12</sup>

Due to the content of the correspondence it received, the readers of the *Daily Mirror* proved to be more difficult to incorporate into the liberal consensus the newspaper had constructed. An article was devoted to the ‘very heavy mail’ received in response to national immigration debates (see Figure 11).<sup>13</sup> Almost all of the published letters—even those in some way sympathetic towards immigrants—argued that restrictions upon black and Asian immigration were needed. Readers believed the country could not be ‘soft-hearted’ towards immigrants, before privileging the rights of (presumably *white*) ‘Britons’. Other letters complained about ‘British’ neighbourhoods being ‘spoiled’ by ‘overcrowded lodging houses for immigrants’, and protested that ‘British jobs’ were being taken by black and Asian people.<sup>14</sup> These letters implied that British rights were reserved for white people. These letters lay in stark contrast to the *Daily Mirror*’s own policy. One letter went as far as to say that ‘The *Mirror*’s opposition to the proposed immigration plan is completely out of touch with public opinion’ and, despite the newspaper’s claims, the government’s plans ‘will have the backing of most people in this country’.<sup>15</sup> As being the ‘voice of the people’ had been central to the newspaper’s postwar identity, these sometimes direct reader challenges to its editorial line posed a special problem to Cudlipp and his staff.

While content studies of letters to the editor suggest their authors cannot be taken as representative of the opinion of all of a newspaper’s readers, the *Daily Mirror* chose to present reader opinion as predominantly anti-immigration in order to justify its own social

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 November 1961.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

**MIRROR COMMENT**

**This is an outrage!**

**T**HE Tory plan to cut down immigration to Britain, announced last night, is a slap in the face of everything the Commonwealth stands for.

It makes nonsense of Iain Macleod's declaration of belief in the brotherhood of man, loudly cheered at the Tory Party Conference only three weeks ago.

No matter what cover-up arguments are used, every Commonwealth citizen will interpret this plan as Britain's Race Law.

**THEY WILL BE RIGHT.**

It does not need the mind of a mouse to see who will suffer. The Government proposals are an attack on coloured people.

**DIFFICULTIES**

To make this point absolutely clear, there are already reports that the plan is not to be applied to immigrants from Eire—although Eire is **OUTSIDE THE COMMONWEALTH.**

The overwhelming majority of coloured Commonwealth citizens come here to find work. And the overwhelming majority **DO** find work—work that helps them **AND** helps Britain.

Nobody denies that their presence sometimes causes difficulties for us here. But the main reason why they come to Britain is because their countries are so poor.

**ANSWER**

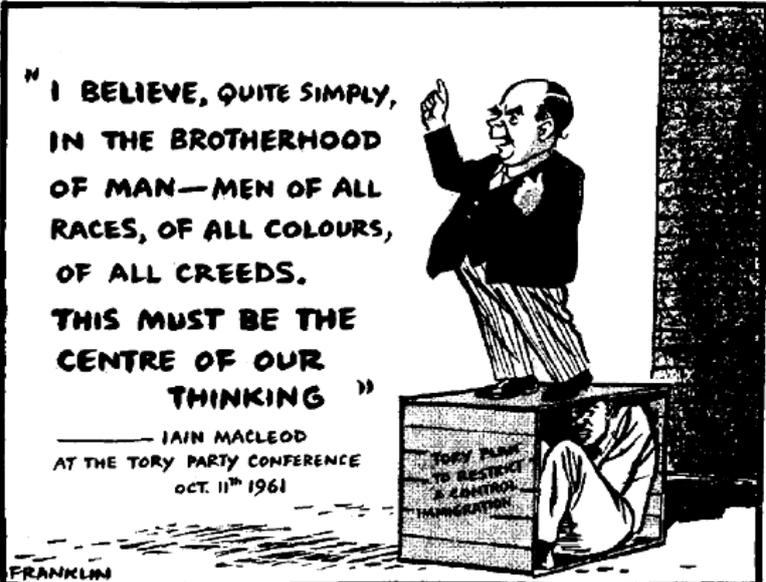
The true answer to the immigration problem is for Britain to give enough financial aid to these countries so that they can stand on their own feet.

To bar a Commonwealth citizen from Britain because his skin is brown or black, or because he is poor, is an outrage.

**BRITAIN'S RACE LAW**

**" I BELIEVE, QUITE SIMPLY, IN THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN—MEN OF ALL RACES, OF ALL COLOURS, OF ALL CREEDS. THIS MUST BE THE CENTRE OF OUR THINKING "**

**— IAIN MACLEOD AT THE TORY PARTY CONFERENCE OCT. 11<sup>th</sup> 1961**



**IMMIGRATION SCHEME SHOCKS MPs**

**By WILLIAM GREIG**  
THE harshness of the Government Bill for curbing the flow of Commonwealth immigrants to Britain has shocked Labour MPs.

Details of the Bill, which has yet to come before Parliament, were announced last night.

If it is carried, only **TWO** types of immigrant will find it easy to get into this country:—

1. **THOSE** with jobs that have been gazetted—including students;

2. **THOSE** with special skills—such as doctors, nurses, draughtsmen and bricklayers.

In presenting themselves as would-be workers in this country, they will have to show that they are

healthy, have no criminal record and are not security risks. These rules will apply to every country in the Commonwealth.

**White**

But clearly the emphasis on skill will work **IN FAVOUR** of "white" countries and against the coloured races.

There will be free entry for the man or woman with enough cash to live on without working.

And the visiting businessman will have no more difficulty in coming and

going than he has at present.

Workers who flock to Britain from Eire will also be affected by the Bill in its details. But Ministers admit that it will be impossible to regulate the vast flow of Irish workers with the same strictness.

Already hints are being dropped that the Irish section may be abandoned.

**Does all this amount to a complete bar on the unskilled Commonwealth worker?**

The answer is "not entirely." For the Government says that from time to time it will announce a

quota of immigrants outside the two categories which insist either on a scarce job or special skill.

All the details of entry permits have yet to be arranged with the Commonwealth Governments.

**Labour**

While Labour is urgently required, it may be obtained by using the British Transport Commission method.

This involves setting up a recruiting agency for workers such as the Commission has in the West Indies.

The new Bill will also

enable the Government to deport Commonwealth citizens living here.

Courts will be able to recommend that a criminal be sent back to his own country provided—

● **HIS** is over seventeen years of age, and

● **HE** has been in Britain for less than five years.

After five years, deportation will not be possible.

The whole Bill is designed to cover a five-year period. After that it is proposed that Parliament should take another look at the entire problem.

In the Commons on Tuesday, Premier Harold Macmillan said that in August and September this year the rate of immigration was about 4,000 a week.

Figure 9: Daily Mirror, 2 November 1961. ©Mirrorpix

value.<sup>16</sup> Cudlipp's took pleasure from speaking against the opinion of readers, and he and King believed a key purposes of the *Mirror* newspapers was to inform and guide the opinions of its working class readers.<sup>17</sup> In 1957, he demonstrated a willingness to take stands he knew his readers would disapprove of when the *Daily Mirror* supported the decriminalisation of homosexuality following the report of the Wolfenden committee.<sup>18</sup> Despite over 50 per cent of the newspaper's readers disagreeing with the report, a *Daily Mirror* editorial maintained support for greater acceptance of homosexuals.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, having candidly presented the *Daily Mirror*'s own perspective on racism and immigration, these letters justified the need for a popular newspaper to combat hostile views.<sup>20</sup>

To reinforce opposition to the Commonwealth Immigration Bill, the *Daily Mirror* ran an educational feature article that challenged racist assumptions thought to inform growing public and political anxieties concerning the settlement of black and Asian people in Britain. 'The Cheerful People', written by Jack Stoneley and Eric Wainwright, sought to reveal the 'facts' behind the myths that fuelled negative attitudes towards immigrants (see Figure 12). Claiming to show how 'West Indians live in Britain', the article created a picture of 'cheerful, hard-working folk who, but for their colour, have settled naturally into the English scene'.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Recent studies suggest that letter writers often hold right leaning views, and are more likely to write in disagreement with the newspaper's editorial policy. Cooper, Gibbs Knotts and Haspel, 'The Content of Political Participation'; Atkin and Richardson, 'Arguing About Muslims'; Perrin and Vaisey, 'Parallel Public Spheres'.

<sup>17</sup> In Cudlipp's memoirs he recounts, with barely concealed delight, how the newspaper lost 70,000 circulation over its opposition to military intervention into the Suez crisis. This account reflects not only the willingness of Cudlipp's *Daily Mirror* to act against public opinion, but also his sometimes low estimations of public sympathies towards non-white nations: he argued that the circulation fell because readers were 'all for bashing the Wogs'. Cudlipp, *Walking on Water*, p. 230.

<sup>18</sup> For an account of the findings of the Wolfenden report and press responses to it, see Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 188-197.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>20</sup> Karin Raeymaeckers has argued that newspapers use letters to the editor as a marketing tool of the newspapers social value. Raeymaeckers, 'Letters to the Editor'.

<sup>21</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 5 December 1961.

## CLASH ON KEEP-'EM-OUT BILL



TORY VIEW

It is drafted so that there is no racial discrimination. I feel certain we are right

—BUTLER



LABOUR VIEW

It's a miserable, shameful and shabby Bill . . . and it's a plain anti-colour measure . . .

—GAITSKELL

# COLOUR BAR SHAME —GAITSKELL

By VICTOR KNIGHT

**T**HERE was an amazing scene in the Commons last night when Labour MPs began singing "Land of Hope and Glory" as a protest against the Government's Bill to restrict Commonwealth immigration.

The demonstration came shortly after they had wildly cheered their leader, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, for a powerful speech against the Bill.

Mr. John Hare, Minister of Labour, had been speaking for twenty minutes when subdued singing was heard from some of the Labour back benches.

### 'Disorderly'

Sir Harry Hylton-Foster, the Speaker, intervened. He declared sharply: "This debate is being considered quite widely round the Commonwealth. I hope the House will consider it against its dignity to be interrupted by disorderly singing."

At once the song stopped, and the House subsided into the bitter, angry mood which lasted for the whole of the six-hour debate.

Speaking with great force and eloquence, Mr. Gaitskell rallied practically all sections of his party against the Bill. He said: "It's a miserable, shameful, shabby Bill." He appealed to the Government to "think, consult and inquire before you deal another deadly blow at the Commonwealth."

The Bill is "a plain anti-Commonwealth measure in theory, and it's a plain anti-colour measure in practice," he said.

### Blamed

Mr. Gaitskell accused three Ministers—Mr. Butler (Home Secretary), Mr. Sandys (Commonwealth Relations Secretary) and Mr. Macleod (Leader of the House).

"They ought to have stopped it between them," said Mr. Gaitskell. "Their joint reputation, backed by the threat of resignation, would have prevented this Bill, but they had not the courage to do it."

Mr. Gaitskell said it was not true to suggest that a large proportion of immigrants were unemployed and living on State assistance. The fact was that about 95 per cent. of them had jobs.

"They are healthy, law-abiding and at work," he continued. "Why do the Government want to keep them out?"

"We all know the answer. It is that they are coloured, and in consequence of this there is a fear of racial disorder and friction."

### Root

The whole future of the world might depend on whether people of different colours could live in harmony together, said Mr. Gaitskell. The Bill struck at the very root of this principle.

Mr. Gaitskell said that even if it was true that

**Continued on Back Page**



## PRINCESS ALEX HUNTS FOR DUCKS

From Mary Malone

Tokio, Thursday.

**PRINCESS ALEXANDRA** took part today in an ancient sport of Japanese royalty . . . duck-netting.

The scene was the Imperial duck preserve at Saitama, an hour's drive

from Tokio. Here 40,000 wild ducks are preserved in a lake.

Before the day's sport began, decoy ducks—lame ones and stuffed ones—were put in a canal running off the lake.

Wild duck, attracted by the decoys, swam into the canal. As soon as they were in position, gamekeepers shouted and whooped to scare them.

The startled wild duck flew into the air . . . and the idea was that they

should fly into long-handled nets held over the canal by the royal party.

But the party—it was forty-five strong—netted only thirty-two ducks. And Princess Alexandra—pictured above approaching the lake—caught only ONE of them.

A Japanese court official with the party said the Princess's lone catch was made on her final attempt after trying several stretches of water.

Some of the ducks which were

netted were destined to be eaten, but the life of the one caught by the Princess was spared—at least in her presence.

Animal-lovers here tonight criticised Palace officials for taking the Princess duck-netting.

The director of the Japanese Animal Welfare Society, Mrs. Iwa Horiguchi said: "It is not the most cruel sport in Japan—but we do not condone it. And it is a pity that Princess Alexandra was invited to take part."

Figure 10: Daily Mirror, 17 November 1961. ©Mirrorpix

Reporting on black communities in London, Manchester and Liverpool, ‘the Cheerful People’ claimed West Indians were hard-working and thrifty and that housing problems found their origins in ‘unscrupulous landlords...[and] intolerant neighbours’ rather than their own living habits. In contrast to social-science publications of the 1950s and 1960s, which often defined black residents as ‘out-groups’ or culturally incompatible ‘strangers’, Stoneley and Wainwright’s article highlighted how West Indians had become ‘a cheerful part of community life’.<sup>22</sup> It argued the values they shared with white Britons—both religious and cultural—meant that only white racism stood in the way of integration. The juxtaposition of this feature with one about the larger numbers of Irish people entering Britain each year challenged the conception that immigration was a race issue.<sup>23</sup> As it had in the 1950s, the *Daily Mirror* deployed the familiar format of investigative feature articles in an attempt to steer the feelings of a readership by combating oft-repeated definitions of the ‘immigration problem’.

While the *Daily Mirror*’s response to racism and immigration was certainly politicised by Conservative plans to restrict immigration in 1961, the strategies used to criticise these plans were consistent with those used in its 1950s anti-colour bar crusade. While the newspaper made sure criticisms of the immigration legislation were heard, the voices in favour of restrictions grew throughout the 1960s. Seemingly unsuccessful in rallying a popular movement against restrictions, the *Mirror* newspapers shifted their focus to defending the rights of black and Asian people already within Britain. Highlighting the existence of racism within the country, the newspaper called for government action to make racial discrimination a legal offence.

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<sup>22</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 5 December 1961. For an account of social-science investigations into black communities see Waters, ‘Dark Strangers in our Midst’.

<sup>23</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 December 1961.

'Britain's Colour Bar Towns': the threat of racism in British society.

While the *Daily Mirror's* coverage of racism and immigration had become more politicised in the early 1960s, examples of public discrimination and personal accounts of black and Asian immigrants living in Britain remained a key part of its anti-racist discourse. Following the passage of the Commonwealth Immigration Act, the newspaper gave special attention to

# Immigration

● The Government has announced its intention of placing a Bill before Parliament to control the flow of immigrants to Britain. Here are some of the views of *Mirror* readers taken from a very heavy mail...

**IF** the Government curbs immigration it will have the backing of most people in this country. And the Tories will have gone a long way towards winning the next election.—F. G. Baines, Uxbridge, Middlesex.

★ I agree that the Government should deport immigrants who commit serious crimes, but I disagree about slamming the door in our faces.—Jamaican Immigrant, Redditch, Worce.

★ For the past few years immigrants have served us well by taking the essential but dirty jobs that the "never had it so good" sections did not want. But what happens if a slump comes, with its attendant unemployment? Those unwanted jobs filled by immigrants will be demanded back by Britons, and race riots will not be far off.—F. C. Hayes, Studlesse.

**RULES**

I THINK immigration should be governed by three rules:

- 1.—A clean bill of health.
- 2.—Immigrants found guilty of committing serious crimes to be deported.
- 3.—National Assistance should be limited to one month. If the immigrant hasn't found a job in that time it should be sent home.—F. A. Pete, London, E.15.

★ I have no racial prejudice, but I must say that these colour bar laws are making our shops even worse. This is no time to

WHAT YOU SAY

**VIEWPOINT**

overcrowded lodging houses for immigrants.—(Miss) P. M. Thornton, Birmingham, B.

★ Australia and many other Commonwealth countries are selective in their choice of immigrants to keep the standards of their countries high. We MUST do the same.—S. J. G. London, N.16.

★ The only way to help these unfortunate immigrants is to set up industries in their own countries. Nobody in his right mind would want to leave the West Indies if he could get a job there, for this reason.—Francis, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

★ We just cannot house those people. It is plain common sense to have an immigration quota, which we can.—(Mrs.) K. E. Linsley, Sandhurst, Surrey.

**CONTROL**

IT is an outrage against the people of Britain that these immigrants are allowed to enter uncontrolled. So many of them go straight on to National Assistance.—E. G. St. Louis, N.15.

★ "Don't Slam the Door," says the *Mirror*. I have never read such hypocrisy in all my life. It is time we looked our own people before these immigrants.—(Mrs.) Wright, Baris Barton, N.15.

**SERVICE**

★ Male immigrants entering Britain should be made to do two years' National Service. That way they would help us and themselves.—(Mrs.) L. Rogers, London, N.W.3.

★ I have always voted Labour, but I am in favour of this new Tory Bill on Immigration. Why should we pay taxes for the benefit of other people?—(Mrs.) G. Mousley, London, N.15.

**CROWDED**

★ Uncontrolled immigration will seriously jeopardise our children's future. It will mean more overcrowded schools and hospitals.—C. E. Hurdley, Anley, Notts.

★ I was disgusted to hear of the Government's decision to curtail immigration. It is a sorry day. I would be embarrassed to be white.—R. Freeman, London, N.W.2.

★ I would much rather see the thousands of pounds paid out in National Assistance to immigrants than see the old Age Pensions, the Old Age Allowances, the

**YOUR STARS** By *Wendell Wallace*

**ARIES** (March 21-April 19): For those in love there will be pleasant developments. A plan on which you have been working should go well.

**TAURUS** (April 20-May 20): You should try to solve an economic problem today. Sentimentality, the situation is a little uncertain.

**GEMINI** (May 21-June 20): You may have a slight attack of nervousness. There are some pleasant surprises ahead.

**CANCER** (June 21-July 20): Spend some time on your feet. A friendship must be consolidated.

**LEO** (July 21-August 22): The racial situation is excellent, and your ambitious ideas will be well received. Good for travel.

**VIRGO** (August 23-Sept. 22): You will be inclined to be just a little too demanding regarding others. Do more understanding.

**LIBRA** (Sept. 23-Oct. 22): Considerable satisfaction in sentimental matters. Personal projects will be under good influences.

**SCORPIO** (Oct. 23-Nov. 21): You may not feel too friendly today. Greater patience is needed in a private matter.

**SAGITTARIUS** (Nov. 22-Dec. 21): Visits and invitations are under good influences. You may make interesting new acquaintances.

**CAPRICORN** (Dec. 22-Jan. 19): It is all too easy to start trouble among those with whom you work. A good day for money matters.

**AQUARIUS** (Jan. 20-Feb. 18): Be prudent in your personal affairs. If you don't control your impulsiveness you will create a confusing situation.

**PISCES** (Feb. 19-March 20): Accept ideas today; it is not the moment to insist on your own point of view. Be tactful with the family.

Figure 11: *Daily Mirror*, 6 November 1961. ©Mirrorpix

examples of discrimination and argued complementary anti-racist legislation was essential to maintaining community harmony. Several significant instances of racial discrimination were used in reports and editorials to symbolise the government's failure to respond to the persistence of racism. In emphasising the threat of racism to British society, the *Mirror* newspapers helped to provide a rationale for Labour's Race Relations legislation of 1965 and 1968.

An outbreak of violence against black people in Middlesbrough during the summer of 1961 precipitated the growing attention the *Daily Mirror* gave to how 'race relations' were developing in British towns. Following the template established during the coverage of the 1958 riots, the scale of the 1961 disturbances was exaggerated by alarmist front-page headlines about police fighting gangs of mobs in the 'race-riot' town (see Figure 13).<sup>24</sup> Much like in 1958, the violence was characterised as the actions of 'screaming lunatics' and 'louts' against 'peaceful' black residents.<sup>25</sup> While the short-lived nature of the disturbances was reflected by the fleeting coverage it received, the sensationalist language used to describe 'race relations' in Middlesbrough would be reflected throughout the 1960s.

The process during which, between 1961 and 1964, Smethwick in Birmingham became known as 'Britain's race town' serves as the most striking example of how racism was perceived to be a threat to British communities by the *Daily Mirror*.<sup>26</sup> Birmingham, like Liverpool, Manchester and London, had often been used as a case study of the effect of black and Asian immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, and the newspaper itself had already drawn

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<sup>24</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 21 August 1961. Panayi has highlighted the small-scale, albeit important, nature of the riots. Other details, like the prominence of violence against Pakistanis in Middlesbrough, were ignored by the *Daily Mirror* in favour of a more general account of 'coloureds' being accosted by rabid white racists. See, Panayi, 'Middlesbrough 1961: A British Race Riot of the 1960s?', *Social History*, 16, 2 (1991), pp. 139-153.

<sup>25</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 22 August 1961.

<sup>26</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 8 December 1964. For an account of immigration into Birmingham in this period, and accompanying tensions in the city, see Philip Jones, 'Colored Minorities in Birmingham, England', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 66, 1 (1976), pp. 89-103.

# THE CHEERFUL PEOPLE

● The Government's Immigration Bill is under fire for seeking to restrict coloured Commonwealth citizens, mainly West Indians, while admitting the Irish more freely. What are the facts about immigrants? Here is the first of two revealing articles



★ Reading from the Bible... Mr. Kenneth Best and his family, at their home in Liverpool. Many coloured families are deeply religious and are regular churchgoers.

**CLAUDIA JONES** edits the West Indies Gazette — read by West Indians all over Britain — from a one-room office in Brixton, London.

This month her main front-page story is headlined: "BUTLER'S COLOUR-BAR BILL" MOOKS COMMON-WEALTH."

Like all the West Indians we have met, Claudia Jones is deeply hurt and worried by the terms of the proposed Immigration Bill.

"To us Britain has always been 'The Mother Country,'" she told us.

"We have always thought of ourselves as Britishers, yet suddenly we are to be made second-class citizens. Where have we failed you?"

To find out, we visited some of the districts where West Indians have settled. We met them in their homes, we talked to neighbours, employers, welfare officers, clergy and police. There are some bad cases: Some West Indians are criminals and should be deported, because they have not only Britain, but the law-abiding majority of their fellow immigrants.

But, in general, we came up with a picture of cheerful, hard-working folk who, but for their colour, have settled naturally into the English scene.

**T**HE first big flow of West Indians into Britain was during the war when 8,000 volunteered for the Services.

## POVERTY

Since then, poverty in the West Indies has sent emigration-to-Britain figures soaring from 2,000 in 1955 to 80,000 last year. BUT...

● Half the arrivals since 1950 have been wives and children sent for by their husbands.

● Five thousand return to the West Indies every year—usually with enough savings to start a business in the islands.

● Children under sixteen and people over fifty are not issued with passports in the West Indies

**This is how West Indians live in Britain**

like the Clapham Inter-racial Club in South London, where white and coloured mix.

The deeply religious West Indians are regular church-goers. At the church of St. Saviour in Manchester the Rev. Sydney Goddard said:

"Nearly half my congregation are coloured. I have a Jamaican church warden, and several others are on the church council."

Undoubtedly, living conditions in some coloured quarters are bad.

## "BAD PLACE"

In London's Notting Hill Gate we met a coloured bus-driver living with his wife and four children in one poorly furnished room.

"Don't print my name," he pleaded. "That cause big trouble with the landlord. I got to pay him £25 a week for this bad place, but if I complain he throw us out."

Responsible West Indians to whom we spoke realise that part of their problem is housing. But they take the view that the housing shortage would exist even if immigration were cut down—and that it cannot be solved, or even sharply improved, by keeping out coloured immigrants.

Unscrupulous landlords—sometimes themselves coloured—intolerant neighbours, strange British food and cold British weather handicap these people so far from their sunny homelands.

But throughout our investigations it was clear that the colour-bar can be overcome. In some places it no longer exists.

## SANTA CLAUS

This Christmas several hundred Manchester children are going to find that Santa Claus is black.

At the Manchester Colonial Club—run by coloured immigrants for white boys and girls—the coloured children are giving a party for their white friends.

And this year Jamaican railway worker Aston Gore will be pulling on a long white beard and handing out presents...

**TOMORROW—The Irish**

**XPELAIR**

Chilly days mean goodbye to open windows. Don't go back to last winter's kitchen fog and steam. With an Xpelair you can keep your kitchen free from cooking smells and condensation—without icy draughts! See your electrical shop about fitting one now. Send for the free Xpelair booklet today. Price with automatic, draught-preventing iris shutter and switch, from \$11.30.

Please send me your colour booklet V5245/D N.I.  
XPELAIR SALES, WOODS OF ORCHESTER LTD.,  
20 KEAN STREET, LONDON, W.C.2.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

## IN EVERY WOMAN'S LIFE...

BY LEWIS RAYNER

**I**n every woman's life there comes a time when nervous irritability can explode into an emotional storm. She finds she cannot eat or sleep, and the slightest upset is often magnified out of all proportion. At such a time she needs all the help and understanding she can get.

Take Mrs. Rhoda Joule, of St. Helier, Lancashire, for example. Mrs. Joule has been happily married for 37 years. She has two children and her life, in the main, has been one of busy contentment. But a few years ago she found herself embroiled in a personal crisis.



MRS. RHODA JOULE  
Help came soon

"It became tense and irritable for no apparent reason," she said. "I was in a terrible state—frightened and yet not knowing why I was frightened. In fact, I thought I had to sleep one day the doctor called. He stood in the house and told me, 'Get some Bengers straight away!'"

## Released tension

"Well, of course, I'd heard of Bengers and I got some quickly. For a long time I took it three times a day.

"It released the tension in me and my mind began working again. For the first time I began to sleep properly. Honestly, I don't think I would be here today without it."

## Help at hand

In one of the major crises of Mrs. Joule's life help was at hand—in the shape of Bengers. Bengers can be a help in your life, too, and in the life of your family.

Bengers gives you plenty of nourishment and sound sleep—because Bengers is made from natural wheat and is prepeptised. It contains arginine and tryptin—two of the natural agents that your body needs to break down and digest your food. As you add hot milk to Bengers, they go to work, turning it into a cupful of milk-and-wheat goodness.

You'll like Bengers, mid-morning or last thing at night. Buy a tin today. You won't regret it.

## BENGENS

... digested before you drink it

For sleeplessness, loss of appetite, overstrain, stress, convalescence and general nourishment.



Figure 12: Daily Mirror, 5 December 1961. ©Mirrorpix

attention to the extent of discrimination in the city years earlier.<sup>27</sup> In July 1961, the protest of 200 white council tenants in the city against Pakistani tenants moving into their estate was referred to as a ‘new crisis’ facing the ‘COLOUR BAR TOWN’.<sup>28</sup> An editorial characterised the ideas behind the protest as ‘nutty’ and warned it could ‘turn their town into a place of fear and misery – just because race-hatred propaganda has managed to get a hearing’.<sup>29</sup> The tensions in the town were said to highlight the potential ‘tragedy’ of allowing ‘ANY town in Britain’ to fall to ‘the madness of a colour bar’.<sup>30</sup>

News coverage and feature articles reinforced the extent to which racist protests in Smethwick were identified by the *Daily Mirror* as having dangerous consequences. News reports portrayed the Asian immigrants caught up in the debate as hard-working people who contributed much to the local public services.<sup>31</sup> A feature article written by Dixon Scott, Roy Blackman, Nick Davies and Phil Tibenham suggested the protests were particularly disturbing as they were being carried out by ‘educated...worried [white] wives’.<sup>32</sup> This was represented as a troubling new development, as discrimination had in the past often been associated with young ‘teddy boys’ or working class men. As Asian migration into Britain had accelerated in the early 1960s, the tenant protest was also one of the first prominent cases

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<sup>27</sup> Already, in 1954 a *Mirror* article had called the city ‘a Jim Crow city of violent colour hate and segregation’, *Daily Mirror*, 16 March 1954. The growing centrality of Birmingham in discussions about the effect of immigration on British city was marked by the publication, in 1967, of John Rex and Robert Moore’s landmark study of ‘race relations’ in Sparkbrook. See John Rex and Robert Moore, *Race, Community, and Conflict: A Study of Sparkbrook* (London, 1967).

<sup>28</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 24 July 1961. By 1961, Birmingham already had an Asian population of 4,930. Housing shortages were a pre-existing and acute problem in the city, one Asians were perceived to be disproportionately contributing to. See, Jones, ‘Colored Minorities in Birmingham, England’, p. 98.

<sup>29</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 25 July 1961.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 26.

*Thirty-three arrests in a weekend of fury*

3d. Monday, August 21, 1961 No. 17,939

# POLICE FIGHT MOB OF 500 IN RACE RIOT TOWN

## Baton charge at night—five Pc's are injured

By RUPERT MORTERS and PHIL DAVIES  
**POLICE** charged shoulder to shoulder with batons drawn in a race-riot town late night and broke up angry, shouting crowds of white people. Several people were hurt in scuffles — in sleazy Cannon-street, Middlesbrough, Yorks — and five policemen were taken to hospital. One of the police-constables had been kicked on the head.



Crowds in the riot street yesterday after the battle with police.

### The soldier dropped in —through her roof..

MIDDLE-AGED Mrs. Nellie Warren was reading her Sunday newspaper yesterday when Gordon Ogilvie dropped in... FEET FIRST... BY PARACHUTE.

**Dangling**  
 Gordon—Corporal G. Ogilvie, 28, of the 5th Independent Parachute Squadron, Royal Engineers, Gibraltar Barracks, Aldershot—had stepped out of the hole in the roof and was dangling from the guttering by his parachute straps.



Police close in to make an arrest during the height of the trouble yesterday.

Four times the police charged and finally the crowds broke and fled. Some were pushed over in the mad scramble, others scattered down side streets. And the reckoning came as police cars and vans came to collect the people who had been arrested.

The road was littered with bricks and broken bottles. Earlier yesterday every available policeman in Middlesbrough was called up for duty after a running battle between a squad of police and a yelling, 500-strong mob of white men and women. Again the scene was Cannon-street.

**Bottles**  
 Men in the mob armed themselves with sticks, stones, shoes and broken bottles as the police formed lines to prevent a stampede of destruction. As more than thirty police officers fought desperately in pouring rain, many people in the crowd hurled stones and bottles at them. Windows and fittings of shops run by coloured people were smashed during the battle. Homes of coloured people, too, were targets for the mob's fury. The afternoon battle was

**'Like pack of wolves'**  
 says wife

the ugliest incident in two days of violence in Middlesbrough's coloured quarter. Trouble flared within a few yards of the spot in Cannon-street where an eighteen-year-old white youth was stabbed to death on Friday. A coloured man was charged with his murder. Late on Saturday night at least four policemen were hurt in disturbances. Twelve men were arrested. And yesterday the crowd of 500 gathered in Cannon-street. Nine policemen stood shoulder to shoulder to beat back a charge against one shop as stones and bottles flew at them.

## COLIN BACK FOR ENGLAND

CRICKET star Colin Cowdrey will be at the Oval today ready to bat for England. Colin ended the weekend "will-he-or-won't-he-bat?" puzzle with this dramatic message from his Kent home—where he has been recovering from a throat infection: "I am feeling

much better and my temperature is back to normal. "I SHALL CERTAINLY BE THERE TOMORROW AND HAVE A GO."

News of his intention to bat delighted his England colleagues, who are struggling to avoid defeat in the fifth and final Test against Australia. Britain lost the Wightman Cup when eighteen-year-old Justina Bricka beat Wimbledon champion Angela Mortimer 10-8, 4-6, 6-3 in Chicago yesterday. See BRIAN CHAPMAN and PETER WILSON—Page 19.

**Turned**  
 The mob turned away—and it became a race with the police to the store of Mr. Abdullah Abdal, a British citizen. His English wife, Elsie, too, was inside with her

Continued on Back Page

Figure 13: Daily Mirror, 21 August 1961. ©Mirrorpix

of discrimination against Asians. Its title reflected this and gave a twist to the well-established 'colour bar' tag; labelling discrimination against Pakistanis as 'THE CURRY BAR'.<sup>33</sup>

The feature argued that the perceived cultural differences of white and Asian people were felt to be insurmountable by white tenant residents and were the driving force of white prejudice towards Pakistanis. 'It's not the colour of their skin', answered interviewee Mrs. Turton upon being asked to explain her objections, '....Their cooking smells different. It's all that curry and rice – the smell leaks through the whole block....they don't live like us, do they?'.<sup>34</sup> The tenants' objections that Pakistanis 'are just not like us' suggested Asian immigrants posed a special problem to local communities, as perceived cultural differences would hinder their integration into British society.<sup>35</sup> The 'curry bar' characterised not only an attempt to exclude Pakistanis from housing, but also the cultural bar believed to be preventing white people from accepting Asian immigrants.

In 1964, Smethwick would once again become the centre of 'race' controversy and the *Daily Mirror* used it as a symbol of the ways in which racism could tear communities apart. In the general elections of that year, established Labour MP Gordon Walker lost his Smethwick seat to Peter Griffiths; a Tory candidate whose campaign had exploited anti-immigration sentiment in the town. While coverage in early November focused on parliamentary debates about Griffiths use of racist language in campaign materials, the newspaper's focus soon turned to the poor relations in the 'colour town'.<sup>36</sup> Between November and December, 1964 the *Daily Mirror* covered several instances of discrimination

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<sup>33</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 25 July 1961.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, Emphasis mine.

<sup>36</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 4 November 1964.

in Smethwick. Another housewife's protest against Asian council housing tenants was referred to as a 'NEW STORM IN RACE-ROW TOWN' on a front-page headline.<sup>37</sup> Three days later, another front-page referred to a 'NEW RACE ROW IN SMETHWICK' concerning a Labour club's refusal to grant Asian people entry (see Figure 14).<sup>38</sup> Such coverage reinforced the sense of political and social turmoil the newspaper had argued was the result of racist responses to immigration.

The *Daily Mirror*'s dedication to highlighting the racism faced by black and Asian immigrants was so extensive that it crossed over into the pages of the more entertainment-driven sister publication the *Sunday Pictorial*.<sup>39</sup> The newspaper had previously approached the discussion of black people in Britain only when it could be related to some sensationalist issue, often concerning sex and crime.<sup>40</sup>

In June, 1961 a report, with a suitably sensationalised subject, was published documenting how white reporter Tom Mangold experienced racism for himself by posing as a black man. Likely inspired by John Howard Griffin's similar and controversial social experiment—documented in the book *Black Like Me*—the article sought to emphasise how the colour of a person's skin alone could radically change how they were treated.<sup>41</sup> Titled 'THE DAY MY SKIN TURNED BLACK', the article argued 'when you wear a black skin, you stand at the tail end of the longest queue in the world....Because, wherever you are, and

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<sup>37</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 11 November 1964.

<sup>38</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 November 1964.

<sup>39</sup> For an account of the 'titillating' content of Sunday newspapers, see Bingham, *Family Newspapers?* pp. 15-16, 32, 208-210, 233.

<sup>40</sup> This tradition continued into the 1960s, with an April 1960 article concerning the involvement of black seamen in inner city prostitution and crime networks. In the 'dark holes of vice' in which these practices were undertaken, a feature article commented, 'the only white faces are the lardy cheeks of young trollops, who jig to a screaming juke-box or maul Lascar customers at the tables'. See *Sunday Pictorial*, 10 April 1960.

<sup>41</sup> *Sunday Pictorial*, 18 June 1961. See John H. Griffin, *Black Like Me* (New York, 1961).

## Housewives protest as Smethwick gives the Singh family a council house

# NEW STORM IN RACE-ROW TOWN

By WILLIAM DANIELS

A ROW started in the race-conscious town of Smethwick yesterday—because an Indian family is being given a council house.

People in the street where the family will live have sent a deputation to complain to the housing department of the Tory-controlled council. Others have appealed to Mr Peter Griffiths, Tory MP for the town.

They have protested that the four-bedroomed post-war house in Great Arthur-street should have gone to a local family on the 4,000 waiting list.

The Indians, Prilam Singh, his wife and six children are moving into the house because their shop is being demolished under a slum clearance order.

Last night housewives in Great Arthur-street were indignant about the house. "It is a cheek," said mother of ten Mrs. Mary Kent.

There are Smethwick people who have been on the housing list for years.

### Compelled

Smethwick's housing chairman, Councillor Ernest Gould, said last night "The council were compelled by law to re-house the Singh family."

"If I had my way we would not re-house immigrants while there are 4,000 Smethwick families on the waiting list. But this does not mean a colour bar."

I would not re-house families from Birmingham, Manchester or Liverpool."

One man in Great Arthur-street came down on the side of the Singhs. Mr William Masters, 45-year-old factory worker who lives next door said:

"They have a right to live somewhere."

At his shop last night Mr Singh, who has lived in Smethwick for fourteen years, said: "I am not worried by the feelings of people in the street. I get on very well with the people of Smethwick."

### BILL TO CRUSH POP PIRATES?

A Bill to deal with the pirate pop radio stations is being considered by the Government.

This was announced in the Commons yesterday by Mr Wedgwood Benn, the new Postmaster-General.

## Trade tax: 'It could end EFTA'

BRITAIN'S 15 per cent imports surcharge might be the "beginning of the end" of the European Free Trade Association, said Danish Foreign Minister Mr Per Haekkerup in London yesterday.

Mr. Haekkerup, who had just finished talks with British Ministers, said that EFTA was in the throes of a severe crisis. He believed that a meeting

of EFTA Ministers in Geneva next week could decide the future of the organisation.

IN LUXEMBOURG, the six-nation European Coal and Steel Community announced that it had asked Britain to delay the surcharge on steel for thirty days.

## New deal on children's allowances

By WILLIAM WOLFF

A BIG shake-up in the system of grants and tax allowances for children is being prepared by the Government.

Mr. Douglas Houghton, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and social service "overlord," announced this in the Commons last night.

The drastic changes in the financial treatment of the family will be part of the revolution in the social services which the Government has promised in the Queen's Speech.

### Reliefs

Mr Houghton listed the "hotch potch" which he means to clear up.

"We give family allowances and tax them," he said.

"We give education maintenance grants and don't tax them."

"And at the same time, to the same family, we give tax reliefs for children."

Mr. Houghton was speaking on the eve of Labour's first Budget.

He made it clear that because of the time shortage the announcement today by Mr James Callaghan, Chancellor of the Exchequer, would deal with pensions and other benefits on traditional lines.

Action on two other fronts was now under way, he said.

The first was on pensions, sickness and other benefits.

"The fundamental change I want to see," he said, "is social security as a right of citizenship, with simple conditions replacing the bewildering and intricate anomalies and the unfair jungle of contributory conditions that we have today."

### Means

His concept for the 1970s, he declared, was that all should pay according to their means. In return they would get an assurance of social security related to income.

And he insisted that this would be achieved only if everybody was in the social security scheme.

Secondly, Mr. Houghton is going to transform the National Assistance Board into a great national welfare service—"the citizen's friend."

"What people need is someone to stand by at any time of difficulty, someone who can lift the worries from their shoulders and do some of the running about," he said.

On the immediate future, Mr. Houghton said that Mr. Kenneth Robinson, Minister of Health, would shortly announce the abolition of prescription charges on medicine only.

"The remaining charges will be abolished later."



Leonard Appleton

## GEORGINA KISSES CLEARED DRIVER

A TRESS Georgina Ward, 23, kissed hire-car driver Leonard Appleton outside an Old Bailey court last night. Appleton, 34, had just been cleared of taking part in an attempted armed payroll robbery at Battersea Power Station, London. The judge stopped the case after a courtroom experiment in which Appleton pulled a nylon stocking over his head.

### Parade

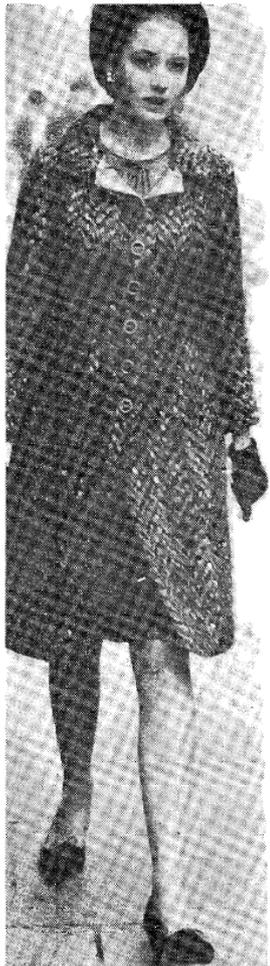
Witness Arthur Wellard, another pay clerk, was then asked if he was still certain that Appleton, whom he picked out at an identification parade, was the man he saw wearing a stocking mask during the raid.

Mr. Wellard said: "I'm still 90 per cent, sure." The judge then ordered an acquittal.

Miss Ward, who stood hall for Appleton at an earlier stage of the case, employed him to drive her on show business engagements.

### WILSON'S U.S. DATE

Prime Minister Mr Harold Wilson is to fly to Washington for two-day talks with President Johnson, starting on December 7.



Actress Georgina Ward

**BABYCHAM**  
GIVES YOUR PARTY A NATURAL SPARKLE

SWEET  
SALVAGE

At his shop last night Mr Singh, who has lived in Smethwick for fourteen years, said: "I am not worried by the feelings of people in the street. I get on very well with the people of Smethwick."

**BILL TO CRUSH POP PIRATES?**  
A Bill to deal with the pirate pop radio stations is being considered by the Government. This was announced in the Commons yesterday by Mr Wedgwood Benn, the new Postmaster-General.

Figure 14: Daily Mirror, 11 November 1964. ©Mirrorpix

whatever you're doing, you a strictly a second-class citizen'.<sup>42</sup> The article mimicked the strategy of *Daily Mirror* feature articles and attempted to communicate the experience of black people in Britain in a bizarrely direct fashion. Experiencing abuse and rejection, Mangold summarised the discrimination he experienced applying for jobs and accommodation while wearing his 'black' disguise.<sup>43</sup> As with many feature articles, the article used Mangold as a surrogate for the readers themselves, revealing the daily examples of discrimination in London while also trying to encourage them to imagine experiencing racism for themselves.

The increasing presence of socially conscious articles in the *Sunday Pictorial* fell in line with Mirror Corp's re-branding of it. In March 1963, the newspaper became the *Sunday Mirror* and an editorial announced the new publication would contain 'all the ENTERTAINMENT of the *Sunday Pictorial*...and the SPARKLE and INTEGRITY of the world-famous *Daily Mirror*'.<sup>44</sup> What these claims meant in practice was demonstrated by articles published in the early run of the *Sunday Mirror*, outlining the key policies and positions that defined both the Sunday newspaper and its daily counterpart. Revealingly, the 'colour bar' was featured in a double page editorial reinforcing the importance of anti-racism to the Mirror Corp's identity. With the headline 'THIS SUBJECT IS DYNAMITE', the article was accompanied with an image combining the features of a white and black man into one face, split down the middle and was said to symbolise 'THE PROBLEM' facing Britain.<sup>45</sup> While this image was left open to interpretation, in the context of the ideology of the *Mirror* newspapers it reflected the dilemma of postwar British identity in a period where being British no longer meant being white. The extended *Sunday Mirror* editorial argued that

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Sunday Pictorial*, 24 March 1963.

<sup>45</sup> *Sunday Mirror*, May 12 1963.

white Britons needed to accept this diverse and open identity in order to peacefully co-exist with black and Asian people.

Rather than simply reasserting the position of the *Mirror* newspapers, the extended editorial featured in the *Sunday Mirror* provided a frank and intricate argumentative discourse concerning Britain's multicultural future. Offering a 'brutally frank' response to the prevalence of racism in Britain, the article admitted that:

Nothing riles some of the readers of Britain's newspapers more than to be told that they must be kind to their coloured brothers living and working alongside them. The subject is dynamite. It is the megaton class.<sup>46</sup>

Acknowledging the hostile response of some readers to the *Daily Mirror's* campaigning—revealed in its correspondence pages—the editorial served as a rare example of the newspaper presenting its position as *not* representative of wider public opinion. It focused on the reactions of 'otherwise decent' Britons to black and Asian immigrants and emphasised the similarity between discrimination in Birmingham, England and Birmingham, Alabama.<sup>47</sup> In the context of press coverage of the despicable actions of white racists towards African-American civil rights activists—which included using water hoses and police dogs against innocent citizens—the comparison to Alabama was striking. 'Hardly a month goes by', the article mentioned, 'without some incident which demonstrates the latent, ugly colour

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* The violent response of Alabama Governor George Wallace and Birmingham chief of police Bull Connor to African-American Civil Rights demonstrations, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, throughout 1963 ensured the city became a by-word for the most extreme forms of racist violence. The use of police dogs and water hoses against civilians became infamous in the international media, a process cemented by the deaths of four young girls in a bomb attack on Sixteenth Street Baptist church in September, 1963. For an account of these events and their international influence, see Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York, 2001).

problem'.<sup>48</sup> To support this statement, the article was accompanied by a timeline of racialised tensions in Britain, revealing the 'Black Record' of British 'race relations'.<sup>49</sup> The timeline, dating from 1948-63, detailed violence between white and black people, racist protests against immigration across the country, and recorded discrimination in public places, the housing market and employment organisations.<sup>50</sup> The inclusion of this timeline marked the culmination in the decade-long campaign of the *Mirror* newspapers to document racism in Britain, shedding light on many events that would have otherwise been forgotten by the majority of the population.

The *Sunday Mirror* editorial used these examples of racism to form an argument which highlighted the danger facing the British public if ideals of tolerance were not upheld. Britain's 'most valuable contribution to the world today', it argued, was 'TOLERANCE....of religious creed, of political belief, of colour'. Tolerance was linked directly to Britain's identity itself as it was argued that 'tolerance had its birth here. It was fought for here, nurtured here'.<sup>51</sup> The article suggested the real danger of racism was that its existence 'diminished...the moral stature of the whole nation'.<sup>52</sup> The 'dynamite' problem of immigration was present as something that could only be solved by:

people having a new tolerance in their heart: a tolerance which can come only from black and white knowing more about each other....UNTIL RACIAL TOLERANCE IS ESTABLISHED IN BRITAIN, OUR PROTESTS AGAINST RACIAL INTOLERANCE WILL CONTINUE TO RING ABOMINABLY FALSE.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

The article did not simply reinforce the ‘myth’ of tolerance, but used it as a conceptual tool to present racism, rather than immigrants themselves, as ‘un-British’. The *Daily Mirror*’s coverage had made it clear that tolerance was not universal in Britain, but by presenting it as such it could be used as a standard by which to judge the actions of politicians and the public and to measure the health of Britain’s postwar identity. Communicated in this way, the use of the concept of tolerance during the 1950s appeared to be a conscious effort by the *Daily Mirror* to persuade its readers to combat their own racist attitudes.

As well as issuing a moral plea to its readers, the editorial also reconfigured its policy on racism and immigration. It made a direct reference to *Daily Mirror*’s editorial response to the riots of 1958 and highlighted how its policy had changed over the years.<sup>54</sup> The call for immigrants without jobs or homes to be restricted, first made in 1958, was replaced by a more inclusive concept of immigration, which excluded only those ‘no-goods’ of ‘every colour and creed’ who had criminal records.<sup>55</sup> While this statement demonstrated the *Mirror* newspapers’ willingness to compromise citizenship rights in order to maintain public order, the racist exclusiveness of the *Daily Mirror*’s 1958 call for restrictions had been removed. However, the editor also promised that, in future, the newspapers would ‘face the facts’ of immigration, acknowledge the concerns of white Britons and offer practical suggestions to solve the ‘problems’ facing the nation. This policy would set the course for the *Mirror* newspapers in the following years, which would focus on highlighting the need for legal anti-discrimination measures and improvement of housing available in Britain. Concurrently, they would also start to compromise their firm anti-restriction stance.

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<sup>54</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 September 1958.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

## Restrictions and Integration: Labour's 1965 Immigration Policy and Community Relations.

When the Labour Party came to power in 1964, it initiated a multifaceted policy towards immigration and racism, featuring both racist and anti-racist elements.<sup>56</sup> The traditionally pro-Labour *Mirror* newspapers faced a dilemma when responding to the dual nature of the 1964 to 1970 Wilson government's policy, which concurrently restricted black and Asian immigration and introduced anti-racist legal legislation. On the one hand, the newspapers had long-supported the prospect of outlawing racism through official legislation. They had followed for over a decade the efforts of politicians such as Labour MP Fenner Brockway and Socialist Peer Lord Walston to pass anti-racist legislation through parliament, insisting legal action was an integral 'first step' towards changing public attitudes.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, they had in 1961 classified any restrictive immigration legislation as racist and against the ideals for which Britain stood. Faced with the support restrictive immigration measures received from both the Labour Party and its own readers, the *Daily Mirror* reaffirmed its commitment to black and Asian citizenship rights. This change in policy demonstrated the diverse influences which guided the editorial policy of Cudlipp and King.

The special relationship between the *Daily Mirror* and the Labour Party was demonstrated both by the Cudlipp-authored 1964 Labour manifesto being the centre of the party's election campaign and the *Daily Mirror's* own, often repeated, belief that a Labour victory was 'essential'.<sup>58</sup> King, meanwhile, had hoped to gain a cabinet post in Wilson's

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<sup>56</sup> For the debate surrounding the 'liberal hour' of 1964-1968 see M. Banton, *Promoting Racial Harmony*; Shamit Sagar, 'Re-examining the 1964-70 Labour Government's Race Relations Strategy', Dennis Dean, *The Race Relations Policy of the First Wilson Government*, *Twentieth Century British History*, 11, 3 (1993), pp. 259-283.

<sup>57</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 16 May 1962.

<sup>58</sup> Cudlipp, *Walking on Water*, p. 219. Tellingly, King also surprised his staff when placing a red 'Vote Labour' sticker on his Rolls-Royce during the 1964. See *Press Gang*, p. 158.

government, though he was angrily disappointed in that regard.<sup>59</sup> However, it should not be assumed that the enthusiastic coverage the Race Relations Bill received in 1964 was exclusively due to political loyalties. As Cudlipp himself elucidated, his newspaper's support for Labour was 'critical and conditional'.<sup>60</sup> The *Daily Mirror*'s reliance on its largely young, low income audience meant its commercial influences likely had as much influence over its policy as its owner's political sympathies.<sup>61</sup> While the *Mirror* newspapers supported Labour more explicitly than ever during the 1964 election, they rarely supported specific political policies and often based their coverage around perceived 'newsworthiness' rather than political conviction.<sup>62</sup> Their response to the immigration and race relations legislation of the Labour Party signified a broader commitment to a new legal definition of belonging and tolerance.

The *Mirror* newspapers had consistently stressed the need for anti-racist legislation by highlighting the threat racism posed to social relations in Britain. By the time the Labour Party was developing the Race Relations Bill, this perceived threat was re-emphasised by international examples of racialised violence. The *Daily Mirror* argued that North America's 'racial turmoil' begged the question: 'could anything like it ever happen here?' The Race Relations Bill, it suggested, '[was] making it plain that it MUST not and WILL not'.<sup>63</sup> An editorial accompanying a front-page story about the violence that broke out in Los Angeles during the summer of 1965 focused on 'race row flares' in Wolverhampton.<sup>64</sup> It used the riots in Los Angeles as a warning of the potential 'Bitter Harvest' Britain faced if it did not ensure

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<sup>59</sup> He received offers of a junior job in the Board of Trade and a barony, but he turned down both in a bitter response to not being offered higher offices. *Press Gang*, pp. 158-160.

<sup>60</sup> See Cudlipp, *Walking on Water*, pp. 206-230 for a detailed account of the variable levels of support and criticism the Labour Party faced in the pages of the *Daily Mirror* 1945-64.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas, *Popular Newspapers*, p. 21; King, *Strictly Personal* (London, 1969), p. 101

<sup>62</sup> Thomas, *Popular Newspapers*, pp. 44-51.

<sup>63</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 8 April 1965.

<sup>64</sup> *Sunday Mirror*, 15 August 1965.

the rights and opportunities of black and Asian immigrants. The riots were described as the result of ‘deep-seated frustrations’ which could take root ‘wherever a coloured population makes its home in a white-dominated city’.<sup>65</sup>

As Caroline Knowles has argued, the strategic use by newspapers and politicians of foreboding references to American race riots indirectly depicted black and Asian immigrants as a threat to the country’s indigenous population.<sup>66</sup> The *Daily Mirror*’s alarmist descriptions of the ‘frustrations’ immigration was perceived to cause reflected some wider changes in its policy towards racism. The newspaper had begun to represent both the Commonwealth Immigration Bill and Race Relation Bill of 1965 as essential legislative tools to ‘absorb’ immigrants into communities ‘without friction and with mutual understanding and tolerance’.<sup>67</sup> Cudlipp’s editorial policy had shifted from extolling the dangers of white racism to describing immigration itself as a ‘social and economic problem’.<sup>68</sup> An editorial, for example, called for politicians to ‘tighten up existing controls to keep the flow of immigrants at a realistic level’.<sup>69</sup> The attention of the editorial was now focused on the anxieties of white Britons and the perceived limits of their ability—or willingness—to accommodate immigrants. In this context, the *Daily Mirror*’s support for the Race Relations Bill emphasised the importance of maintaining social order rather than enforcing the citizenship rights of black and Asian Britons. While the anti-racist policy of the *Mirror* newspapers remained technically largely intact, the discursive tools used to communicate it now sometimes catered to the anxieties of their predominantly white audiences rather than the victims of discrimination themselves.

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<sup>65</sup> *Sunday Mirror*, 16 August 1965.

<sup>66</sup> Knowles, *Race, Discourse and Labourism*, pp. 100-101.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 18 August 1965.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Daily Mirror*'s re-framed policy towards racism and immigration reflected the limits of the Labour Party's own dedication to citizenship rights. Historians have criticised the Wilson government for privileging the protection of 'public harmony' over citizenship rights in its immigration legislation.<sup>70</sup> The *Daily Mirror*'s elaborations on the reasons why it supported the 1965 Commonwealth Immigration Bill provide historians an opportunity to better understand the racialised assumptions that informed Labour policy. The newspaper made its support for the legislation explicit in an editorial which accompanied the publication of the Labour Party's white paper 'Immigration from the Commonwealth' in September 1965. It spoke of the need to 'talk some sense' about immigration and lay out the facts 'IN BLACK AND WHITE' and said that 'the *Mirror* considers that the government [were] right' to restrict immigration.<sup>71</sup> While in 1961 the newspaper had used its editorials to offer a public voice to those who opposed Tory legislations, this editorial formed a critical *response* to sceptical members of the Liberal and Labour parties. It used its position as a prominent opponent of racial discrimination to lend itself authority on the topic and to validate its opinions. It claimed that, unlike the *Daily Mirror*, politicians had lost 'all sense of reality' when confronting the topic of immigration and ignored 'hard facts' in favour of 'long, high toned speeches'. Instead, the editorial argued that, as a popular newspaper, it could accept 'the facts which the critics ignore'.<sup>72</sup>

Knowles's summary of statements made by Labour politicians and publications supporting the terms of the 1965 Commonwealth Immigration Bill suggest the *Daily Mirror* closely followed the official line of the Wilson government. For example, she suggested , 'Immigration from the Commonwealth' and speeches made by several Labour MPs in 1964

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<sup>70</sup> Knowles, *Race, Discourse and Labourism*, pp. 76-108; Dennis Dean, 'The Race Relations Policy of the First Wilson Government'; Joshi and Carter, 'The role of Labour in the creation of a racist Britain.

<sup>71</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 28 September 1965.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

and 1965, defined immigrants as workers whose entry rights should be dependent on the state of domestic labour markets.<sup>73</sup> The poor state of the British job and housing markets had been covered consistently by the *Daily Mirror* and was used in 1965 to suggest that high levels of immigration would lead to the build up of ‘resentments and prejudices’ in Britain. The editor followed the Labour Party’s shift from a discourse of equal citizenship to one of the utility of immigration to domestic society.

The rhetoric used by the Labour Party to justify its 1965 immigration legislation also repeatedly referred to the need to reaffirm public order in the wake of postwar examples of public racism.<sup>74</sup> The *Daily Mirror* similarly summed up its editorial defence of the Commonwealth Immigration Bill by arguing ‘all that unrestricted immigration would do would be to create a social problem, a housing problem, and a colour problem which every sensible person wants to avoid’.<sup>75</sup> As in its references to American disorder, such language defined immigration, as much as racism, as a threat to public order and so privileged indigenous concerns over the newspaper’s previous commitment to anti-racism. Reflecting the renewed importance the *Daily Mirror* put on the anxieties of its readers, an editorial referenced a National Opinion Poll conducted in 1965 which had shown that 88% of the public backed Labour’s immigration policies.

Reader correspondence on the subject was also collected in an article which suggested wide-spread public support for the newspaper’s own position as outlined in its September editorial. The published letters not only largely agreed with the editorial, but suggested it had demonstrated that the *Daily Mirror* had finally ‘voiced most people’s opinions on un-

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<sup>73</sup> Knowles, *Race, Discourse and Labourism*, pp. 98-103.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-89.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

controlled immigration'.<sup>76</sup> In forming a discourse which characterised racism as a social problem, the newspaper placed race—and racist anxieties—at the centre of its response to the 1965 Commonwealth Immigration Bill. In this way, the *Daily Mirror* responded to the dilemma posed to its commitment to anti-racism by the disapproval of its readers and the new policy of the government it had supported. The use of reader correspondence and the similarities between the editor's language and that of official Labour rhetoric underlined this relationship.<sup>77</sup> As the previous chapter demonstrated, the *Daily Mirror* had prioritised public order over citizenship rights even at the height of its crusade against the colour bar. The newspaper's limited definition of tolerance continued to allow it to support both anti-racist legislation and racist immigration legislation by claiming to be maintaining the ability of white Britain's to absorb migrants peacefully.

Behind the challenge to citizenship rights implicit in the *Daily Mirror*'s support for the Labour Party's immigration legislation lay a commitment to liberal and open definitions of belonging and Britishness. As Sagaar highlighted, the policy of the Wilson government has been reinterpreted as being in some ways a 'liberal hour' for political responses to race in Britain.<sup>78</sup> The Race Relations Bill was only one element of a wider policy, which focused on educating the British public about the experiences of black and Asian people and facilitating the activities of local community relations bodies. These initiatives will be discussed in more detail in chapters 7, 8 and 9 and reflected the long-established policy of the *Mirror*

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<sup>76</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 29 September 1965.

<sup>77</sup> Perhaps the more-clearly pro-Labour position of the newspaper reflected Hugh Cudlipp's sense of guilt concerning Mirror Corp's purchase of the traditionally Labour-newspaper the *Daily Herald*. Having subsequently rebranded it as the *Sun* and removed much of its political content 1964, he perhaps felt a sense of responsibility for the *Daily Mirror* to take up its role. See Greensdale, *Press Gang*, pp. 158-160. Cudlipp certainly deeply regretted the move in later years.

<sup>78</sup> Sagaar, 'Re-examining the 1964-70 Labour Government's Race Relations Strategy', pp. 255-6. In this interpretation, restrictions to immigration were a concession to voter opinion which allowed Labour to stay in power and pass liberal anti-racist legislation

newspapers.<sup>79</sup> Roy Jenkins, Labour Home Secretary 1965-67 and architect of the party's anti-racist legislation, shared with Cudlipp and King a commitment to 'civilise' immigration laws.<sup>80</sup> King's support for the Labour Party became increasingly reliant in the late 1960s on his hope that Jenkins, who he called 'the most important politician in the country', would become Prime Minister.<sup>81</sup> While the *Daily Mirror*'s September 1965 editorial had closely followed the official line on immigration legislation, it communicated beliefs that echoed those of Jenkins much more frequently and passionately.

The *Daily Mirror* interpreted the Wilson government's commitment to integration in a way that reinforced the belief British identity was not defined by whiteness, and was open and malleable. In doing so, the newspaper continued to challenge broad cultural assumptions concerning postwar British identity despite its tentative support for the 1965 Commonwealth Immigration Act. In 1967, a two-part article by John Pilger was published under the provocative title 'Black Britons'. Pilger had become a prominent feature writer and foreign correspondent for the *Daily Mirror* by this time, and had a passion about the positive effect investigative journalism could have on social issues.<sup>82</sup> In particular, he had supported the rights of the indigenous population of his native Australia and had held a hatred for imperial privileges and discrimination.<sup>83</sup> The first in his series of feature articles was titled 'This Man was Made in England' and featured a picture of black Liverpoolian Edward Bedford, described as being 'as English as chips and chimney pots'.<sup>84</sup> 'He is English, he is black', Pilger wrote, '....his accent is hewn from the cry of the Mersey boat horn, the ee-aye-addio of

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<sup>79</sup> Sagaar, *Race and Public Policy*.

<sup>80</sup> Roy Jenkins, *Life at the Centre*, p. 181.

<sup>81</sup> Thomas, *Popular Newspapers*, p. 65; Cudlipp, *Walking on Water*, p. 317; *Daily Mirror* 2 January 1968.

<sup>82</sup> John Pilger ed., *Tell Me No Lies: Investigative Journalism and its Triumphs* (London, 2004), pp. xiii-xxviii.

<sup>83</sup> For a reflection on Pilger's career supporting indigenous Australian rights and opposing 'imperialist' foreign policy of Western countries, see Pilger, *The New Rulers of the World* (London, 2003).

<sup>84</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 6 April 1967.

a crowd in the Kop'. Black immigrants and their children were not described in the features as a threat to British values, but as 'the latest spice in the pot of Britain'.<sup>85</sup> Discrimination, which was described as a daily part of Bedford's life, was attacked by Pilger as a corruption of British values. The poor conditions facing Liverpool's black community were presented as the consequence of housing discrimination, and an obstacle the previous generation of immigrants had had to endure. Pilger argued discrimination alone was keeping Bedford from belonging in society rather than deficiencies in his character. This discrimination was described as the product of white Britons being unable to comprehend 'that a man can be both English and coloured'. The article's purpose was to reconfigure this attitude so black people could be accepted as British.

In an attempt to support the educational initiative of the Labour Party the 1967 *Political and Economic Planning (P.E.P* hereafter) report 'Racial Discrimination in England' received extensive coverage in both the editorial and feature columns of the *Daily Mirror*.<sup>86</sup> The report had been commissioned by Labour and an editorial highlighted the 'exhaustive and eye-opening' nature of its investigation. The results of the report were reprinted in detail so that the wider public could 'THINK deeply' about their own attitudes in the context of evidence of significant levels of racism in British society.<sup>87</sup> Reporter Richard Sear analysed the *P.E.P* report and suggested discrimination was based more on the negative attitudes of the public than the effect of immigration or the existence of social problems associated with it. Sear argued that the fears of those interviewed, which were said to focus on unfamiliar cultures being formed in 'white' communities, were based on prejudice rather than social reality. Reiterating the newspaper anti-racist core beliefs, a corresponding editorial stressed

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Political and Economic Planning, 'Racial Discrimination in Britain' (London, 1967).

<sup>87</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 19 April 1967.

that ‘The *Daily Mirror* has never believed that legislation is the complete answer. Racial discrimination cannot be eradicated from people’s minds and hearts by Act of Parliament...**It will end only when every citizen in the land is able to outlaw it in his own heart**’.<sup>88</sup> With anti-racism laws passed, the newspaper resumed its focus on changing the attitudes of its readers by giving publicity to the growing number of social-science studies. The obligation to maintaining social order was placed at the feet not of immigrants, but of the white Britons who read the *Daily Mirror*.

The *Daily Mirror*’s support for 1965 Commonwealth Immigration Act did not end its campaign against racism. While a commitment to the Labour Party and anxieties about the opinions of its readers lead to its editorial position shifting, other contributors and sections of the newspaper produced writing which pushed a progressive line. Reflecting King’s support for Jenkins, emphasis was given to the liberal instincts of certain Labour MPs rather than the more ‘pragmatic’ approach of Wilson.<sup>89</sup> The newspaper continued to emphasise the extent to which racism still affected the lives of black and Asian people in Britain. In doing so, it gave a prominent voice to the various organisations and researchers who increasingly produced studies into the experiences of immigrants. Many of these studies had been produced as a result of Labour Party’s support for community relations initiatives.<sup>90</sup> While the Labour’s official policy often placed the maintenance of harmony over the defence of equality, the *Daily Mirror* had by 1967 began to challenge this idea. As the newspaper’s support for Wilson would deteriorate in 1968, and as King continued to support the ascension of Jenkins into leadership, it would take a more progressive line against racist legislation.

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> Joshi and Carter, ‘The role of Labour in the creation of a racist Britain’, p. 55.

<sup>90</sup> Saggat, *Race and Public Policy*, p. 60-81; Dennis Dean, ‘The Race Relations Policy of the First Wilson Government’, pp. 266-272.

‘Black Verses White’: Enoch Powell’s ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech and the threat of racial violence.

An editorial response to the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill marked a significant evolution in the newspaper’s ideological position on racism and immigration. With the terse headline ‘*MIRROR* – ON IMMIGRATION’ it argued that the controls introduced in 1962 and modified in 1965 did not meet the ‘suddenly and drastically changed circumstances of 1968’.<sup>91</sup> Classifying the potential migration of 200,000 Kenyan-Asians as an ‘uncontrolled flood’, the editorial called for the re-framing of policy in response to new circumstances. Despite the alarmist tone concerning Asian immigration, the article emphasised the need to honour the ‘pledge’ Britain had afforded the Kenyan-Asians by granting them passports. Rather than denying those escaping Kenya, it called for their acceptance within a wider, restructured, network of immigration controls.

Immigration legislation, the *Daily Mirror*’s editorial argued, should restrict black and Asian settlement to a ‘reasonably sustainable’ level within ‘the capacity of schools, housing and social services to absorb them’.<sup>92</sup> In a break with previous editorial comment, the fact the potential immigrants were ‘coloured’ was *explicitly* highlighted as the main reason for concern. The editor wished to ‘be clear’: ‘we are talking about colour as well as numbers. This is a colour question with all the human, emotional and practical problems that the colour confrontation urgently poses’.<sup>93</sup> Having mentioned the ‘colour confrontation’, the editorial then referred—once again—to the September 1958 article which followed the summer riots. By representing immigration restrictions as being essential to the prevention of disorder and

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<sup>91</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 25 February 1968.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

violence in British communities, the *Daily Mirror* had come to define anxieties about immigration in reference to race.

Following this logic, the editorial tempered its call to honour the citizenship of Kenyan-Asians with calls to ‘halt or halve’ the number of non-Kenyan Commonwealth immigrants granted access to Britain. To justify these exclusions while emphasising the rights of Kenyan-Asians, it framed the proposed restrictions as necessary actions against the immigration of ‘bogus relatives’ and those being smuggled into the country.<sup>94</sup> This argument ignored the fact relatives of Asian people already in Britain had every right to enter the country. Increased powers to deport illegal immigrants were said to be necessary in order to avoid the risk of ‘bitterness and colour prejudice’ spreading across the country. When Labour outlined its immigration policy later in the month, another editorial described its restrictions as ‘painfully necessary’.<sup>95</sup> While Conservative efforts to restrict immigration had been described as a ‘disgrace’, the editor stressed Harold Wilson was ‘entitled to public acknowledgment of the courage’ for Labour’s 1968 restrictions.<sup>96</sup> Editorial support for the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bill marked the newspaper’s continued support for Labour. As Mirror Corp had bought the *Daily Herald*—Britain’s traditional pro-Labour newspaper—in 1964, Cudlipp and King perhaps felt an increased obligation to act as a voice of support for the party at a difficult time.<sup>97</sup> The newspaper’s editorial response marked the logical conclusion of the *Daily Mirror*’s dedication to preserving British tolerance, even at the cost of the rights of black and Asian migrants. As such, the newspaper highlighted the complex relationship between concepts of race and tolerance.

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 29 February 1968.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Greensdale, *Press Gang*, p. 145-155 .

The *Daily Mirror*'s support for the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act was reflected in its extensive coverage of the 'Kenyan-Asian crisis' as it developed throughout February of that year. Front-page news headlines referred to 'frantic' Asians 'besieging' airports and 'flooding' into Britain before the policy deadline.<sup>98</sup> While an editorial criticised the Wilson government for responding too quickly with its legislation, the newspaper again justified the ideological basis of the policy.<sup>99</sup> All contributors to the *Daily Mirror* did not share its editorial approval for Labour's immigration policy. George Gale, who had replaced William 'Cassandra' Connor as the newspaper's key opinion columnist, provided an entirely different analysis of the policy. As will be noted in the following chapter, Gale had previously been crucial to the *Daily Express*'s development of a racist discourse based on the cultural inferiority of black immigrants. In this case, comparing Labour's policy to that of the oppressive Kenyan state, Gale argued the policy was 'essentially racist' and the objections to Asian immigration were not based on their potential effect on public services, but due to objections to their 'colour and their race'.<sup>100</sup> He characterised the government's policy as pandering to public opinion rather than the needs of Kenyan-Asians and the ability of Britain to accommodate them.<sup>101</sup> While the *Daily Mirror*'s editorials had cited practical reasons for its support of government policy, Gale argued principle should be placed before unjustified fears about the effect of Asian immigration. While Gale's anxieties about government controls were based primarily on their illiberal nature, the fact an individual with such different ideals from the rest of the newspaper's staff was granted such a prominent position demonstrates the variety of voices the newspaper could represent.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 24 February 1968; 26 February 1968; 28 February 1968.

<sup>99</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 1 March 1968.

<sup>100</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 26 February 1968.

<sup>101</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 27 February 1968.

<sup>102</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 4 March 1968.

*Daily Mirror* feature articles also offered an alternative framing of events. Moving away from the political debate Asian migration had precipitated; they instead focused on the experience of the migrants themselves. Recounting the journey to England of an Indian family fleeing Kenya, a Spotlight investigation by Sally Moore called them ‘STRANGERS IN THE UNKNOWN MOTHERLAND’ and stressed both their right as British passport holders to enter Britain and their lack of alternatives.<sup>103</sup> Another critical Gale column and this feature—both published in the same issue—offered an alternative portrait of Kenyan-Asians; not as immigrants ‘flooding’ into the country, but as refugees claiming the rights their citizenship guaranteed them.<sup>104</sup> *Daily Mirror* articles highlighted the responsibility of the British government to these passport-holding migrants, and emphasised the heavy human cost of denying them their rights.

Just a few months after the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act, the controversy surrounding Tory MP Enoch Powell’s infamous ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech once again prompted the *Mirror* newspapers to alter their position towards racism and immigration. The fallout from the ‘Rivers of Blood’ speech received blanket coverage in the *Daily Mirror*, with early reports focused on the cross-party condemnation and alienation of Powell for ‘exacerbating racial tensions’.<sup>105</sup> However, an editorial highlighted the emptiness of the Tory party’s dismissal of Powell in the context of its opposition to the 1968 Race Relations Bill. In doing so, the editor claimed, the party had pandered to the right and to ‘the fears, ignorance and myopic morality of the Alf Garnetts’. The greatest scorn was left for Powell’s speech

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<sup>103</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 27 February 1968.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 22 April 1968.

itself, which the editor claimed was ‘bursting at the seams with demagogic distortion...inflammatory, bigoted and irresponsible’.<sup>106</sup>

Driving the *Daily Mirror*’s outright condemnation of Powell’s speech was a reassessment of the newspaper’s support for immigration legislation. The most ‘odious’ aspect of the speech, an editorial argued, was how its focus on ‘black-vs-white’ tensions had negated discussions about the economic and social needs of black and Asian citizens.<sup>107</sup> While the editorial supporting immigration controls had clearly stated ‘colour’ was at the heart of the potential problems immigration would pose, it now argued the opposite: blaming the social problems of the country on the national economic crisis rather than on the effect of black and Asian immigration.<sup>108</sup> The 1968 Race Relations Act, it argued, was needed to ensure economic discontent did not manifest itself in racial discrimination.<sup>109</sup> While some voices within the *Daily Mirror* supported Powell—Gale dedicated numerous columns to defending Powell and attacking the Race Relations Acts—they were marginal in comparison to the continued editorial opposition to his language.<sup>110</sup>

Gale had also argued the *Daily Mirror* no longer represented public opinion on the topics of racism and immigration, and a special series of letters pages dedicated to ‘THAT’ speech reinforced this view.<sup>111</sup> According to the articles—dubbed ‘The Great Debate’—the speech brought in one of the heaviest postbags the *Daily Mirror* had ever received.<sup>112</sup> While a selection of letters spoke of the disgust readers felt upon reading Powell’s speech, the editor

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 24 April 1968.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 22 April 1968. Gale, as in his earlier columns, defined his position as ‘liberalism with a small L’ and he opposed any legislation that infringed on the freedom of the public to discriminate. This theme will be analysed in more detail in chapter 6.

<sup>111</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 29 April 1968.

<sup>112</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 24 April 1968.

emphasised that a 40-1 ratio of readers were in favour of Powell's opinions.<sup>113</sup> The bulk of selected letters saw Powell as a defender of free speech, speaking for 'the people'. They, in most cases, cited the rights of white residents to object to immigrants who 'may alter the character' of local communities.<sup>114</sup> A significant portion of letters proposed that those black and Asian people already in Britain should be made to accept the British 'way of life', rather than be accepted on their own terms.<sup>115</sup> The sentiment of the majority of these letters was that politicians—and indeed newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*—had emphasised the rights of others without considering the feelings of 'the British public'.<sup>116</sup>

The support Powell had received from the *Daily Mirror's* readers led to the newspaper re-thinking its own strategies of reporting. Referring to Labour's immigration policies, an editorial argued that restrictions were only the 'negative side' of the Labour's approach and the true challenge was, through the Race Relations Bill, to prove black and Asian people already in Britain had equal rights and opportunities or else face similar violence to that experienced in America.<sup>117</sup> As the *Mirror* newspapers' relationship with the Labour Party was soured after King made a high-profile call for Wilson's resignation in the *Daily Mirror*, the newspaper was no longer under the same pressure to support government policy.<sup>118</sup> Following the ousting of King as chairman, Cudlipp gained increased directorial power of the *Mirror* newspapers and its stance towards race and immigration. Cudlipp would reminisce that the *Daily Mirror's* support for Labour in 1964 marked the end of the newspaper's 'glory decade' after 1954 and this opinion perhaps indicated his eagerness for

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<sup>113</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 25 April 1968.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 24 April 1968.

<sup>116</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 25 April 1968.

<sup>117</sup> *Sunday Mirror*, 7 April 1968.

<sup>118</sup> For a detailed account of King's rebellion and the *Mirror* board's subsequent mutiny against him, see H. Cudlipp, *Walking on Water* (London, 1976), pp. 291-270;

the newspaper to return to its crusading anti-racist stance after years of compromise.<sup>119</sup> After he became chairman of Mirror Corp, he wanted the *Daily Mirror* to become a more ‘intelligent tabloid’.<sup>120</sup> While Labour’s ‘liberal hour’ had been cut short by the anti-immigration sentiment following the Kenyan-Asian crisis, the *Daily Mirror* would build upon the ideas of tolerance it had long held dear to produce an alternative discourse concerning race in the 1970s.

‘This Island Breed’: The Ugandan-Asian crisis and the future of a ‘multi-racial’ Britain.

The support that Powell’s speech had received revealed the deficiency of the *Daily Mirror*’s discourse of British tolerance and public order in defending the rights of black and Asian people. While the newspaper itself was somewhat responsible for representing immigration in a way which encouraged public anxieties about race, between 1969 and 1972 it once again fought to combat many of the ideas which lay behind Powell’s language. In response to a report into racism by the *Institute of Race Relations*, an editorial called for a new approach to the newspaper’s policy that went beyond the limited its concept of tolerance. The report, documented in detail in the same issue, had found only ten per cent of the country to be ‘highly prejudiced’, while seven out of ten were ‘tolerant’.<sup>121</sup> The editor believed ‘tolerance is what comes naturally to the people of Britain,’ but that the persistent disadvantages black and Asian people faced in Britain meant tolerance was not enough.<sup>122</sup> Instead, the new challenge facing Britain was defined as the need to *accept* black and Asian people as ‘fellow citizens’. The editorial suggested that the report highlighted the limits of tolerance, and so a

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<sup>119</sup> Cudlipp, *Walking on Water*, p. 206.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>121</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 10 July 1969. For full study, see Rose, *Colour and Citizenship*.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

new definition of belonging was needed if Britain was to become a harmonious multi-racial society.<sup>123</sup>

In 1970, an issue of the *Daily Mirror* was devoted to an ambitious account of Britain's immigration history, and attempted to offer a multi-racial definition of citizenship and equality. Entitled 'This Island Breed', it included a series of features investigating the crucial role immigration had played in forming modern Britain and Britishness itself.<sup>124</sup> Tony Kushner has argued that the absence of the history of immigration in the national imagination has been a key tool in denying rights to those with non-British ancestry.<sup>125</sup> In attempting to integrate black and Asian immigrants into a history of migration into Britain, these articles played a crucial role in forming a new, inclusive, discourse of Britishness. The first article, 'Who are the British', detailed the experiences of two men with only one thing in common: their Britishness. The author proclaimed 'George Phillip Arden is British'; this was clear as 'he has his own coat of arms and can trace back his ancestry for more than a thousand years' (see Figure 15).<sup>126</sup> Kehar Mankoo Singh, an expellant from East-Africa, was also defined as being British because he 'owned British passport and claimed his birthright last Thursday when he stepped onto the wet grey Tarmac of London's Heathrow Airport with his wife, his mother and four children'.<sup>127</sup> Despite differences in 'philosophy...way of life and...status', both the article opined, 'by virtue of the passports they hold and the society in which they are involved' were 'inescapably countrymen'.<sup>128</sup> These men were not only presented *as* British but, in the words of the article, 'They *are* the British'.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 March 1970.

<sup>125</sup> Tony Kushner, *Remembering Refugees Then and Now* (Manchester, 2006).

<sup>126</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 March 1970.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* Emphasis Mine

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, Emphasis mine.

# Mirrorscope

## WHO ARE THE BRITISH?

**G**EORGE Philip Arden is British. He has his own coat of arms and can trace back his ancestry for more than a thousand years.

Kehar Mankoo Singh is British. He has his own British passport and claimed his birthright last Thursday when he stepped on to the wet, grey tarmac of London's Heathrow Airport with

his wife, his mother and his four children.

Arden's Saxon land-owner ancestors had their problems. They held lands in Warwickshire before the Normans came in 1066. William the Conqueror put an end to their authority, but the family, as old a strain as you will find in all England, survived.

Kehar's difficulties are more contemporary and far more acute. He is an East African-Asian, one

of the 120,000 who have been given notice to quit Africa and who stand now poised on Britain's threshold.

The Ardens, probably the oldest traceable English family in these islands, now hold sway over two acres of land in the stockbroker belt of Surrey. Mr. Arden, a distinguished surgeon, has four daughters, no sons.

As the limb of a family that stred William Shake-

speare's mother, George Arden's solution to the problems of assimilating new blood into the national veins is characteristic: "Time," he says.

"The Normans took over from us Saxons and within a couple of hundred years we were one. Nowadays, the problem is one of colour. It will just take longer."

Kehar Mankoo Singh, a 40-year-old mining engineer who has lived and prospered in Tanzania for twenty years, might agree, academically, that time heals all immigrant wounds. But time is not on his side.

Within hours of his landing at Heathrow, his mother, Jeenan Mankoo Kaur, a widow, was taken to hospital for medical observation. For days the

likelihood of her being deported back to Tanzania has hung in the balance.

Kehar has gone to Leeds and plans to find a job, buy a house and send his children to school.

"I see no problems about settling in," he says. "I feel loyal to Britain. I have held a British passport for thirty years. I can pay for my mother to have treatment."

Divorced as Kehar may be from Arden's philosophy, his way of life and his status, both—by virtue of the passports they hold and the society in which they are involved—are inescapably countrymen.

They are the British.



Briton, Saxon-style . . . Mr. George Arden.



Britons, Asia-style . . . Kehar Mankoo Singh and family arrive at Heathrow

Figure 15: *Daily Mirror*, 3 March 1970. ©Mirrorpix

The feature clearly espoused an understanding of British identity which encompassed both those with long standing British ancestry and the most recent of settlers. It served as a demonstration of how the *Daily Mirror's* changing discourse on racism and immigration reflected what it presented as the continuously developing definitions of citizenship and identity.

A feature article tracing the 'making' of Britain highlighted the role of multiculturalism in forming Britain's modern identity. Telling the story of immigration into Britain from Roman settlement to Commonwealth migration, it portrayed British history as one of the integration different peoples.<sup>130</sup> This point was emphasised with a chart of the non-British-born population of Britain in 1966, which revealed the true extent to which immigration was a consistent part of British life. Despite this, the article concluded no immigrant group had changed the 'essential character of England or of the English' and that those with different cultures eventually had 'give[n] up and bec[a]me Englishmen'.<sup>131</sup> While the previous article defined Singh as British by virtue of his passport, this article suggested immigrants *became* British. The article was accompanied with interviews of immigrants of different ethnicities which reinforced the idea that more than a passport was needed to become British. Said Shah, who emigrated from Campbellpur, Pakistan in 1942, was presented by the interviewer as British not only on the merit of his passport, but his character (see Figure 16).<sup>132</sup> An owner of a successful continental store in Bradford, Said came to England and learnt to speak the native language, cited as a key to his success socially and financially. While his Britishness was presented as uncontested, the conditions behind the reporters granting of this status soon become apparent. In contrast to Said, his wife Imdan

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<sup>130</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 March 1970. An argument supported by the scholarship of Colin Holmes. See. Holmes, *John Bull's Island*.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

was presented as British ‘by marriage and passport’, but she remained ‘totally foreign and exotic, in Pakistani dress’.<sup>133</sup> The features presented two degrees of British identity; the legal and the socio-cultural.

Another article in the series argued that the passport ceased to be an accurate marker of belonging following the limitations placed on immigration throughout the 1960s. Instead, reporter Lorelies Olslager defined immigration to Britain as a ‘WELCOME MAT WITH STRINGS’, with migrants accepted only if they fitted certain criteria.<sup>134</sup> This term could well be used to describe the *Daily Mirror*’s own conception of belonging in Britain in the mid-to-late 1960s. The seemingly secure British identity that the articles initially presented—wrapped in the blanket of citizenship law—were eventually revealed to be much more fluid and conditional. Becoming British was shown to be a process, in which one can become ‘more British’ by mimicking to the ‘essential character’ of British society.<sup>135</sup> At several points across these articles, it was argued that acceptance and time was the only requirement for Britain’s latest migrants to become British.

Throughout the early 1970s, the *Daily Mirror* became more critical of racism and government responses to immigration seen to be hindrances to this processes of integration. To an extent, this reflected the renewed freedom of its staff to critique official policy following the Conservative victory of 1970 elections. An editorial responded to instances of violence against Asians—known as ‘Paki-bashing’—with a call for more legal powers against racism than provided by the limited terms of the 1968 Race Relations Bill.<sup>136</sup> It argued that obligations to Asian citizens had to be honoured if the peaceful future described

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<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>134</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 March 1970.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 10 April 1970.

## WHO ARE THE BRITISH?

Estimated immigrants from White Commonwealth (1966 census)	Estimated coloured Commonwealth immigrants and their British-born children, 1966	Estimated Alien-born people living in Britain (1966 census)
AUSTRALIA 127,000	WEST INDIANS 455,000	EUROPEANS & RUSSIANS 634,000
CANADA 92,000	INDIANS 231,000	UNITED STATES 99,000
NEW ZEALAND 698,000	PAKISTANIS 121,000	ASIANS (including Turks & Israelis) 50,000
MALTA 92,000	OTHER ASIANS 80,000	AFRICANS 44,000
GIBRALTAR 92,000	WEST AFRICANS 55,000	SOUTH AFRICA 42,000
IRISH REPUBLIC 698,000		SOUTH & CENTRAL AMERICA 18,000



THE NEWCOMERS: How the numbers of immigrants to Britain add up.

# WELCOME MAT WITH STRINGS

by LORELIES OLSLAGER

**A**BOUT one in every twenty five people now living in Britain was born abroad.

Of these immigrants, nearly three-quarters are white and about one third were not even born in the Commonwealth.

In fact, under present regulations, more aliens than Commonwealth citizens get permission to work here each year.

Britain has played host to people of many races and creeds in the past, and has wholeheartedly disliked most of the newcomers before assimilating them.

What is new in the present situation is that a large group of immigrants are distinctly set apart by the colour of their skin and therefore attract special

hostility. They are branded as foreigners even if they were born and bred in Britain.

Coloured immigrants and their British-born children are now estimated to total about 1,300,000. The various steps taken since 1962 to bring down the yearly influx of coloured newcomers from its peak of more than 100,000 in 1961 really began to bite last year.

The total number of work vouchers available to Commonwealth immigrants nowadays is 8,500 a year. Only 4,010 were taken up in 1969, although 23,000 dependants came to join their fathers and husbands here, some 16,000 less than in 1968.

Immigration control affects

the old Commonwealth countries—Australia, Canada and New Zealand—as well, and on average those take up only some 300 work vouchers a year.

On the other hand, between 16,000 and 20,000 Australians, New Zealanders and Canadians arrive annually as "long-term visitors". All but a handful of these have to leave after the maximum permissible stay of three years.

Perhaps the most privileged group of immigrants are the Southern Irish, whose admission to Britain is not restricted at all.

Allens, too, and it comparatively easy to come here. But their work permits are subject to annual review for four years and restrict them to one specific job.

In 1968, more than 70,000 aliens were let in for a period of twelve months or more, including 22,000 on work permits as well as unspecified numbers of students, an pair with their business people.

Not all of these will stay in Britain for good—on average only about 16,000 a year qualify for uncontrolled residence after the four-year trial period. Only between 3,000 and 5,000 become naturalised each year.

Among recent alien immigrants, Italians, Spaniards and Americans form the largest individual groups, followed by the French and Germans.

But the majority of the 300,000 foreign-born people counted by the 1968 partial census came here from Europe in the 1930s and 1940s and have become an integral part of this country, even if some of them never bothered to become British citizens.



## Decline and fall

**I**n the proud old days of the Empire, the citizens of this country generously shared the title of British Subject with all the Sovereign's people overseas, irrespective of race.

Not that a humble African or Asian could expect gunboats to be sent out on his behalf, but in theory Britain aimed at a truly world-wide citizenship.

The idea died, however, with Britain's decline as a world power, and got its first decisive knock in 1947 when it was agreed that each independent Commonwealth country should define its own citizenship. Everybody remained a "British subject," but now he was an Australian, Canadian, Indian or Pakistani first.

Then Britain created the status of "Citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies" for those born or naturalised in this country and what remained of its colonies.

So the term "British Subject" was gradually replaced by the denomination "Commonwealth Citizen." In 1962 the title lost its most important aspect—complete freedom of access to this country—when Britain restricted the number of Commonwealth immigrants.

**N**ow admitted to Britain, a Commonwealth citizen enjoys all the freedoms, including the right to work and live where he likes and the right to vote. But he retains his original citizenship and in order to become a U.K. national, he has to be over twenty-one years and to have lived in this country for five years.

Some 21,000 Commonwealth citizens were naturalised in 1969, including 2,179 Indians, 2,396 Pakistanis, 2,375 Jamaicans and 1,595 Cypriots.

Britain has gone back on her original obligations by limiting Commonwealth immigrants, she certainly gave an even rougher deal to people such as the East African Asians who are full-blooded U.K. nationals.

She didn't deprive them of their citizenship or passports, but what happened is that there are now two classes of U.K. nationals. Those free to come and go as they please because they were born or naturalised here or had at least one grandparent with such links to this country; and those who are only allowed to come in restricted numbers because they took up U.K. nationality abroad.

# US by THEM

**O**LD England remains the model country of equilibrium, financial ability, diplomatic skill and patriotism.—*Michel Debra, French Foreign Minister, 1968.*

BRITAIN is a humbled toothless bulldog.—*A. M. Simbezi, Zambian High Commissioner, 1967.*



BRITAIN'S back is broken. There are still the appearances, the customs, the Royal traditions, the English institutions, but all that does not count. The leaders are weak kneed.—*President Charles de Gaulle, 1968.*

THE British Nation will therefore be considered as the most valuable ally in the world.—*Adolf Hitler, 1934.*

**I** ONLY knew one Japanese in and said he wanted to be an honorary member of the Honourable British Empire. We sent him off to a doctor as we suspected he was raving mad.—

English army officer, Burma, 1948.

**T**O BE an Englishman is to belong to the most exclusive club there is.—*Ogden Nash, the 67-year-old American poet.*

THEY are like their own beer: froth on top, dregs at the bottom. The middle excellent.—*Voltaire, French philosopher, 1694-1778.*

**S**ILENCE—a conversation with an Englishman.—*Heinrich Heine, 1797-1856.*

ENGLAND is a nation of shopkeepers.—*Napoleon Bonaparte, THE Britons, wholly cut off from the world.—Virgil, Roman poet (70-19 B.C.).*

IN England there are sixty different religions and only one sauce.—*Prince Francesco Caraccioli, 1752-1796.*

**I**T IS my royal and imperial command... that you address all my soldiers to exterminate the treacherous English and to walk over General French's contemptible Blue army.—*Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, August 1914.*

THE refusal of the British and Russian peoples to accept what appeared to be inevitable defeat

was the great factor in the salvage of our civilization.—*Gen. George C. Marshall, Sept. 1945.*

AN English lady on the Rhine, hearing a German speaking of her party as "foreigners," exclaimed: "No, we are 700 foreigners we are English; it is you that are foreigners."—*Ralph Waldo Emerson, American writer, 1803-1882.*

**T**HE whole strength of England lies in the fact that the enormous majority of the English people are sheeps.—*C. B. Snow, 1858-1950.*

**T**HIS little speck the British Isles? This but a freckle, never mind it.—*Oscar Wendell Holmes, American poet, 1809-1894.*

A SMALL boy with diamonds is no match for a large burglar with experience.—*Life Magazine cartoon on Britain's victory in the Boer War, Nov. 1900.*

YOU'll always be fools: we shall never be gentlemen.—*German naval officer to an English one, 1919.*

ALL Perfidious England.—*Jacques Bossuet, French divine, 1627-1704.*



Figure 16: Daily Mirror, 3 March 1970. ©Mirrorpix

in 'This Island Breed' was to become a reality. A subsequent feature article focused on the results of a Gallop Poll investigation of the attitudes of young people towards black and Asian people. While the report revealed the majority of people aged fifteen to nineteen were accepting of immigrants, and that nearly fifty percent saw no difference between white and black Britons at all, it also revealed that 'Paki-bashing' was reflective of a general suspicion of Asian immigrants.<sup>137</sup> In response to this report, and that of the *Community Relations Committee* into relations with immigrants in schools, an editorial argued that maintaining good relations between young white, black and Asian people was 'the real challenge of the 1970s' and the key to avoiding Britain becoming a 'divided nation'.<sup>138</sup> All Britons, white or non-white, had to learn to become 'unconscious' of colour by accepting each other and sharing their cultures.<sup>139</sup> Integration was defined by the newspaper as a two-way process, and it believed multiculturalism should be respected.

As well as emphasising the importance of more concrete action to improve community relations in areas with high proportions of black and Asian people, the *Daily Mirror* also called for politicians to accept more responsibility for those that had been restricted by the policy of the 1960s. The political commentary of the early 1970s revealed not only the newspaper's distaste for Conservative Governments, but also disillusionment with the failure of Labour's liberal policies. A feature article by John Pilger criticised politicians for failures to protect Asians in Kenya, and documented the terrible conditions they faced.<sup>140</sup> Depicted as 'starving quietly' while the government failed to honour their valid passports, Asians in the country were represented as victims of a humanitarian crisis Britain

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<sup>137</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 27 April 1970.

<sup>138</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 24 June 1970.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>140</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 April 1971.

needed to respond to.<sup>141</sup> A feature article on the Conservatives 1971 proposals for a new Commonwealth Immigration Bill was equally critical. The ‘CLAMP DOWN’, the article argued, treated Commonwealth citizens like ‘aliens’ by including a clause meaning only those with at least one grandfather born in Britain would be granted entry, thus excluding the vast majority of would-be black and Asian migrants.<sup>142</sup> An editorial argued that the exclusive nature of the bill ‘could increase racial tension in Britain’ by completely abandoning the privileges of Commonwealth citizenship.<sup>143</sup> This position reflected both the newspaper’s renewed dedication to citizenship rights and its persistent reliance on references to the threat of domestic order in its promotion of anti-racism.

The *Daily Mirror*’s discourse of open British identity and political responsibility to Commonwealth citizens came under increasing strain following the expulsion of Asians from Uganda in 1972. Ugandan-Asian refugees had valid British passports and so sparked another debate about whether they should be granted entry into Britain. While in 1968 the *Daily Mirror* had been non-committal to the rights of Kenyan-Asians, its response to the Ugandan crisis demonstrated the change in its perspective in the early 1970s. An editorial recognised the public concern over Ugandan-Asian immigration, but argued that anxieties had been exaggerated and exploited to justify further restrictions to immigration. It criticised Conservative responses and argued Britain had both a legal and moral responsibility ‘not to turn away helpless people whom we promised to protect’.<sup>144</sup> Advocating the acceptance of Ugandan refugees, it called for readers to accept their ‘peaceful absorption’ by acknowledging their status as British citizens.<sup>145</sup> By focusing on the need to ‘absorb’

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 3 February 1971.

<sup>143</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 25 February 1971.

<sup>144</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 1 September 1972.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

immigrants, the newspaper used the Ugandan expulsion to reaffirm its belief in integration as an essential response to a political and social dilemma.

In order to combat the fears the editor believed were responsible for protests against Ugandan-Asian immigration, feature articles were again used to fight the ‘myths’ which underlined prejudiced attitudes. A feature on crime statistics sought to ‘explode...the myth of race and crime’ by demonstrating how police reports marked Asians as law-abiding citizens gradually integrating into British society.<sup>146</sup> Another article focused on the plight of helpless Asian refugees from Uganda who, before expulsion, held valuable jobs and had many skills to offer Britain.<sup>147</sup> Using the same tactics tried and tested throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the *Mirror* newspapers of the early 1970s continued to fight racism by exposing it and challenging the ideas behind it.

In 1972, Keith Waterhouse, who had returned to the *Daily Mirror* to replace George Gale as Cassandra’s successor in 1970, recalled his interventions against racism (or ‘the colour bar, as we quaintly called it’) over the previous twenty years.<sup>148</sup> He argued that the *Daily Mirror*’s response to the Ugandan expulsion reflected the attitudes he had fought against during those years, and suggested the ‘anti-immigration’ ideas used to justify the restrictions of the last decade were the same as those used to justify racial discrimination in the 1950s.<sup>149</sup> His column highlighted the survival of the *Mirror* newspapers’ anti-racist ideology. After 1969, the *Daily Mirror* was facing increasing pressure from its new rival the *Sun*.<sup>150</sup> Cudlipp felt a profound sense of regret for selling the *Sun*—which had been devised as a replacement for *Daily Herald*—to Rupert Murdoch and admitted to King in 1971 that the

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<sup>146</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 September 1972.

<sup>147</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 14 October 1972.

<sup>148</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 30 October, 1972.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>150</sup> For an account of this rivalry, see Greensdale, *Press Gang*, 245-306.

competition had forced the *Daily Mirror* to 'lower [its] standards'.<sup>151</sup> The *Daily Mirror*'s coverage of race and immigration in this period demonstrated a renewed sense of integrity and an obligation to inclusive definitions of Britishness. At a time when public opinion was increasingly opposed to further immigration and race relations legislation, and the *Daily Mirror* was facing increasing competition, this was a bold position for Cudlipp and his staff to take.

### Conclusions.

Despite the dilemmas the *Mirror* newspapers faced throughout the 1960s, they retained their crusading stance on racism. By the 1970s, the *Daily Mirror* supported a modified, bold and thoughtful definition of Britishness in the face of growing public resentment about the formation of a multicultural British society. As the following chapter will show, in comparison to other popular newspapers like the *Daily Express*, this engagement with what citizen rights and British identity meant after a period of sustained black and Asian immigration was significantly progressive. In adopting a mature approach to discussing British identity, as evidenced by articles by John Pilger and the 'Who Are the British' series of 1970, the newspaper had gone beyond its remit of employing sensationalism as a form of 'mass education'. The more serious stance taken by the newspaper demonstrated how the *Daily Mirror*, famous for its irreverent and sometimes crude language, was increasingly committed to serious journalism and commentary in the early 1970s, despite fears that it had lowered its standards in order to compete with the *Sun*.

The failure of the *Mirror* newspapers to defend the rights of black and Asian citizens in the face of racist political legislation demonstrated the limits of popular newspapers'

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<sup>151</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, HC 212 Hugh Cudlipp to Cecil King, 12 October 1971.

ability to navigate the varying and often contradictory influences that informed their content. The *Daily Mirror*'s need to continue to appeal to audiences meant it had to respond to their increasingly vocal opposition to immigration. King and Cudlipp's belief that their newspapers had a responsibility to support the Labour Party, also limited their ability to criticise immigration law. Ultimately, the Race Relations Act had always been the ambition of the crusade against the colour bar and so, despite the compromises the *Daily Mirror* made, it had maintained its support for what would become unpopular legislation (as will be demonstrated in the following chapters).

The crusade against the colour bar had always rested on the need for British citizens to honour the tolerant reputation of their country. As historians have recognised, tolerance itself is a problematic concept which by no means ensures equality.<sup>152</sup> Tolerance and liberalism, often the concepts at the centre of the *Daily Mirror*'s opposition to racism, can be used to justify exclusion and to offer rights to people conditional on their capacity to be *tolerated*. Following these concepts, the *Daily Mirror* came to accept immigration restrictions as an essential part of creating an environment in which tolerance could be maintained. However, the *Mirror* newspapers had demonstrated an awareness of the limits of tolerance and instead used the concept as a tool in leading public opinion. In the early 1970s, moreover, it demonstrated a renewed commitment to modifying and expanding the limits of tolerance to incorporate black and Asian people as equals. As the following chapters will show, this demonstrated a far more sophisticated engagement with concepts of tolerance and race than that by the *Daily Express*.

When Cudlipp left the *Daily Mirror* in 1972, his task remained uncompleted. In later years, he resented what had become of popular journalism and in particular the *Daily Mirror*

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<sup>152</sup> See Williams, *The Antisemitism of Tolerance*; Kushner, *The Holocaust and the Liberal imagination*.

itself, which he believed had been ‘disembowelled’ by sensationalism and a lack of respect for privacy.<sup>153</sup> Between 1953 and 1972, despite the dilemmas the *Daily Mirror* faced and the limitation of its concept of tolerance, Cudlipp and his staff had attempted a bold intervention into popular attitudes towards race that demonstrated the true potential of tabloid newspapers.

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<sup>153</sup> Bute Library, University of Cardiff, Cudlipp Papers, HC 432 Hugh Cudlipp to Edward Heath, 31 October 1996.

## Chapter 5

### 'Vanishing' Britain: Immigration, Empire and white Britishness in the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*, 1945-72.

This chapter analyses the definitions of citizenship, belonging and Britishness represented in the *Sunday Express* and *Daily Express*, between 1945 and 1972. Both newspapers had long supported the British empire and perceived it to be an extended community of white Britishness driven by a hierarchical racial order.<sup>1</sup> In fitting with the conservative ideology of their proprietor Lord Beaverbrook, they supported the idea that British society should be balanced by the maintenance of racialised imperial relations.<sup>2</sup> As the dominance of Britain and its white dominions was questioned by a protracted period of postwar imperial decline, colonial independence and black and Asian migration, the newspapers increasingly raised concerns about the social, political and cultural effect of immigration. In response both to these anxieties and the development of British immigration legislation in the 1960s, they consistently challenged the rights of black and Asian migrants and settlers while privileging the position of white Britons and white colonial citizens. This supports Bill Schwarz's claims that concepts of imperial rule and white dominance played a key role in the construction of

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<sup>1</sup> The newspapers first ever editorial asserted that 'Our policy is patriotic; our party is the British Empire', *Daily Express*, 24 April 1900.

<sup>2</sup> For a wider discussion of conservative and Conservative anxieties about imperial decline and the maintenance of traditional institutions, see John Darwin, 'Imperialism in Decline? Tendencies in British Imperial Policy Between the Wars', *The Historical Journal*, 23, 3 (September, 1980), pp. 657-679

postwar British identities and that whiteness became an increasingly powerful marker of privilege in Britain.<sup>3</sup>

The concept of tolerance the *Express* newspapers communicated to their readers was limited and dependent upon the privileging of white British rights. The newspapers challenged the idea that white Britons were obligated to accept and tolerate black and Asian people, and reinforced a sense of exclusively-white belonging and Britishness. While they maintained a commitment to the Commonwealth and open citizenship laws between 1945 and the late 1950s, their conception of imperial relationships was defined by the separation of black and Asian people from the white metropole. The very presence in Britain of racial others was characterised as disruptive and threatening to the position of white people. The *Daily Express*'s response to immigration contrasted significantly with that of the *Daily Mirror*. Whereas the *Daily Mirror* believed Britain's future would be multicultural and attempted to modify concepts of British identity to reflect this, the *Express* newspapers reacted against social change and immigration.

Throughout the late-1950s and 1960s, the *Express* newspapers consistently associated immigrants with outbreaks of violence and socio-economic problems in Britain. As the number of black and Asian dependents migrating into Britain grew throughout the 1960s, the newspaper demonstrated a renewed sense of alarm about the effect they would have on traditional British culture which was perceived to be defined by a common white ancestry. The newspapers supported restrictive immigration legislation in the early-to-mid-1960s and opposed the Labour Government's 1965 and 1968 anti-racist laws by denying the public's responsibility to support equality. This policy provided another strong contrast with the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Daily Express*'s refusal to accept it was the public's responsibility to tolerate

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<sup>3</sup> Schwarz, ' "The Only White Man in There" ', p. 65; Schwarz, *The White Man's World*.

black and Asian people put it in opposition to Cudlipp and his staff. When hundreds of thousands of Asians were made refugees by the policies of the Kenyan and Ugandan governments in 1968 and 1971 respectively, the *Express* newspapers neglected humanitarian concerns in favour of alarmist supporting a ‘vanishing’ white British culture under siege from black and Asian ‘outsiders’.

The variety of personalities, ideologies, commercial interests and presentation styles that informed the content of the *Express* newspapers played a key role in shaping their response to racism and immigration. As both were owned by influential proprietor Lord Beaverbrook, they reflected his pro-empire stance towards the political, social and cultural developments of the postwar period. The presentation of his newspapers was shaped by editors and journalists, who adopted a linguistic style constructed to appeal to and inspire a mass audience through human interest stories and political journalism. The way in which the *Express* newspapers wrapped up their conservative and racialised ideologies in popular, often sensationalist language defined their portrayal of black and Asian people. Argumentative editorials, human interest and investigative feature articles, news coverage and reader correspondence were utilised in a way which reinforced the anti-immigration stance dictated—sometimes literally—to the newspaper’s staff by Beaverbrook.

#### The structure, ideology and production of the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*.

The political ideology of the *Express* newspapers can be attributed to Beaverbrook and, from 1964, his son Max Aitken.<sup>4</sup> Arthur Christiansen, editor of the *Sunday Express* (1926-33) and the *Daily Express* (1933-57), admitted that, while he was heavily influential in developing

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<sup>4</sup> Beaverbrook’s son, Max Aitken, wrote in 1964 that his father death wouldn’t ‘make any different to the *Express* newspapers. They will continue with the same policies. I will be the head of them’. *Daily Express*, 10 June 1964.

their modern format and style, ‘his [Beaverbrook’s] was the policy’.<sup>5</sup> John Junor, editor of the *Sunday Express* (1954-86), also had a very close relationship with Beaverbrook and shared his affection for ‘rugged imperialism’.<sup>6</sup> Even after 1964, Junor felt his core responsibility as editor was to uphold his late-proprietor’s policies and beliefs.<sup>7</sup> Beaverbrook himself suggested his newspapers were used for ‘propaganda purposes’ and was known for distorting the truth to fit his policy.<sup>8</sup> This policy was unashamedly focused on supporting the continuation of Britain’s imperial ‘destiny’ while opposing the formation of a European Common Market.<sup>9</sup> His dedication to traditional, imperial ideals was symbolised by the shackles added to the crusader logo on the front pages of the *Express* newspapers during the period of Common Market negotiations throughout the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>10</sup> While Beaverbrook broadly supported the Conservative Party, his newspapers would often oppose leading Tory figures and showed a general suspicion of political elites imposing their policies on an unwitting public. The Conservative Party’s consistent involvement in European negotiations, for example, provoked the ire of Beaverbrook and during the 1951 and 1961 general elections the *Express* openly criticised them.<sup>11</sup> It was a ‘highly independent and

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<sup>5</sup> Arthur Christiansen, *Headlines All My Life* (Surrey, 1961), p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> John Junor, *Listening for a Midnight Tram* (London, 1990), p. 60. See also Alan Watkins, ‘Junor, Sir John Donald Brown (1919–1997)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Under Junor’s editorship, the newspaper stuck to a specific formula which merged the ideology of the *Daily Express* with a more feature-oriented approach which focused on tales of derring-do and entertainment coverage.

<sup>7</sup> Junor, *Listening for a Midnight Tram*, p. 166.

<sup>8</sup> Beaverbrook revealed to the royal commission on the press in 1949 that he enforced his un-wavering support for empire free trade on his staff and ensured his newspapers’ continued popularity only in order to increase their use as propaganda tools. See A. J. P Taylor, *Beaverbrook* For an example of the unreliability of Beaverbrook’s own writing, see Peter Fraser, ‘Lord Beaverbrook’s Fabrications in Politicians and the War, 1914-1916’, *The Historical Journal*, 25, 1 (1982), pp. 147-166.

<sup>9</sup> For accounts of Beaverbrook’s pro-empire campaigns, see; A. J. P Taylor, *Beaverbrook*; Jerry Calton, ‘Beaverbrook’s Split Imperial Personality: Canada, Britain, and the Empire Free Trade Movement of 1929-1931’, *Historian*, 7, 1 (1974), pp. 26-45; Rod Brookes, ‘Everything in the Garden is Lovely: Representations of National Identity in Sidney Strube’s *Daily Express* Cartoons of the 1930s’, *Oxford Art Journal*, 13, 2 (1990), pp. 31-43.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Allen, *Voice of Britain: The Inside Story of the Daily Express* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 83-106.

<sup>11</sup> James Thomas, *Popular Newspapers, the Labour Party and British Politics* (London, 2005), p. 34-40.

critical conservatism’, rather than support for the Conservative Party, which shaped *Express* policy.<sup>12</sup>

Christiansen recognised immigration was an issue ‘absorbing to most people’ and his stylistic management influenced the sometimes sensationalist coverage of its perceived impact on the lives of white Britons.<sup>13</sup> This reflected his modelling of the newspaper as both an escape and self-help guide for the ‘great unknowns’ of Britain’s industrial towns.<sup>14</sup> He was regarded to be a man whose ‘finger was on the nation’s pulse’ and attributed his newspaper’s success to its ability to represent public opinion in a clear and attention-grabbing way.<sup>15</sup> The *Express*’s successful commercial image depended on privileging and defending the rights of this imagined community of white readers. It also relied on maintaining its image as an independent and classless newspaper with a socially diverse readership.<sup>16</sup> This commercial approach was combined with the pro-empire and eventually anti-immigration policies of Beaverbrook, which were imposed upon Christiansen and his staff. The press baron’s determination to maintain his influence was further evidenced when he reportedly removed Christiansen as editor, in response to the claim made by Francis Williams that the latter was almost equal to the former in their control over the *Express* newspapers.<sup>17</sup> The later editors of the *Daily* and *Sunday Express*, meanwhile, were generally too numerous and transitory to be said to have had lasting effect on their newspapers policy.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> D. Griffiths ed. *The encyclopaedia of the British press, 1422–1992* (1992), p. 154; House of Lords Records Office, Beaverbrook Papers, BBK/H/162, Christiansen to Max Aitken (First Lord Beaverbrook), 4 June 1957.

<sup>14</sup> Christiansen, *Headlines All My Life*, pp. 2-4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 135-137.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, *Paper Voices*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>17</sup> Allen, *Voice of Britain*, p. 91. Williams claimed that Christiansen had ‘stamped his personality on the *Daily Express* only a shade less indelibly than Beaverbrook himself’, Francis Williams, *Dangerous Estate: The Anatomy of Newspapers* (London, 1957).

<sup>18</sup> Acting as editor of the *Daily Express* only for four years (1958-1961), Edward Pickering appeared to have little individual influence as he had worked with and supported Christiansen during his editorship and largely sought to continue his legacy, Allen, *Voice of Britain*, pp. 91-6. Derek Marks (editor 1966-1971) was the only

While this chapter uses correspondence from Beaverbrook to illustrate the racist policy imposed on the *Express* newspapers, Christiansen's memoirs offer an illuminating glimpse into the complex formation of policy and presentation informed by daily staff meetings, editorial sessions and constant phone calls to and from Beaverbrook.<sup>19</sup> While his account demonstrates the extent to which many of the decisions and ideas that shaped the content of the *Daily Express* are invisible to historians, it also highlights the collaborative atmosphere that existed despite Beaverbrook's overarching influence. While the *Express* newspapers likely attracted those journalists who shared its ideology, this collaborative atmosphere ensured varied stylistic methods were used to communicate it.<sup>20</sup> The tabloid style of the *Express* newspapers ensured the consistency of their commentary on black and Asian immigration across editorials, news coverage, feature articles and reader correspondence. The attitudes and styles of influential contributors such as George Gale, Robert Pitman, Enoch Powell, and Chapman Pincher influenced how the newspapers communicated their policies and anxieties concerning immigration.<sup>21</sup> While editorials drove the policy of the *Express* newspapers and were shaped by their proprietors, news reports and feature articles would build awareness of both the 'hot topics' the newspapers chose to focus on. When reader correspondence was published, it was used to portray the British public as being fully supportive of their policy and campaigns.

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other editor of the period to hold their position for over two years. His political correspondence background may have, as will be mentioned later, led to a somewhat more political focus after 1965. During a troubled editorship however, his ability to handle the popular aspect of the newspapers presentation was questioned, leading to his ultimate departure from the newspaper. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-121.

<sup>19</sup> For a detailed and colourful account of this exhaustive (and exhausting) daily process, see Christiansen, *Headlines All My Life*, pp. 113-134.

<sup>20</sup> During his time as a temporary leader writer for the *Daily Express*, Junor observed that the newspaper attracted journalists who believed in its policy and that those who didn't—such as Hugh Cudlipp—either held little independence over their writing or quickly exited the staff. See Junor, *Listening for a Midnight Tram*, p. 60.

<sup>21</sup> In particular, Pitman was granted polemic freedom in his *Express* columns. See Smith, *Paper Voices*, p. 172.

The *Express* newspapers interpreted social changes in the 1950s and 1960s in a way that represented the anxieties of their staff and imagined audience. As such, the ‘ideal’ reader—as constructed and portrayed in editorials, features and correspondence pages—held an ‘unquestioning belief that Britain’s traditions have been proved the best’ and was willing to defend their privileges against outsiders.<sup>22</sup> The anxieties the newspapers expressed reflected the racist philosophy of Beaverbrook, itself rooted in ideas of empire and traditions of imperial hierarchy. In order to both reinforce their racist ideology and maintain their image as newspapers with their fingers on the nations pulse, they represented their own views on racism and immigration as an ‘assumed consensus’.<sup>23</sup> In doing so they constructed a racially exclusive definition of British identity assumed to be accepted by the public.

‘No Colour Bar in the Empire’: Prejudice at Home and Abroad.

The *Express* newspapers supported Britain’s continued Commonwealth influence, but their belief in an imperial racial order limited the extent to which they supported the rights of black and Asian citizens. As growing international disapproval of colonialism in the postwar years marked a ‘transitional moment in representations of...empire’, Beaverbrook had to balance a definition of the Commonwealth as an ‘equal partnership’ with the racial hierarchy which he believed was central to its traditional administration.<sup>24</sup> The *Express* newspapers’ defence of the empire in the postwar period depended on reinforcing characterisations of the British as a tolerant people engaged in the ‘splendid, continuing adventure in human service ...of empire’.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>23</sup> This phrase is borrowed from Allen, *Paper Voices*, p. 176.

<sup>24</sup> Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, p. 56-58. John Darwin argues that the anti-colonialist perspective of the newly dominant USA and USSR, in tandem with nationalist movements across the Empire heavily informed post-war representations of, and relations with, the Commonwealth. See John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World* (Basingstoke, 1988).

<sup>25</sup> Racial discrimination across the Commonwealth was attacked by the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express* as a threat to the practical and diplomatic management of empire rather than as a moral injustice. By focusing on international racism, they also concealed the existence of prejudice within Britain.

The earliest attacks against discrimination in the *Daily Express* involved sport, the arena which could be said to most literally represent British ‘fair play’. Sports columnist Frank Butler spearheaded the newspaper’s anti-racist commentary by criticising boxing officials for refusing to allow West Indian immigrant Randolph Turpin to fight for the British title.<sup>26</sup> Arguing that the officials were out of touch with British opinion, sports columnist John MacAdams responded to further examples of discrimination in boxing by suggesting no colour bar existed ‘in the minds of [the] British’.<sup>27</sup> Accounts of African students being unable to find accommodation, black delegates being excluded from Commonwealth conferences, white workers striking against the employment of West Indians and discrimination in hotels, received far more limited coverage.<sup>28</sup> In these cases, it was often groups deemed as ‘un-British’—such as communists and foreign colonials—who were blamed for prejudice towards black people.<sup>29</sup>

Discrimination itself was criticised not because of the human suffering it caused, but because of its effect on the functionality of Commonwealth relations. Strikes against black workers were represented as disrupting the profitable flow of ‘good workers’ into Britain and discrimination against Commonwealth students and delegates was seen as damaging to

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<sup>25</sup> *Daily Express*, 2 June 1961. Holmes has also argued that tolerance lay at the centre of the ‘Commonwealth ideal’, and that its hollowness was uncovered by subsequent restrictions to black and Asian immigrants. See Holmes, *A Tolerant Country?*, p. 13.

<sup>26</sup> *Daily Express*, 20 March 1947; 3 July 1947.

<sup>27</sup> *Daily Express*, 20 March 1947.

<sup>28</sup> *Daily Express*, 22 April 1952; 7 December 1953.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Britain's reputation at a time when South African racism attracted the international community's attention and disapproval.<sup>30</sup> As racial discrimination was said to be an international issue, the responsibility of the British public was ignored. A small feature article about an Adenese immigrant reinforced this by documenting the friendly welcome he had received in Sheffield and suggested prejudice within Britain was 'imagined'.<sup>31</sup>

When discrimination was covered in editorials and feature articles, its classification as a Commonwealth issue was further reinforced. 'Harmonious relations' between black and white people were identified as essential to maintaining stability in British dependencies such as Kenya and Bermuda. In 1954 both the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express* ran a 'Save Africa' campaign which defined the colour bar as 'a dangerous obstacle to Empire progress'.<sup>32</sup> John Redfern's feature articles claimed that every black Kenyan he had met suffered prejudice and the biggest challenge facing the Commonwealth's future was controlling this 'wide-spread and destructive' force.<sup>33</sup> An editorial cited 'a total abolition of all discrimination....[and] toleration and equality between colour and colour' as the only solution to the tensions in Kenya. Discrimination itself was defined as 'a shameful blot on the British Empire....[and] a cancer that must be rooted out'.<sup>34</sup> Highlighting the need for colonial cooperation, and the 'tolerant' influence of British rule, became a key political tool as the country faced a difficult and internationally criticised conflict with nationalist Mau Mau forces. Similarly, a feature about racism in South Africa identified apartheid as the policies of nationalists like Dr Malan and Johannes Strydom and argued that continued British influence

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<sup>30</sup> An editorial called for need for 'tolerance throughout industry' to maintain strong Empire economy, *Daily Express*, 24 August 1954.

<sup>31</sup> *Daily Express*, 6 November 1954.

<sup>32</sup> *Daily Express*, 23 February 1954.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Daily Express*, 13 July 1954.

was essential to the protection of black South Africans.<sup>35</sup> British tolerance, enforced through British control, was represented as an ideological solution to very real political, diplomatic and social tensions across the Commonwealth.

By equating the rise of apartheid with the decline of British influence abroad, the *Express* newspapers used the ideal of British tolerance in a very symbolic and polemic way. Relations in Africa were used to emphasise the extent to which Britain *was* historically tolerant. References to this reputation could then be used to reinforce the argument for the continuation of British influence. The perceived decline in British cultural and ideological authority was represented in a simplistic and symbolic feature article that referred to a ‘Nie Blanks’ (No-Whites) sign which a reporter discovered in South Africa.<sup>36</sup> By equating prejudice with the increased usage of the Afrikaans language, the report characterised tolerance—alongside the English Language—as a British cultural trait under threat.

Immigration itself was considered by the *Daily Express* to be a threat to the administration and maintenance of the empire. The landing of the *Empire Windrush* and its West Indian passengers in 1948 was viewed with some alarm by the newspaper, as it symbolised a perceived imbalance in the imperial economy. While the editor called for the Minister of Labour to ‘welcome’ the West Indians, he was also troubled that their ‘fertile’ country-of-origin had to ‘export workers, instead of the food and raw materials of which the British people are desperately in need’.<sup>37</sup> A feature article by James Cameron highlighted the need to improve Jamaica’s economy to avoid further emigration.<sup>38</sup> Immigration was considered to be a colonial issue. The editorial response to *Windrush* also demonstrated an

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<sup>35</sup> *Daily Express*, 19 February 1954.

<sup>36</sup> *Daily Express*, 23 December 1954. In a similar manner, a feature about author Alan Paton and his writing about South Africa also highlighted the danger of discrimination and argued that ensuring equality was the only way to prevent ‘revolution’ across the Commonwealth. See *Daily Express*, 4 Jan 1955.

<sup>37</sup> *Daily Express*, 9 June 1948; 17 June 1948.

<sup>38</sup> *Daily Express*, 22 October 1948.

editorial conception of imperial relations based on the movement of British people to the colonies, and of goods from the colonies into Britain. The newspaper responded to black immigration with suspicion, calling the *Windrush* a ‘shipload of worry’ for British politicians and its West Indian passengers as ‘unwanted’ and ‘problem’ people.<sup>39</sup> While celebrating the ‘British tradition...of hospitality’ as a vital component to the country’s reputation, the *Daily Express*’s response to black immigration suggested its conception of empire relied essentially on the maintenance of ‘fertile’ lands with a ‘loyal’ black workforce providing for a white metropole.<sup>40</sup>

Examples of discrimination continued to be reported in news coverage, but were rarely accompanied with editorial commentary. Both the refusal of hospital staff to work with Barbadian immigrant nurses and the boycott against black bus conductors in West Bromwich in 1955 were criticised as ‘shameful’ acts of ‘intolerance’. The bulk of coverage, however, concerned the economic and social disruption this discrimination had caused.<sup>41</sup> Racism within Britain did not become a key concern to the *Express* newspaper until the Nottingham and Notting Hill ‘race’ riots of 1958 recaptured their front pages and editorial columns.

While the *Daily Express* criticised the racist motivations behind the 1958 riots, it also used them as an excuse to portray black and Asian immigration itself as disruptive to British society. Initially, editorials emphasised how the events had ‘disturbed the public’ and highlighted the need to ‘amicably absorb’ the thousands of ‘hard working and well behaved...coloured immigrants’.<sup>42</sup> As the violence escalated the editor referred to the riots as ‘an ugly and vivid scar drawn across the face of London’ and the result of ‘the postwar flood

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<sup>39</sup>*Daily Express*, 9 June 1948; 21 June 1948; 22 June 1948.

<sup>40</sup>*Daily Express*, 31 October 1948.

<sup>41</sup>*Daily Express*, 1 March 1955; 9 March 1955.

<sup>42</sup>*Daily Express*, 27 September 1958.

of immigrants from Britain's territories overseas'.<sup>43</sup> A feature focusing on Blenheim Crescent in Notting Hill, following similar logic, argued that 'RACE HATE' was 'the problem we [have] inherit[ed]' from a decade of black immigration.<sup>44</sup> Immigration was represented as subverting the distance between 'colonial' spaces and the British domestic community by bringing the problems of South Africa to '[our] doorsteps'.<sup>45</sup>

These articles reflected Beaverbrook's own opinion concerning how the *Daily Express* should respond to the riots. He had advised editor Edward Pickering to read Lord Salisbury's letter about immigration in the *Times* and, while 'not quite going along with [it]', follow a line 'somewhat like it'.<sup>46</sup> Salisbury's letter had emphasised his 'apprehension' concerning the 'results, economic and social...that are likely to flow from the unrestricted entry of men and women of the African race into Britain'.<sup>47</sup> As-per Beaverbrook's request, the *Daily Express* did not *quite* follow this line, but made very similar inferences. An editorial that argued hospitality and tolerance were the answer to the 'tension and uncertainty' surrounding immigration was criticised by Beaverbrook, and an alternative editorial was published two days later 'following closely the line [he had] set out'.<sup>48</sup> This editorial shifted focus from commenting on domestic racism to discussing international immigration legislation. Emphasising the restrictions in place against the entry of 'poor white' Britons into Jamaica, the editorial implied that if Commonwealth countries would not mimic Britain's unrestrictive entry requirements it should close its doors to immigrants of

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<sup>43</sup> *Daily Express*, 1 September 1958.

<sup>44</sup> *Daily Express*, 2 September 1958.

<sup>45</sup> *Daily Express*, 1 September 1958.

<sup>46</sup> House of Lords Records Office, Beaverbrook Papers BBK/H/196, Beaverbrook to Edward Pickering, 4 September 1958.

<sup>47</sup> *The Times*, 2 September 1958.

<sup>48</sup> *Daily Express*, 3 September 1958; Beaverbrook Papers BBK/H/196 Charles Winton to Edward Pickering cc Beaverbrook, 6 September 1958.

low 'prestige'.<sup>49</sup> While retaining a commitment to an open British citizenship, the editorial revealed Beaverbrook's concept of equality to be reliant on the maintenance of British economic and social privilege in the Commonwealth. As this declined in the 1960s, so would the newspaper's commitment to the rights of black and Asian people.

'No Need to Let Them In!': Delegitimizing the Rights of Black and Asian Immigrants.

By delegitimizing the rights of black and Asian immigrants in the 1960s, the *Express* newspapers revealed and reinforced the exclusive idea of domestic belonging at the heart of their conception of empire and Britishness. Following the Suez crisis of 1956-7 and the declining influence of the Colonial Office over government policy, their campaign for a close-knit, free market and British-dominated Commonwealth was becoming increasingly unrealistic. As their support for the rights of black and Asian Commonwealth citizens had been largely dependent on their utility to Britain's domestic and international health, the increasingly swift decline of empire warranted an equally significant shift in editorial policy. Increasingly, black and Asian people would be represented as an unwanted hangover from Britain's past and a social and culturally alien and disruptive presence.

Initial responses to the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act in the *Express* newspapers criticised its restriction of immigration for 'abandon[ing] the Empire as a dynamic political creed'.<sup>50</sup> A cartoon depicted both the act and the establishment of the Common Market as a bomb destroying the Commonwealth.<sup>51</sup> However, as the newspaper's support for open immigration laws had been conditional on free access of Britons and British

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<sup>49</sup> *Daily Express*, 4 September 1958. This editorial closely resembled Beaverbrook's own notes which stressed that 'barriers should not exist in the rest of the Empire'. See Beaverbrook Papers, BBK/H/196, Beaverbrook to Edward Pickering, 3 September 1958.

<sup>50</sup> *Daily Express*, 27 January 1961.

<sup>51</sup> *Daily Express*, 16 November 1961; 17 November 1961.

goods to all Commonwealth countries, the 1960s saw a gradual change in editorial policy towards migration. The *Daily Express*'s objections to the legislation were centred on its high profile campaign against Britain's entry into the European Common Market. Britain's acceptance of the Treaty of Rome in October 1961 could potentially have given new rights of entry into Britain to European citizens. Corresponding limitations to open Commonwealth migration were interpreted as a retreat from empire and a key step in entering the Common Market.<sup>52</sup> The newspaper showed little sympathy to the *victims* of the new measures: black and Asian people. While an editorial insisted that Irish citizens, described as 'assets' to the British labour market, be left out of the immigration restrictions, no such plea was made on behalf of black and Asian citizens.<sup>53</sup> The *Daily Express* supported an immigration system conditional on the usefulness of potential migrants.

By 1961, Beaverbrook believed limiting immigration into Britain was 'the basics of Empire' in a period when Commonwealth countries had little to offer other than 'refugees....going straight to the national insurance'.<sup>54</sup> While he did not want the *Express* newspapers to 'give prominence' to this opinion—likely due to their pro-empire stance—his position clearly influenced its subsequent responses to black and Asian immigration.<sup>55</sup> An editorial celebrating the 'absorption' of millions of immigrants throughout the 1950s insisted it was the 'Nation's right' to 'control the flow of people into her borders' when economic hardships arose. It suggested immigrants who had little to contribute to the economy should

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<sup>52</sup>The index to Beaverbrook's archives reflect his passion for his anti-Common Market campaign, which dominated the editorial line of the *Express* newspapers throughout 1961 and 1962 and argued that entry into Europe would spell the 'end of Empire', See *Daily Express*, 5 June 1961 . While touching on immigration, the campaign focused on the effect of Common Market agreements on British trade and farming. The most prominent example of its anti-Common Market campaign was its opposition against the Tories in 1962 over the Common Market issue. For an example, see *Daily Express*, 4 June, 1962. For a historical assessment of Beaverbrook's anti-Common market influence see Taylor, *Beaverbrook*; R. J. Lieber, *British Politics and European Unity: Parties, Elites and Pressure Groups* (California, 1970), pp. 218-226.

<sup>53</sup> *Daily Express*, 17 November 1961.

<sup>54</sup> Beaverbrook Papers, BBK/H/214, Max Aiken to Beaverbrook, 3 January 1961.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

be restricted in order to ‘prevent social conditions from developing which could be troublesome’.<sup>56</sup> While not denying the citizenship of Commonwealth immigrants, the editor implied the *Daily Express* now supported a limited definition of their right of entry into Britain.

Feature articles and news coverage also reflected Beaverbrook’s concerns about the negative effect of Commonwealth immigration. A feature telling the story of a Caribbean immigrant entering Britain with only ‘£3 and a lucky charm’ portrayed the nine hundred Jamaican immigrants who had entered Britain that week as heading for ‘already crowded’ districts with ‘no home....no job...[and] only the hope of being found one tomorrow’.<sup>57</sup> In the wake of outbreaks of smallpox across Britain, Pakistani immigrants were also portrayed in a negative light as the Commonwealth Immigration Act was being passed. The outbreak, largely and somewhat justifiably blamed on poor health regulations for Pakistani immigrants, was argued to be a sign of the need for increased controls of Asian immigrants.<sup>58</sup> Subsequent coverage of black and Asian immigrants ‘rushing’ into Britain to ‘beat the closing door’ imposed by the act emphasised their supposed lack of arrangements concerning accommodation and jobs.<sup>59</sup> While the *Express*’s coverage was almost entirely focused on its campaign against the Common Market, black and Asian immigrants were no longer seen as useful newcomers, and now appeared to be outside of the *Express*’ definition of the economic and social ‘assets’ of empire.

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<sup>56</sup> *Daily Express*, 31 January 1961.

<sup>57</sup> *Daily Express*, 1 June 1961. In October, 1961, a feature covering another group of 900 Jamaican also emphasised the lack of available jobs for unemployed West Indian immigrants, *Daily Express*, 16 October 1961.

<sup>58</sup> *Daily Express*, 16 January 1962. James Hampshire argued that the perceived increased risk of Pakistanis carrying smallpox was justified when airport tests were eventually carried out, uncovering a number of cases of the disease in immigrants from the country. See James Hampshire, *Citizenship and Belonging: Immigration and the Politics of Demographic Government* (London, 2005), Chapter 6.

<sup>59</sup> *Daily Express*, 25 June 1962; 30 June 1962; 2 July 1962.

The end of British negotiations with Common Market countries in 1963, and the death of Beaverbrook in 1964, allowed the *Express* newspapers to more openly support tighter restrictions against Commonwealth immigration, introduced by the 1965 Labour Government. By 1965 the 'right' to limit immigration was re-classified as the 'duty' of any nation wishing to protect 'the welfare...and social surroundings of those who are already here', against 'a great and growing flood of immigrants'.<sup>60</sup> The once criticised Commonwealth Immigration Act was now described as 'totally inadequate' in solving the 'problem' of black and Asian immigration.<sup>61</sup> Opinion columnist Robert Pitman, meanwhile, suggested that a 'great majority of all classes' now believed a complete pause to immigration was needed and celebrated the Smethwick election for making politicians aware of the public's fears concerning immigration.<sup>62</sup>

Rather than providing an extended commentary on immigration restrictions in 1965, the *Daily Express* portrayed them as representing a public and political consensus about who belonged in Britain. Reinforcing this assumption, the key feature article used to outline support for restrictions was written by Labour MP Maurice Edelman. Echoing the newspaper's editorial position, Edelman argued that black and Asian people entering the country rarely offered special skills or qualifications and were unwanted.<sup>63</sup> Another feature written by Edelman called for a 'Full stop!' on immigration in order to prevent growing numbers of black and Asian people creating a 'two-nation system' by introducing racially segregated yet influential minority cultures into British cities.<sup>64</sup> This strategy strengthened the

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<sup>60</sup> *Daily Express*, 11 March 1965.

<sup>61</sup> *Sunday Express*, 21 March 1965.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Daily Express*, 30 March 1965.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

newspaper's own position that support for immigration restrictions was motivated by 'common sense' rather than political motivations.<sup>65</sup>

Having failed to protect the rights of black and Asian citizens against immigration restrictions, the *Daily Express* also attacked Labour's 1965 Race Relations Bill. When its measures were outlined in Labour's 1964 manifesto, an editorial warned against any legislation 'imperil[ing] freedom of speech and the liberty of the individual'.<sup>66</sup> It suggested that discrimination was often based on objections to the 'behaviour' of black and Asian people rather than their 'race' and could not be outlawed.<sup>67</sup> Instead of enacting anti-racist legislation, another editorial suggested the government should rely on the 'good sense of the nation' to avoid racism.<sup>68</sup> News coverage of the bill focused on those Tory criticisms which fell most closely in line with the newspaper's own objections. Special emphasis was given to Conservative MP Peter Thorneycroft's argument; that the law was a threat to the public's freedom and Labour should trust 'friendly, sensible British people'.<sup>69</sup> An editorial response to Tory protests warned the bill could 'create a tendency towards racial prejudice where none exists at present' by granting a 'state of privilege' to black and Asian people, that would inspire the resentment of white Britons.<sup>70</sup> By denying the existence of racism, the newspaper could reinforce the privileges of white Britons and challenge efforts to provide an official balance to increasingly well-documented cases of discrimination across the country.

The *Daily Express* portrayed both anti-racist legislation and the establishment of black and Asian communities in Britain as a threat to white privilege. In response to this, the

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<sup>65</sup> *Daily Express*, 30 March 1965.

<sup>66</sup> *Daily Express*, 10 October 1964.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Daily Express*, 4 May 1965. In making this argument, Thorneycroft had actually read an excerpt from the previous day's edition of the *Daily Express* in parliament.

<sup>70</sup> *Daily Express*, 29 April 1965.

editor suggested ‘a firm control of immigration’ was the best way to improve the situation of ‘the most intelligent...happily settled’ black and Asian people already in the country.<sup>71</sup> Any further ‘imposition’ on white Britons—either through immigration or legislation—was opposed. Following a similar argument, Robert Pitman claimed that, if ‘racial troubles’ were to break out in Britain, the politicians behind the Race Relations Bill would be responsible. He blamed Labour for creating tensions by allowing black and Asian immigrants to ‘flood into Britain’, and suggested that hostility could only be avoided by halting immigration completely.<sup>72</sup>

Harsher language was reserved for the added teeth given to the Race Relations Bill in 1968. Political debate prior to these amendments prompted a *Daily Express* editorial to argue that the law was ‘absurd, dangerous...[and a] menace to liberty’, while halting immigration, and even encouraging repatriation, would be a better solution to Britain’s ‘racial troubles’.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, the protection of minority rights was represented as threatening to British culture itself. A feature article investigating the effect of the bill suggested ‘entirely alien’ cultures would be legally protected and, in the process, be ‘stitched into the fabric of the British way of life’.<sup>74</sup> Anti-racist laws were said to not only be the source of resentment, but a force that could ‘invariably change the shape of an existing society’.<sup>75</sup> An editorial accompanying the feature suggested the laws, in effect, would ‘alter the character of British life without the approval of the British people’.<sup>76</sup> This reinforced the extent to which Britishness was characterised by the *Express* as being exclusively white. The focus of the coverage and

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> *Daily Express*, 18 October 1966.

<sup>73</sup> *Daily Express*, 11 August 1967; 2 September 1967.

<sup>74</sup> *Daily Express*, 9 April 1968.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Daily Express*, 10 April 1968.

commentary of the *Express* was on the private rights of white Britons to protect themselves from ‘alien and sometimes revolting’ cultures.<sup>77</sup>

‘The Year of Enoch’: The Kenyan-Asian Crisis, Enoch Powell and the ‘balance’ of British society.

The *Express* newspapers used concepts of racial difference, white British cultural superiority, and a special emphasis on growing migration figures to justify the calls they made throughout 1968 to completely halt black and Asian immigration. They used the conceptual tools established in the years before to construct a racialised discourse which found its political embodiment in the language of Enoch Powell and in the public support that his racist language received. The *Daily Express*’s response to the expulsion of Kenya’s Asian population in 1968 and the Commonwealth Immigration Bill of the same year highlighted the extent to which its coverage had come to be defined by racist assumptions.

While some consider the refusal of Kenya’s Asian population’s right to enter Britain as ‘the most shameful piece of legislation ever enacted by Parliament [and] the ultimate appeasement of racist hysteria’, the *Daily Express* believed the Government did not go far enough, and called for a complete end the immigration of Asian people into Britain.<sup>78</sup> It represented Kenyan-Asian refugees as a direct threat to British society. An alarmist front page headline proclaimed ‘WE CAN’T KEEP THEM OUT’, while an editorial the same day described the migrants as a ‘floodtide of immigrants to [this] overcrowded island’.<sup>79</sup> The implications of Asian immigration were pointed to in another front page article about the ‘strain’ the ‘rapid build-up of coloured immigrant communities’ had supposedly caused in

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> Randal Hansen made this assertion in reference to the position of several contemporary Labour and Conservative MPs as cited in Kenneth O. Morgan, *Callaghan* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 307-310. See Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in Postwar Britain*, p. 153.

<sup>79</sup> *Daily Express*, 29 February 1969.

Birmingham.<sup>80</sup> These articles, encapsulating fears that the newspaper had reinforced since the mid-1960s, were accompanied by a cartoon which depicted the road from a London airport crammed with stereotypically-portrayed Asians—one even riding an elephant—heading into Britain while a police officer is helpless to do anything in fear of being labelled ‘anti-racial’.<sup>81</sup> The image perfectly captured the newspaper’s sense of alarm over immigration and its threat to white British culture and privileges.

Rather than defending the rights of Kenyan-Asians, the newspaper saw them as a threat to British society and culture and, in a feature article by Ronald Jones, an ‘avalanche which could give this country a colour problem just as great as America’s’.<sup>82</sup> Reporting his experiences in Kenya, Jones argued that the Asians had been an ‘unwanted’ presence whose cultural background threatened the emerging, Africanised, dominant culture.<sup>83</sup> Showing a complete disregard for the human plight of Asian refugees, the oppression they faced was said to have been the result of ‘their own conduct and that of their ancestors’.<sup>84</sup> Their entry into Britain, it was argued, would bring a similar ‘indelible pattern on the life of this country’. Jones implied that Kenyan-Asians would pose a similar threat to British culture which would leave to the same kind of violence and social tension as seen in Kenya.<sup>85</sup>

Blaming innocent victims of violence for the conditions they faced because of their ‘difference’ was entirely in line with the past arguments against immigration and anti-racist legislation made by the *Express* newspapers. An editorial the following month reflected Jones’s sentiments by claiming that the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Sunday Express*, 18 February 1968.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

result of ‘Americans cruelly importing Negro slaves’.<sup>86</sup> Implying ‘would-be “liberals”’ had done similar ‘damage’ by attracting black and Asian immigrants, the editor blamed the violence black people had suffered at the hands of white racists. The nationalist and racist implications of these articles did not mark a sharp, sinister new direction for the *Daily Express*’s coverage, but instead drew upon and reinforced racist discourses the newspaper had been constructing since at least the 1950s.

When the controversy and public debate surrounding immigration reached new heights following Enoch Powell’s infamous speech in 1968, the *Express* newspapers again demonstrated their support for racist discourse. Indeed, the newspaper itself had played an important role in constructing, reinforcing and disseminating the concepts and ideals which gave Powell’s speech its resonance. Powell had been given a public forum for his racist language in the *Sunday Express* in 1967. Junor had been eager to enlist Powell as a columnist for months, feeling his views reflected the feelings of the newspaper and its audience.<sup>87</sup> Referencing growing numbers of black and Asian children and dependants and anxieties about threats to British culture, Powell’s feature article fell closely in line with the *Express*’ own discourse.<sup>88</sup> Powell used statistics that Britain’s ‘coloured’ population would reach five million by the end of the twentieth century in his feature to argue pre-1962 immigration laws were concocted in a ‘fit of absent-mindedness’ which had ‘wholly avoidably’ landed Britain with ‘a race problem of near-American dimensions’.<sup>89</sup> Junor reminisced that features such as this has played a key role in Powell’s campaign to ‘woo’ certain newspapers into supporting

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<sup>86</sup> *Sunday Express*, 3 March 1968.

<sup>87</sup> Powell had, in fact, previously refused to write in the newspaper because he believed Beaverbrook was an ‘evil man’ and only accepted to pen articles following the press baron’s death. Junor’s persistence in recruiting Powell demonstrated the extent to he felt the Conservative MP’s stance on immigration the newspaper’s policy. Junor, *Listening for a Midnight Tram*, pp. 165-168.

<sup>88</sup> *Sunday Express*, 9 July 1967.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

his position in the months before his *Rivers of Blood* speech.<sup>90</sup> His willingness to facilitate Powell's ambitions and communicate the racist rhetoric of his articles and speeches demonstrated the ever-hardening anti-immigration stance of the *Express* newspapers.

Powell's opinions were also communicated in the *Daily Express* following a speech he delivered in February 1968, which was said to support the opinion of 'practically everyone in Britain'.<sup>91</sup> Supporting the claims made both in the speech and in Powell's 1967 feature, an editorial called for government action to avoid 'the bitter conflicts which have scarred America' and which, it argued, would be the inevitable result of 'squeezing great numbers of Asians, Africans and West Indians into one of the world's most over-crowded countries'.<sup>92</sup> When Powell delivered the *Rivers of Blood* speech in April 1968, the *Daily Express* presented his views as representative of public opinion by publishing its own reader poll in which 79% of those interviewed supported Powell.<sup>93</sup> Letters were also published in a way that suggested the majority of the newspaper's readership felt he spoke for them.<sup>94</sup> The letters suggested the newspaper's readership had responded to its racialised discourse, with writers referring to the perceived threats immigration posed to 'national survival' itself.<sup>95</sup>

The *Daily Express* celebrated the Tory's renewed support for immigration restriction following Powell's removal from the opposition government. A cartoon showed Conservative leader Ted Heath 'paying attention to what the British....are worried about'

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<sup>90</sup> Junor said that Powell sent copies of his speeches to many editors and was very eager to have his thoughts on political matters such as immigration communicated to newspaper audiences. Junor, *Listening for a Midnight Tram*, p. 166.

<sup>91</sup> *Daily Express*, 12 February 1968.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Daily Express*, 24 April 1968.

<sup>94</sup> *Daily Express*, 26 April 1968. Only two out of the five hundred letters the *Daily Express* received disagreed with Powell on the topic of immigration.

<sup>95</sup> *Daily Express*, 24 April 1968.

while writing a new immigration policy.<sup>96</sup> Using these tactics, the *Express* newspapers portrayed its own racist discourse as representing a public and political consensus of ‘good sense’, united in support for the ideology of the *Rivers of Blood* speech.<sup>97</sup> Naming 1968 ‘THE YEAR OF ENOCH’, the *Sunday Express* argued that, despite his removal from Government, he had been ‘the undisputed catalyst of British politics’.<sup>98</sup>

#### ‘The Immigrant’s Empire’: ‘Illegitimate’ Immigration and the Ugandan-Asian crisis.

Having represented black and Asian immigration into Britain as unwanted and potentially dangerous, the *Express* newspaper started to place emphasis on examples of illegal immigration into Britain. Doing so further delegitimized the rights of black and Asian people to enter Britain and sometimes characterised immigration itself as a criminal ‘empire...built on fraud’.<sup>99</sup> Examples of black and Asian people acting upon their previously held rights of entry were seen as threatening to domestic British culture. When the Ugandan government expelled its Asian population in 1972, these fears would drive the newspapers to launch a campaign to deny them entry into Britain. Doing so cemented the newspaper’s complete departure from its narrative of empire or Commonwealth equality, and reinforced its discourse of white British privilege against the ‘disruptive’ force of culturally different Asians.

Consistent news coverage of illegal attempts to enter the country represented the immigration ‘industry’ as a ‘cloak and dagger’ world which was difficult to control.<sup>100</sup> A 1970 feature article warned that ‘800,000 PEOPLE WHO SHOULDN’T BE HERE’ could

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<sup>96</sup> *Sunday Express*, 22 September 1968.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> *Sunday Express*, 17 November 1968.

<sup>99</sup> This phrase was used to describe the fraudulent property industry established by an illegal Barbadian immigrant. *Daily Express*, 20 November 1969.

<sup>100</sup> *Daily Express*, 30 October 1970.

potentially have illegally immigrated into Britain since 1962 and ‘all the while...[could have] been marrying and having children’.<sup>101</sup> The newspaper’s fears about a hidden and growing illegal immigrant population were followed up by a series of feature investigations. Chapman Pincher—a journalist known for uncovering shocking revelations through his investigations into Britain’s security services—wrote reasonably frequently about the extent of illegal immigration.<sup>102</sup> A feature article, about the ‘alarming loopholes [and] incredible blunders’ which allowed ‘crooks’ to bring immigrants into the country illegally, argued that these activities masked the true extent to which Britain’s black and Asian population was rising.<sup>103</sup>

Pincher’s follow-up feature classified illegal immigrants as ‘VISITORS WHO NEVER GO HOME’.<sup>104</sup> It revealed the exclusive details of ‘Home Office officials [who] lean[ed] over backwards to enable coloured people to remain in Britain – when they have no right to do so’.<sup>105</sup> Alongside cases where black and Asian people entered Britain on business, or as students, only to reside permanently, special emphasis was given to cases of marriage and childbirth undertaken with the sole intent of gaining residency in the country.<sup>106</sup> Tying into fears about the growth of immigrant families, these documents were used to support the argument of Enoch Powell that ‘irreversible’ damage was being done by allowing the black and Asian population to grow by covert means.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Daily Express*, 21 October 1970.

<sup>102</sup> Pincher had most famously ‘uncovered’ the extent of Soviet infiltration into the West’s security services such as MI5 in his best-selling book *Their Trade Is Treachery*, Allen, *Voice of Britain*, pp. 148-9.

<sup>103</sup> *Daily Express*, 11 February 1971.

<sup>104</sup> *Daily Express*, 22 November 1971.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> A *Daily Express* editorial had highlighted these concerns months before. The publication of Home Office records demonstrates a concerted effort to support Powell’s claims and the anti-immigration implications of his argument. See *Daily Express*, 16 February 1971. A similar expose of the illegal immigration ‘industry’ was published in November 1971 and included exclusive interviews with ‘immigrant smugglers’. See *Daily Express*, 29 November 1971.

The *Express* newspapers used the concept of black and Asian immigrants having no legitimate right to enter Britain to attack government plans to fulfil their obligations to the British passport-holding Asians expelled from Uganda in 1972. Conservative MP Angus Maude wrote in the *Sunday Express* that accepting Ugandan-Asian passports would be tantamount to ‘blackmail’ and would have a ‘disastrous [and] potentially explosive...moral effect in Britain’.<sup>108</sup> Agreeing with Maude, *Daily Express* editorials warned against allowing Britain to become a ‘vast refugee camp’ and, in a sensationalist and front page feature by Chapman Pincher, argued there was ‘NO NEED TO LET THEM IN’.<sup>109</sup> This feature suggested Ugandan-Asian passports did not, in fact, give them a right of entry and that ‘international’ pressure was influencing government decisions.<sup>110</sup>

The *Daily Express* also used its arsenal of racist discourse to delegitimize the rights of Ugandan refugees. A feature article collecting reader correspondence was used to portray the public as a neglected majority suffering so an ‘invasion of alien coloureds’ could be accommodated.<sup>111</sup> The letters focused on accounts of unemployed white Britons struggling to find jobs, accommodation, quality education or hospital beds while immigrants were allowed entry and welfare in the ‘overcrowded’ Britain.<sup>112</sup> A *Daily Express* reader poll published the following week reinforced its confidence in representing its readership when it revealed that only 6% of respondents felt Ugandan-Asians should be allowed into the country.<sup>113</sup> By syncing the voice of the public with its own, it sought to speak for a white British public under siege, and at breaking point, at the hands of their ‘masters in Whitehall’.<sup>114</sup> By referring

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<sup>108</sup> *Sunday Express*, 13 August 1972.

<sup>109</sup> *Daily Express*, 7 August 1972; 25 August 1972.

<sup>110</sup> *Daily Express*, 25 August 1972.

<sup>111</sup> *Daily Express*, 26 August 1972.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Daily Express*, 1 September 1972.

<sup>114</sup> *Daily Express*, 5 September 1972.

to Britain as the immigrant's 'empire', and its leaders the public's 'masters', the *Daily Express* used language associated with colonialism and slavery. It implied immigration had reversed the traditional racial and imperial order of empire. In doing so, they portrayed white Britons as victims and privileged their anxieties and rights over refugees and migrants who shared a common citizenship.

The racist response of the *Express* newspapers to black and Asian immigration was laid bare when they again took up their pro-empire cause in the early 1970s. The newspapers responded to proposed changes to the legal status, and right to enter Britain, of white dominion citizens with crusading zeal. The campaign to reinforce Britain's commitment to Commonwealth countries was started by owner Max Aitken in September 1972 but referred not to Ugandan-Asians or any black or Asian citizen, but rather 'our cousins in Australia, New Zealand and Canada'.<sup>115</sup> Representing Old Commonwealth citizens as 'people of British stock', the campaign objected to laws that limit their entry to Britain. Aitken's 'crusade' sought to protect the rights of those the newspaper believed 'belonged' in Britain by virtue of their 'shared ancestry'.<sup>116</sup> A subsequent editorial also upheld 'the rights of our people' by arguing that the 'old Commonwealth' was 'quite simply an extension of the British race overseas' and any restrictions against them were examples of 'appalling discrimination'.<sup>117</sup> Using such language, the campaign clearly demonstrated that 'race' was central to the *Express* newspapers' definition of belonging and their subsequent conception of who was entitled to the rights of Commonwealth citizenship. On the launch day of the 'crusade for our friends', a report was published about the recently released figures of Britain's 1,650,000 black and Asian population and the social stresses their presence were

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<sup>115</sup> *Daily Express*, 17 November 1972.

<sup>116</sup> *Daily Express*, 16 November 1972.

<sup>117</sup> *Daily Express*, 18 November 1972.

believed to cause.<sup>118</sup> The editor, meanwhile, argued that it was ‘nonsensical’ to compare the rights of white Commonwealth citizens with those of Asians. Its opinion was clear: those who were white were represented as part of the ‘British race’, while those who were black or Asian were portrayed as culturally alien, unwanted and dangerous precisely because of their ‘race’.

In both the *Daily Express*’s editorials and the multitude of published letters to the editor, appeals were made to defend the rights of those ‘old’ Commonwealth citizens who had fought and died for the empire. At a time when the citizenship rights of black and Asian citizens—who had in the past suffered and died both at the hands of, and on behalf of, the British empire—were being questioned regularly by the *Express* newspapers, such a position stands out as pure hypocrisy. It also revealed the racist assumptions at the heart of their concepts of empire citizenship and belonging. A small report into Ugandan-Asian migration into Birmingham had argued the ‘tragedy’ of immigration was that ‘old England was vanishing’ as Asian people entered it.<sup>119</sup> This sentiment defined the racially exclusive definition of Britishness the *Daily Express* maintained into the 1970s at the same time the *Daily Mirror* was offering its most bold challenge to traditional concepts of identity. The newspaper’s response to black and Asian immigration—and its representation in the country’s second largest popular newspaper—was defined by a racist discourse which was consistently adapted and reinforced between 1945 and 1972.

### Conclusion.

While the *Daily Mirror* found its ideology under serious threat by Enoch Powell and the public support he received, the racist ideology of the *Express* newspapers was only

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<sup>118</sup> *Daily Express*, 17 November 1972.

<sup>119</sup> *Daily Express*, 26 September 1972.

strengthened by his references to white British communities threatened socially and culturally by black and Asian people. It had established its own similar discourse not only in response to post-war immigration, but in perennial references to Britain's imperial past. Even as West Indians entered the country on the *Empire Windrush*, the welcome the newspaper extended was conditional and based on the assumption that 'forms of authority' which had been shaped by empire and its racial hierarchy would continue into the postwar world.<sup>120</sup> As the empire, and subsequently the Commonwealth continued its rapid decline into the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the *Express* newspapers continued to appeal to the privileges of white British authority which had defined it. While the *Daily Mirror* sought to communicate to its readers a new and open conception of post-war Britishness, the *Express* newspapers clung to an imagined past and sought to provide a rationale for its readers to maintain the system of white privilege even after the imperial dominance which had underpinned it had dramatically shrunk.

In its appeal to an imperial notion of a white domestic metropole and the cultural dominance of white Britons, the *Daily Express* provided a powerful discourse that transcended notions of Empire. To a British public eager to celebrate its tolerant history and to maintain the economic and social privileges associated with racial concepts of white dominance, the newspaper portrayal of an idealistic white domestic community under threat appeared to be appealing. The confidence with which the *Daily Express* put forward its racist discourse ignored that its more popular rival challenged many of the assumptions behind its coverage. While Webster and Schwarz are right to highlight the importance of racialised conceptions of empire, domesticity and belonging, it is important to understand how newspapers like the *Daily Express* offered alternative definitions of post-war Britishness.

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<sup>120</sup> Schwarz, *The White Man's World*, p. 9.

What the *Express* represents is not the permeating and uniform conception of race and Britishness in the period 1945-72, but their contested and fluid nature.

## **Chapter 6**

### **‘An Ugly, Raging, Black Question’: The *Express* Newspapers and ‘Race’ in the Domestic Sphere.**

The method by which the *Express* newspapers delegitimized the rights of black and Asian migrants relied upon a concept of white Britishness constructed and reinforced throughout the 1950s and 1960s. While a political focus was often adopted in editorials and articles concerning immigration, racism and empire, these themes also carried over into human interest feature articles. This chapter will demonstrate that feature articles had a significant strategic utility in the development of a racist discourse and defined British identity as domestic and white. Black and Asian people were in turn characterised as an alien, external and threatening presence. The *Express* newspapers represented the relationships between white people and their black and Asian neighbours, co-workers, educational peers, sexual partners and families as inherently problematic. While the efforts of investigative journalists rarely found solid evidence of long-term tensions, the perceived cultural and social gulf between white and black and Asian people was often portrayed as insurmountable. Immigration was represented as an imposition on and distortion of the domestic lives of white Britons.

Feature articles about domestic relationships between white people and black and Asian people relied upon, and reinforced, the racist assumptions central to Britain’s imperial past. As Wendy Webster argued, the maintenance of the unequal hierarchy of empire relied upon imagined distinctions between white and non-white; master and subject; colony and

metropole. Britain had been represented in the media as the ordered, white domestic centre of a dangerous and exciting multi-racial empire.<sup>1</sup> To the *Express* newspapers, immigration was an inversion of this relationship. Concepts of home, domesticity and white order were similarly used to challenge the rights of black and Asian people. Feature writers consistently latched upon personal narratives which communicated these anxieties to their readers; veiled, non-English speaking Asian children struggling in a predominantly white classroom; black men facing resentment for their relationships with white women. This strategy was symbolised in a question the newspapers asked their readers several times: ‘Would you let your daughter marry a coloured man?’ Such language related the political, moral and cultural debates surrounding Britain directly to the domestic lives of the British public and challenged the liberal and anti-racist beliefs of politicians and intellectuals.

Webster and Bingham have argued that many newspapers, films and television shows in the 1950s and 1960s concentrated on the topic of relationships between black men and white women, because they were both highly controversial and titillating.<sup>2</sup> The *Express* newspapers’, commentary on these relationships fulfilled a far more complex purpose. By characterising black and Asian immigration as a threat to the domestic lives of white Britons, the *Express* newspapers were able to shroud their racist policy with allusions to liberal tolerance. The rights of Commonwealth citizens espoused by the newspapers in the 1950s were defined as the political and diplomatic obligation of Britain to its overseas territories. Subsequently feature articles emphasised the effect of immigration on the private lives of white Britons. In doing so, official dedication to equality was differentiated from the private obligations of individuals. Adopting a limited definition of tolerance, several journalists

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<sup>1</sup> Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, pp. 147-181; Webster, *Imagining Home*; Schwarz, ‘“the Only White Man in There”’; B. Schwarz, ‘Black Metropolis, White England’ in M. Nava and A. O’Shea (eds.), *Modern Times: Reflections of a Century of English Modernity* (London, 1996); Schwarz, *The White Man’s World*.

<sup>2</sup> Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, pp. 147-181; Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 118-120.

suggested black and Asian people were equal in law but not in character. White Britons, they argued, should not be pressured into accepting them on a personal level as co-workers, neighbours or family members. Such arguments justified racism and discrimination as the right of white people to maintain their perceived cultural autonomy and socio-economic privileges. When combined with the political and editorial de-legitimisation of black and Asian rights outlined in the previous chapter, feature articles about the domestic ‘cost’ of immigration produced a powerful discourse of white Britishness which reinforced political, economic and social forms of prejudice.

‘Yes! I’ve Hit on a Hot Subject This Time!’: ‘Mixed’ Marriages.

The most direct way in which the *Express* newspapers represented black and Asian immigration as a threat to white, domestic British life was by focusing on relationships between black men and white women. This subject had been prominent in the popular press due to both the prominence of single, male immigrants before 1961 and high-profile cases of ‘sexual rivalry’ between white and black people during disturbances in the previous decades.<sup>3</sup> Its enduring prevalence in newspaper coverage reveals both the strength of racist assumptions about black men’s sexuality and the way in which white women symbolised the domestic sphere of white Britishness.<sup>4</sup>

Relationships between white women and black men became a prominent part of the *Daily Express*’s coverage of colonial affairs following the marriage of Bechuanaland chieftain-delegate Sereste Khama to white Briton Ruth Williams in 1950. The South African government had protested the marriage and the Labour Government eventually asked Khama

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<sup>3</sup> For an account of stereotypes of black sexuality, and their impact on British culture, see Marcus Colins, ‘Pride and Prejudice: West Indian Men in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain’, *Journal of British Studies*, 40, 3 (2001), pp. 391-418.

<sup>4</sup> Webster, *Englishness and Empire*, p. 157.; Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, p. 118.

to give up his leadership of his Bamangwato tribe and be essentially exiled from it.<sup>5</sup> A feature article investigating the reason for the controversy of the 'WHITE BRIDE' recognised 'the implied fear of mixed marriages' exposed in the case.<sup>6</sup> Black British Olympic runner McDonald Bailey and West Indian welfare campaigner Alma LaBadie shared their thoughts in the feature and stressed that, while the case was essentially one of international relations, it 'affect[ed] coloured people everywhere and especially the 20,000 in this country'.<sup>7</sup> Bailey, himself married to a white woman, argued that the decision to exile Khama was a blow against both 'the free British commonwealth' and 'man's most sacred freedom – the right to choose the wife of his will'.<sup>8</sup> LaBadie also wrote that the case had 'shattered the deep faith' she had in British freedom, and warned the 'loyalty' of black Commonwealth citizens could be tested by the mistreatment of Khama.<sup>9</sup> As with the *Daily Express's* early 1950s coverage of racism across the Commonwealth, its response to the Khama case highlighted the ideals of British freedom and tolerance and the threat discrimination posed to Commonwealth relations.

In 1956, George Gale wrote a series of features for the *Daily Express* which tied romantic relationships between black men and white women more closely to racially motivated anxieties about black immigration. Addressing the reader directly, the series of articles had the provocative title 'Would YOU let your daughter marry a black man?'<sup>10</sup> Classifying this question as the 'ugly, raging black question' that lay behind British concerns about immigration, the article argued the 'honest answer' was 'no'. In a frank discussion of his own feelings, Gale recounted his prejudiced impulses upon meeting black people in Moss

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<sup>5</sup> *Daily Express*, 4 February 1950.

<sup>6</sup> *Daily Express*, 15 March 1950.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Daily Express*, 18 July 1956.

Side, Manchester. While being repulsed upon hearing a taxi driver blame black men for crime in the area, he admitted his own similar assumptions.<sup>11</sup> Gale argued that these fears were in fact justified, by what was said to be an insurmountable gulf between the culture of West Indian men and white Britons. While men were equal before the law, Gale argued, in their daily lives and private dealings they were ‘vastly unequal in moral merit, in intelligence, in looks, in everything’.<sup>12</sup> While acknowledging black and white men were of ‘common biological descent’, the article compared the perceived inequality between them as that between a ‘racehorse and pit pony’.<sup>13</sup> The difference, and assumed inequality, between black and white people was argued to be resultant of their divergent cultures and ancestry. ‘Colour’, he suggested, ‘was not the only difference between a white man and a black man’.<sup>14</sup>

By adopting the topic of ‘miscegenation’, Gale blurred the line between biological and cultural definitions of racial difference.<sup>15</sup> ‘Mixed’ relationships and ‘mixed-race’ children were said to be problematic due to the inferior standards of West Indian society. In this way, Gale’s opinions were reminiscent of the Fletcher Report’s definition of ‘half-caste’ children torn between two races.<sup>16</sup> Importantly, Gale’s feature series directly tied this issue of private interactions between black and white people to growing rates of immigration. The second article in the series said the *Express* had raised the ‘black question’ so readers could consider the real impact of black immigration. ‘Every day – week in, week out, 150 coloured people come here to stay’, it stressed, and predicted, with a palpable sense of alarm, that ‘THERE WILL BE 100,000 COLOURED PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY BY THE END OF

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Daily Express*, 19 July 1956.

<sup>15</sup> For an account of the influence of racial science in twentieth century Britain see G. Schaffer, *Racial Science and British Society, 1930-1962* (London, 2008).

<sup>16</sup> Mark Christian, ‘The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness’, *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 21, 2-3 (2008), pp. 231-241.

THE YEAR.’<sup>17</sup> The effect of increased immigration, Gale argued, would be to put all white Britons into contact with black people, and the perceived problems their presence caused.

Paradoxically, the results of Gale’s investigations in fact provided a positive portrayal of the relationships that existed between the couples interviewed for the features. He admitted the marriages investigated in Moss Side were ‘normal and happy’, but continued to question whether concerns about ‘mixed’ relationships were still more than ‘just prejudice’.<sup>18</sup> While leaving the decision to the reader, the series of articles had constructed a complex discourse which underlay the *Daily Express*’s position on black and Asian immigration. By reclassifying racist assumptions as natural reactions to cultural difference, the article legitimised any prejudiced attitudes its readers might have. It admitted, even when experience contradicted these assumptions, they represented a real and seemingly unsolvable problem that threatened ‘race relations’. In doing so, Gale privileged the racist instincts of some members of the public over the genuine experiences of those living in multicultural areas of the country.

Gale’s articles defined the presence of black people in the private, daily lives of white Britons as problematic. In doing so, the articles laid down a rationale for the *Daily Express*’s campaigns against anti-racist law and continued immigration itself in the following decade. Shortly following the hardened anti-immigration stance the newspaper developed following the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots of 1958, feature reporter Merrick Winn returned to the subject of ‘mixed marriages’. While the topic had not been given exclusive attention since Gale’s articles, it had sometimes been referred to in times of tension. During the disturbances in Notting Hill, a feature had argued that racism had little to do with ‘colour’ or ‘economic

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<sup>17</sup> *Daily Express*, 19 July 1956.

<sup>18</sup> *Daily Express*, 20 July 1956.

threat’, but with ‘twisted sex’ and the ‘deepest drives within men’.<sup>19</sup> The fact that there was little elaboration on what this actually *meant* demonstrated how powerful sexual relations between black men and white women were as a symbol of the tensions immigration supposedly caused. Elsewhere, news coverage associated rising rates of black immigration with the increase in cases of illegitimate births in inner cities.<sup>20</sup>

Winn’s articles argued that, despite the attention the *Daily Express* itself had afforded to relationships between black men and white women, ‘mixed-marriage’ was the ‘most shunned subject of all in British society’.<sup>21</sup> His features suggested that objections to ‘mixed-marriages’ were based on prejudice, but ultimately reinforced the beliefs central to Gale’s racist anxieties. Adopting an emotive language, he described black people walking ‘faceless’ through the dark, inner city streets of ‘mixed’ districts in Liverpool, Manchester, Cardiff and London, where the rain seemed to fall on them harder than their white neighbours.<sup>22</sup> Meeting couples and families in these areas, Winn’s mind was said to turn to the question—underlined in the text—‘would you let your daughter marry a coloured man?’ He dismissed the question as ‘seedy’ but, like Gale, justified the concerns which he believed defined objections to black and Asian immigration in Britain. He directly challenged the logic of scientific racism by insisting there was nothing ‘biologically offensive about mixed marrying’ and that black people were neither ‘mentally or humanly inferior’ nor more ‘sexually potent’.<sup>23</sup> Instead, the problem was said to lie with ‘lower class marriages’ in homes such as the dilapidated building Winn visited in Toxteth, Liverpool. Black men marrying both ‘bad women’, who

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<sup>19</sup> *Daily Express*, 2 September 1958.

<sup>20</sup> *Daily Express*, 16 November 1961. While the article on the rise of illegitimacy in London cited a rise in the number of single women in London, and the appeal of anonymous ante-natal facilities to already-pregnant unmarried women, the focus of the article was on the 1,400 out of 6,000 cases in which the genetic father was ‘not British’.

<sup>21</sup> *Daily Express*, 14 April 1959.

<sup>22</sup> *Daily Express*, 14 April 1959.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

had been rejected by the white community, and ‘higher class’ women was represented as deeply problematic and was said to contribute to social malaise.<sup>24</sup> Adopting this argument reinforced the idea, previously articulated by Gale, that cultural differences were innate, defined by skin colour and symbolised the ‘social problems’ black people were said to cause.

Winn’s investigative journalism gave authority to his ultimately uninformed assumptions about the realities of multicultural communities in Britain. His opinions were based on interviews interpreted in contradictory ways and ‘fact-based’ report was shaped by racist assumptions that even contradictory evidence could not dispel. A white woman from Cardiff, who said ‘colour’ had nothing to do with her love for her West Indian husband, was accused of denying her attraction to black skin.<sup>25</sup> A relationship between a black Mancunian and his white wife was interpreted to a rebellion against social mores rather an expression than genuine feeling.<sup>26</sup> The happiness of their marriage itself was suggested to be a front, as any failure of their relationship would prove humiliating. His authority as an investigative journalist was compromised by his distortion of testimony of interviewees. His initial dismissal of the prejudice which fed resentment towards relationships between black men and white women was strategic. By adopting this position, his later discovery of the problems of ‘low class’ marriages and the problems they faced implied these prejudices were justified by social realities. By adopting the persona of an anti-racist, progressive investigative journalist and by referring to cultural rather than biological difference, Winn lent his racist assumptions a false sense of authority. His reference to class also obscured the dominant role race played in his interpretation of the relationships he encountered. Features such were essential in reinforcing the increasingly racist policy of the *Daily Express* throughout the 1960s.

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Daily Express*, 15 April 1959.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Daily Express* returned to the subject of ‘mixed marriage’ twelve years later, in order to readdress the perceived social and personal implications of black and Asian immigration. In 1968 a series of features called ‘Marriage Against the Odds’ appeared in the *Daily Express*. The series of feature articles was said to be of ‘profound importance in a changing world’, and claimed that, even in 1968, ‘nothing produces a faster emotional reaction’ from white Britons.<sup>27</sup> Its coincidence with news coverage of Kenyan-Asian refugees entering Britain further demonstrated the symbolic use of ‘mixed’ marriages as a focus of news coverage.<sup>28</sup> The series was said to expose the ‘human drama’ government immigration policies had given birth to, and warned of the potential impact of further Asian immigrants ‘pouring’ into Britain.<sup>29</sup> While the series suggested these marriages would become more common with increased immigration, it questioned whether ‘familiarity’ could ever ‘breed acceptance’.<sup>30</sup> The series argued that with these marriages—and black and Asian immigration itself—‘[came] many problems’ due to the ‘vastly different backgrounds’ of black, Asian and white people.<sup>31</sup>

The ‘Marriage Against the Odds’ features admitted the families it investigated were ‘warm and happy’, but at the same time it suggested ‘mixed’ couples and, especially, their children were inherently problematic. The scale of the investigation—which included studies of five different communities by a five-person News Analysis team—also highlighted its importance to the newspaper’s response to black and Asian immigration. The selected case studies represented Britain’s most well-known black communities: London’s East End, Bute

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<sup>27</sup> *Daily Express*, 24 February 1968.

<sup>28</sup> A side-panel announcing the ‘Marriage against the odds’ series was placed beside a front page head line about the Labour Governments ‘PICK-AND-CHOOSE IMMIGRANT PLAN’ drafted in response to the immigration of Kenyan-Asians. *Daily Express*, 27 February 1968.

<sup>29</sup> *Daily Express*, 28 February 1968; 29 February 1968.

<sup>30</sup> *Daily Express*, 28 February 1968.

<sup>31</sup> *Daily Express*, 28 February 1968; 29 February 1968.

Town in Cardiff, South Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, and Manchester's Moss Side. As such, while focusing on marriage, the feature series was an investigation of the effect immigration had had on these areas. The first article in the series argued, using the words of an Indian Briton, that 'half-castes' were 'accepted by neither black nor white...in a hellish no-man's land in between'.<sup>32</sup> The account of a Manchester University graduate who married a Trinidadian man was said to demonstrate how 'educated' people underestimated the damage a mixed-heritage would pose their children. Conversely, the case study of a Jamaican magistrate in Liverpool and his white wife demonstrated that some chose never to have children to avoid such problems.

While admitting the existence of prejudice and discrimination, and highlighting its adverse effects on otherwise happy and stable relationships, the 'Marriage Against the Odds' series presented the cultural differences between black, Asian and white people as the cause for these problems. In doing so, it excused any prejudices *Express* readers may have felt as seemingly natural responses to the unwanted social change government immigration policies of the post-war period had facilitated. The investigation concluded by suggesting 'society [was] not ready to accept racially mixed marriages, and the chances of one succeeding were not high'.<sup>33</sup> Rather than imploring the British public to abandon its prejudices and begin to accept black and Asian people, it implied society could not handle further immigration, and being forced to do so would only lead to further tensions and suffering for second-generation black and Asian communities.

The conclusions of the investigation were built upon the discourse created by the *Express* in both its coverage and commentary on immigration and Gale's previous features on

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

the same subject. The white British public, it argued, could not and should not experience any further growth of non-white communities. To do so would affect their personal, everyday lives and stress the limits, established in Gale's articles, of the British public's private obligation to tolerate those who were represented as irrevocably culturally different. This sense of black and Asian immigration invading the private lives of white Britons was consistently reinforced throughout the 1960s.

'No Room at the Schools': Education and the Threat to British Culture.

The *Express* newspapers' representation of the effect of black and Asian immigration into the 'white British metropole' shifted to focus on the growing number of Asian families and their children after 1962. James Hampshire has highlighted the extent to which the terms of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act resulted in the immigration of dependants dominating immigration figures in the mid to late 1960s and the subsequent government unease this caused.<sup>34</sup> As this immigration led to the establishment of many all-Asian families (rather than mixed families) in Britain, the *Express* newspapers began to concentrate on the effect whole communities of Asian families would have on white Britain. Also, as figures began to be released about the birth-rates of immigrant families, objections were raised concerning the transformation of the white domestic sphere of Britishness. The *Daily Express*'s focus on 'mixed marriages' had already led to a special interest in the fortunes of immigrant children, which in turn inspired articles concentrating on the effect of immigrants on education. Education became another symbol of the effect growing numbers of Asian families would have on British communities and identity.

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<sup>34</sup> For example, in 1964 only 13,888 black and Asian immigrants were allowed entry on the voucher system while 38,952 dependants entered the country. In 1967, this number had gone up to around 50,000 per year. See Hampshire, *Citizenship and Belonging*, pp. 72-78.

Shortly after the passage of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, fears concerning new problems the growth of 'immigrant children' might cause for the education system became a key element of news coverage. The 'flood of coloured immigration into Britain', an early article argued, had led to a rise in 'problem children' who spoke little English causing difficulties in schools.<sup>35</sup> In the decade following the Commonwealth Immigration Act, coverage would consistently voice concerns about immigrant children causing problems for white children and fears that 'coloured children' would outnumber white children in areas with high rates of immigration. In taking this approach, the newspaper reinforced the idea that black and Asian immigration posed a threat to the private lives of white British families and their children. The cultural difference of immigrants was emphasised by focusing on their language and customs, which were said to be a threat to the maintenance of white British culture in schools.

While some of the coverage concerning immigration and education focused on the logistical problems temporary and mobile migrants posed school registers, most concentrated on the social and cultural effect of 'mixed schools'.<sup>36</sup> Especially in the mid-to-late 1960s alarmist headlines spoke of schools 'WHERE 8-IN-10 ARE IMMIGRANTS' and of local authorities pleading to 'stop [the] flood' of immigrant children into schools.<sup>37</sup> By the end of 1968 and the high profile debates about immigration which had characterised it, prominent coverage was given to the claim by Labour Minister of Education Edward Short that 'all-black schools' were an 'inevitability' in the near future.<sup>38</sup> Schools in areas with significant numbers of black and Asian residents were often classified as 'problem schools' and articles

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<sup>35</sup> *Daily Express*, 12 July 1962.

<sup>36</sup> The logistical problems themselves were the result of fears of schools being dominated by non-white children, which had resulted in policies that dispersed immigrant children from schools where over 30% of registered children were of migrant background. *Daily Express*, 2 February 1962.

<sup>37</sup> *Daily Express*, 2 November 1965; 27 April 1968.

<sup>38</sup> *Daily Express*, 11 December 1968.

about them focused on the disruption caused by having to accommodate different languages and customs into lessons.<sup>39</sup> The extent of this problem was repeatedly coupled with the publication of statistics which, by 1968, suggested ‘one pupil in every forty is now an immigrant’ in England and Wales.<sup>40</sup> The focus on an education system pushed to the limits by immigration continued into the 1970s, with calls by Wolverhampton and Birmingham councils for a complete stop to black and Asian immigration to prevent a ‘crisis’ in their local schools. In many of these stories, the emphasis was not on the problems faced by black and Asian pupils themselves, but on how accommodating them had a negative impact on the education of white Britons.<sup>41</sup> Ultimately, the consistent news coverage suggested Britain’s schools had been forced to ‘bear the strain of the immigration problem’ and, crucially, white British children were suffering as a result.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the significant amount of coverage given to education, in 1965 the *Express* described it as a ‘hidden topic’ which obscured the true social effect of immigration and sought to ‘bring the facts to light’ in a series of feature articles.<sup>43</sup> These features related the topic to the personal lives of readers with the title ‘Your child’s school and the immigrant’.<sup>44</sup> The emphasis of the features was on the effect growing numbers of black and Asian children in Britain would have on the personal lives of the readers’ families. The features resembled

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<sup>39</sup> *Daily Express*, 29 November 1968. Another article focused on claims by white British parents that their children’s education was suffering because there were ‘too many coloured children’ in their school, *Daily Express* 8 November 1965. Attention was also given to protests by teachers and parents to ‘cut down coloured pupils’ in order to protect the standard of their children’s education, *Daily Express* 30 November, 1965.

<sup>40</sup> This statistic was based on figures which suggested there were 183,776 immigrant children in education in England and Wales. *Daily Express* 21 August, 1968. Statistical evidence taken from particular schools were also used to highlight the effect immigration had had on local communities, such as in the story about a school which had ‘77 white faces among 470’ and a school which had ‘only 30 white children out of 390’, *Daily Express* 13 September, 1966; 26 April 1968.

<sup>41</sup> One teacher’s claim that the accommodation of non-white pupils had led to a standard of literacy in schools so poor that it amounted to ‘criminal negligence’ was given particular attention by the *Express*. *Daily Express*, 6 December 1969.

<sup>42</sup> *Daily Express*, 15 May 1968.

<sup>43</sup> *Daily Express*, 15 November 1965.

<sup>44</sup> *Daily Express*, 16 November 1965.

related news coverage by representing immigrant intake in schools as an ‘urgent and difficult problem...[of] bewildering complexity’. The first article in the series suggested that, while official records showed 270,000 immigrants had entered Britain since 1962, the number of black and Asian people being *born* in the country were unknown to politicians and to the public.<sup>45</sup> Seeking to reveal the scope of the ‘explosive expansion’ of immigrant families, the article concluded that the school system would reach a ‘crisis’ point by the 1970s.<sup>46</sup>

Speaking to teachers about the challenges of adapting lessons to the different language requirements of immigrant children, the second article in the series argued the potential for a ‘crisis’ lay in the inability to absorb those with cultures different from white British children. Approximating the language of Gale, the article suggested the ‘problem’ was ‘not a question of colour so much as of culture, of a totally different way of life which now has to be adapted’.<sup>47</sup> Emphasising the differences in language, dress codes and eating habits of Asian children, the series of features concluded the government and local councils would have to face up to the questions ‘of colour and culture’ which immigration had forced onto the school system.<sup>48</sup>

The ‘Your child’s school and the immigrant’ investigation was thus deployed by the *Express* staff to reinforce the idea that immigration was forcing unwanted social change on white Britons. A rare editorial comment on the effect of immigration on education again focused on the ‘300,000’ black and Asian immigrants who were projected to be in British schools by 1971. It argued this number was ‘the measure of the transformation that has been wrought in the nation’s life within a single decade’ and ‘powerfully emphasise[d] the case for

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<sup>45</sup> The article claimed that ‘nobody knows how many children are involved or where they are’. *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Daily Express*, 17 November 1965.

<sup>48</sup> *Daily Express*, 18 November 1965.

halting immigration completely'.<sup>49</sup> The editor justified this call for restriction by arguing the country could not 'absorb any more immigrants than we already have without increasing tension, and diminishing the prospects of those who are already here'.

In 1971, the link between the growing number of black and Asian children in Britain and a perceived threat to the future of white British children was made explicit in a *Sunday Express* article by Enoch Powell. Focusing on projections from 1969 and 1970, Powell estimated the black and Asian population was increasing by '100,000 per year', a rate supposedly higher than the growth of the white British population.<sup>50</sup> The article again used the rhetorical tool of referring to the children of readers, asking 'Will our children condemn us?' for the 'transformation' of Britain that he believed this growing black and Asian population would bring about.<sup>51</sup> Applying language typical of Powell—but also typical of the *Daily Express*—he argued the minority culture of black and Asian people would soon 'hold the majority in thrall'.<sup>52</sup> Powell's continued obsession with Asian birth-rates was repeated by the *Express* even into the 1970s. Persistent calls for the 'true' rate of Asian population growth to be revealed to the public accompanied concerns about the immigration of Ugandan-Asians and demonstrated the extent to which even those Asians born and raised in Britain were never considered to belong.<sup>53</sup>

In representing the education of black and Asian children as symbolic of the effect the immigration of dependants was having on British society, the *Express* continued to depict

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<sup>49</sup> *Daily Express*, 2 December 1970.

<sup>50</sup> *Sunday Express*, 12 December 1971.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> The *Daily Express* claimed government figures of immigrant birth rates were too low in 1970 and continued to push the issue until updated estimates were published in 1972 which suggested that 'Powell [and the Express] were right' to question the extent of the Asian population despite those born in the country being British citizens. *Daily Express*, 10 March 1970; 17 November 1972.

immigration as a threat to white domestic Britishness. Its discourse of a limited private obligation to tolerance, its coverage of a growing population of ‘culturally different’ immigrant families, and its suggestion that these differences could not, and should not, be accepted by white Britons had provided a conceptual framework in which Powellite language could be validated. The next sections will explore the extent to which the racist discourse established by the *Express* both reinforced and drew upon anti-immigration sentiment in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

### Conclusion: Harmony or Hatred?

Following the political controversies of 1968, the *Express* newspapers expounded on the themes of race and domestic Britishness in its largest investigation into race and immigration in Britain to date. Seeking to discover ‘WHAT BRITAIN REALLY FEELS’ about ‘colour issues’, the series of features suggested that Britain’s faced two possible futures as a ‘multi-racial’ country: ‘HARMONY OR HATRED’.<sup>54</sup> Arguing that most British people were hospitable to black and Asian immigrants ‘already in this country’, it warned the authorities to introduce ‘a big cutback’ in migrants to avoid ‘this feeling of tolerance...disappear[ing]’.<sup>55</sup> The articles consisted of evidence gathered by Research Services Ltd. through interviews with the public and reinforced the extent to which the *Daily Express* believed it represented public opinion: 94% of respondents believed there should be a ‘severe cut back’ of immigration, while respondents’ ‘main fear’ was the ‘higher birth-rate’ of black and Asian people.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Daily Express*, 7 July 1969.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

Highlighting the consistency of the tone and content of the feature series with the *Express*'s coverage of immigration over the decades, the newspaper paid special attention to 'the emotive question that invariably crops up in racial arguments: *Would you let your daughter marry a coloured man?*'<sup>57</sup> Thirteen years after the publication of George Gale's 'Would you let your daughter marry a black man' series of articles, the question was again said to be central to the debates surrounding immigration. The power of the question—which this chapter has argued lay in its emphasis on private freedom, cultural difference and white domestic Britishness—was reflected by the responses it received: 48% answered they would object, while only 12% said they would have no objections at all.<sup>58</sup>

While providing a relatively positive picture of community relations in Britain, the 'Harmony or Hatred' features also characterised the 'balance' of society as brittle and under strain. The maintenance of this balance, the editor argued, depended on limits to immigration and on financially encouraging repatriation.<sup>59</sup> The series concluded with a collection of letters to the editor which largely agreed with the newspaper's editorial line. The article collecting the letters suggested readers, 'black *and* white', believed immigration 'must [be] cut...down to a trickle' in order to maintain harmony. The letters reflected fears about white children being forced to go to schools 'overcrowded...with coloured people' and anti-racist laws making white Britons accept 'tropical' and unwanted cultures.<sup>60</sup> The extent to which reader sentiment corresponded to the *Daily Express*'s own definitions of white domesticity and the dangers of immigration demonstrated the power of such ideas.

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> *Daily Express*, 7 July 1969.

<sup>60</sup> *Daily Express*, 11 July 1969.

The *Daily Express* used the genre traditions and narrative function of feature articles in a similar way as the *Daily Mirror*, but for vastly different purposes. Instead of using investigative journalism into black and Asian communities to try and challenge racist attitudes, *Daily Express* journalists used them to reinforce assumptions about racial difference and the threat of immigration to domestic British culture. Even when the evidence uncovered by journalists contradicted these assumptions, they were interpreted and communicated in a way that privileged white anxieties over the realities of racism and community relations. By engaging with the domestic sphere—a subject which was often the focus of feature articles—journalists like Gale and Winn formulated a powerful language which helped justify and reinforce the anti-immigration editorial line of the *Daily Express*.

## Part III

# Race and Immigration in the Local Press of Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester.

### **Introduction to Part III**

The second part of this thesis shifts its focus from the national press, to local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester. While high-profile national debates about immigration policy, and the problems associated with black and Asian communities, influenced how provincial newspapers talked about race and immigration, so did a variety of local contexts. While each city had different experiences of immigration, there are a number of broad themes which informed responses to black and Asian people across each of the three case studies. These will be briefly introduced here.

First, the state of the provincial press in the postwar years left the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Echo*, *Bolton Evening News* and *Manchester Evening News* with a monopoly over their respective local markets. Between 1921 and 1969, the number of provincial newspapers across Britain dropped 46 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Competition to attract advertising revenue—upon which provincial newspapers were increasingly reliant in the postwar years—meant the continued existence of rival newspapers was often unsustainable.<sup>2</sup> As chapter 9 will show, the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* was closed due to its failure to compete with the more-popular *Manchester Evening News*. Surviving publications, meanwhile, became ‘monopoly newspapers’ and had an increased, and often unchallenged influence over regional readers.<sup>3</sup> The relatively large circulations of the *Liverpool Echo* (389,367), *Bolton Evening News*

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<sup>1</sup> Ian Jackson, *The Provincial Press and the Community* (Oxford, 1971). The number of provincial newspapers declined from 41 in 1921, to 22 in 1969.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17-18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

(85,796) and *Manchester Evening News* (450,204) in 1969 suggested each newspaper reached large local audiences.<sup>4</sup> In 1969, the combined circulation of provincial newspapers in Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle, Wolverhampton, Sheffield, Bristol and Bradford—a selection which did not include high-profile London newspapers—was 2,341,979, or around half of the *Daily Mirror*'s circulation.<sup>5</sup> According to the Evening Newspaper Advertising Bureau, they reached on average 82.8 per cent of households within their regions.<sup>6</sup> In these areas, provincial newspapers likely reached a larger proportional audience than any individual national newspaper.<sup>7</sup>

As local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester were all independently owned by regional groups, they were free to follow their own policies. Even the *Manchester Evening News*, which was owned by the Manchester Guardian and Evening News Ltd. was given a free reign over its editorial policy (as chapter 9 will demonstrate). This editorial freedom was tempered by commercial motivations to appeal to advertisers and local audiences. While all provincial newspapers contained coverage and commentary on national and international affairs, they had to speak to regional audiences. As the following chapters will show, these newspapers often held conservative views, but their open support for any political party was generally tempered by the commercial motivation to maintain an air of neutrality. In their attempt to represent local events, provincial newspapers often used their

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 30-31. These figures demonstrate that circulation remained reasonably consistent throughout the 1960s, despite a small dip from 1964: *Liverpool Echo* (392,450), *Bolton Evening News* (88, 107) and *Manchester Evening News* (474, 644).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> In comparison the Newspaper Advertising Bureau reported that 88% of adults in 1964 were said to read the *Daily Mirror* and/or *Daily Express* and/or *Daily Mail*: See *Ibid.*, p. 33.

connections to the regional councils, courts and police. In relation to their coverage of race and immigration, this meant the newspapers often mirrored or endorsed institutional values.<sup>8</sup>

Second, Government (both Conservative and Labour) ‘slum clearance’ policies also had a significant effect of local attitudes towards race and immigration between 1945 and 1972. While clearance programmes had their origins in the Victorian period, a renewed campaign was launched by the Conservative Government in 1954.<sup>9</sup> By the late 1960s, over 70,000 new properties were being developed a year.<sup>10</sup> The urban districts of North West England were among those influenced most heavily by being designated ‘clearance areas’, with 219,881 out of 275,907 marked houses being removed, 1955 to 1974.<sup>11</sup> The peak period of slum clearance in Bolton, Liverpool and Manchester was from 1965 to 1974 (with 7,898, 30,676 and 43,3000 houses cleared in Bolton, Liverpool and Manchester respectively during this period).<sup>12</sup> During this period black and Asian populations were well established in each city, often in those parts of the city marked for clearance.<sup>13</sup> Attitudes towards race and immigration in the local press were influenced by anxieties about the availability and quality of regional housing, urban decline and changes to the cultural and ‘racial’ hegemony of local communities.

Mark Clapson has argued the suburbanisation that often resulted from slum clearance programmes was rarely attained by ethnic minorities, and that black inner-city residents were often left in the increasingly dilapidated clearance zones or moved to low-cost housing

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>9</sup> Jim Yelling, ‘The Incidence of Slum Clearance in England and Wales, 1955-85’, *Urban History*, 27 (2000), pp. 234-54. For an account of suburbanisation in inter-war Liverpool, see Madeline McKenna ‘The Suburbanization of the Working-Class Population of Liverpool between the Wars’, *Social History*, 16, 2 (May, 1991), pp. 172-189.

<sup>10</sup> Jim Yelling, ‘The Incidence of slum clearance in England and Wales’, p. 236.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 237-239.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.

estates.<sup>14</sup> John Rex argued discrimination was an *active* force in limiting the dispersal opportunities of black and Asian residents and the failings of the slum clearance system left the districts in which they lived in an even more deprived and isolated state.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, he cited cases in which black communities were *blamed* for the very conditions economic decline imposed on them.<sup>16</sup> Newspaper responses to urban decline in the postwar period reflected wider trends in which press news has historically helped to ‘create slums in the popular imagination’ through the selective reporting and representations of inner city deprivation and crime.<sup>17</sup> Newspapers’ engagement with poverty, decline and crime in white working-class areas provided a familiar framework in which increasingly racialised anxieties about social change could be communicated into the mid-late twentieth century.

Finally, the local government policy of the 1964-70 Labour Governments gave new powers to local community relations organisations that attempted to fight against local racism in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester. These organisations would come to influence local coverage and challenge racist representations of black and Asian people. The Labour Government’s ‘Immigrants From the Commonwealth’ White Paper of August 1965 emphasised the need for local councils to take an active part in ‘assisting the integration’ of resident immigrants. Subsequently, Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966 gave

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<sup>14</sup> Mark Clapson, *Invincible Green Suburbs, Brave New Town: Social Change and Urban Dispersal in Postwar England* (Manchester, 1998), pp. 51-52. For accounts of suburbanisation of working class Liverpoolians, see N. H. Rankin, ‘Social Adjustment in a North-West New Town’, *Sociological Review*, 11, 3 (1963), pp. 289-302; Selina Todd, ‘Affluence, Class and Crown Street: Reinvestigating the Liverpool PostWar Working Class’, *Contemporary British History*, 22, 4 (2008), pp. 501-518.

<sup>15</sup> John Rex, ‘Urban Segregation and Inner City Policy in Great Britain’, in: C. Peach, C. Robinson and S. Smith (eds.) *Ethnic Segregation in Cities* (1988), pp. 25-42. Rex suggests that clearance and improvement polices directed black and Asian families into certain inner-city improvement areas by offering them mortgages. As they would then own their houses, they would come off the council lists and essentially be ‘stuck’ in an underdeveloped area which often actively reinforced inner-city racial segregation.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> A. Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*, p.6

local councils new powers and responsibilities during on-going slum clearance schemes.<sup>18</sup> Aware that different local contexts influenced community relations in different part of the country, ‘voluntary liaison committees’ were given government funding under the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants.<sup>19</sup>

Ultimately, a variety of local organisations became ‘Community Relations Committees’ (or variations upon) and liaison officers were employed to oversee relations between these councils and local government institutions.<sup>20</sup> Community relations policies have been criticised for not granting Community Relations Committees enough authority to influence local decision makers, and so it is important not to over-estimate their influence.<sup>21</sup> Community relations efforts in Manchester and Bolton benefitted from government aid and in particular played a prominent role in fighting racist sentiment in the local press in the mid-to-late 1960s. The fact that in Liverpool—which did not have a Community Relations Committee until the early 1970s—such positive voices were largely absent from the press reinforces this.

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<sup>18</sup> For details of both the white paper and the Local Government Act, see Catherine Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain* (London, 1977), pp. 165-167.

<sup>19</sup> Michael J. Hill and Ruth M. Issacharoff, *Community Action and Race Relations: A Study of Community Relations Committees in Britain* (London, 1971), pp. 15-35.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-35.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 279-295.

## Chapter 7

### 'The "Lost Souls" of Liverpool': The portrayal of Liverpool's black community in *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* 1948-72.

This chapter will demonstrate that, despite the existence of a long-established black community in Liverpool, its local newspapers the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* represented it as a disruptive and isolated presence. Whilst acknowledging the unsuitability of newspaper sources for fully reconstructing the experience of black people in Liverpool, it investigates how the city's black community was portrayed in the local press in the relatively under-studied period between 1945 and 1972. Liverpool and the attitudes of its press provided a perfect example of the contradictory nature of multicultural racism in Britain. While Liverpool's black community was largely accepted as part of the city's maritime heritage, it faced institutional racism and public ambivalence. The *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* reflected this position, and while they sometimes published positive portrayals of the black community and the problems it faced, they rarely gave voice to the community itself. Little editorial comment or investigative journalism was dedicated to black Liverpudlians—which only underscored the extent to which this community was not considered to be part of the core readership of the newspapers and, in turn, the city itself. By not giving such a disadvantaged part of the local community fair coverage, both newspapers failed to represent the diversity of the communities they spoke for. Moreover, this failure served to reinforce and feed the prejudice and discrimination which existed in the city.

The *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* relied too heavily on official sources of information in their reporting. This proved problematic in their reporting of local race relations as ambivalence and prejudice often defined the response of the City Council, local police force and law courts to the experiences and troubles of black Liverpudlians. Their racial segregation into the sites around the Granby ward of Toxteth (Granby-Toxteth)—an area in which the presence of low-quality housing had marked it for slum clearance—both reinforced and actively contributed to their isolated position in the city. By giving often-exclusive voice to those institutions which contributed to the black community's geographical and social segregation, both newspapers contributed to the survival and justification of discrimination. By consistently shifting debate away from concerns about the effect of discrimination to more general problems relating to the poor quality of housing, slum clearance and unemployment, the newspapers obscured the influence of prejudice on the lives of black Liverpudlians. Through their limited coverage of the experiences of the black community, its invisibility and relegation to the fringes of Liverpool's social sphere was reinforced.

This chapter's analysis of the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* will focus on defining moments in both the history of Liverpool's black communities and relevant local newspaper coverage. In 1948, disturbances in what was perceived to be the 'coloured' section of Liverpool revealed the enduring tensions between white and black people. Coverage of the incidents demonstrated the effect the reliance of both newspapers on official sources had on marginalising the rights and complaints of black Liverpudlians. Outside of crime reports, the black community was largely ignored throughout the 1950s, despite the relevance of debates about racism and immigration in the wake of the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots of 1958. During the late 1960s two prominent investigations into 'race relations' in Liverpool led to

increased coverage of the grievances of local black communities. While a lack of individual commentary and investigation limited the scope of these reports, they did demonstrate a growing acknowledgement of discrimination in Liverpool. As problems related to re-housing, unemployment and poverty escalated in the 1970s tensions between black youths and local gangs and police forces were marginalised in favour of general accounts of the effect of social decline in the city. This demonstrated the extent to which even second and third generation black Liverpoolians were characterised as a ‘problem’ facing the city, rather than as victims of the wider, working-class, disadvantage.

While discourses of tolerance, whiteness and Britishness were rarely actively engaged by the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*, these concepts had a great influence on the shape of press debates about black Liverpoolians. In reinforcing the extent to which Liverpool was represented as a city which accepted and integrated different cultures, local newspapers highlighted the importance of tolerance in maintaining harmonious community relations. The portrayal of the black community 1949-72 offers an organic example of how concepts of tolerance were racialised. Ultimately, local authorities and newspapers failed to accept the responsibility of white Liverpoolians to aid the disadvantaged black community. Instead, the skin colour of this community continued to mark them as ‘outsiders’, even after generations of settlement in the city. As a result, the maintenance of white tolerance was represented as the obligation of black Liverpoolians, who could maintain their already-precarious position in the city only by meeting the standards of the white community. As they faced discrimination in housing, employment and from the police, black Liverpoolians were disproportionately represented in cases of crime and poverty. Their failure to meet the standards set by the white community – and the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* – was seen as a justification of negative attitudes towards them, rather than as the result of the

barriers they faced. By masking discrimination and justifying prejudice in this way, concepts of tolerance and multiculturalism espoused by the press and local officials and seemingly supported by ethnic diversity within the city could co-exist with institutional racism and public ignorance and prejudice.

### The History of Liverpool's Black Community.

Liverpool offers unique opportunities as a case study because, as a result of its involvement in transatlantic slave trade, the city has had a black community since at least the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Stephen Small argued that Liverpool is an 'anomaly' in regards to the history of immigration as by the latter-half of the twentieth century its black population was already predominantly indigenous.<sup>2</sup> Before the Second World War, the city already had around 5,000 black residents, a significant proportion of whom were Liverpool-born. Shortly after the war, some 8,000 black people were said to call Liverpool home.<sup>3</sup> Despite this, immigration into the city during the postwar period was relatively limited; figures from 1966 and 1967 reveal the black population to have increased by only 2,000-5,000 since 1948.<sup>4</sup> This figure did not

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<sup>1</sup> Mark Christian, 'An African-Centred Approach to the Black British Experience: With Special Reference to Liverpool', *Journal of Black Studies*, 28, 3 (Jan., 1998), pp. 291-308, especially p. 292-294.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Small, 'Racialised Relations in Liverpool: A Contemporary Anomaly', *New Community*, 17, 4 (1991), p. 511.

<sup>3</sup> Andrea Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto: Racism and Reaction in Liverpool, 1918-1948* (Liverpool, 1995) pp. 161-162. Murphy comments on the difficulty of estimating the black population of Liverpool at any time. Its transient nature as well as unclear racial definitions in census reports meant that population estimates for 1919 vary between 500 and 5,000. For the Interwar period, sample surveys are available which suggest that some 130 to 450 black families lived in Liverpool – a figure which would include some white partners and children of mixed parentage. H. Maddox, estimating 130 families (undated); M. Fletcher, "confirming" 450 families (1929); and C. Jones, locating 225 families (1939). Alfred Zack-Williams gave far higher estimates, suggesting a black population of 3,000 in 1911, growing to 5,000 in the inter-war period. What is clear is that there was, during the Second World War, a significant growth due to war-time opportunities and settlement. Zack-Williams estimated that the population was 8,000 by 1948: See A. B. Zack-Williams, 'African Diasporic Conditioning: The Case of Liverpool', *Journal of Black Studies*, 27, 4 (1997), p.531. The *Liverpool Daily Post* reported that the 1948 population was 10,000, with 6,000 being of 'permanent residence': See *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16 August 1948. Murphy herself believed that 'any resident black population in Liverpool... was never more than about 1%-2%...and probably a good deal less'. See Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto*, p. 162.

<sup>4</sup> Murphy claims that postwar Commonwealth immigration added only 0.3% to Liverpool's population by 1969. See Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto*, p. iii. Census reports found that the 'coloured immigrant'

account for Liverpool-born black people: the group who had contributed most to the growth of the city's black and mixed origin population in the postwar years.<sup>5</sup> Rates of West Indian and Asian migration into Liverpool after 1945 were at most very small because lack of job opportunities had discouraged settlement in the city.<sup>6</sup> Even by the late 1980s, the population of Liverpool with African origin was said to amount to only 12,400-18,000, the vast majority of whom (7,400-11,100) were Liverpool-born.<sup>7</sup> Because of the unique history of black settlement in Liverpool, the term 'black Liverpudlians' is used to describe black immigrants and their descendants. It is also important to note that many resident in the city in the period of study would have been of 'mixed origin' due to significant rates of cohabitation and marriage of black men and white women.<sup>8</sup>

As migration to Liverpool was shaped by opportunities in the shipping industry, black people were historically attracted to the city's Southern docklands.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the early-mid twentieth century, black Liverpudlians moved into the areas around the Granby ward of Toxteth because they provided accommodation opportunities in poorly-maintained Victorian houses converted into flats.<sup>10</sup> This residential pattern was shaped by the prejudices of landlords and the institutional barriers which limited the opportunity of black people—who often were economically insecure due to unemployment and discrimination—to obtain

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population of Liverpool was 10,000. See Liverpool Youth Organisation Committee, 'Special But Not Separate: A Report on the Situation of Young Coloured people in Liverpool' (Liverpool, 1967), p. 6; *Liverpool Daily Post*, 3 April 1966.

<sup>5</sup> A survey of the black population of Liverpool undertaken by Anthony Richmond in 1948 also demonstrates high proportion of Liverpool-born blacks in the city, who made up 42 per cent of the whole black population in that year. See Anthony Richmond, 'Economic Insecurity and Stereotypes as Factors in Colour Prejudice', *The Sociological Review*, 42, 1(1950), pp. 147-167.

<sup>6</sup> Liverpool Youth Organisation Committee, 'Special But Not Separate', p. 5

<sup>7</sup> Small, 'Racialised Relations in Liverpool', p. 514.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>9</sup> The black population was mainly settled in the immediate area around Stanhope Street and Gore Street in the South Docks of Liverpool by 1911. See Law, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool, 1600-1950*, p. 26

<sup>10</sup> I. Law, 'White Racism and Black Settlement in Liverpool: A Study of Local Inequalities and Policies with Particular Reference to Council Housing', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool (1985), p. 137-140. Zack-Williams, 'African Diasporic Conditioning: The Case of Liverpool', p. 531; Small, 'Racialised Relations in Liverpool', p. 515.

residential qualifications for private or council housing.<sup>11</sup> While a small number of black families lived in the postcode areas of L1, L7, L15 and L17, the greatest numbers lived within a mile of the Granby area (see Figure 17).<sup>12</sup> 40 per cent of residents in Granby-Toxteth were black or of mixed-origin in 1965.<sup>13</sup> These factors ensured that, in the postwar period, black people in Liverpool formed both an established and geographically isolated social enclave in a central part of the city.<sup>14</sup> Even by the late-1980s, 30 per cent of black Liverpudlians lived in the Granby ward, with a further 42 per cent living within a three mile radius within the Toxteth district.<sup>15</sup> While the local press in the mid-twentieth century and many modern commentators refer to Liverpool 8 (the postal district) as the home of the city's black community, Granby-Toxteth will be used in this chapter to reflect the more isolated nature of black settlement (unless terminology used by newspaper is being referenced).<sup>16</sup>

Despite the established position of black Liverpudlians in the city, their experiences in the interwar period highlight the ambivalent relationship that existed between them and the wider white community. Two well documented cases demonstrate the degree to which racism was a prevalent force in the city. Firstly, disturbances that took place in the city in 1919 have been identified as being the result of white-led attacks against black seamen, and resulted in the infamous drowning of black Liverpudlian Charles Wooten while white crowds watched

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<sup>11</sup> Law, 'White Racism and Black Settlement in Liverpool', p. 134.

<sup>12</sup> Liverpool Youth Organisation Committee, 'Special But Not Separate', p. 8. The 1971 census found that 15 per cent of all black Liverpudlians lived in one street (Granby Street) within the Granby ward: See Law, 'White Racism and Black Settlement in Liverpool', p. 138.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> For example, A University of Liverpool report in 1940 found that only 1 black or mixed families out of the 255 surveyed had lived in the country for less than 5 years. Douglas Caradog Jones, 'The Economic Status of Coloured Families in the Port of Liverpool' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool, 1940), pp. 10-14.

<sup>15</sup> Small, 'Racialised Relations in Liverpool', p. 516. Other wards in which black Liverpudlians settled were Arundel (12.5 per cent of black population), Abercrombie (10.5 per cent), Smithdown (10 per cent) and Princes Park (8 per cent).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 516.

and jeered.<sup>17</sup> The disturbances have been attributed to the racist antipathy of white sailors returned from the First World War, and are said to reflect a history of local white worker resentment and employer discrimination than spanned into the 1960s and contributed to consistently high rates of black unemployment.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, the 1929 Fletcher report into Liverpool's 'coloured problem' cemented racist assumptions about black inferiority and sexuality by linking the city's inter-war industrial and 'moral' degradation to the prevalence of relationships between white women and black men.<sup>19</sup> The children of these couples, the report claimed, were pre-disposed to be anti-social 'half-castes' and doomed to be rejected by society.<sup>20</sup> Racist attitudes towards black people in the city, reinforced by powerful institutions such as the University of Liverpool, served to justify prejudice and contributed to a pattern of *de facto* segregation. Economically and socially, Liverpool's black community was already, by 1945, confined into a disadvantaged area which was both near the centre of, but was perceived to be separate from, the city.

The legacy of segregation, disadvantage and racism in Liverpool, while sometimes ignored in assertions about the 'success' of black people in the city, has been uncovered in

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<sup>17</sup> For a particularly emotive account of these disturbances, see Ernest Marke, *In Troubled Waters* (London, 1986).

<sup>18</sup> Diane Frost, 'Racism, Work and Unemployment: West African Seamen in Liverpool, 1880s-1960s', in D. Frost ed. *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers in the UK* (London, 1995). For a case study of the hostilities black workers faced in Liverpool, see Anthony H. Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool, 1941-1951* (London, 1954). See also, Marika Sherwood, 'Strikes! African Seamen, Elder Dempster and the Government, 1940-42', in D. Frost ed. *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers in the UK* (London, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> For a consideration of the effect of the Fletcher Report in reinforcing racist attitudes, see M. Christian, 'The Fletcher Report 1930', pp. 213-237.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* See also, Diane Frost, *Work and Community Among West African Migrant Workers Since the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool, 1999), p. 194. The now infamous Fletcher report was commissioned by the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children, now recognised as a stigmatising philanthropic organisation.



more recent investigations.<sup>21</sup> A report initiated in response to the Toxteth riots of 1981 and written by Lord Gifford, Wally Brown and Ruth Bundley, uncovered ‘uniquely horrific’ racist attitudes held by members of Liverpool’s police and council not only reinforced a general atmosphere of prejudice in the city, but isolated black people from social integration and often housing and employment.<sup>22</sup> Such conclusions have led historians such as Alfred Zack-Williams, Ian Law and Mark Christian to claim racist ideas have ‘punctuated every aspect of public life in Liverpool’ since at least the interwar years.<sup>23</sup> As recently as May 2012, a report into Liverpool council employment practices demonstrated how institutionalised racism in the city continues to contribute to the ‘invisibility’ of the black community in the fields of teaching and council work.<sup>24</sup> The segregation of black Liverpudlians ensured the dominant sentiment towards Liverpool’s black community was one of uncertainty. Press coverage of events and the conditions within Granby-Toxteth was, for many, the only avenue of learning about black Liverpudlians. Through the use of frameworks of crime, disorder and inter-racial tension, the local press defined this uncertainty in terms of ambivalence, a framework which reinforced popular thinking.

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<sup>21</sup> For example, Hansard records from the 1960s feature several references to Liverpool being a city free of racism and discrimination. The Lord Bishop of Liverpool, for example, argued in the House of Lords in 1964 that there was ‘very little colour prejudice on Merseyside’ and that black people were ‘settled and accepted’ in Liverpool. Hansard, House of Lords Debates Fifth Series 1 December 1964, vol 261, col 1028. Labour MP Bessie Braddock for Liverpool Exchange 1945-1970 the following year reinforced the idea that Liverpool had ‘solved the problem of coloured people living together’ and that there had ‘never [been] any racial problems in Liverpool. Hansard House of Commons Debates, Fifth Series [HC Debs hereafter] 9 March 1965, vol 708, col 252. In 1967, Labour MP for Liverpool, Walton 1964-1991 Eric Heffer again claimed that Liverpool’s ‘race relations’ record was ‘second to none’. See Hansard HC Deb 15 November 1967, vol 754, col 440. Small also highlights the role this myth has had on hiding the existence of racism before the 1981 Toxteth riots: see Small, ‘Racialised Relations in Liverpool’, pp. 524-526.

<sup>22</sup> A. Gifford, W. Brown, and R. Bundley. ‘Loosen the shackles: First report of the Liverpool 8 enquiry into race relations in Liverpool’ (London, 1989), p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> A. B. Zack-Williams, ‘African Diasporic Conditioning: The Case of Liverpool’; I. Law, *A History of Race and Racism in Liverpool, 1660-1950* (Liverpool, 1981); M. Christian, ‘An African-Centred Approach to the Black British Experience: With Special Reference to Liverpool’.

<sup>24</sup> Bill Boyle and Marie Charles ‘‘In my Liverpool home’’: an investigation into the institutionalised invisibility of Liverpool’s black citizens’, *Journal of Education Policy*, 27, 3 (May 2012), pp. 335–348.

The *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo*.

Founded in 1855, the *Liverpool Daily Post* was first published as a cheap and commercial one penny paper following the repeal of the stamp tax and was followed in 1879 by its evening edition the *Liverpool Echo* (originally *Mercury*). Covering Liverpool, Sefton, Wirral, South Lancashire and North Wales, the newspapers reached a large and diverse audience. While the *Liverpool Daily Post* was aimed at the working men of Liverpool, the *Liverpool Echo* was targeted towards a more general audience including women.<sup>25</sup> As such, the *Liverpool Echo*'s coverage was limited, lacked detail and mainly focused on larger news stories and advertising. While editorials in both newspapers commented on local and national developments of relevance to local readers—and often spoke for their grievances—editors rarely commented on community relations in regard to black Liverpudlians. The *Liverpool Daily Post*'s editorship during the relevant period was dominated by Ian Hosie, (1946-69).<sup>26</sup> The *Liverpool Echo*, meanwhile, was edited by Donald Shand (1950-57) and then Alan Gilbert (1957-77).<sup>27</sup> As little relevant editorial comment was offered, these people are not the principal focus of this chapter. Instead, this chapter focuses on the methods used to report community relations in the city. By relying too heavily on official sources and providing little independent commentary or investigation, both newspapers contributed to the historical invisibility of black Liverpudlians.

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<sup>25</sup> See *Liverpool Liverpool Echo Online*, 'The History of the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo* Ltd', [http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/contact-liverpool-echo//tm\\_headline=history-of-the-liverpool-daily-post-echo-ltd&method=full&objectid=11472306&siteid=50061-name\\_page.html](http://www.liverpoolecho.co.uk/contact-liverpool-echo//tm_headline=history-of-the-liverpool-daily-post-echo-ltd&method=full&objectid=11472306&siteid=50061-name_page.html)

<sup>26</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 10 January 2012.

<sup>27</sup> *Liverpool Liverpool Echo*, Donald Shand Obituary, 20 June 2007; *Liverpool Liverpool Echo*, Alan Gilbert Obituary, 21 March 2007.

‘Regardless of colour...Law and order must prevail’: the 1948 Upper Parliament Street Racial Disturbances.

The *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* characterised black people as a disruptive force in Liverpool during their coverage of the disturbances which broke out between white and black Liverpudlians around Upper Parliament Street in Toxteth in the summer of 1948. They did so in part as a result of their reliance on crime reporting as a method of representing the disturbances to their readers. Relying on official sources drawn from police reports and court proceedings, the newspaper reinforced the city’s seemingly prejudiced legal response to those black people involved in instances of violence. Both the police and the courts blamed black people for the disturbances, as reflected in the disproportionate number of black people arrested and sentenced in the following weeks.

Given the historical animosity that had existed between the Liverpool police force and black Liverpudlians, over-reliance on police sources could not be relied on to offer an accurate portrayal of events.<sup>28</sup> An anonymous former sergeant later claimed police responses were far from neutral, as they attacked groups of black men without provocation and plain clothed officers were used to ‘keep track’ of black ‘troublemakers’.<sup>29</sup> Walter Huntley, a journalist for the *Liverpool Echo* in 1948, admitted to Ian Law in 1981 that the treatment of the disturbances was ‘rather less than even handed’ and the newspaper’s reliance on the pronouncements of magistrates, judges and politicians had reinforced an ‘overwhelming’ and unfair public perception that black Liverpudlians had caused the riots.<sup>30</sup> Even coverage of court cases appeared motivated by anti-black sentiment. Defence claims that weapons had

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<sup>28</sup> For examples of the role police hostility played in the 1919 Liverpool disturbances See Rowe, *Racialisation of Disorder*, pp. 51-72.

<sup>29</sup> Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto*, pp. 132-133.

<sup>30</sup> Law, ‘White Racism and Black Settlement in Liverpool’, p. 106.

been planted on black men, and that it was wrong to accept the trouble had arisen to the actions of ‘coloureds’.<sup>31</sup> The response to the incident reinforced the ambivalence afforded to black Liverpoolians by certain sections of the white community. While dominant narratives show 1948 as a landmark year in British race relations, these disturbances demonstrated that tensions between black and white communities were, at least in Liverpool, already well formed.

1 August 1948 marked the start of three nights of violent disturbances around Upper Parliament Street. The *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* largely ignored the tensions which had motivated the disturbances.<sup>32</sup> The *Liverpool Echo* blamed black Liverpoolians for the riots. Out of the 60 people arrested, ‘the great majority [were] coloured’.<sup>33</sup> In an attempt to highlight the violent behaviour of black Liverpoolians, a headline related how ‘swords and daggers’ were used, a repository of weapons joined by ‘bricks...broken bottles...a tin opener, an automatic pistol, a life preserver, an iron cushion, a banister rail, screwdrivers and an axe’.<sup>34</sup> The unconventional and life-threatening element of these arsenals was emphasised in an attempt to portray their wielders—in every case black—as crude criminals.

Referencing police reports, the *Liverpool Echo* described one black assailant as being ‘completely out of control, shouting and screaming like a madman...foaming at the mouth’.<sup>35</sup> Another black man, reported to have ‘waved [a] life preserver in street’, was described as

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<sup>31</sup> Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto*, pp. 138-142.

<sup>32</sup> Job competition that followed the decline of local trade and shipping industries, the poor pay offered by shipping companies and the immigration of some 2-3000 black immigrants into Liverpool during the war had encouraged white seamen to attack local black clubs and cafes: See Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto*, pp. 79-91. Black cafes and social clubs such as Colsea House and ‘Wilkie’s’ were identified as the ‘centre of troubles’. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 3 August; 4 August 1948

<sup>33</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 3 August 1948. Of the arrested were black, while only 10 were white, including two women (*Liverpool Echo*, 19 August 1948).

<sup>34</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 10 August 1948.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* The police reports were dominated by accounts from officers attempting to justify their inability to contain the disturbances by citing the uncontrollable violent behaviour of black assailants.

appearing ‘completely demented’.<sup>36</sup> These representations both reinforced the police’s account of the disturbances and defined black Liverpudlians as a threatening and hostile influence. The actions of those black people involved in the disturbances were also said to be provocative and organised. Black offenders, operating from their ‘headquarters’ in a local club, were said to have ‘attacked and stoned a number of white men who were walking *peacefully* along the street’.<sup>37</sup>

*Liverpool Daily Post* coverage acknowledged the role of white people in the outbreak of disturbances, but categorised the violence as being motivated by historically established racial tensions in the city. Violence was reported to have broken out after ‘a crowd of white men assembled outside throwing bricks and bottles and every window [of Colsea House, a hostel used by black seamen] was smashed’ around eleven o’clock. White-led disturbances had begun at 10 pm when a café owned by black Liverpudlian Michael Lasese on St. James Street was vandalised by a group of white men.<sup>38</sup> Despite this, the *Liverpool Daily Post* represented the violence as being characteristic of tensions ‘in *that part of the city* [identified as St James Place, Upper Parliament Street, Wesley Street, Park Place and Upper Stanhope Street] where there is a large coloured population’ (see Figure 18).<sup>39</sup> By identifying a fixed ‘coloured’ section of the city and labelling it as the centre of violence, the *Liverpool Daily Post* implied even the hostile actions of white individuals were responses to the supposedly disruptive presence of black people in a central part of Liverpool.

As instances of violence in the city centre eased, the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* turned their attention towards the responses of local officials who blamed black

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<sup>36</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 19 August 1948.

<sup>37</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 3 August 1948. Emphasis mine.

<sup>38</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 3 August 1948. Despite seemingly being a victim of white violence, the *Liverpool Echo* had identified Lasese as one of ‘the main causes of trouble’. *Liverpool Echo*, 2 August 1948.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

Liverpudlians for disturbing the peace. Coverage was dominated by reports of the many court cases in the latter weeks of August 1948 which blamed the mostly-black defendants for ‘disorderly behaviour’ and the assault of police officers.<sup>40</sup> While the *Liverpool Daily Post* did give voice to claims of police brutality—evidenced by the presence of bruising and swelling on the faces of men which was consistent with baton injuries—its detailed coverage of the sentences imposed on black offenders reinforced perceptions about their responsibility for the disturbances.<sup>41</sup> The reason the disturbances ended, it was suggested, was because those culpable—the black men now in court—had been removed from the streets. There would, in turn, be ‘grave danger of worse things happening if these men are allowed out’.<sup>42</sup>

The *Liverpool Echo* gave detailed coverage of the Assistant Chief Constable of Liverpool E. Nichol’s speech to an Upper Parliament Street community meeting. He addressed 200 black Liverpudlians saying: ‘I would put the position to you regardless of colour....Law and order must prevail in any organised community’.<sup>43</sup> Nichol claimed ‘there isn’t any colour question in Liverpool at the moment’ and black Liverpudlians ‘[had] a status in this city, and [would] rise or fall according to the standards you set’.<sup>44</sup> These reports highlighted the extent to which officials and the local press denied white animosity towards black people existed in the city, and so downplayed the role white men played in the disturbances. Instead, the obligation of maintaining harmonious community relations was placed on the black community itself. The tolerance of the white community was said to be contingent on the adherence to certain standards, in this case defined legally.

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<sup>40</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 4 August 1948. 46 of the accused were said to be ‘coloured men’, while two were ‘coloured women’, eight white men and two white women. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16 August 1948.

<sup>41</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 18 August 1948.

<sup>42</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 15 August 1948.

<sup>43</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 6 August 1948.

<sup>44</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 5 August 1948.

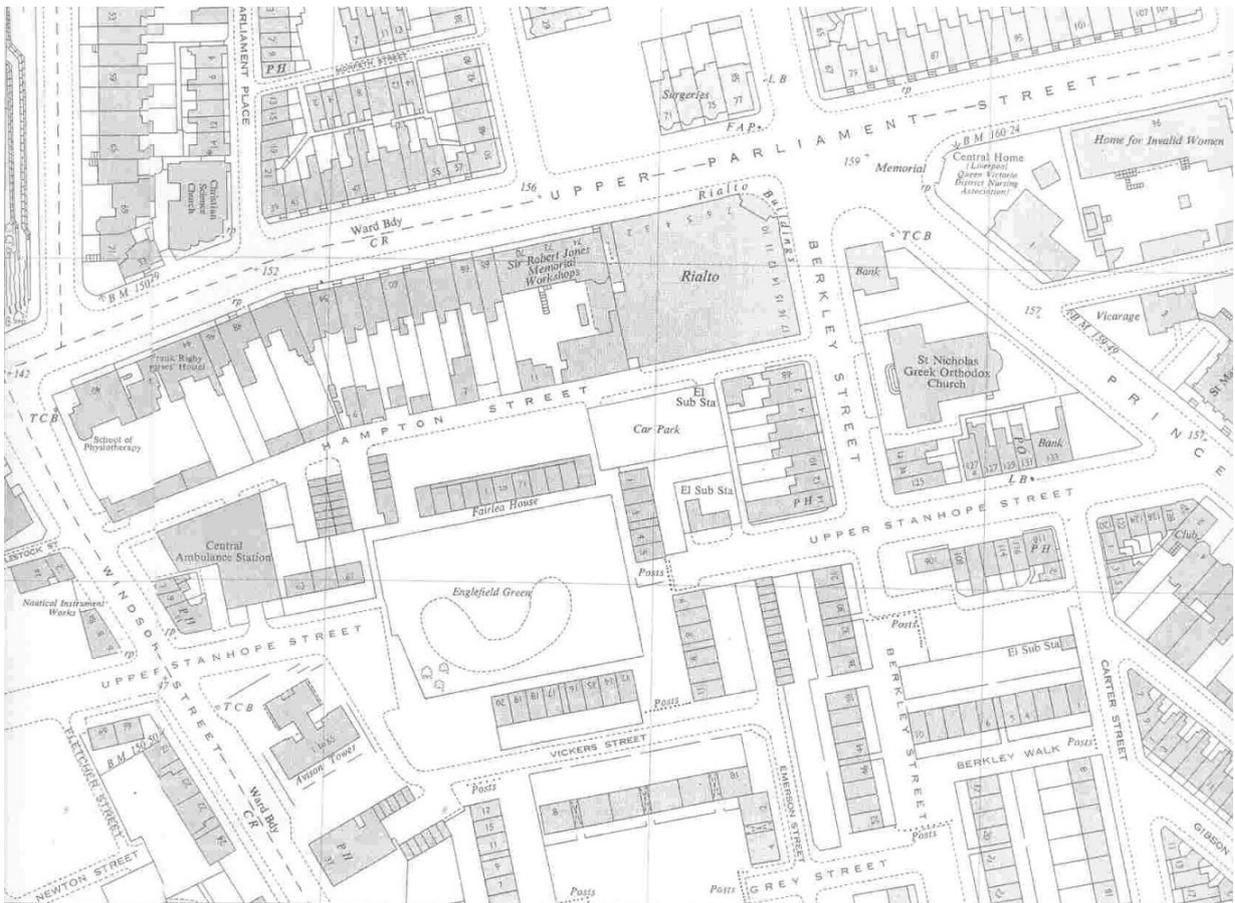
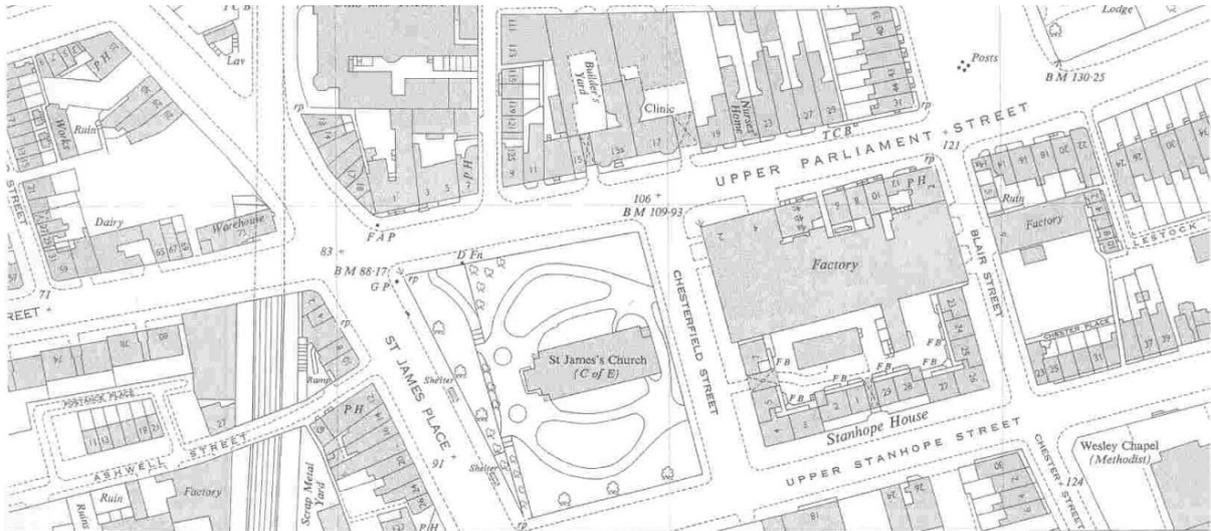


Figure 18: 'that part of the city' – the area surrounding St James Place, Upper Parliament Street, Wesley Street, Park Place and Upper Stanhope Street

Black Liverpoolians' position in the city, Nichol suggested, was insecure despite many having been born in the city. The effect such official responses had on the black residents of Granby-Toxteth was suggested in a report into a meeting of a black-run committee tasked with preventing further tensions in the area. The charter drawn up by the committee encouraged black men to 'keep away from crowds' and remain wary that their actions would impact the public perception of the entire community.<sup>45</sup> This anxious response demonstrated the unfair pressure put upon the whole black community for the violent reactions of the few and emphasises the extent to which black Liverpoolians felt an obligation to isolate themselves from wider society. A meeting which seemingly reinforced the official response was chosen by the *Liverpool Daily Post* as one of the few reports in which the black community was given a voice.

The degree to which press coverage of the disturbances in fact reinforced wider fears about Liverpool's black community was evidenced by consistent references to relations between black men and white women. A loaded subheading in an article made reference to 'Screaming white girls' caught in the middle of the disturbances.<sup>46</sup> Although no official complaints were raised regarding the behaviour of these black men, it was reported that 'the [black] accused were ringed around two [screaming] white girls'.<sup>47</sup> The presence of white women in an area defined as the 'coloured' sector of the city had already been characterised as a problem when the *Liverpool Daily Post* published the findings of Liverpool Watch Committee's report into the disturbances. This report had suggested any effort to prevent

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 18 August 1948. Bold emphasis in original.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

future violence would require ‘the cleaning up or closing of certain public houses in the coloured quarter, known as the haunts of young white girls’.<sup>48</sup>

The Liverpool press’s reports into the disturbances were vague concerning the origins of the conflict, but their repeated reference to clubs and social interactions between black men and white women implied ‘inter-racial’ mixing itself was disruptive to public order in the city. Given the negative responses to mixed relationships in the inter-war years, referring to miscegenation provided a ‘common sense’ way of communicating tensions between white and black people.<sup>49</sup> Possible economic motivations behind the riots were ignored. While little conclusive evidence exists concerning the outbreak of rioting, National Union of Seamen protests against the use of black seamen in Liverpool ports were later in August.<sup>50</sup> These grievances, a likely cause of tensions given the proximity of Upper Parliament Street to seamen communities, received no attention in the press. Doing so would legitimise the grievances of black Liverpoolians suffering from discrimination. Instead, a narrative relying on anti-social black antagonists was constructed, as it had been in 1919.<sup>51</sup>

By relying on official sources, such as police and court records, the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* characterised anxieties about the social position of black people in Liverpool as a threat to public order. Violence throughout August 1948 was represented as a result of transgressions of the physical and imaginary boundaries imposed on the black community by decades of prejudice and discrimination. Negative press reports acted as a way to further alienate black Liverpoolians, and so reinforced the apparently deliberate repression carried out by local whites and the police. The degree to which Granby-Toxteth was

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<sup>48</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16 August 1948.

<sup>49</sup> Murphy, *From the Empire to the Rialto*, pp.131-163.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>51</sup> Rowe reaches similar conclusions when explaining why the 1919 Liverpool riots were racialised by the press. Rowe, *The Racialisation of Disorder*, pp. 51-72.

perceived to be a ‘problem area’ of the city, and the extent to which these anxieties were racialised due to its high black population, would dominate how the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* would respond to the experiences of black Liverpudlians.

‘The Littered, Workless Streets Behind the Rialto’: Black Liverpudlians in the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo*, 1952-62.

While there were a substantial number of black Liverpudlians by the 1950s, as a community they were largely neglected in the pages of the *Liverpool Echo* and the *Liverpool Daily Post* during the period 1952-62. Even when violence broke out in Nottingham and Notting Hill during the summer of 1958 and debates about racism and immigration entered the pages of the Liverpool press, little reference was made to the city’s own black population. While some articles in the 1950s did provide an insight into community relations in Granby-Toxteth, the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo* did not perceive black Liverpudlians to be part of their audience; or their experiences to be of interest to local readers.

The reopening of Stanley House—black Liverpudlians’ largest cultural centre—as a community centre for black and white locals in 1952 marked not only a pioneering attempt to improve community relations, but also a shift in the way these relations were represented in the Liverpool press. A *Liverpool Daily Post* report into the re-opening both acknowledged the ‘colour bar’ in the city and celebrated the efforts of black Liverpudlians to end it by their encouraging of social interaction between white and black locals.<sup>52</sup> Quoting black Liverpudlian John Baily, the report highlighted ‘good will...on each side [white and black]’ and that the centre could help foster understanding and friendship.<sup>53</sup> In a subsequent report, Lord Mayor Albert Morrow was quoted as saying the centre should become a ‘clearing house

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<sup>52</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 6 December 1952.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

for all problems’, and by revealing and discussing them, racial tensions in Granby-Toxteth could be relieved.<sup>54</sup> By acknowledging there was a ‘colour problem in the city that need[ed] fighting’, the *Liverpool Daily Post* itself showed signs of following this philosophy.<sup>55</sup> The interactions between black and white children at the centre were reported to be ‘a model of how race relations...should be conducted’.<sup>56</sup>

Despite the positive coverage Stanley House received, wider relations in Granby-Toxteth were largely ignored by Liverpool’s press in the following months and years. Instead, black Liverpoolians were often mentioned only in articles relating to court cases or crime in the city. For example, in June 1956 a number of separate reports drew attention to illegal immigration and the related drug trade in the city. Coverage of arrests made by immigration officials in the *Liverpool Echo* implied Jamaican and Nigerian ‘stowaways’ were being brought into the city.<sup>57</sup> A feature article in the *Liverpool Daily Post* also drew attention to police concerns about ‘coloured’ seamen trafficking drugs into Liverpool via shipping lines.<sup>58</sup> Police sources informed the newspaper of a burgeoning trade in Indian hemp—a drug used ‘almost exclusively...by coloured folk’—across the city.<sup>59</sup> In the same month, another report covered the case of a fourteen year old girl said to be ‘associated with...a coloured man’ who had requested police protection and support.<sup>60</sup> While the report was vague on the details and outcome of the case, it was implied the girl had been taken in by black men for ‘immoral purposes’—likely to be prostitution.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9 December 1952.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1952,

<sup>57</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 6 June 1956; 8 June 1956.

<sup>58</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 14 June 1956.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 5 June 1956.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo*'s interest in cases relating to the associations between black men and white women was reflected in the attention they gave to a case in October 1958 in which a white woman claimed she had been 'held captive' and raped by a black man.<sup>62</sup> A sensationalist front page header referenced the 'berserk man' who had kept the women in his attic, repeatedly sexually assaulted her and attacked arresting officers with a knife.<sup>63</sup> Shocking and lurid cases such as these would often serve as the only representations of black residents in the Liverpool press and reinforced racist assumptions about black criminality. The newspapers' reliance on official sources—be they visits by the mayor to community centres or criminal records—severely limited the ways in which black Liverpudlians could be characterised.

The invisibility of black Liverpudlians in the local press was demonstrated by the lack of comment on local experiences and relations in the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*'s coverage of the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots. Coverage of the riots followed the pattern of many other press publications by blaming white 'hooligans' and racism for the riots and focusing on the court sentences white youths received. Rather than turning attention to the extent to which the riots drew comparison to past disturbances within Liverpool, an editorial raised changes to laws concerning black immigration as the potential solution to 'race troubles' in Britain.<sup>64</sup>

Despite two feature articles defending the rights of black immigrants to enter the country, Conservative MP for Kirkdale Norman Pannell, who would become one of the staunchest advocates of immigration restriction in the coming years, reflected the *Liverpool*

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<sup>62</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 27 October 1958.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 10 September 1958.

*Daily Post's* editorial scepticism about the future of immigration law in a feature article.<sup>65</sup>

While he never explicitly mentioned black Liverpudlians in his report, references to unemployment, illegal immigration, drug-running, prostitution and violence amongst black immigrants would likely have brought to readers' minds reports focusing on similar local concerns in the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo*.<sup>66</sup> By supporting increased powers to deport 'coloured criminals', Pannell challenged the rights of black people *already* established in Liverpool.

Despite the support for increased immigration restriction put forward by the *Liverpool Daily Post's* editor and Pannell, readers' letters published during the Notting Hill fallout demonstrated some anti-racist sentiment. Letters were rarely used by the *Liverpool Daily Post* or *Liverpool Echo* editors to engage with the topic of racism and immigration, yet the prominence of the debates surrounding the 1958 riots provided a rare opportunity for more diverse voices to be given column inches. Collected under the headline 'The Evils of Racial Discrimination', the letters blamed racism, intolerance and 'ignorant stupidity' for the riots and defended black people in Liverpool as being 'modest, courteous...and decent, law-abiding citizens'.<sup>67</sup> Still, readers tempered their optimism by raising concerns about 'miscegenation' and the 'threat' unrestricted immigration posed to the local labour market.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Christopher Marsh, for example, cited relatively low immigration numbers and the economic benefits of migration as a reason to fight racist impulses. *Liverpool Daily Post*, 10 September 1958. A very similar argument was put forward in a feature by Harvey Cole in a later feature article; see *Liverpool Daily Post*, 12 November 1958. Pannell was one of the most active members of Parliament in the debate about immigration. As early as 1956 he raised concerns that problems of housing and unemployment in Liverpool were among the 'grave social problems arising...as a result of the influx of immigrants'. At several occasions he also called for the deportation of black people who had been convicted of crimes relating the drug trade and prostitution in Liverpool. See Hansard HC Deb 28 February 1957, vol 565, cols 1385-61385.

<sup>66</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 19 December 1958.

<sup>67</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 17 September 1958.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

The riots encouraged the *Liverpool Daily Post* to investigate the experiences of Liverpool's own community of black populations. A small feature article focused on the religion of black Liverpoolians and represented them as disillusioned by deprivation and lack of opportunity in the area.<sup>69</sup> Speaking to black people in the 'littered, workless streets behind the Rialto', the reporter found many had given up their prior devotion to religion in the face of segregation in local churches and a feeling of isolation.<sup>70</sup> Concentrating on such a powerful thing as faith, the feature served to demonstrate the demoralising effect unemployment and social isolation had on black Liverpoolians. 'Liverpool 8' was defined as both a 'coloured district' and a 'no man's land'. While the presence of racial disadvantage was acknowledged, black Liverpoolians were reported to be hopeless slum dwellers, whose presence was explicitly associated with social decline in the city centre.

In November, 1958, the *Liverpool Daily Post* turned its focus back to the topic of urban violence in a three-part series of features confronting teenage crime in the city. Referring to the growth in juvenile offences and the 1958 Nottingham and Notting Hill riots, journalist David Powell called for the public to take responsibility for inner-city decline.<sup>71</sup> Powell called Liverpool 8 the 'toughest crime playground in Britain' and compared tensions in the area to those leading to 'race riots' elsewhere.<sup>72</sup>

In the wake of growing tensions and resentment towards black and Asian immigrants in cities like Birmingham and London, the *Liverpool Daily Post* gradually began to hold up the local black community as a success story. A high profile celebration of Jamaican independence in the city's Adelphi hotel in August 1962 was celebrated with a series of

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<sup>69</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 18 September 1958.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 4 November 1958.

<sup>72</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 5 November 1958.

articles about the ‘integration’ of West Indians in the city. A feature by Kate Bently used the popularity of Caribbean cooking to demonstrate how West Indians had truly become ‘neighbours’ and influenced the domestic lives of white people in Granby-Toxteth.<sup>73</sup> Another feature by Ruby Roberts celebrated the ‘integration’ of West Indians into the city more broadly.<sup>74</sup> Suggesting relations between white and black people in Liverpool were more successful than in any other large city, the feature praised the efforts of Stanley House to help West Indians become fully ‘absorbed into...the Lancashire way of life’.<sup>75</sup>

Despite marking a heightened interest in Liverpool’s black communities, *Liverpool Daily Post* feature articles about West Indians demonstrated ignorance about the history of black settlement in the city. In contrast to national trends, the black population of Liverpool was largely of African origin. In the 1980s, West Indians and their descendants made up only 13 per cent of the black population in Liverpool.<sup>76</sup> Despite this, Roberts’ claimed, without reference to a source, 17,000 West Indians were living ‘in and around’ Merseyside.<sup>77</sup> Highlighting the role of those West Indian technicians bought into Liverpool’s factories during the Second World War, it argued they had ‘something akin to the importance of the descendents of the Mayflower’.<sup>78</sup> These technicians, however, numbered only in the hundreds and had a limited impact on the city’s black community in comparison to the descendants of West African seamen.<sup>79</sup> The positive portrayal of West Indian Liverpudlians emphasised their

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<sup>73</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2 August 1962.

<sup>74</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 7 August 1962.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Small, ‘Racialised Relations in Liverpool’, p. 515.

<sup>77</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 7 August 1962.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> See Richmond, *Colour Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool*.

employment as typists, electricians, joiners, and mechanics and noted the frequency with which they had bought houses and maintained a high standard of living.<sup>80</sup>

In referencing this unrepresentative experience as one relevant to all black-Liverpudlians (17,000 was likely to be an estimation of the entire black population) Roberts reinforced the myth that Liverpool was a ‘tolerant city’. She also further obscured the social and economic difficulties black Liverpudlians faced. Indeed, a West Indian technician was quoted as saying ‘racial prejudice [was] no longer a problem’. The style of journalism used by the *Liverpool Daily Post* was not concerned with investigating the facts, but in communicating a positive portrait of Liverpool to local readers.

#### Ignoring the ‘Writing on the Wall’: Discrimination in Liverpool, 1967-69.

The *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*’s complacency in acknowledging the true experiences of black Liverpudlians and the problems they faced was uncovered by a number of reports into ‘race relations’ in the city released between 1967 and 1969. While Stanley House had encouraged newspaper reports about the positive efforts being made to improve relations between black and white people, the press had failed to understand the true scope of the social and economic disadvantage faced by black Liverpudlians. A 1967 BBC *Panorama* episode about the integration of black and Asian immigrants into British cities was the first to challenge the view that Granby-Toxteth was a community relations ‘success story’.<sup>81</sup> In the following years, the findings of two reports—Liverpool Youth Organisation Committee’s *Special But Not Separate* report of 1968 and the report of the Commons Select Committee on

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<sup>80</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 7 August 1962.

<sup>81</sup> *Panorama*, 3 April 1967.

Race Relations in Liverpool—uncovered these realities and shook the city’s newspaper representation of black Liverpudlians.

The *Panorama* special received a relatively sceptical response in the pages of the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*, which highlighted a reluctance to acknowledge problems in the city. In a review of the episode, a *Liverpool Daily Post* reporter admitted it had highlighted the ‘crux’ of the problem in Liverpool by claiming black Liverpudlians had ‘failed’ to integrate socially with their white neighbours.<sup>82</sup> Stanley House was portrayed in the review as having failed and become just another ‘coloured’ club.<sup>83</sup> Admitting prejudice may have led to these ‘failings’, the racially exclusive social preferences of black Liverpudlians was said to be responsible for their isolation.<sup>84</sup>

In a letter, reader Ian Hargraves responded to the report, the publication of the Political and Economic Planning Report earlier in 1967 and the *Liverpool Daily Post*’s analysis. He argued the problems raised in these reports were no surprise and indicated the need for black people to be actively welcomed into the city’s institutions through council employment in education and the police force.<sup>85</sup> Responses to Hargraves’s letter highlighted the resentment some felt towards the *Panorama* special. One reader blamed discrimination on the ‘British public’s...aversion to multi-racialism’ and argued for *further* segregation.<sup>86</sup> A Liverpool 8 resident, meanwhile, argued Hargraves was ‘out of touch with the public’s feelings’ because those who had ‘contact’ with black people resented calls to end discrimination.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 4 April 1967.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 17 April 1967.

<sup>86</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 19 April 1967.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

The *Liverpool Echo* ignored the concerns about discrimination raised by the Political and Economic Planning and *Panorama* reports and shifted the debate to the problems of slum clearance in Liverpool's 'inner-city'.<sup>88</sup> A feature argued the 'dark and dreary backstreet's of Liverpool 8 visited by the *Panorama* team ignored the 'well kept' parts of the district. In response, the newspaper published a full-page spread of pictures showing off attractive views of areas like Princes Park and Belvedere Road.<sup>89</sup> The *Liverpool Daily Post* published a feature about 'the other side of Liverpool 8', the article seeking to challenge the negative portrait of the district presented by *Panorama*. The feature, like the *Liverpool Echo*'s, highlighted the attractive parts of the district and the warm, friendly attitudes of its inhabitants.<sup>90</sup> It admitted there were 'two sides' to the area, the 'respectable' sections and the 'twilight world of the ghetto'.<sup>91</sup> While insisting 'white, coloured or half-caste alike' made up the population of both these sections, the feature only reinforced the separation of Liverpool's 'coloured districts' from the 'respectable' white communities.<sup>92</sup> Black Liverpoolians were associated with concerns about drugs, crime, prostitution and deprivation that often accompanied debates about 'ghettos'. Not only had both newspapers shifted the debate about Liverpool 8 from a discussion of discrimination to one of housing—ignoring the unique problems the black community faced—they had racialised the 'problems' associated with the area and so reinforced the sense of ambivalence towards black people which had fuelled and justified discrimination.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> As highlighted earlier, Liverpool was, by 1967, in its peak period of slum clearance.

<sup>89</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 12 April 1967.

<sup>90</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 23 May 1968.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> This reinforced official responses to 'slum' districts in Liverpool 8. In the 1960s, Liverpool's Medical Officer of Health stated that 'black people tend to bring deteriorating urban districts to the level of the worst slums', Law, 'White Racism and Black Settlement in Liverpool', p. 138.

In between the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*'s features on Liverpool 8, both newspapers had covered the fallout from Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech. Reports about the speech made no explicit correlation between its controversy and Liverpool's own experiences. The *Liverpool Daily Post* admitted the speech had attracted 'EXCEPTIONAL INTEREST' from its readers.<sup>94</sup> Under the headline 'MANY AGREE – POWELL'S RIGHT', it published readers' letters which demonstrated the 'echoes of sympathy on Merseyside' for the speech.<sup>95</sup> In these letters, white resentment towards black Liverpudlians found a voice. A Liverpool 8 resident referring to tensions in the district detailed how they could 'see for [themselves] that things are getting out of hand....what worries me is what is going to happen in 20 years'.<sup>96</sup>

1968 would also mark a turning point in the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*'s representation of the insecure position of black Liverpudlians. Robin Oakley, political editor for the *Liverpool Daily Post*, commented on the Powell debate by criticising those who had 'confused' concerns about future immigration with the rights of those already in the country.<sup>97</sup> 'Grass-root' fears about community relations in 'mixed-race' areas like Liverpool, he argued, had led to the realities behind discussions about anti-discrimination law and immigration restrictions being misunderstood in the heat of emotion.<sup>98</sup> Perhaps responding to the support Powell had received in the pages of both local newspapers, Oakley suggested a more detailed understanding was needed concerning the actual experiences of black and white residents of areas like Granby-Toxteth. The publication of *Special But Not Special* in November, 1968 ensured the attention of Liverpool's newspapers would be drawn to this.

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<sup>94</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 22 April, 1968.

<sup>95</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 22 April, 1968. Capitals in original. Similarly, a *Liverpool Echo* editorial called Powell the 'consciousness of the nation': *Liverpool Echo*, 22 April, 1968.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2 May 1968.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

*Special But Not Special* was called a ‘shock report’ by the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*, who shifted their attention to the discrimination the report documented in Liverpool. As the *Liverpool Daily Post* noted, the report suggested ‘the belief that Liverpool is an integrated city is a myth’.<sup>99</sup> The report cited the ‘lack of basic information available about the coloured population’ as a driving force of the ‘lamentable indifference and lack of understanding’ of white Liverpoolians, factors which it argued fuelled prejudice.<sup>100</sup> The report argued it was the growing ambivalence of all white parts of the city—not only the economic and social tensions present in Granby-Toxteth—which threatened to ‘sow the seeds of [future] conflict’.<sup>101</sup> Liverpool’s local press had certainly not done anything to combat such indifference and ignorance.

The *Liverpool Daily Post* demonstrated a renewed commitment to informing its readers of the implications of *Special But Not Separate* by publishing its findings in detail in a feature article. In doing so, the newspaper drew attention to a heavily unrepresented group: young, second or third generation black Liverpoolians. The ‘growing’ discrimination these children and young adults faced, the report claimed was a ‘painful and depressing experience’ which exacerbated problems of unemployment and lack of social resources experienced by many of them.<sup>102</sup> Given the report’s emphasis on the duty of Liverpool’s institutions to take some responsibility for the problems black people faced, it put pressure on the *Liverpool*

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<sup>99</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 21 November 1968.

<sup>100</sup> E. J. B Rose highlighted the importance of *Special But Not Separate* and argued it demonstrated there was ‘no room for complacency about the future of the second generation of post-war coloured immigrants’. Rose, *Colour and Citizenship*, p. 490.

<sup>101</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 21 November 1968.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* These difficulties were highlighted in an investigation into local stores and factories, in which only 0.75 per cent and 2.0 per cent of the work forces respectively were black. Of the surveyed stores, only 0.1 per cent had black people working in public view.

*Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* to engage more extensively in providing a balanced representation of black Liverpudlians.<sup>103</sup>

The *Liverpool Daily Post*'s editorial response to the report marked a rare instance of explicit commentary on community relations in Liverpool 8, and demonstrated the effect the report had on the newspaper's editor. While maintaining Liverpool was 'better integrated' than many cities, he defined the alarmist tone of *Special But Not Separate* as 'necessary'. Perhaps mindful of the stance the newspaper had previously taken, he argued that the city should no longer be satisfied with 'the negative absence of [racial] hostility' and instead strive towards 'a positive *attitude* towards integration [emphasis added]'. The *Liverpool Daily Post* supported both the practical suggestions of the report and the need for white Liverpudlians to adopt a new positive and proactive attitude towards integration.

The *Liverpool Echo*'s coverage also highlighted the importance of the report in an interview with its co-author authors Margaret Simey.<sup>104</sup> *Liverpool Echo* reporter Martin Noot, interpreted the report in a way that deflected attention away from the problems facing black Liverpudlians and onto the difficulties of the white population of Liverpool 8. Noot highlighted the negative effect of poor housing and schools and the limited employment opportunities in the district but failed to acknowledge the special problems of racism and segregation.<sup>105</sup> Instead, the presence of black Liverpudlians was said to contribute to the creation of 'ghettos' in the city and creating a climate of 'revolt' among discontented white

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<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* The report, for example, called for the University of Liverpool and the City Council to take a more active role in investigating the size of the city's black population and its presence in local industry and unemployment figures.

<sup>104</sup> Margeret Simey was the wife of Thomas Simey (Lord of Toxteth and Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Liverpool, 1939-1969). In the House of Lords, Lord Simey had called for an investigation into discrimination in Liverpool in 1966. He raised concern that, having their education and job opportunities limited by racial discrimination, black Liverpudlians were becoming a 'sub-standard' community. HL Deb 19 December 1966 vol 278, cc1854. For him and his wife, uncovering racism in Liverpool had been a long-standing goal.

<sup>105</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 22 November 1968.

youths.<sup>106</sup> Noot argued *Special But Not Separate* was relevant only in relation to the problems facing white Liverpudlians and by reinforcing the association between black Liverpudlians and loaded terms like ‘ghetto’ and ‘slum’, he constituted their presence in Liverpool 8 as part of this problem.<sup>107</sup>

In March, 1969, the Liverpool press’s attention again turned to the experiences of black Liverpudlians as the Commons Select Committee on race relations and immigration visited the city. The eight-MP committee investigated the accuracy of the *Special But Not Separate* report after representatives of Liverpool’s trade unions and education committee rejected it on the basis that there was ‘no—or at most very little—prejudice in the city’.<sup>108</sup> In a feature article about the investigation, the *Liverpool Echo* reaffirmed those officials who had insisted problems raised by *Special But Not Separate* related ‘not to the question of colour, but the question of inner city [decline]’.<sup>109</sup> Its report highlighted the lack of evidence of discrimination in the city and quoted Liverpool’s Director of Education C. Clarke’s claims that white and black residents in Liverpool 8 were equally disadvantaged due to shared socio-economic conditions.<sup>110</sup> A subsequent *Liverpool Echo* article focused on local trade union claims that those complaining about discrimination against black workers were ‘trying to create a problem where none exists’.<sup>111</sup> By focusing only on the evidence of predominantly white authorities—who often obscured evidence of discrimination by refusing to

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<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Despite its focus on discrimination and lack of opportunity in local schools and occupations, ‘Special But Not Separate’ also echoed some of the unfortunate assumptions of the Fletcher Report. It represented young people of ‘mixed racial origin’ as alienated from both the ‘exclusive cultures’ of their black fathers and ‘racial prejudice’ of their white mothers. In doing so, it actually reinforced the stereotype of the ‘half-caste’ lost between two ‘worlds’ which originated in the 1930s. See Christian, ‘The Fletcher Report 1930: A Historical Case Study of Contested Black Mixed Heritage Britishness’.

<sup>108</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 25 March 1969.

<sup>109</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 26 March 1969.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 27 March 1969.

acknowledge ethnicity in their records—the *Liverpool Echo* ignored the complaints made by various black organisations in the city about discrimination.

The *Liverpool Echo*'s reliance on official sources was especially problematic as the reports of bodies such as the local police force appeared to be prejudiced. Deputy Chief Constable of Liverpool D. Daizel, for example, dismissed claims of prejudice by insisting that 'half-castes' were 'responsible for a large number of violent crimes in Liverpool 8' and violence was likely to rise in the city.<sup>112</sup> By blaming black youths for the problems Granby-Toxteth faced, the police, through local newspapers, diverted attention from accusations of discrimination they had recently faced. Derek Humphry's 1972 book *Police Power and Black People* portrayed the late 1960s as a time when black people in Liverpool were being 'hounded' by the local police patrol known as the Task Force.<sup>113</sup> While noting its success in lowering crime rates, Humphry criticised the Task Force for over-policing Granby-Toxteth and seeing black residents as 'fair game for charges because of their reputation for delinquency'.<sup>114</sup> The Force, he claimed, became 'hated and dreaded' by the black community as cases of unjustified assaults and arrests became more common.<sup>115</sup> By ignoring these complaints, and focusing on the reports of the police, the *Liverpool Echo* reinforced official definitions of black criminality.

In contrast, the *Liverpool Daily Post* questioned whether official claims that 'colour problems were dormant' in Liverpool reflected a lack of tensions or the 'lack of interest' of

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<sup>112</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 29 March 1969.

<sup>113</sup> Derek Humphry, *Police Power and Black People* (London, 1972), pp. 13-15.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* Community relations officer Dorothy Kuya claimed that there were 17 complaints of unfair arrest, 12 of alleged harassment and 11 of alleged violence among black Liverpoolians in 1970. Chairman of the Police Federation responded to such complaints the following year saying they were a 'commendation in our eyes' of the 'efficiency' of the Task Force.

local authorities.<sup>116</sup> In doing so, it reiterated the concern present in the *Special But Not Special* report concerning the role of ignorance in fuelling and obscuring discrimination. While also reporting on the claims of officials, the *Liverpool Daily Post* first gave a detailed coverage of the evidence given by black Liverpudlians and the working party responsible for *Special But Not Special* to the Committee in a feature article. Representatives of local Guyanan and Barbadian associations spoke of white youths being chosen for jobs over black children with better qualifications, and Susan Sharpey-Shefer of the working party argued even if evidence was sparse, the feeling that discrimination existed was enough to warrant concern.<sup>117</sup>

On a front page in May, 1969 the *Liverpool Daily Post* summarised speeches given by Lord Harlech and Des Wilson on behalf of Shelter about Liverpool 8. These speeches reinforced the sense of anxiety surrounding conditions in areas like Granby-Toxteth. The article said the men had come to ‘shake [the city] by the throat’ until it acknowledged the risk of an ‘eternal cycle of poverty’ developing in the district.<sup>118</sup> The report’s headline warned ‘we shall ignore the writing on the wall at our peril’, but focused only on the problems that faced white residents.<sup>119</sup> The speeches were made in an attempt to acquire funding from local businesses to start a ‘slum reclamation’ programme which would aid in the improvement of properties in order to avoid clearance. Quoting the emotive language clearly used to move investors, the report referenced the ‘sea of suffering...squalor and bitterness’ in Liverpool 8, which was said to have the worst overcrowding problem in Western Europe. It demonstrated the extent to which fears about economic decline in Liverpool—an issue of greater interest to the newspaper’s white audiences—could so easily eclipse the concerns raised about

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<sup>116</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 27 March 1969.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 8 May 1969.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

discrimination only months prior. While the picture accompanying the Shelter report showed a black boy sitting with a white boy, the problems faced by the black population went largely unmentioned.

Highlighting the isolation experienced by black Liverpudlians, the *Liverpool Daily Post*'s coverage of the 1969 Shelter report named them the 'lost souls' of Liverpool'; a term which captured their precarious position in the city and its newspapers.<sup>120</sup> While drawing on the ambiguous social position of Liverpool-born blacks (an idea linked to the Fletcher Report), the phrase spoke to the extent to which the city had abandoned these citizens due to prejudice and neglect. By June 1969, 7,000 houses in the Granby-Toxteth area were demolished, marking the start of extensive clearance in the area and the further desolation of the landscape in which many black Liverpudlians lived.<sup>121</sup> This physical situation appeared to reflect the social, economic and cultural isolation of the black community.

'Living Together in Reasonable Peace': Coverage of Deteriorating Community Relations in Liverpool, 1970-72.

Liverpool's Community Relations Council was set up in September, 1970 and Granby-Toxteth-born Dorothy Yuya became the city's first Liaison officer. The *Liverpool Daily Post* acknowledged the significance of this move the following year, and Yuya's concerns about the 'problems and differences' that existed between 'some sections of the [black] community and the police' were detailed in an article about community relations in the city.<sup>122</sup> Echoing the sentiment of 1969's *Special But Not Separate* report, she blamed the police's lack of 'understanding' of the history and culture of black Liverpudlians for these tensions.<sup>123</sup> Yuya's

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 11 June 1969.

<sup>122</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 2 June 1971.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

concern reflected a feature which continued to influence local newspaper reports; an ignorance of the special problems racism and segregation posed to black Liverpudlians.

Reflecting its emphasis on official versions of events, the *Liverpool Daily Post* shifted the debate about policing in the city to focus on the difficulties faced by police officers. An editorial blamed growing tensions in the police force on the 50% rise in resignations between 1967-70 which, it argued, was a result of dissatisfaction among officers towards new demands for police to 'enter the sphere of social behaviour of the individual'.<sup>124</sup> While Yuya had blamed lack of positive police involvement in black communities for growing tensions, the *Liverpool Daily Post's* editor blamed the *demand* to become more socially involved for increased police resentment. The newspaper diverted the police's responsibility to improve relations onto black Liverpudlians themselves; whose 'support and trust' it argued was essential to maintaining a strong police force in the city.<sup>125</sup>

Despite the relatively limited attention given to tensions between the black community and the police in Liverpool by the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*, Derek Humphrey's *Police Power* indicated the situation was far more serious. Observers within Granby-Toxteth, he argued, were surprised rioting had not occurred in summer of 1971. Liverpool Labour councillor Margaret Simey was quoted in the *People* as saying: 'The coloured community is fed up with being hounded. No one is safe on the streets after 10pm. One gang we know has given the police an ultimatum to lay off within two weeks or they will fight back. It could lead to civil war in the city'.<sup>126</sup> Between September 1970 and May 1971, Kuya had recorded seventeen complaints from black Liverpudlians concerning unfair arrests,

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<sup>124</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 16 June 1971.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *People*, 15 June 1971. Quoted in Humphry, *Police Power and Black People*. p. 13

twelve relating to harassment and eleven of police brutality.<sup>127</sup> Resentment also existed due to the lack of representation the black community received in the police force itself. Only three black police officers were employed in Liverpool by 1972, with the first ever—Neville Brown—being recruited as late as 1966.<sup>128</sup> Rising tensions in Liverpool were exacerbated by growing rates of unemployment which hit black residents particularly hard. In 1971, 29% of the black Liverpoolian population were among the 59,763 unemployed in the city.<sup>129</sup>

Humphrey implicated the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo* themselves in contributing to a culture in which abuses of power in the police could be accepted. Black Liverpoolians perceived to be ‘trouble makers’, despite evidence of drug planting and arrests made without due cause.<sup>130</sup> Humphrey complained that Liverpool’s newspapers only reported the arrests of those with drug charges in a few lines, with few details and neglected to follow up reports with news of acquittals. Because of this, he argued the black community’s complaints about drug planting had gone ignored, while reports using police sources reinforced the concept of black criminality.<sup>131</sup>

Growing tensions between local police and black Liverpoolians finally caught the attention of the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* in the spring and summer of 1971. Reverend Edward Patey, the Dean of Liverpool and Chairman of the Liverpool Community Relations Council had highlighted poor police relations as exposing the ‘myth’ that Liverpool

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<sup>127</sup> Humphrey, *Police Power and Black People*, p. 17.

<sup>128</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 27 September 1972; 5 November 1966.

<sup>129</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 11 September 1971; 18 June 1969. Rates for the Liverpool black community are uncertain due to the official policy of ignoring ethnicity in unemployment registers. However, in 1963 only fifteen per cent of immigrants in Merseyside were registered as unemployed. See *Guardian*, 4 February 1962.

<sup>130</sup> The cases of Jimmy Rogers and Lennie Cruickshank were used by Humphrey as an example of cannabis being planted by police, and following their acquittal serious questions about the reliability of Liverpool’s police force were raised: See Humphrey, *Police Power and Black People*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>131</sup> Humphrey, *Police Power and Black People*, pp. 19-21.

had no colour bar.<sup>132</sup> A meeting held by the Caribbean Council in Stanley House was said to be the culmination of talks initiated by the Liverpool Community Relations Council between police and the black community regarding the ‘explosive situation’ said to exist in Granby-Toxteth.<sup>133</sup> The ‘real problem’ according to the black representatives quoted in the report, was the racist attitude of the police.<sup>134</sup> The meetings led to the appointment of Police Community Relations Officer Les Wardale to act as liaison between representatives of the police and black Liverpudlians. Showing a considerable degree of dedication, Wardale had visited the Caribbean in order to study the ‘traditions and culture’ of local black people.<sup>135</sup> Although seemingly failing to differentiate between immigrants and black Liverpudlians of largely West African origin, the appointment did indicate an increased effort by local authorities and was welcomed by the *Liverpool Daily Post*.<sup>136</sup> These efforts also demonstrated the work done by the Liverpool Community Relations Council in drawing attention to, and attempting to resolve, previously ignored tensions.

While the *Liverpool Daily Post* had given limited coverage to talks between the police and the black community, both it and the *Liverpool Echo* were pushed into giving the matter more attention by a damning Radio Merseyside documentary about police discrimination in July 1971. The documentary had focused on Liverpool City Councillor Cyril Taylor’s claim that allegations of police harassment of black people in the city were too frequent to ignore.<sup>137</sup> Claiming this had contributed to ‘growing, almost venomous resentment’ towards police in black communities, the documentary was a high-profile embarrassment.<sup>138</sup> The

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<sup>132</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 4 June 1971.

<sup>133</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 19 May 1971.

<sup>134</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 24 May 1971.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 12 July 1971.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

same detailed account of the documentary was featured in both the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo* but there was no editorial comment or effort to investigate the matter further.<sup>139</sup> Both newspapers had been forced to acknowledge police harassment by high-profile cases, yet they still appeared unwilling to provide any further detail or assessment of the true state of community relations in the city.

The tensions in Liverpool's black community caused by both police relations and slum clearance policy came to a head in the summer of 1972 and drew a significant response from the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post*. A *Liverpool Daily Post* article on 3 August 1972 had highlighted the extent to which slum clearance in Liverpool 8 had led to 'human tragedy' in the city. Director of *Shelter* Des Wilson wrote that the low quality of both houses in clearance areas and newly-built council accommodation had led to a whole section of the population 'losing their potential to help themselves' and 'the guts [had been] torn out of them by poverty and housing'.<sup>140</sup> Following the relocation of black residents of Granby-Toxteth's clearance zones to newly developed properties in Falkner Place and Myrtle Gardens in May 1972, violence broke out on Myrtle Street on 4 August.<sup>141</sup> According to a *Guardian* report the violence had begun when black youth Delroy Burris was stabbed by a gang of young white men who had beleaguered black Liverpudlians since they had moved into Falkner Square.<sup>142</sup> The *Observer* suggested 'regular conflict' had commenced between

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<sup>139</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 12 July 1971.

<sup>140</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 3 August 1972.

<sup>141</sup> The new properties were said to have a 'coloured' or 'mixed coloured' residency of 85%. *Liverpool Echo*, 8 August 1972.

<sup>142</sup> *Guardian*, 9 August 1972. In a 1962 *Guardian* article, the newspaper had given some background to the type of tensions that existed between black and white youths in Liverpool in 1972. In its report of youth unemployment in the city, it highlighted the growth of gang culture as an outlet for local disillusioned men. In particular it highlighted the tensions between white gang 'the Jays' – whose name was short for 'John Bulls' – and black gang 'the Coons'. Described as the city's 'lost tribe of teenagers', racist gangs like the Jays, and likely those responsible for the 1972 disturbances, were said to be product of high rates of unemployment. See *Guardian*, 12 November 1962.

white and black gangs since the summer of 1971.<sup>143</sup> Black gangs like the ‘Granby Afros’ and the ‘Soul Klan’ were said to be the target of white aggression.<sup>144</sup> By being relocated, black youths had essentially been placed in white gang territory. As this relocation occurred both in the summer holidays and during a time of high unemployment, the number of those involved in gangs—and their conflicts—had reached a peak. Responses to the disturbances around Myrtle Street area ignored the problem of racism, and focused instead on debates about competition for housing.

The first *Liverpool Daily Post* report into the disturbances emphasised the ‘terror’ instigated by local gangs of youths. Two had been stabbed the night before, while barricades had been set up around Falkner Place.<sup>145</sup> The Falkner Place houses were boarded up while gangs reportedly threw bricks through windows.<sup>146</sup> Without commentary, the reporting lacked detail about the origins of tensions and ignored the fact that fights between white and black gangs had started the violence. The newspaper seemed unaware of the complex and racialised social code informing the actions of gangs, and was unable to explore the issues with the same level of sophistication presented in the *Observer*. Moreover, lack of awareness of this situation was reflected in the clearance policy itself, which seemingly failed to consider the effect of relocating black youths into areas where they would face increased hostility.

The *Liverpool Echo* commented in much more detail on the events and attempted to calm the fears of its readers. Its editor argued it would make every effort not to sensationalise the violence as ‘cool heads and a sense of proportion’ were needed in order to dispel

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<sup>143</sup> *Observer*, 13 August 1972.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>145</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 8 August 1972.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

tensions.<sup>147</sup> It acknowledged the role of re-housing in intensifying resentment between white and black residents in Falkner Place, and called for the action of the City Council. The editor obscured the racist nature of the gang conflicts, stressing that Liverpool had ‘emerged in recent years as a place where people of different views and cultures [could] live together in reasonable peace’.<sup>148</sup> By doing so, he ignored the concerns raised about worsening relations in the previous four years. In a report, Liverpool’s Police Chief James Haughton and Council Leader William Sefton argued the disturbances were in response to ‘a basic environmental problem concerning the allocation of housing’.<sup>149</sup> A *Liverpool Echo* editorial also questioned the role of racism in the disturbances by bemoaning ‘trouble between rival gangs of youths, some of them coloured’ being characterised as racially motivated.<sup>150</sup> The *Liverpool Daily Post* elaborated on this ‘environmental problem’ in an article suggesting jealousy of established white residents in Falkner Place and Myrtle Gardens had led to violence against those black people given newly developed homes.<sup>151</sup> By classifying the violence as the type of ‘upset’ that would inevitably crop up ‘from time to time’ given economic problems in Liverpool, the newspapers ignored acute problems of youth unemployment, re-housing and police discrimination which had all contributed to the disturbances.<sup>152</sup>

A subsequent *Liverpool Daily Post* report covered a resident’s meeting which showed more awareness of the racist nature of the violent skirmishes and the attention of readers was drawn to it in an editorial.<sup>153</sup> In the meeting, Ludwig Hesse of Liverpool Community Relations Council pointed to the existence of ‘inborn prejudices’ which had found expression in the

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<sup>147</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 8 August 1972.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>149</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 9 August 1972.

<sup>150</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 9 August 1972.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Liverpool Daily Post*, 10 August 1972.

actions of white gangs.<sup>154</sup> As Hesse and members of the black community had complained about police forces ignoring their calls for assistance and only helping white residents, the *Liverpool Daily Post* published an article which gave voice to the accusations of police prejudice made by Humphrey in *Police Power and Black People*. In the report, journalist David Wotherspoon not only acknowledged claims about police abuse of power, but also the complaints raised against the *Liverpool Daily Post*'s own coverage and suggested the situation should be 'discussed and acted upon by both sides'.<sup>155</sup> In acknowledging these claims in the wake of the Falkner Place disturbances, the *Liverpool Daily Post* showed a new willingness to acknowledge the special problems the black community in Liverpool faced.

### Conclusions.

The Falkner Square disturbances of 1972 were the result of the restructuring of social spaces through resettlement previously defined on racial terms. The racialised boundaries in the city had been identified in the local press's coverage of the 1948 disturbances, during which violence was also motivated by territorial white racists reacting against a perceived threat to their privilege. In 1948, black Liverpoolians were alleged to be disturbing white people's access to jobs and white women. In 1972, young black Liverpoolians were said to be imposing on the white social spaces of white gangs. In both cases, racism and segregation informed the social experiences of black Liverpoolians, influenced by the decline of housing and jobs in Liverpool 8 and Granby-Toxteth. Racism was a special problem in Liverpool, but it was not separate from the socio-economic difficulties black Liverpoolians faced and was in fact intrinsically linked to it.

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<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

By referring to black Liverpoolians only when they constituted a problem, the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Liverpool Echo* reinforced racist attitudes and the discrimination they justified. As Liverpool's newspapers had not described the realities facing black Liverpoolians, social decline in Granby-Toxteth was often misinterpreted, or misrepresented, as a special problem they posed to the city. By representing Liverpool 8 as a 'ghetto' in the making, and implying black Liverpoolians had contributed to this, they assigned blame to what was in fact a small, largely confined, minority in the district. Editorials and feature articles rarely sought to expand the knowledge of their readers about the existence of racism, as they felt no obligation to represent black Liverpoolians. The lack of any significant settlement of black or Asian people into Liverpool after 1948 meant the 'problems of immigration' were not particularly newsworthy. The small proportion of coverage about themes relating to immigration demonstrated that regional social contexts, rather than national narratives, played the most powerful role in shaping local perceptions of race.

The *Observer's* 1972 article on racism and gangs in Liverpool provided an example of how the *Liverpool Echo* and *Liverpool Daily Post* could have characterised tensions in the city. By using a more investigative journalism, the newspaper gave a voice to those white and black young people who were experiencing the realities of racism, unemployment, and slum clearance.<sup>156</sup> The feature acknowledged both the general social tensions contributing to the disturbances and the specific problems of prejudice faced by young black Liverpoolians. Most importantly, it highlighted how social segregation continued to confine black Liverpoolians within Granby-Toxteth. Because many of these people were now third-generation British-born, the *Observer* could find no other explanation for their enduring

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<sup>156</sup> *Observer*, 13 August 1972.

disadvantage than discrimination.<sup>157</sup> These young people were as much the children of Liverpool as they were of the Caribbean or Africa, yet little official action had been taken to respond to the pressures they faced.<sup>158</sup>

The fact violence broke out less than a mile away from Upper Parliament Street decades after the 1948 disturbances only served to highlight the continued existence of prejudice and social tensions in and around Granby-Toxteth. Yet, after all this time, Liverpool press devoted little more space in its pages to investigating, exposing or condemning racism. Black Liverpudlians were no longer explicitly blamed for the disturbances, and the social tensions surrounding them were at least acknowledged. But focusing exclusively on social problems affecting all residents of Liverpool 8, and by attempting to remove race from a situation where its concept was clearly relevant, the newspapers held on to the myth of Liverpool tolerance at the expense of a frank discussion of the problems facing the black community. As *Separate But Not Special* demonstrated, this frankness was sorely needed. By neglecting the unique position of Liverpool immigration history, both newspapers only reinforced the degree to which debates about racism and integration represented local black people as outsiders.

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

## **Chapter 8**

### **'Boltonians, Britons or Merely Exiles?': The *Bolton Evening News* and Asian Immigration into Bolton, 1958-72.**

This chapter will analyse how the *Bolton Evening News* initially defended, but subsequently challenged the rights of Asian immigrants in Bolton between 1958 and 1972. The newspaper had a monopoly over its local market and so the views of its editors went largely unopposed in the early 1960s. Responses to immigration in the newspaper were shaped by local anxieties and resentment towards new immigrants entering Bolton at a time when the town was experiencing industrial decline. A substantial number of Asian people migrated into Bolton in the 1960s and were perceived to be a threat to the opportunities of white people. Concepts of racial and cultural difference were used by the *Bolton Evening News* as tools by which the obligations of tolerance could be shirked and the privileges of white Boltonians upheld. Editor Tom Cooke (1965-79) structured the correspondence pages of the *Bolton Evening News* throughout the later 1960s so that a substantial number of racist readers letters were selected which reinforced his anti-immigration editorial line. Hostile and often anonymous letters were a frequent feature of the *Bolton Evening News*'s coverage of race and immigration and represented a white community of readers as being against further Asian immigration. The newspaper's response to immigration demonstrated the dangers of adopting an attitude of conditional acceptance and tolerance, as the rights and social well being of Asians were consistently challenged.

Feature articles in the *Bolton Evening News* served a similar function as those in the *Daily Mirror*, and often used investigative journalism to challenge the racist assumptions presented in editorials and readers' letters. Journalists like June Corner interviewed Asian settlers and often challenged arguments that they contributed to industrial decline and overcrowding in 'slum houses'. Instead, Asians were characterised as hard working and said to keep good homes. In contrast, editorials and letters rarely recognised the right of Asian people to occupy houses and jobs in the town. As local pro-immigrant rights groups consolidated between the mid-1960s and early 1970s, more diverse voices began to be represented in the newspaper and challenged racist definitions of privilege and identity. The newspaper provided a forum for debates about race, community identity and white privilege in the town.

The *Bolton Evening News* responded to the first significant waves of Asian immigration in 1962 by emphasising the obligation of Boltonians to tolerate and integrate the town's latest residents. The concept of tolerance supported by the *Bolton Evening News* was conditional and Asians were expected by the newspaper to abandon their traditions and be absorbed into local society. In 1965, the editorial stance of the newspaper hardened against further immigration as the town's textile industry declined and local residents began to settle outside of the city. The sense of loss that accompanied these social and cultural changes meant Asian immigration was often seen as a threat to local identity itself. Complaints about maintenance of Asian settlers' cultural traditions began to be used to challenge their rights to housing, employment and education, although evidence of Asians's negative effect on industry and housing was minimal.

The 1964-70 Labour Government saw the responses to immigration in Bolton as an example of the effect growing rates of Asian migration would have on British towns and

cities. Bolton Council were encouraged to take greater efforts to help immigrants. The *Bolton Evening News* questioned whether white Boltonians should feel obliged to help Asian immigrants or tolerate their cultures. Bolton Town Council and the *Bolton Evening News* offered to the town's population different interpretations of the form integration should take. Representatives of local authorities sympathetic to the rights of Asians were given voice in the newspaper, particularly through the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council (Bolton Council for Community Relations after 1969) which sought to challenge negative representations of Asian Boltonians. These attitudes were reflected in feature articles, which often incorporated the views of community relations workers and Asian Boltonians.

By 1968, local coverage of national debates about immigration meant Asians in Bolton, despite evidence about their more positive role, had come to be seen as a disruptive force. Responses to national debates surrounding immigration law and Enoch Powell were informed by the same local anxieties that had shaped the *Bolton Evening News's* coverage since 1962. Readers' letters, which were a core part of the newspaper's identity as a forum of local people, often reinforced the racist attitudes of the newspaper's editorial line. In the early 1970s, however, a new policy about selecting readers' discouraged anonymity and curbed the expression of racist attitudes in the newspaper. As a result of both this and the apparent success of the Bolton Council for Community Relations in providing a voice for Asian Boltonians, responses to the migration of Ugandan-Asians into Bolton were more sympathetic. While resentment and racism continued to be expressed in the *Bolton Evening News*, Asians were beginning to be represented as part of the local community.

## The History of Asian Migration into Bolton.

An analysis of Bolton's regional press provides opportunities to evaluate the influence of concepts of ethnicity at a local level and more specifically to explore responses to a predominantly Indian and Pakistani immigration pattern. While Asian immigration into Bolton started with the migration of Hindus from Gujarat in the early 1950s, only five Asian families lived in Bolton by the middle of the decade.<sup>1</sup> Muslims from Gujarat moved to Bolton in small numbers later in the 1950s, with a smaller number of Punjab Pakistanis and Indians from the border area of the Indian Sub-Continent following at the end of the decade.<sup>2</sup> No substantial immigration occurred until the early 1960s, when refugees from fighting occurring in Kashmiri took advantage of the 1948 British Nationality Act to escape to Britain.<sup>3</sup> These refugees and other immigrants from Gujarat came to Bolton in the 1960s as the town was an important part of the textile trade, and so factory work suited their own experiences. This trend was enhanced by the voucher system introduced by the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, which forced immigrants to work in specific factories across Britain such as those in Bolton.<sup>4</sup>

There were around 2,500 Asians in Bolton by 1965, but according to surveys conducted by the Bolton Council for Community Relations, there were at least 4,000 Indians, 2,500 Pakistanis, 1,000 West Indians and 500 West Africans living in the town by 1968.<sup>5</sup> These figures show the extent to which Commonwealth immigration into Bolton was principally Asian. By the time the first reliable figures were released in the 1974 census, the

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<sup>1</sup> Bolton Metropolitan Borough Fairness Team, *Migration into Bolton, who came to Bolton?* (Bolton, 2001).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Bolton's Asian communities also say that a flood in the town of Mirpur, in which many refugees from Kashmiri had taken refuge, further spurred efforts to migrate to Britain.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1962 has been identified by Bolton's Asian community as the first year of large scale immigration

<sup>5</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 22 August 1972.

total black and Asian population of the town was said to be 12,498, including births.<sup>6</sup> The majority of this increase was likely to be Asian and around 1,000 Kenyan-Asian's had migrated into the town in 1968.<sup>7</sup> 75 per cent of this population was under 35, demonstrating that, while initial patterns of migration into Bolton would have been dominated by skilled and semi-skilled male labourers, settlers were primarily young families by the early 1970s.<sup>8</sup>

Most Asians migrating into Bolton settled in the Derby, Halliwell and Central wards of the town. Within these areas, certain roads became the centre of Asian settlement, with Deane Road in Derby ward, Blackburn Road and Halliwell Road in central ward and Old Chorley Road in Hailliwell/Central ward being the most frequently referenced in the local press (see Figure 19). These areas all fit within slum clearance plans which concentrated on old housing on the fringes of the town centre. The growth of Asian immigration in the 1960s meant that the Bolton experience reflected national trends in regards to the migration of Asian families into Britain after 1962. National debates about immigration were of more relevance to the *Bolton Evening News's* coverage because Commonwealth migration into Bolton was both a widely new phenomenon and more visible given the towns size.

### The History of the *Bolton Evening News*

The status of the *Bolton Evening News* as an independent newspaper holding a monopoly in the region meant its perspectives were particularly influential. William Frederic Tillotson printed the first edition in March 1867, and still in 1967 it remained independent, with a daily

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<sup>6</sup> Bolton Archives and Local Studies, B323.41B.BOL, Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council Newsletter, June 1974.

<sup>7</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 22 August 1972.

<sup>8</sup> Bolton Archives and Local Studies, B323.41B.BOL, Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council Newsletter, June 1974.



Figure 19: Bolton Archive and Local Studies, Map of Bolton 1975 Ward Boundaries, A. Deane Road, B. Upper Deane Road/Moore Lane, C. Old Chorley Road, D. Blackburn Road, E. Halliwell Road.

readership on 90,000.<sup>9</sup> According to Tillotson's grandchildren, its editorial voice stood for 'independent, progressive views....[and] for improvement to the town and its citizens'.<sup>10</sup> Because of this, the emphasis of coverage was on 'local, public events'.<sup>11</sup> Between 1958 and 1972, there were two editors and during their reigns the policy relating to immigration shifted significantly. As this chapter will show, editor Frank Singleton (1945-65) emphasised the importance of integration and tolerance while Tom Cooke (1965-79) challenged the assumption that white Boltonians were in any way responsible for the welfare of Asians in the town. Under Cooke's editorship, national debates about the multicultural future of Britain took precedence and had an adverse effect on the local realities of Asian immigration.

'Bolton's Expanding Population': Social Change and Asian Immigration into Bolton, 1958-62.

When violence broke out in Notting Hill and Nottingham during the summer of 1958, Bolton was a community without a substantial black or Asian population. The *Bolton Evening News's* response to the riots showed a degree of sophistication which was often absent in the national press. An editorial acknowledged the disturbances were not without precedent and placed them within the context of social and economic tensions that had previously resulted in violent outbursts in Liverpool and Cardiff.<sup>12</sup> Ultimately, the editor argued, the disturbances symbolised the 'ambivalence' white Britons held towards black Commonwealth citizens. 'On the one hand', he continued, 'they lend support to abstract theories of racial equality....[But] deep down in the collective unconscious of the British the old myth of Negro inferiority...is

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<sup>9</sup> *Bolton Evening News, 100 Anniversary Edition*, 20 March, 1967.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 September 1958 p.2. Referring to the 1948 Liverpool disturbances, the editor blamed racist attacks in the South East as a response to 'an assortment of fears and frustrations' created due to the concentration of black communities into poorly maintained and overcrowded neighbourhoods and accommodation.

said to be extant, a myth succoured through a mixture of overseas exploration, slave trading and colonial expansion'.<sup>13</sup> This antiquated belief in black inferiority, the editor suggested, was in conflict with then prevalent liberal ideology of Commonwealth unity and equality. The challenge racism posed to postwar liberal British identity was said to be central to debates about the future of the Commonwealth, immigration, and Britishness itself. The editor's response to the riots offered a solution to racial tensions the newspaper would favour into the 1970s: 'the integration of coloured immigrants'.<sup>14</sup>

The editor's conception of integration, demonstrated in the *Bolton Evening News's* response to the 1958 riots, called for the migration of black and Asian into Britain to be discouraged by Commonwealth Governments.<sup>15</sup> In this sense, the editor had failed to reconcile the liberal obligations of Britons with concepts of racial difference. From 1962 the contradictions which marked the national debates outlined in chapters 3-6 became increasingly prevalent in the local debate about immigration within the newspaper.

Increased Asian immigration into Bolton in the early 1960s was influenced in a variety of coverage which reflected local anxieties about immigration.<sup>16</sup> As the British Union of Fascists rallied across Britain in August 1962, sporadic acts of violence broke out in London and Manchester between racist members of the party and protesters.<sup>17</sup> An outbreak of smallpox earlier in the year had been associated with Pakistani immigration by politicians such as Norman Pannel and Cyril Osbourne.<sup>18</sup> While Bolton was beginning to experience

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Bolton Metropolitan Borough Fairness Team, *Migration into Bolton*.

<sup>17</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 31 July 1962; 1 August 1962; 3 August 1962. See book about BUF...

<sup>18</sup> Hampshire, 'The Politics of Immigration and Public Health', *Political Quarterly*, 76, 2 (2008), p. 192.

growing rates of Asian immigration, racist responses were largely absent.<sup>19</sup> The *Bolton Evening News*, attempted to navigate any anxieties its readers might about Asian immigration in order to stem any rise in public prejudice.

In the early 1960s the *Bolton Evening News* published a series of feature articles by journalist Stella Knight which examined Bolton's growing minority population through an exploration of various local religious sects. Attention was drawn to the 100-200 strong Muslim population of Pakistanis who, by 1962, called Bolton home.<sup>20</sup> While outlining Muslim beliefs, Knight's article also introduced the customs of Asian immigrants to her readers. Her report emphasised how the religious practices of Muslims had been adapted by immigrants so as not to disrupt British customs or the working hours of local factories.<sup>21</sup> Ultimately, the article portrayed Islam as a 'flexible religion', and emphasised the decline in the practice of polygamy, arranged marriages and purdah.<sup>22</sup> A similar article focusing on a Hindu doctor working in Bolton Royal Infirmary characterised immigrants of his faith as 'professionals' willing to adapt their religious practice to life in Bolton.<sup>23</sup>

The religious beliefs of Asians were represented as compatible with local culture and Knight dispelled myths about them. As an introduction to a new element in Bolton's population, the articles acted within the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial remit of encouraging integration and community relations. They marked the beginning of an enduring trend of

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<sup>19</sup> While there was little editorial or reader comment on the BUF disturbances, one letter did suggest that if Oswald Mosley visited Bolton, he would receive a similarly hostile reception due to his racist and anti-Semitic beliefs, *Bolton Evening News*, 1 August 1962.

<sup>20</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 19 January 1962.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* For example, Knight emphasised how the strict dietary requirements of Islam were often compromised so that Asian immigrants could buy local produce and that afternoon prayers were often abandoned by Muslim workers.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 19 March, 1962. The article used the account of Dr P. Nayar to emphasise the monotheistic nature of Hinduism and dispel misconceptions about the implications of Hindu belief in reincarnation and fatalism.

using feature articles to mediate between representatives of Asian communities and white Boltonians. While debates about immigration were mentioned in 1962 and news stories about the newly introduced Commonwealth Immigration Act appeared, they received little attention in editorial and letter columns.<sup>24</sup>

Emerging social and economic tensions in 1962 gave rise to concerns about the effect immigration was having on the town. The year began a smallpox scare across Britain that drew negative attention towards Britain's growing Asian population.<sup>25</sup> After five Pakistanis contracted the disease between late December, 1961 and the first weeks of January, 1962, a panic spread across many local newspapers in the North West which often focused on the health implications of immigration.<sup>26</sup> 25 people eventually died during the outbreak, most of whom had contracted the disease in Bradford or South Wales.<sup>27</sup> James Hampshire has demonstrated that, despite the potentially 'incendiary' nature of concerns about immigration and disease, debates about public health were 'conspicuously absent' in political and public responses to black and Asian people in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>28</sup>

As a number of deaths were recorded in mid-January and emergency clinics were set up in Manchester, the outbreak received significant attention in the *Bolton Evening News* and was consistently linked to an increase of Asian immigration.<sup>29</sup> An editorial argued that the outbreak should lead to more careful measures to vaccinate immigrants, but insisted the

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<sup>24</sup> The only editorial which engaged in the national immigration debate complained that the Commonwealth Immigration Act had led to black and Asian Commonwealth citizens being treated like 'aliens' and appeared critical of the legislation. *Bolton Evening News*, 24 July 1962.

<sup>25</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the 1962 smallpox outbreak in the British press, see Eric Butterworth, 'The 1962 Smallpox Outbreak and the British Press', *Race*, 7, 4 (1966), pp. 347-364.

<sup>26</sup> The High Commissioner of Pakistan, when visiting Bolton in March 1962, in fact criticised the North West's local press for its sensationalist coverage of the link between smallpox and Pakistani immigrants. See *Bolton Evening News*, 2 April 1962.

<sup>27</sup> Butterworth, 'The 1962 Smallpox Outbreak and the British Press', p. 348.

<sup>28</sup> Hampshire, 'The Politics of Immigration and Public Health', pp. 191-193.

<sup>29</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 1 January 1962; 8 January 1962; 12 January 1962; 15 January 1962.

occasion should not be seized upon to call for immigration restrictions.<sup>30</sup> Commentary on the outbreak eventually steadied after officials ensured there was little risk of an outbreak in Bolton.<sup>31</sup> Rather than initiating a detailed discussion about public health and immigration, more generalised concerns about Asian immigration became the focus of reports in which fears about smallpox remained unspoken. While this episode demonstrated the existence of anxiety about disease, it is a further indication of the marginal role these concerns played in informing attitudes to immigration.<sup>32</sup> As Eric Butterworth argued, newspapers were perhaps reluctant to alarm the public, especially in local contexts where medical facilities were limited.<sup>33</sup> Alternatively, political reluctance to introduce widespread costly and controversial immigration health checks may have curtailed open debate on the subject.<sup>34</sup>

Bolton was facing multifaceted social problems in 1962 relating to employment, housing and population which would, despite Knight's efforts, influence responses to Asian immigration more than concerns about disease. Since 1951, Lancashire and Merseyside had experienced the emigration of 124,000 people following the decline of their textile and cotton industries.<sup>35</sup> While unemployment had remained stable due to this exodus, figures released in

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<sup>30</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 15 January 1962, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 18 January 1962. When outbreaks of VD in the North West received media attention the following month, an editorial emphasised that Asian immigrants were not to blame. See *Bolton Evening News*, 22 February 1962. The more alarmist and sustained response to smallpox in the Bradford press, where cases were more numerous and dangerous, suggests that proximity to the disease defined coverage. Even in the Bradford case, most local newspapers attempted to calm, rather than provoke, hostile reactions to Pakistani immigrants. See, Butterworth, 'The 1962 Smallpox Outbreak and the British Press', pp. 350-364.

<sup>32</sup> This lies in contrast to past responses to immigration in and outside of Britain. Jewish migrants in early Twentieth Century Britain were often referred to as 'pollutants', while in the United States there exists a long history of associations between disease and immigration. See Hampshire, 'The Politics of Immigration and Public Health', p. 191; Alan Kraut, *Silent Travellers: Germs, Genes, and the Immigrant Menace* (Baltimore, 1994).

<sup>33</sup> Butterworth, 'The 1962 Smallpox Outbreak and the British Press', p. 347.

<sup>34</sup> Hampshire, 'The Politics of Immigration and Public Health', p. 192. When health checks were put in place in Heathrow Airport in the late 1960s, only 1 in 10,000 Asians were denied entry on health grounds, implying that concerns about disease were largely unfounded. *Ibid.*, p. 192.

<sup>35</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 May 1962. While Bolton's textile and cotton industry continued to decline in 1962 (down from 15,000 occupations to 1,200 between 1959 and 1962, with 45 factory closures in the same period)

1962 found that Bolton's population had in fact risen by 1,171 the previous year and was continuing to grow.<sup>36</sup> A December editorial raised concerns that, in tandem with a rise in birth rates and the continued decline of Bolton's factory-based industries, such growth would put significant strain on employment and housing markets in the following years.<sup>37</sup> The town had also been singled out as a priority for the Conservative Government's slum clearance policy in May 1962. The resulting restructuring of communities and construction of modern housing had the potential to put great strain on the local council.<sup>38</sup>

As the migration of Asians into Bolton coincided with slum clearance, industrial decline and population growth, it was greeted with increasing concern. The decline of Lancashire's cotton industry had already been closely associated with Pakistani competition, as evidenced by a 4,000 strong protest march of Lancashire workers in London in June 1962 against the importation of cheap Asian cotton.<sup>39</sup> While unemployment figures remained stable at 1.7 per cent according to an industrial deployment report, the *Bolton Evening News* commented anxiously about the growing number of immigrants, one hundred of whom were reported to be without work.<sup>40</sup>

More open concerns were discussed regarding the contribution Asian immigrants were perceived make to the growth of 'slum' districts in Bolton. Public responses to housing conditions racialised public health debates in a more explicit manner than in responses to smallpox. The headline '20 IMMIGRANTS TO ONE HOUSE' introduced an article which

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other professions, such as engineering and distributive trades, experienced growth in the same period. See *Bolton Evening News*, 17 July 1962.

<sup>36</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 27 December 1962.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 4 May 1962.

<sup>39</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 4 June 1962.

<sup>40</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 17 July 1962. While the report was not specific about the number of immigrants, it found the working population had risen by 3,600 in two years and suggested immigrants made up a significant proportion of this number.

outlined the ‘200 cases of overcrowding’ uncovered in a Health Committee investigation into Bolton’s living standards.<sup>41</sup> Emphasising the lack of hygiene in the homes of Pakistanis, the article argued rising immigration rates would lead to serious problems when slum clearance began in earnest. In response to the report, the *Bolton Evening News* again featured an investigation by Knight into the realities of Asians living in Bolton’s poorer districts.<sup>42</sup> The feature article was an attempt to allay concerns raised by the previous week’s headline that ‘Bolton [was] in danger of having the kind of overcrowded slums that have come to other towns with an influx of workers from the West Indies, India and Pakistan’.<sup>43</sup> It demonstrated the *Bolton Evening News*’s willingness to combat the misconceptions its own headlines could generate by clarifying that the two hundred cases of overcrowding were not all, or even predominantly, related to Asians and were often not genuine cases at all.<sup>44</sup>

Knight’s investigation utilised impromptu visits to accommodation highlighted by the Health Department’s report to challenge accusations made against immigrants. When visiting the white neighbours of a Pakistani family, Knight was told the property mentioned in the report was occupied by many people who stayed up late and failed to keep a decent level of hygiene.<sup>45</sup> When she visited the Pakistani household without warning, however, she found the property and its facilities were ‘tidy and clean’; its residents obliging.<sup>46</sup> While ten people were reported to live in the house, Knight suggested its five spacious bedrooms provided ample room, and claims of baths and floors being used as beds appeared unfounded. A similar visit to the Deane area of the town also disputed evidence of white residents being

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<sup>41</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 16 August 1962.

<sup>42</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 22 August 1962.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* The Health Department clarified that, by the standards laid down by the Housing Act of 1957, many of the cases were not examples of illegal overcrowding.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

‘disturbed’ by Asian neighbours. She attributed these unfounded claims to ‘colour prejudice’, arguing that statements such as ‘ “we hate them”, “they ought to go home” ’ and ‘ “the blacks are taking over” ’ were heard frequently despite no ‘specific complaints’ being forwarded.<sup>47</sup> Again, the Asian households she visited showed no signs of overcrowding and all ‘looked well cared for...adequately furnished and scrupulously clean’.<sup>48</sup> Knight concluded by suggesting that any legitimate claims of overcrowding must have been the result of temporary lodging of new families.<sup>49</sup> Insightfully, she recognised that protestations about ‘public health’ issues in Bolton’s housing market were but a thin veneer for racist responses to Asians taking ‘white’ homes in ‘white’ neighbourhoods.

Following Knight’s claims about the existence of prejudice, and the negative response Asians had received from white locals she had met, the *Bolton Evening News* had her interview Asian and white Boltonians to find out the truth about the experiences of immigrants and their effect on the town’s job and housing markets.<sup>50</sup> Interviewing two white families in the Deane area, Knight’s first feature highlighted the power of fears about the disruptive effect of Asian immigration. They could encourage happy, stable families to move away from their neighbourhoods. In an interview, white neighbours complained about lack of hygiene in Asian-owned properties, despite admitting they had never been inside any.<sup>51</sup> Confronted with evidence suggesting cases of real overcrowding were rare, the interviewees moved on to blame the ‘smell of curry’ and Asians ‘parading down the street’, finally admitting there was ‘nothing specific’ they could complain about.<sup>52</sup> Knight believed the idea white residents could become a minority in neighbourhoods steadily ‘becom[ing] foreign’

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<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 4 September 1962. Knight wrote that people she had met had called her report ‘biased’.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

drove the anxieties of her interviewees. In making this argument, Knight not only combated myths which justified prejudices, but also provided a nuanced elaboration of the fears that lay behind racism. In her account, social problems in Bolton led to a sense of insecurity that had encouraged white Boltonians articulate their anxieties with reference to race.

In Knight's subsequent feature article, she questioned the assumption of those who believed 'coloured immigrants live on National Assistance and don't try to get work'.<sup>53</sup> In line with her previous articles, Knight informed her readers of the true experiences of immigrants, arguing immigrant unemployment was part of a 'general' problem. Only 125 out of the 1,320 unemployed men and 5 out of the 288 unemployed women in Bolton were immigrants.<sup>54</sup> Her investigation found that while the majority of Asian immigrants worked in the declining cotton and transport industries, they were also employed in a wide variety of other positions.<sup>55</sup> Asians, she concluded, were very eager to work, only drew the National Insurance aid they were entitled to, and often visited employment agencies, mills and foundries daily looking for work.<sup>56</sup>

The only problem posed by Asian immigrants, Knight argued, was the inability of many to speak English, an issue which she worried could threaten their chances of employment and integration. This concern prompted Knight to undertake yet another investigation, this time into Bolton schools' initiatives to help Asian children in the community learn English and improve their grasp of the 'British way of life'.<sup>57</sup> The presence of only 180 foreign students in Bolton schools, the 'vast majority' of whom were second-generation Polish and Ukrainian immigrants, showcased how even relatively small numbers

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<sup>53</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 5 September 1962.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* The professions mentioned included engineering, building, confectionary, radio and television, foundries and local authorities.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 24 October 1962.

of Asian children could be viewed with disproportionate concern.<sup>58</sup> In keeping with Knight's previous articles, her investigation attempted to dispel these concerns by stressing the success of classes and reading groups in teaching basic English to recent immigrants. In attempting to provide a positive portrait of immigrants, Knight emphasised that Asian children would attend Christian prayer sessions and 'absorb' all 'British' customs apart from the eating of pork or bacon. By 'absorbing...English habits', she argued, Asian immigrants would in turn *be* 'absorbed'.

Knight's articles indicated how concepts of racial difference drove prejudice in Bolton, when little genuine cause for concern existed. The idea that the social spaces of Bolton were white, and would be corrupted by the very presence of people who weren't white, appeared to motivate the ambivalence of locals. Racialised fears were rarely articulated in terms of biological racial difference, but instead focused on custom and culture. The objections of interviewees to the 'undesirable' cultural differences of Asian people perhaps explains her early articles' attempts to represent Muslim and Hindu cultures as compatible with Bolton customs. Her later articles, while allaying economic concerns, also focused on the cultural compatibility of Asian immigrants. As the editor had outlined in 1958, the concept of integration was central to the *Bolton Evening News*'s response to immigration and was dependant on both white tolerance and Asian adherence to local customs.<sup>59</sup> As Bolton's Asian population grew throughout the 1960s, both of these requirements appeared to falter and led to a more anxious portrayal of immigration in the *Bolton Evening News*.

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> While it is difficult to judge the response that Knight's articles received, the two letters the *Bolton Evening News* did receive on the subject appeared to support her assessments and call for the wider public to accept Asian immigrants as equals. See *Bolton Evening News*, 12 April 1962; 7 September 1962.

'The Newcomers': Evolving responses to growing rates of Asian immigration in Bolton, 1965.

The concerns present in the *Bolton Evening News's* response to immigration in 1962 resurfaced throughout the later 1960s. An incident, in which white youths were allegedly attacked by Pakistanis outside a Deane Road cafe in May, 1965 bought the newspaper's attention back to racialised tensions in the town. When reports later in the year estimated the town's Asian population now numbered around 1,300, the *Bolton Evening News* began to air concerns that its call for the 'absorption' of immigrants was becoming increasingly unlikely.

May's Deane Road disturbance perhaps precipitated the *Bolton Evening News's* growing concerns about the future of community relations in the town. While the incident was alleged to have been started by Pakistani youths, reports also mentioned white youths who had told them to 'go back home' and used 'threatening and disgusting language' before the violence had broken out.<sup>60</sup> A similar incident in November 1965 during which 'white youths' attempted to break into a 'Pakistani Cafe-club' on Deane Road gave further evidence of growing tensions in the town. Despite the fact magistrates found evidence of 'a great deal of provocation' from the white youths, it was only Pakistani men who were tried for retaliating.<sup>61</sup> Local anxieties were also reflected in a May 1965 editorial criticising Asian workers at Preston's Courtaulds textile mill for striking against increases to their work load.<sup>62</sup> While sympathetic to their complaints, the editor criticised the decision to strike as an

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<sup>60</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 10 May 1965. A later report also suggested the events were precipitated by white youths attacking the Pakistani cafe and, it remained unclear whether the Asian defendants had in fact violently retaliated. *Bolton Evening News*, 11 May 1965.

<sup>61</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 11 November, 1965. Ten of the Cafe-club's windows were broken by white youths who had allegedly targeted the business multiple times in 1965. One of the fined Pakistani's argued that he was punished because 'they [the city magistrates] don't like us [Pakistanis]' and complained that the offences of white youths were ignored.

<sup>62</sup> The workers were expected to work one and a half spinning machines instead of the one they had been working previously. *Bolton Evening News*, 25 May 1965.

exclusively Asian group and warned the workers were needlessly racialising industrial relations in Lancashire's already struggling mills.<sup>63</sup> Several readers responded to these fears and complained the action would 'isolate' the workers and 'create...colour problems' in Bolton.<sup>64</sup>

The growing anxieties apparent in the pages of the *Bolton Evening News* were responded to in an editorial which agreed with the Labour Government's 1965 Commonwealth Immigration Bill. The editor argued 'stemming the flood' of immigration was essential to maintaining harmony in towns such as Bolton, and that Labour's policy was an 'inevitable' response to recent public and industrial tensions.<sup>65</sup> Previous editorials had criticised politicians for 'pretending' the arrival of immigrants 'did not create problems', but had supported the Labour Government's 1965 Race Relations Act and had not explicitly called for immigration restrictions.<sup>66</sup> The editorial of August 1965 marked an editorial shift in the newspaper's position on the rights of Asian immigrants and reflected the recent appointment of Tom Cooke.<sup>67</sup> While editorial comment on the subject of immigration remained intermittent, the *Bolton Evening News's* policy against the position of Asians in Bolton hardened.

While statements made in the August editorial appeared to be at odds with the *Bolton Evening News's* previous distaste for restrictions, the newspaper remained consistent in its emphasis on the importance of the 'absorption' of immigrants.<sup>68</sup> The 'tightly packed' nature of Britain's urban environments, the editor argued, limited their ability to absorb immigrants at the rate they were entering the country. The editorial emphasised the disruptive nature of

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 June 1965.

<sup>65</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 3 August 1965.

<sup>66</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 5 February, 1965.

<sup>67</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, History Edition.

<sup>68</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 August 1965.

cultural difference and argued more time for ‘adjustment’ was needed if immigrants were to ‘adapt’ to British customs.<sup>69</sup> While reports in 1962 had suggested language divides in education and overcrowding in housing were not as serious as some assumed, these very factors were used by the editor to justify the newspaper’s support for restrictive legislation. According to the editor, immigration had amplified or heightened the strains on Bolton’s cultural cohesion.<sup>70</sup>

As if attempting to elaborate on the Cooke’s anxiety about the implied effects Asian immigration had on Bolton, a series of feature articles by Margaret Tierney about Asian migration into the town appeared in the *Bolton Evening News* across October and November 1965. The articles estimated Bolton’s ‘coloured’ (black and Asian) population stood at 2,500 and suggested the growth of this community had posed a series of ‘problems’ to the city since 1962.<sup>71</sup> The article placed special emphasis on the 700 Indians and 500 Pakistanis whom had ‘streamed’ into Bolton since 1961.<sup>72</sup> Repeating the concerns of Cooke’s August editorial, Tierney suggested Asian immigrants’ ‘non-European way of life’ and lack of English-language skills were the key ‘barriers to integration’.<sup>73</sup> The features argued ‘immigration problems’ had been intensified by the concentration of Asian migrants into specific streets such as lower-Chorley Old Road, Blackburn Road and especially Deane Road which was said to have created isolated, alien communities within Bolton.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Interestingly, the *Bolton Evening News* had a month earlier published a feature about the benefit of migration of European labourers into Britain and across Europe which argued that ‘we couldn’t get on without them’. Black or Asian immigrants, however, were not mentioned. *Bolton Evening News*, 1 July 1965.

<sup>71</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 October 1965. This figure did not include students at the Technical College who were deemed as ‘temporary’ migrants.

<sup>72</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 28 October 1962.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

Tierney's feature articles were only sympathetic to Asian immigrants when relaying the testimony of those willing to 'adapt their customs and their religious beliefs to fit in with the way of life here'.<sup>75</sup> Those interviewed, such as the chairman of the Bolton Islamic Culture Centre and of the Pakistani Society, were already well established in the town and praise for their efforts to integrate was coupled with suspicion of the behaviour of more recent immigrants.<sup>76</sup> In particular, Tierney showed concern about efforts by Asians to find a suitable place of worship in which to instruct children in Islamic practices (which were suppressed by local schools). Indeed, any efforts to maintain Asian cultural autonomy—such as the translation of British books and media into Urdu—were said to be a 'barrier' to integration.<sup>77</sup> This was communicated to readers by drawing attention to the unequal treatment of women in Islamic societies and by suggesting Asian cultural autonomy would lead to the oppression of female immigrants and would strain relationships between Asian and white residents.<sup>78</sup> The feature concluded that, while it was 'natural' for Asians to want to keep their 'identity', 'adaptation' was essential to their integration and acceptance in Bolton.<sup>79</sup>

The principal 'problems' Tierney suggested had been caused by Asian immigrants were the social and economic difficulties that supposedly resulted from their cultural difference. Poor hygiene and the difficulties language barriers posed to Asians gaining an education and employment were the most commonly cited objections.<sup>80</sup> While Tierney

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* The article uncovered social divides and tensions between established middle class immigrants and more recent unskilled Asians similar to those found by Williams in the Jewish communities of nineteenth century Manchester. See Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance'.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* The 'place of the woman in the home' was described as 'the biggest contrast between their way of life and that of the western world', with specific reference to Asian women supposedly being barred from socialising in public.

<sup>79</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 28 October 1965; 18 November 1965.

<sup>80</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 October 1965. In fact, the report found that Asian immigrants were now more likely to buy smaller houses to avoid problems early cases of overcrowding had caused in 1962. One of the few

insisted immigration had caused these problems to ‘grow’, the evidence she provided fell more in line with Knight’s belief that Asian immigration had few negative effects.<sup>81</sup> Health visitors, the article reported, found few cases of disease, permanent overcrowding or poorly kept accommodation.<sup>82</sup> While recent immigrants were quite likely to be unskilled, figures also indicated the stability of employment rates and rarity of problems relating to language. The Education Department, meanwhile, had reported positive responses to its efforts to improve English language skills amongst Asian children.<sup>83</sup> Despite the positive portrayal offered by local officials and Tierney’s own investigations Asian immigration was represented as a ‘growing problem’. Encouraging comparisons to the *Daily Express*’s coverage of ‘mixed’ relationships, the *Bolton Evening News* editorial view that Asian immigration was disruptive and should be restricted appeared to be imposed on Tierney’s feature articles despite their contradictory findings.

The tone of the features concerning Indians and Pakistanis contrasted with more sympathetic feature articles about the integration of Ukrainian and Polish immigrants in the 1940s, which celebrated the survival of native immigrant cultures.<sup>84</sup> While it would be easy to dismiss this as evidence of racism, positive portrayal of Chinese and West Indians were also included in the series of features.<sup>85</sup> The small number of Chinese immigrants living in Bolton were said to have ‘achieved the ultimate...integration’ by running successful takeaway

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complaints raised by the local council was the oddly specific charge that some Asians had done little to prevent children from tripping over electric fires.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* The Bolton Education Committee had set up a special centre for immigrant children to learn English earlier at Trinity Street School in 1965. *Bolton Evening News*, 25<sup>th</sup> January 1966. In a report from 21 January 1966 into ‘integration in education’ the Education Department clarified that ‘integration does not, at present, cause the Department any special difficulty or problem other than the language difficulty’ and that there were only 85 Asian children whose grasp of English was limited enough to disrupt their education. The report did, however, conclude that ‘any further influx’ could result in more significant difficulties.

<sup>84</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 4 November 1965.

<sup>85</sup> This figure was cited, without sources, in the *Bolton Evening News*, 23 November, 1965. Another article had reported that numbers of Polish immigrants had in fact gone down since 1945, with only around 300 still living in Bolton in 1965. See *Bolton Evening News*, 18 November 1965

restaurants and laundry businesses.<sup>86</sup> While language was said to be central to the chances of Asian immigrants being accepted in Bolton, Chinese people had previously been ‘absorbed’ into local communities even though most ‘[spoke] very little English’.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, Tierney suggested white racism was the only barrier to the integration of West Indian immigrants whose ‘customs and way of life are based on the British’.<sup>88</sup> The focus on Asian customs as being somehow harmful to the white community was not only the result of their traditions being seen as more ‘different’ than, for example, West Indians. Instead, it was the growing rates of Asian migration—2,500 Asians were said to be living in Bolton in 1965—that made these differences appear to be a threat to local white culture, rather than just a marginal subculture.<sup>89</sup>

The largely un-substantiated concerns raised in these articles could then be used by the *Bolton Evening News* to lend support to its editorial defence of immigration restrictions. A new, more alarmist, response to often-unsubstantiated public health fears demonstrated this new policy trend. For example, in December 1965 claims about Pakistanis carrying infectious diseases were cited by the editor as justification for restrictions despite the Bolton’s health representatives identifying no serious concerns.<sup>90</sup> While associations between black and Asian immigrants and diseases such as gonorrhoea and syphilis had been raised at a national level throughout the 1950s and 1960s, there was no local evidence to support these claims.<sup>91</sup> The editor instead relied on ethnic myths, such as black and Asian men’s supposed ‘susceptibil[ity] to the embrace of infected white prostitutes’.<sup>92</sup> The editor’s conclusion that

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<sup>86</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 25 November 1965.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 11 November 1965.

<sup>89</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 18 November 1965.

<sup>90</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 14 December, 1965.

<sup>91</sup> Hampshire, ‘The Politics of Immigration and Public Health’, p. 191-192; Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 118-120.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

problems of this kind arose because ‘we are what we are, and we are what we come from’ reinforced the idea that cultural difference was an immutable, ethnically-engrained, trait of Asian immigrants.<sup>93</sup> Like public responses to accusations of overcrowding in the early 1960s, public health was used as a way of providing supposed scientific evidence of the poor character of immigrants. As calls for integration and tolerance made by the *Bolton Evening News* in 1962 had depended on the abandonment of Asian cultural distinctiveness, this editorial undermined the idea Asian immigration could continue without causing ‘problems’.

‘John Bull is Bound and Gagged’ - The Bolton ‘Mosque’ Dispute of 1967.

The Labour Government’s ‘Immigrants from the Commonwealth’ White Paper of August 1965, which emphasised the need for local councils to take an active part in ‘assisting the integration’ of resident immigrants, changed the relationship between Bolton Council and the town’s Asian population.<sup>94</sup> The legislation ultimately led to the creation of the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council in December 1965 and the subsequent appointment of a Commonwealth Liaison Officer in the town.<sup>95</sup> The purpose of the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council was not only to aid black and Asian communities, but to ‘present a positive view of race relations’ and to ‘counter adverse criticism of immigrant communities’ by replying to negative comments made in the *Bolton Evening News* through its

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<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> For more detail of the White Paper, see Catherine Jones, *Immigration and Social Policy in Britain* (London, 1977), pp. 165-167. In addition, Section 11 of the Local Government Act (LGA) of 1966 gave Bolton council new powers and responsibilities to ‘actively persist in the integration of [Commonwealth immigrants]’ during on-going slum clearance schemes. See Hansard HC Debs 14 June 1966, vol. 729, col. 1329. In the Commons, Bolton, West MP Gordon Oakes raised concerns that it was unclear whether the local council would receive sufficient funding to fulfil this responsibility.

<sup>95</sup> Bolton Archives and Local Studies, 325.15/TIE, Immigrants in Bolton: Area Reports No 12 : Supplement to Institute of Race Relations, P. S. Rennison (Bolton Town Clerk) to T. H. Parkinson (Birmingham Town Clerk), 27 Jul 1966. See also *BEN*, 14 December 1965.

correspondence column.<sup>96</sup> In subsequent years, the council became a prominent voice in the *Bolton Evening News* and offered alternatives to the increasingly hostile response Asian immigrants received in the newspaper's editorial and correspondence columns. The groups' insistence that community harmony could only be maintained by 'teach[ing] immigrants the British way of life' only served to reinforce Asian obligations to accommodate their customs to the tastes of an ambivalent and sometimes hostile white public.<sup>97</sup>

The *Bolton Evening News*'s criticism of the practice of Asian customs, which had been present in its coverage since 1962, came to a head in January 1967 when Bolton Corporation ordered a group of Asians to stop using two houses on Walter Street as community mosques.<sup>98</sup> The Corporation only opposed the use of private property for public gatherings, but further objections were raised concerning 'the teaching of [Asian] religious faith to children'.<sup>99</sup> For example, the *Bolton Evening News*'s first report focused on the concerns of white neighbours about the obstacles the maintenance of Islamic practices would pose to the integration of Asian children and worship in the mosques led to overcrowding and

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<sup>96</sup> Bolton Archives and Local Studies, 323.41/BOL, Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council Newsletter, November 1967. As well as members of the public and local businesses and organisations representatives from Welfare, Children's, Education and Police Departments of Bolton Council were amongst the membership of the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council, and the Town Health Officer was member of its Executive Committee. See Bolton Archives and Local Studies, 325.15/TIE, Immigrants in Bolton: Area Reports No 12 : Supplement to Institute of Race Relations, A.I. Ross (Medical Officer of Health) to G. A. Harrison Town Clerk, 17 February 1967.

<sup>97</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 14 December, 1965.

<sup>98</sup> While Bolton's Muslim had struggled to find a suitable place to worship and instruct their children since the early 1960s. Islamic classes were originally held in a house on Rothwell Street in 1961. In 1963, houses in Walter Street were bought by a group of families for the purpose of providing classes to the whole Muslim community. Using these houses as a base, the families formed an Islamic Cultural Centre to assist in the purchase of more places of worship and 'to provide a common voice for all Muslims, [and] to enlarge [their] influence'. The portrait of the Muslim community provided by its members demonstrates a higher level of cultural autonomy within the community than the *Bolton Evening News* suggested. Bolton Metropolitan Borough Fairness Team, *Migration into Bolton*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>99</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 19 January 1967.

‘loud music and singing’ at un-social hours.<sup>100</sup> The dispute between Asians and the Corporation was the focus of several news reports criticising Asian cultural autonomy.<sup>101</sup>

The dispute over the Walter Street mosques drove the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council to make its voice heard in the newspaper by challenging public prejudice and defending the rights of Asians to maintain their cultural practices. In the following months, the Council acted as a ‘go-between’ for the Asian community, Bolton Council and the *Bolton Evening News*. A news report using information gathered by the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council was published the week after the Walter Street Mosque was shut down and claimed that complaints about singing and music in the houses were unfounded. Instead, the council defended the rights of Asians to have a centre for religious worship.<sup>102</sup> The report reinforced the sense of obligation the *Bolton Evening News* had placed on Asians to integrate by warning them ‘over insistence’ on maintaining Muslim customs would ‘cause the people of Bolton to discriminate against them’.<sup>103</sup> Even a group dedicated to helping Asians in Bolton, defined integration as an obligation to be fulfilled by immigrants. This sense of obligation was reinforced by the Corporation’s decision to allow Asians to use a disused school for worship on the condition it would become a centre for the teaching of English to immigrants.<sup>104</sup>

While the Corporation’s decision to provide a centre for Muslim worship appeared to end the dispute, the Parliamentary attention it had received ensured it would escalate in the following months. Concerned responses to the dispute in the *Bolton Evening News* might ‘adversely affect community relations’, David Ennals visited Bolton on 20 February to

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* In its first report into the dispute, the *Bolton Evening News* included interviews with white neighbours raising familiar complaints of noisy, unsanitary Asian neighbours.

<sup>102</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 24 January 1967.

<sup>103</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 February 1967.

<sup>104</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 February 1967; 7 February 1967.

investigate the position of Asians in the town.<sup>105</sup> The visit prompted Bolton Council to ask its Education, Health and Welfare and Housing Departments to report on the state of the ‘integration of Commonwealth Immigrants’ and any related present or anticipated ‘difficulties or problems’.<sup>106</sup> The reports found that, as had previously been clarified in the *Bolton Evening News*, few problems relating to overcrowding, health, language barriers and unemployment existed despite the growth of the ‘coloured’ population to around 3,000.<sup>107</sup>

In response to concerns raised about the effect further Asian migration would have on Bolton Town Council, Ennals called for the ‘co-ordination of the various efforts that [are] being made’ to improve relations in the town.<sup>108</sup> As a result, more powers were granted to the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council through the allocation of a community liaison officer tasked with promoting ‘a happily integrated multi-racial community’.<sup>109</sup> Finally, Ennals suggested a hall in the town centre should be made available by Bolton Council for

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<sup>105</sup> BALS, 325.15/TIE.. D. R. Dewick (private Secretary of Home Office) to G. A. Harrison, 3 February 1967, The mosque debate also coincided with the revival of a year old legal debate about anti-racism legislation concerning the case of a West Indian being denied accommodation in a Bolton hotel in June 1966. This case was sent by Bolton West MP Gordon Oakes to be considered by the Race Relations Board in February 1967 (*Bolton Evening News*, 1 June 1966; 4 June 1966; 15 June 1966; 18 February 1967). The failure of the Board to punish the hotel due to weaknesses inherent in the Race Relations Bill prompted Oakes to raise the case in Parliament for the Bill to be given ‘new teeth’ to act against discrimination in hotels and lodgings (*BEN*, 18 February 1967). The incident had already prompted Labour’s junior minister with responsibility for immigration to visit the town in June 1966 (*Bolton Evening News*, 19 June 1966) and helped confirm plans to set up a Northern (Manchester) Branch of the Race Relations Board (*Bolton Evening News*, 20 June 1966; 21 June 1966) and would eventually contribute to the an amendment to the Race Relations Board being passed in 1968.

<sup>106</sup> The reports were requested so they could be presented to Joint Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Home Office, Maurice Foley who was visiting Bolton to enquire into ‘race relations’ in the town following a complaint made by a West Indian Boltonian to the Race Relations Board. Foley had special responsibilities for co-ordinating action by the Labour Government towards ‘the integration of Commonwealth immigrants’. D. R. Dewick (private Secretary of Home Office) to G. A. Harrison, 3 February 1967 BALS, 325.15/TIE.

<sup>107</sup> A. I. Ross (Medical Officer of Bolton) to G. A. Harrison (Bolton Town Clerk), 18 February, 1967; (Bolton Housing Manager) to G. A. Harrison, 16 February 1967; Housing Manager to G.A. Harrison, 14 July, 1966; A.I. Ross (Medical Officer of Health) to G. A. Harrison Town Clerk, 17 February 1967, BALS, ,325.15/TIE. Ross claimed that the population estimate of 3000 ‘coloured’ immigrants was calculated by reference to notifications on port of entry, doctors lists and ‘general impressions from the Executive Council’. Out of this number, 1,400 were reported to be Muslims, 700 Hindus and 900 West Indians (*Bolton Evening News*, 11 May 1967).

<sup>108</sup> David Ennals to G. A. Harrison, 25 February 1967.

<sup>109</sup> A. I. Ross (Medical Officer of Bolton) to G. A. Harrison (Bolton Town Clerk, 18 April, 1967), BALS, ,325.15/TIE.

the purpose of Muslim worship.<sup>110</sup> In taking this action, Ennals had placed emphasis on the obligation of white Boltonians, in office and in local communities, to take an active role in ensuring Asians were respected by the public and the law. This move would alter the tone of the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial stance on immigration, prompt a consistent stream of letters on the subject to be published in the newspaper, and give the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council a new authority to intervene in how the Asian community was portrayed in the press. The lack of definition concerning what constituted an 'integrated multi-racial society' resulted in a debate about the limits of tolerance which did little to challenge the presumption that Asian immigration was a threat to community harmony.

In an editorial response to the decisions made by Ennals, Cooke claimed the MP was 'mistaken' in his assertion there were 'no signs of bitterness on either side' of the mosque dispute. Explaining the 'editorial silence' on the issue of relations between white and Asian people in Bolton in early 1967, Cooke wrote 'in keeping with the spirit, if not the act, of the Race Relations Bill, we have hitherto refrained from comment, not wishing to rouse latent feelings of suspicion and mistrust to the point of open hostility'.<sup>111</sup> What had moved Cooke to comment now was Ennal's call for Bolton Council to grant special protections and resources to Asians by supplying them a place of worship and representation through the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council. 'The town's responsibility', he argued, 'should go no further than ensuring that no obstacles are placed in the way of the Moslems [sic]'.<sup>112</sup> The editorial cited the threat of community 'hostility' to justify its protestation against the rights of Asians to use Bolton's *public* spaces to practise their religion.

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<sup>110</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 February 1967.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

The editor's complaints about Council responsibilities referred to the perceived obligations of Asians to 'assimilate into the *established* society' or 'collapse and....become enclaves of aliens on British soil'.<sup>113</sup> While Ennals had commenced the debate with reference to existing and potential social and economic tensions in the town, the *Bolton Evening News* argued the 'great anxiety' which influenced the opinions of the 'indigenous population' was 'to see new citizens declare themselves before the next generation – Boltonians or Britons, and not merely exiles'.<sup>114</sup> The editorial ultimatum was clear: Asians would abandon the public practice of their customs or be rejected by Bolton's white population.

The *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial policy was presented as the voice of 'anxious' white Boltonians. To reinforce this, the newspaper correspondence pages were opened up to what would become a heated public debate. This possibly reflected Cooke's insecurity, as the newspaper's policy under his editorship challenged not only the conclusions made by Ennals, but also the basis of the Labour Government's Community Relations policy; a policy which was supported by the local Labour MP Gordon Oakes, by Bolton Council and the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council. While one of the first letters on the subject was from a member of the Asian community who questioned the town and its newspaper's commitment to integration, many responses exposed the anti-immigration anxieties of white readers.<sup>115</sup> An editor has the power to present his own selection of reader correspondence and the fact that a sizable majority of correspondence supported the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial line suggests letters were to some extent deployed as an argumentative tool throughout 1967. The sheer number of anti-immigration letters also indicates—at the very least—a vocal minority of Bolton's population held racist attitudes towards Asian.

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<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* Emphasis added.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 14 February 1967. In this letter, a reader called U. Suleman argued that to deny a Bolton community the right to practice its religion was to isolate it from wider society.

The dominant sentiment of anti-immigration correspondence in the *Bolton Evening News* was one of bitterness towards the threat to white authority and privilege posed by the Labour Government's national and local support for immigrants. In particular, concerns about slum clearance plans and Bolton's industrial decline heightened the frustrations of readers. Anonymous letters from readers using *nom-de-plumes*—such as 'Ex-serviceman', 'Vigilante', 'White Citizen' and 'Freedom'—complained about Bolton Council's 'courtship' of Asians and demanded immigrants 'adjust their mode of living and outlook' to fit the 'native...pattern of life'.<sup>116</sup> While some, such as a 'W. Burgess', focused complaints on the responsibilities of religious groups to provide their own suitable centres of worship, others criticised 'do-gooders', such as Gordon Oakes, for putting the needs of 'coloureds' above those of a 'long-suffering white community' trying to find work and waiting for slum-clearance homes.<sup>117</sup> Another reader, critiquing so-called 'immigrant entitlements', concluded he was 'beginning to wonder if I am in my own country'.<sup>118</sup>

This early bout of letters supporting the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial position prompted even more hostile readers to write into the letters columns. One edition in particular contained five letters which all demonstrated the racist nature of some people's hostility to Asian immigration. 'Ex-RAF', agreeing with 'Vigilante', requested a referendum to decide whether Britons who had 'paid the price for freedom' should continue supporting those who 'had not contributed a penny'.<sup>119</sup> Demonstrating anxieties about Asian immigration were often related to the decline of the textile industries, other readers sarcastically suggested

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<sup>116</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 23 February 1967; 25 February 1967. Throughout 1967, Marshall and Vigilante would respond to each other's letters challenging their respective opinions. For example, a letter by Marshall in May called for those protesting against immigration to assist in ending poverty across the world, while 'Vigilante's' response questioned why Britons should be concerned with the problems of other nations, *Bolton Evening News*, 11 May 1967; 12 May 1967.

<sup>117</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 25 February 1967. The second letter was ominously signed 'DISINTEGRATED'.

<sup>118</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 27 February 1967.

<sup>119</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 28 February 1967.

Mosques should be built by the unemployed while Asians continue the jobs they took from ‘white labour’.<sup>120</sup> The concept that whiteness was often perceived to be synonymous with Britishness was also reflected in letters calling for immigrants to leave ‘our’ country. Readers sought to remind Bolton’s politicians ‘there are still some British subjects in England’ deserving of their, supposedly exclusive, attention.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, ‘White Citizen’ called the migration of ‘coloureds’ to Bolton an ‘invasion’, while ‘Freedom’ suggested ‘John Bull [was] bound and gagged’ at the hands of Asian immigrants and the Race Relations Act.<sup>122</sup> Finally, a letter which sought to define the ‘meaning of integration’ was similar to Cooke’s editorial in its insistence that Asians should ‘go out of [their] way to educate themselves into the communal ways of life...or cause discontent...[and] racial intolerance’.<sup>123</sup> The letters shared racist definitions of privilege to citizenship. The ability of readers to adopt *nom-de-plumes* allowed the expression of racist attitudes under a mask of anonymity.

As Bolton’s Asian population faced hostility in the letters pages of the *Bolton Evening News*, the newly-strengthened Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council acted to balance the debate. In response to the letters of the previous weeks, Bolton Town Clerk and Executive of the friendship council J. D. Marshall wrote to the *Bolton Evening News* in early March 1967 and argued ‘those who object to the overseas “invasion” of Bolton...seem to have forgotten what Lancashire tolerance and hospitality are all about’.<sup>124</sup> Having highlighted the uninformed nature of many of February’s correspondents, Marshall also suggested reference to skin colour was being used to mask people’s dislike of ‘social habits’ that—in a town in which 147 different faiths were practiced—should be respected by the council and accepted

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 25 February 1967; 1 May 1967.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 March, 1967.

by the public. In directly challenging correspondents like ‘ex-Serviceman’ to maintain the cultural tradition of ‘Northern’ tolerance, Marshall provided an authoritative voice in support of immigrants and an inclusive definition of tolerance to rival that of Cooke’s editorial stance.<sup>125</sup>

The Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council’s address to the public only prompted further debate in the correspondence columns and letters about immigration, integration and Asian Boltonians continued to feature prominently on almost a weekly basis from the end of February to the end of July. Marshall’s call for tolerance was at odds with a far larger majority of letters against immigration. These letters ranged from the truncated arguments for further immigration restrictions put forward by readers such as ‘Burgess’, to more vague calls for white rights to local jobs be prioritised over those of Asians.<sup>126</sup> ‘Vigilante’, meanwhile, wrote into the *Bolton Evening News* again to complain about the ‘extremists for racial integration’ behind the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council, and called for a ‘Commonwealth white only’ immigration policy to prevent the loss of ‘solid British stock’.<sup>127</sup> By using such language, it was clear some readers felt biological, as well as cultural, differences separated Asian people from white ‘British’ Boltonians.

Correspondents sympathetic to Asians in turn responded to these letters, albeit in smaller numbers, reminding readers of the benefits immigrant workers had brought to local

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<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> ‘Burgess’ consistently argued ‘empire’ immigrants were ‘adding to the increasing strain of our [Bolton’s] economic and social advancement, encouraging ‘liberals’ to pass acts which ‘curtailed British freedoms’ and claimed continued immigration would destroy the town’s slum clearance plans. *Bolton Evening News*, 25 February 1967; 23 May 1967; 31 May 1967; 21 June 1967. Other readers complained, somewhat contradictorily, that Pakistanis were both being supported by the ‘white citizen taxpayer’ and taking ‘white jobs’ in local factories. *Bolton Evening News*, 4 March 1967; 6 March 1967; 7 April 1967.

<sup>127</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 6 March 1967. Similar anxieties about the Asian immigrants having a negative effect on the ‘quality’ or ‘purity’ of white communities often underlay the arguments of correspondents, as evidenced in ‘White Citizen’s’ complaint that ‘if you told someone you lived in Deane you were somebody’ but that Asians had directly led to the areas decline. *Bolton Evening News*, 25 March, 1967.

industry and the health services. Marshall maintained an air of scepticism regarding the authenticity of objections raised and asked readers with exact complains to contact the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council so they can be further investigated, but later said he had received no specific complaints.<sup>128</sup> Against the accusations of a far greater number of anti-immigration correspondents, these readers could easily be depicted as authoritarian ‘do-gooders’ who did not represent wider public opinion.

Picking up on the apparent disparity between the views of ‘official’ voices such as the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council, and Oakes, and the ‘indigenous majority’, *Bolton Evening News* journalist William Frank penned an article which identified those writing hostile letters as desperately attempting to ‘preserve the home culture against alien influence’.<sup>129</sup> In the wake of immigration and slum clearance policies which would change the demographic structure of Lancashire towns, he argued, white readers were right to fear the growing influence of Asians.<sup>130</sup> Frank suggested continued immigration would only disrupt Bolton’s housing plans and ‘fan...prejudice and fears to a point approaching the American dilemma and beyond’.<sup>131</sup> An article by the newspaper’s Municipal correspondent Peter Turner raised similar concerns when discussing the pressure put on Bolton Council by Ennals to provide a place of worship for Muslims. He argued the Muslim community was ‘beginning to trespass upon the charity and tolerance of Bolton’ and the obligations placed on the Council threatened ‘native’ autonomy, amounting to ‘racial discrimination in reverse’.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 7 March 1967; 15 March 1967; 21 March 1967; 22 July 1967

<sup>129</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 3 March 1967.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* This line echoed that of correspondent ‘ex-RAF’ who believed that the RRB was part of a wider ‘take-over bid for our island home’ by Asian immigrants, *BEN*, 11 April, 1967. Another reader going by the alias ‘wake up’ later suggested that ex-RAF ‘[said] publically what was on most of our minds’. *Bolton Evening News*, 15 April, 1967.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>132</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 April 1967. Turner received letters of support for his views, with one reader insisting the Bolton Council should act to ensure that Muslim worship did not ‘interfere with the customs of local people’, see *Bolton Evening News*, 29 April 1967. Likewise, ‘BOLTONIAN’ wrote into the

By referring to the threat immigration and racism posed to public order, journalists reinforcing the racist sentiment present in *Bolton Evening News* editorials.

The Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council's annual meeting demonstrated how the organisation believed racism, not immigration, was the true threat to public order. Under the headline 'intolerance reaches a peak' a report reflected the Friendship Council's concerns that Asian children, and integration itself, could suffer at the hands of white racism.<sup>133</sup> The Secretary of the council believed 'vicious letters to the press [were] creating an attitude that is going to be very hard to overcome', while Marshall— perhaps referring to those correspondents he had criticised in the *Bolton Evening News*—identified those with 'racialist sentiments' as a 'lunatic ten per cent' of Bolton's population who used 'race' as a card by which to feel 'superior' to non-white residents.<sup>134</sup> The appointment of Harry Zion as immigrant liaison officer in the town, the report suggested, had renewed their ambitions. The *Bolton Evening News*'s in-depth analysis of the meeting demonstrated that the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council had become a prominent voice in the debate on immigration and integration in Bolton. Marshall in particular offered an assertive voice, as demonstrated by his response to an anti-immigration letter by 'Burgess' which criticised his 'evil purpose' of 'stirring up prejudice'.<sup>135</sup>

Predictably, given the *Bolton Evening News*'s branding of anti-racist groups and legislation as a threat to white privilege and community harmony, the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council's statements received a hostile response in the correspondence columns. A letter from a self-proclaimed 'Inferior Citizen' resented Marshall's claim that prejudice

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correspondence columns agreeing 'we have bent over backwards [for immigrants] and our backs are becoming strained. See *Bolton Evening News*, 10 May 1967.

<sup>133</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 2 June 1967.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 8 June 1967.

drove the fears of Boltonians, instead referencing economic and social hardship in the town.<sup>136</sup> ‘Ex-RAF’ wrote to the newspaper again to reassert his demand for a referendum on immigration and claimed the council was in fact discriminating against white Boltonians.<sup>137</sup> Similarly, ‘Ex-Serviceman’ returned to the correspondence pages to identify the council as representing only an ‘extreme minority’ position and bemoaning the ‘free ride’ supposedly granted to Asians by Bolton’s white taxpayers.<sup>138</sup> Other letters, written under *nom-de-plumes* such as ‘Realist’ and ‘John Bull’, accused the council of being ‘immigrant panderers’ who were ‘completely out of touch with the public’.<sup>139</sup> The bulk of this correspondence was hinted at by their almost-daily inclusion and an editorial call for readers’ letters to stay under 200 words and the eventual closure of correspondence on the subject in late June 1967.

In the following months, debates about immigration within the newspaper abated, although the social anxieties which had appeared to fuel anti-immigrant sentiment in the town continued to receive attention. An editorial, for example, emphasised the ‘massive dimensions’ of industrial change the district was being forced to absorb ‘without significant Government help’.<sup>140</sup> This resentment perhaps goes some way to explaining why Labour’s pro-active immigration assistance plans were perceived to represent the privileging of Asians over white Boltonians. A feature by June Corner also relayed the fears of the public concerning social change in Bolton through interviews with those on the town’s slum clearance waiting lists. Adopting a headline bemoaning how those living in ‘slum’ areas were ‘living like sardines’, the feature highlighted the resentment of labourers forced to wait years

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<sup>136</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 6 June 1967.

<sup>137</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 7 June 1967.

<sup>138</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 8 June 1967.

<sup>139</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 10 June 1967.

<sup>140</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 18 July 1967.

for resettlement.<sup>141</sup> While the anti-immigration editorials and letters were clearly motivated by racist assumptions about white privilege and national and local identities, reports such as these highlighted the very real social pressures which encouraged local deference to prejudice.

Despite the increasingly negative response to Asian immigration featured in the *Bolton Evening News*, its pages remained open to journalists attempting to allay the concerns of the public. A feature by Barbara Hetherington, for example, continued the newspaper's trend of having its female journalists investigate the human stories behind immigration 'problems'. Her report into the schooling of Asian youths presented an over-all positive portrayal of integration in the town.<sup>142</sup> Focusing on Bolton's 'pioneering' Immigrant Teaching Centre, she commended both the tutors and tutees for their efforts in helping children learn English, get used to using local shops and transport, and argued that the 'linguistic barrier' in Bolton's schools was 'gradually crumbling away'.<sup>143</sup> Despite what was implied in the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorials, the feature demonstrated that many people living in areas with growing Asian populations were 'brave and progressive' and any problems associated with immigration were likely to be solved within a generation.<sup>144</sup>

Towards the end of 1967, an editorial reiterated objections to further immigration and anti-racist legislation which had formed the basis of the bulk of the *Bolton Evening News*'s coverage throughout the year. Responding to the findings of the Street Report into Race Relations, the editor questioned the very meaning of discrimination, a word placed in

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<sup>141</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 28 July 1967.

<sup>142</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 19 May 1967.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*

quotation marks throughout the leader.<sup>145</sup> The editor agreed with objections to discrimination against ‘able, skilled and cultured people’, but argued it was the ‘inalienable right’ of individuals and groups to ‘decide with whom they should work, live and play...[and] to set, maintain and observe customs and practices which have upheld the very stability of their community life’.<sup>146</sup> In a similar way to the coverage of the *Daily Express*, tolerance was characterised as a conditional privilege that would not be afforded if it was at the expense of white cultural autonomy and dominance.

*Bolton Evening News* articles argued immigration was not a racial problem but a *social* one which had resulted from a ‘deprived class’ of foreigners replacing an ‘indigenous deprived class’ that had ‘moved on to more salubrious estate...after a generation of toil and evolutionary social progress’.<sup>147</sup> The often undefined ‘social problem’ in the coverage of the newspaper was that white social spaces were becoming *less white*. The sense of loss industrial and urban decline and population re-settlement had made many Boltonians feel was being racialised in response to Asian migration and the prevalence of racist assumptions about them. Providing the most severe statement on immigration yet, these anxieties led Cooke to call for ‘an immediate halt to ALL immigration in the interests of both the newcomers and established citizens’.<sup>148</sup> As in the *Bolton Evening News*’s earliest editorial responses to immigration into Bolton, the integrity of community relations was cited as the motivation for its policy. In the context of the newspaper’s coverage throughout 1967, this insistence on ‘colour-blindness’ rang hollow.

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<sup>145</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 November 1967.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*

‘THAT speech...’: Asian Immigration and Enoch Powell, 1968.

In keeping with the *Bolton Evening News*'s 1967 policy, its editorials responded to the Kenyan-Asian crisis of 1968 by arguing Harold Wilson's 'one duty' was not to Asian refugees, but to 'put Britain's interests first....and [bring] an end to mass immigration into Britain'.<sup>149</sup> As in 1967, this hard line was balanced by calls for Asian rights by the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council, in this case when a statement from liaison officer Harry Zion was reported which called for 'good sense' if the town was to avoid future racial violence.<sup>150</sup> In particular, and in stark contrast to the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial line, Zion defended the rights of immigrants to make demands for improved conditions and freedoms.<sup>151</sup>

A subsequent report into the activities of the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council found that Sunday morning meetings between white and Asian people were 'breaking down the barriers' of resentment in the town. As in Zion's statement, the positive portrayal of Asians in the report was tempered by warning 'the real test is yet to come' and, unless immigrants were accepted as equal within five years, integration would fail and community harmony would be threatened.<sup>152</sup> In February 1968 the calls of local MPs Gordon Oakes and Bob Howarth to curb immigration echoed the idea, as espoused by Zion, that community harmony was at risk. Oakes and Howarth signed an amendment to the Commonwealth Immigration Act which noted the 'grave problem which arises when the rate of immigration exceeds the ability to assimilate newcomers'.<sup>153</sup> While, in a statement to the *Bolton Evening News*, the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council emphasised the need to

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<sup>149</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 7 January 1968.

<sup>150</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 15 January 1968.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 22 February 1968.

couple restrictions with ‘efforts to integrate minorities’, Zion also ultimately welcomed the curb as a measure to prevent ‘tensions’ arising in housing and community relations.<sup>154</sup>

An editorial reinforced the *Bolton Evening News*’s support for restrictions by emphasising the negative effect immigration was said to have had on Bolton. It criticised politicians for not acting before ‘the social consequences [of Commonwealth immigration] became unimaginable’ and for ignoring ‘what the indigenous people of Britain were saying...about schools, about housing, about hospital beds and the rest’.<sup>155</sup> Reinforcing the sense of resentment that had accompanied Ennal’s calls for Bolton Council cooperation with Muslims in 1967, failures to act ‘in the public interest’ were blamed on ‘the intellectual arrogance of academics and politicians, who sit in their plush towers a league away from Deane’. Despite the *Bolton Evening News* continuously failing to find any significant ill-effect immigration had on the town—and on the Deane area specifically—throughout the 1960s, the editor called the town’s growing Asian population an ‘immigration tragedy’.

The *Bolton Evening News*’s assertion that its policy reflected ‘the feelings of the overwhelming majority of Britons’ appeared to be reinforced by a significant number of letters it received. Collected under the headline ‘MOST PEOPLE FAVOUR A BAN ON IMMIGRATION’, readers’ letters congratulated the newspaper on its ‘realistic approach’ to the immigration question.<sup>156</sup> One reader felt ‘pride’ that their ‘local newspaper has its fingers so placed on the national pulse’ and wanted a copy of the February editorial to be ‘delivered to every home in the United Kingdom.’<sup>157</sup> ‘Despaired’ thanked the *Bolton Evening News* for

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<sup>154</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 23 February 1968; 28 February 1968.

<sup>155</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 26 February 1968.

<sup>156</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 29 February 1968.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

being 'brave enough' to put white residents 'first'.<sup>158</sup> Another collection of letters raised familiar concerns about education and housing and about the rights of white Britons being compromised by policy aimed at helping immigrants.<sup>159</sup> 'Status Quo' suggested that '98 per cent' of Bolton's population not only objected to immigration, but to the very concept of the town being a 'multi-racial society'.<sup>160</sup> 'Surrounded', meanwhile, felt white Boltonians in Deane were being 'surrounded by them [Asians]'.<sup>161</sup> They argued local resentment had 'nothing to do with...colour' but instead the incompatibility of Asian people's 'custom and filthy habits' which had transformed Deane into a 'twilight area'.<sup>162</sup>

Although the *Bolton Evening News's* editorials resented Asian immigration, June Corner was again able to offer a sympathetic view in feature articles about the lives of immigrants in Bolton. The inclusion of this feature at a time when anti-immigrant sentiment dominated the newspaper shows Cooke's willingness to incorporate alternative viewpoints. Indeed, emotive articles written by women appeared to be a popular feature in the *Bolton Evening News* and demonstrated its attempts to appeal to readers with diverse attitudes. The feature again presented a positive view of integration policies in the town which was at odds with the cynicism that accompanied editorial commentary and reader correspondence. The series of features began with a visit to a Pakistani family's home. 'Any local family could be proud of' such a household, in which tea was served in 'the English style, brewed as I've always known it brewed in Lancashire'.<sup>163</sup> Despite the dietary observations of Muslims and Hindus, Corner noted children eating whatever meat was served in school, with fish and chips

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<sup>158</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 6 March 1968.

<sup>159</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 1 March 1968.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 6 March 1968.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 29 February 1968.

acting as the 'staple diet' of the family.<sup>164</sup> While house owner Mr Patel was said to be 'proud' Muslims in the town owned their own Mosque and maintained many of their religious customs, he insisted that 'In England, we live as the English'.<sup>165</sup> Despite the complaints about 'strange and filthy customs' from *Bolton Evening News* readers, Corner represented the home lives of Asians as consistent with Bolton culture.

While Corner raised concerns that the deference of some Asian housewives was too close to the Islamic purdah custom, her second feature insisted 'they are eager to learn a new way of life'.<sup>166</sup> Concentrating again on the English language and culture classes held by schools and the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council, Corner believed 'integration was coming slowly' as Asian women and, especially, their children were becoming more accustomed to Bolton life.<sup>167</sup> She also used the testimony of Harry Zion to reinforce the council's position that immigration had not caused any significant social problems in the town. Corner observed overcrowding 'present[ed] no problem' in Bolton, while several cotton mills owed their continual survival to the quantity and quality of Asian workers' output.<sup>168</sup> In the following weeks, feature articles about the views of some of Bolton's youth and women also highlighted the positive response immigrants received from white locals not usually represented in the newspaper. While one of the interviewed young people agreed with further restrictions, the other believed the rights of Kenyan-Asians should be upheld.<sup>169</sup> A meeting of 200 of Bolton's women, it was reported, also supported Asian rights and criticised

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<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 1 March 1968.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* Corner's positive portrayal seemed to be supported by Labour Education Minister Edward Short's assertion that Bolton's Immigrant Training Centre was one of the country's strongest integration initiatives. *Bolton Evening News*, 3 May 1968.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 6 March 1968.

the prejudice many in the town held towards Asians whose problems often stemmed from discrimination.<sup>170</sup>

These feature articles offered a significantly different picture of the effects of immigration in Bolton than the anxieties represented in the *Bolton Evening News*'s editorial and correspondence columns. Referring to these, Corner concluded it appeared that 'many a rumour without foundation has lead to prejudice'.<sup>171</sup> Later in 1968, as controversy about immigration law again ignited debates within the *Bolton Evening News*, a feature article by Hetherington was again used to balance the portrayal of Asians. Closely resembling the approach of Corner, the article focused on Asian women who were said to have 'integrated' into society after attending language classes in the town. The recurring nature of articles such as this—which dated back to at least 1962—demonstrated the real efforts being made by some *Bolton Evening News* journalists to show the human side of the 'problem immigrants'. Despite extensive reports from the likes of Hetherington and Corner, public anxiety about Asian immigration continued to dominate the pages of the *Bolton Evening News*.

The passage of amendments to the Race Relations Act in April, 1968 once again encouraged Cooke to reiterate the *Bolton Evening News*'s policy concerning the rights of white Britons to 'preserve, protect and propagate their cultural identity, their way of life'.<sup>172</sup> The Bill, he argued, was an attempt to 'force' Britons into accepting 'newcomers' and would do nothing to make a 'foreigner more British'.<sup>173</sup> Instead Cooke raised the problems of housing in Bolton which anti-discrimination law would do little to address and which immigration, he suggested, had helped cause by bringing 'un-absorbable' numbers of Asian

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<sup>170</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 13 March 1968.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 10 April 1968.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*

people into the town. In a statement responding to the editorial, Zion claimed the Bill's aim was to 'teach respect' rather than create a privileged class of non-white immigrants. A subsequent letter written by Zion to the editor challenged the *Bolton Evening News's* classification of Asian immigrants as 'newcomers' and 'strangers' despite their long association with Britain through empire and Commonwealth relations.<sup>174</sup> In the wake of Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech, the voice of the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council was to become drowned out by anti-immigration sentiment.

Despite interpreting Powell's speech as 'intemperate and ill-advised...inaccurate and inflammatory', a *Bolton Evening News* editorial argued it 'reflected what a great many people in this really think'. Opening the debate about 'THAT speech...' up to the *Bolton Evening News's* correspondence pages, Cooke found that, 'almost without exception', readers supported Powell. While Cooke stated it was not the editorial policy of the newspaper to conduct opinion polls, the quantity of letters supporting Powell published in the newspaper—which were said to outnumber those opposing him by seven to one—reinforced his assertions.<sup>175</sup> The content of the letters supporting Powell mirrored those printed in the *Bolton Evening News* since at least 1967 in their reference to 'over-crowded' houses, cheap immigrant labour and local communities becoming 'alien' amid rising Asian populations. Writing under *nom-de-plumes* like 'Pro-British' and 'Realist', many letters repeated previous calls for a referendum on whether Britain was to become a 'multi-racial' society against the will of its indigenous white population.<sup>176</sup> The majority of relevant letters argued, despite the

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<sup>174</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 15 April 1968.

<sup>175</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 25 April 1968.

<sup>176</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 23 April 1968; 24 April 1968; 25 April 1968; 26 April 1968; 27 April 1968; 29 April 1968; 30 April 1968; 2 May 1968. The correspondence was finally closed on 4 May 1968.

successful integration policies in place in Bolton, that the ‘limits of absorption’, and of British tolerance, had been reached.<sup>177</sup>

Between late April and early May, 1968, numerous letters supporting Powell were printed daily in the *Bolton Evening News*, until the correspondence was bought to a close by the editor. Within a month, immigration into Bolton became the centre of the *Bolton Evening News*’s coverage once again following increasing concerns about ‘slum’ conditions in the town. A feature by June Corner emphasised the plight of poor Boltonians driven to desperation in the town’s ‘6,500 slum properties’ which were increasing in number by 300 per year while waiting lists for re-housing grew ever larger.<sup>178</sup> While the feature admitted that immigrants rarely contributed to this problem, as most bought their own homes, an accompanying editorial complained the ‘sheer weight of [immigrant] numbers [had] placed an unbearable strain on...housing, education, health and welfare services’.<sup>179</sup> Moving swiftly on from his seemingly unfounded social anxieties, the editor reiterated that immigration was a ‘danger to the homogenous structure of British society’. The ease with which it moved from social and economic considerations to those based on concepts of racialised cultural difference demonstrated the way in which each fed on the other.

The affiliation between social and cultural anxieties was threaded through the *Bolton Evening News*’s coverage. A survey conducted by the Christian Education Movement, and highlighted in a report, found that 43 per cent of a group of 258 interviewed Boltonians favoured a complete stop to immigration, with a further 48.8 percent were either happy with current restrictions (20.5 per cent) or wanted further limits (28.3 per cent).<sup>180</sup> While only

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<sup>177</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 1 May 1968; 2 May 1968.

<sup>178</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 10 June 1968.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 15 August 1958.

representative of the views of a small number, the massive majority against immigration reinforced the newspaper's claims to reflect the voice of the public. The juxtaposition of this survey, reports of Kenyan-Asian immigration, and the rise of Asian children in Bolton schools from 900 in 1967 to 1,400 in 1968 did little to allay the anxieties that seemed to be present in Bolton.<sup>181</sup>

Throughout the rest of 1968, speeches by Powell—as well as his visit to Bolton—prompted further correspondence pages to be dedicated to letters which argued his view was ‘that of the people’.<sup>182</sup> The sentiment of these letters hadn't changed, and spoke to the extent to which the newspaper's editorial policy fell in line with the racist tone of Powell and his followers. While a report from the Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council criticised Powell for ‘fanning the flames of racial hatred’, the group's voice appeared to have lost its authority amid the *Bolton Evening News's* anti-immigration sentiment.<sup>183</sup> When retiring in 1974, Marshall lamented the rise of racist sentiment in Bolton by 1968. Fighting negative portrayals in the press had become ‘stern’ in the wake of the ‘hospitality’ Cooke had provided to ‘Powellites’.<sup>184</sup> While Marshall acknowledged the responsibility of local newspapers to represent the ‘breadth of public opinion’, he suspected Cooke to have featured so many anti-immigration letters to ‘conduct [a] deliberately organised and inspired vendetta’ against immigrants in the town.<sup>185</sup> While Marshall did not elaborate on this point, it would be hard to argue that the attention consistently given to pro-Powell letters, combined with the *Bolton Evening News's* editorial statements, amounted to merely a fair and balanced

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<sup>181</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 August 1968.

<sup>182</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 November 1968; 29 November 1968. Powell's visit itself was not covered in any detail.

<sup>183</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 19 November 1968.

<sup>184</sup> Bolton Archives and Local Studies, B323.41B.BOL, Bolton Community Relations Council Archive, Bolton Commonwealth Friendship Council Newsletter, April 1974,

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.*

representation of public opinion. Instead, an anti-immigration sentiment had been reinforced time and time again despite Bolton officials and even *Bolton Evening News* journalists like Corner attempting to tackle it.

In focusing on the national debate about immigration, Cooke was able to brush aside the evidence of successful local efforts to alleviate tensions in the city by referencing the racist language of Powell, and presenting it as the view of white Boltonians. While in 1967, the *Bolton Evening News* had acted as a forum of public opinion, in 1968 it appeared to have been used as a tool in reinforcing the line of its editor. As industrial decline worsened in Bolton, and as slum clearance put an increasing strain on those living in the town's lower-quality accommodation, there was increasing motivation for alienated Boltonians to buttress white privilege. The powerful discourse used by Powell enabled the *Bolton Evening News* to reinforce this not only because of the national attention his comments received, but because it matched that which had been present in letters and editorials since 1968. Ultimately, the challenge to Asian rights mounted in the *Bolton Evening News* was rooted in the conditional concept of tolerance it had preached since 1958.

'No More Asians': Ugandan-Asian Immigration and the Community, 1972.

When Britain accepted the migration of refugee Ugandan-Asians into Britain in 1972, people in Bolton were afraid that around 1,000 would come to the city. In line with the newspaper's previous position on Asian immigration, an editorial warned there would be 'racial chaos' in the country if it was 'flooded' with more immigrants.<sup>186</sup> The newspaper ensured its readers were aware of the growing 'crises' by consistently featuring news stories about the expulsion

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<sup>186</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 7 August 1972.

and migration of Ugandan-Asians throughout August.<sup>187</sup> Bolton (Conservative) MP Robert Redmond was reported to respect local anxieties about the ‘dangers’ of ‘another large influx’.<sup>188</sup> ‘Bolton people are not racist’, he said, but were nevertheless unwilling to accept any more Asian migration into the town.

Fears about Ugandan-Asian immigration into Bolton were reinforced by the *Bolton Evening News* when the estimate of assistant community relations officer A. G. Quereshi that 1,000 would settle in the town was reported in a leading, front page news report. While Quereshi made clear the number was just a guess, it was frequently referenced in later news reports about Asian immigration.<sup>189</sup> Interestingly, reader’s letters claimed a television news report had said that 1,000-1,500 Ugandan-Asians would settle in Bolton.<sup>190</sup> This demonstrated local newspapers were not the only source of information for readers, but that anxieties about information gathered from other media was reflected in the local press. A protest of 1,100 Boltonians demonstrated the extent of these anxieties and was undertaken in order to support statements made by Redmond and the *Bolton Evening News*.<sup>191</sup> Some members of the public were actively encouraging these fears by sending out hoax letters, claiming to be from the Asian Resettlement Board, informing local families they would have to accept Asian refugees into their homes or be convicted under the Race Relations Act.<sup>192</sup> Public anti-immigration sentiment encouraged Bolton Trades Council to write to the resettlement board complaining about the town’s ‘inability’ to handle any more immigrants,

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<sup>187</sup> Front page stories appeared nine times between the 8 and 25 of August. See *Bolton Evening News*, 8 August 1972; 9 August 1972; 11 August 1972; 12 August 1972; 15 August 1972; 19 August 1972; 21 August 1972; 22 August 1972; 25 August 1972.

<sup>188</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 15 August 1972.

<sup>189</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 19 August 1972; 22 August 1972.

<sup>190</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 29 August 1972.

<sup>191</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 1 September 1972. Similarly, in September Bolton District Shop Stewards of Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers adopted resolution to call for end to immigration. See *Bolton Evening News*, 14 September 1972.

<sup>192</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 16 September 1972.

due to growing unemployment and the 2,000 people-long waiting lists for council housing.<sup>193</sup> The *Bolton Evening News* was beginning to represent growing voices protesting against the entry of Ugandan-Asians.

While anxieties about Asian migration were reflected the *Bolton Evening News*'s anti-immigrant stance, the newspaper demonstrated a restrained approach as Ugandan-Asians entered Bolton in 1972. While public anxieties about immigration were represented, a prominent news report emphasised the Council for Community Relations' complaint that politicians, such as Redmond and Labour representative Harry Lucas, were consistently referring to the '1,000' Asians coming to Bolton when this figure was a speculative and probably unrealistic estimate.<sup>194</sup> Instead, representative of the council Prithipal Singh believed only a few hundred were likely to come to the city.<sup>195</sup> Journalist Bronwen Balmforth also called for readers to 'take pride' in the hospitality of Bolton and accept Asian migration. Another statement from the Council for Community Relations criticising the Trades Council was reported in an article saying the public were 'short-sighted' in their protests. Community relations officer Ken Sheridan argued Ugandan-Asians were largely professional and could contribute to Bolton's economy. While this statement reflected the familiar logic that only useful immigrants who posed no strain to local resources could be tolerated, the prominence these sympathetic attitudes received in the newspaper demonstrated the growing power of the Council for Community Relations to challenge racialised anxieties and assumptions.

When Ugandan-Asians did come to Bolton, the *Bolton Evening News* devoted a front page to the 22 'surprise' Asians who had entered the town over night in late September.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 21 September 1972.

<sup>194</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 30 August 1972.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>196</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 26 September 1972.

While the report, and subsequent coverage of political responses to the unsanctioned entry of the Asians criticised the Asian man who had brought them into Bolton, it provided a sympathetic account of the refugees themselves. They were said to be ‘broke, but determined’ and spoke English, were eager to start skilled work, and were innocent victims of Ugandan brutality.<sup>197</sup> Details of white Boltonians accepting Asians into their homes and setting up English classes reinforced the positive portrayal of local hospitality.<sup>198</sup> By mid-October there were 113 Ugandan-Asians in the town, but reports continued to focus on their skilled backgrounds, the suffering they had experienced, and their gratitude to the people of Bolton.<sup>199</sup>

Less sympathetic responses to Ugandan-Asians were largely confined to increasingly irregular racist letters. Significant changes to the *Bolton Evening News*’s letter selection policy ensured a change in the general tone in the correspondence. In 1971, the editor had criticised readers for using *nom-de-plumes* ‘without justification’ and clarified that, in future, letters using genuine names would be given preference.<sup>200</sup> As the editor said the newspaper was receiving many more letters than it could publish, this essentially meant those using *nom-de-plumes* would not likely be selected. By 1972, this policy was having a significant effect on the tone of readers’ letters. While some readers still complained Asians were ‘threatening [their] way of life’, the majority of those giving genuine names avoided explicitly racist language.<sup>201</sup> For example, rather than drawing attention to race, readers like R. McKeown (Mercia Street, Bolton) complained about local unemployment and concerns

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<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>198</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 28 September 1972; 29 September 1972.

<sup>199</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 17 October 1972; 6 October 1972; 13 October 1972.

<sup>200</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 27 July 1971.

<sup>201</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 16 August 1972.

there would be no work available for Asians.<sup>202</sup> Readers continued to argue ‘all Boltonians’ should be offered accommodation, jobs and welfare before any Asians were accepted, but criticisms now focused on council failures to solve social problems rather than on race.<sup>203</sup>

The majority of genuinely hostile letters were written by women. Mrs D. Rose (Bolton) argued Bolton already had ‘6,000 too many [Asians]’ and Mrs D. Marsh claimed it was ‘courting disaster to allow Asians with alien cultures [to]...flood in’.<sup>204</sup> The letters from Bolton women often focused on the perceived damage Asians did their local neighbourhoods. Mrs D. Heaton (Beaconsfield Street) and Mrs Higginbottom (Hauigh) complained about the ‘transformation’ of the Deane and Derby Wards, Blackburn Road and Halliwell Road due to Asian migration.<sup>205</sup> They wrote into the newspaper again in October to complain they were becoming ‘foreigners in their own land’ and those who did not ‘live among the problems’ should not criticise racists.<sup>206</sup>

As the bulk of *Bolton Evening News* coverage of Ugandan-Asian migration was sympathetic, and because editorials focused on the deplorable actions of Amin rather on the Asians themselves, the letters criticising migrants in stark, racist tones appeared to represent a minority of respondents. Perhaps due to other readers being discouraged by having to use their real names, a number of readers criticising racist attitudes became more prominent. Gordon Dimmer (Waverly Road), for example, believed Asians often improved derelict property they bought, while local councillor Peter Landers argued complaints about unemployment were being used as a ‘skeleton’ to justify racist attitudes.<sup>207</sup> Interestingly, the

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<sup>202</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 29 August 1972.

<sup>203</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 26 August 1972; 29 August 1972,

<sup>204</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 29 August 1972; 9 September 1972.

<sup>205</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 28 September 1972.

<sup>206</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 7 October 1972.

<sup>207</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 29 August 1972; 4 September 1972.

editor had also discouraged letters from local organisations, and so the Council for Community Relations was absent in letters pages.<sup>208</sup>

While the greater representation of sympathetic voices and whether the greater marginalisation of hostile opinions reflected a change in local attitudes or the newspaper's new letters policy was unclear. In comparison with 1968, it appeared that the *Bolton Evening News*, while still voicing local anxieties about immigration, was supporting a more balanced and sympathetic approach to Asian migrants. Reports about the Indo-Pakistan war in 1971, for example, were marked as being of interest to Asian readers in the town.<sup>209</sup> Casual reporting, such as a story about 4 Asian boys who had received the Duke of Edinburgh award, spoke about local Asian people without reference to race or the 'problems' of immigration. In the early 1970s, the *Bolton Evening News* was beginning to characterise Asian people as Boltonians and perhaps even as newspaper readers.<sup>210</sup> This marked a significant shift in its responses to immigration, and change in the tone of its articles and many readers' letters.

### Conclusions.

The *Bolton Evening News* in the 1960s and early 1970s demonstrated both the power and the limitations of local newspaper's ability to shape public interpretations of Asian immigration. The newspaper provided, on many occasions, reports which showed both the positive actions being taken by Boltonians to help Asian immigrants, and the secure position in society many of these people had made for themselves. The findings of these reports appeared to be consistently ignored in favour of more vague anxieties about the 'problems' of immigration.

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<sup>208</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 27 July 1971.

<sup>209</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 4 July 1971.

<sup>210</sup> *Bolton Evening News*, 15 August 1972.

These anxieties were certainly fuelled by specific social and economic problems in the town, which naturally received constant coverage in the *Bolton Evening News*. The link between these problems and Asian immigrants appeared to be reasonably insignificant. While Bolton certainly had a housing problem, its disadvantaged areas had not worsened as a result of immigration. While social changes in Bolton had precipitated, rather than been caused by, immigration, the presence of Asians—with their visible, cultural distinction—became an easily identified symbol of this change. The *Bolton Evening News* adopted this symbol from 1965 onwards, during which time hostile responses to immigration were justified by statements of support for the privileges of white Boltonians.

In attempting to answer why a local newspaper would ignore the admirable and positive actions being taken in the city to improve community relations, Hartman and Husband's study of media influence on attitudes proves useful. They argued national and local newspapers, as the current thesis has shown, presented immigration as such a problem that 'local situations and events [came] to be experienced and interpreted in terms of images, concepts and perspectives derived from [negative portrayals in] the media'.<sup>211</sup> This appears to be substantiated as, when the *Bolton Evening News*'s coverage started to focus more closely on national debates about immigration in 1965, 1967 and 1968, specific local evidence was replaced with more generalised anxieties about the position and identity of white Britons in an increasingly multicultural society. While the early 1970s demonstrated a potential shift in the *Bolton Evening News*'s response to immigration and racist letters, it is beyond the scope of the current project to chart how its policy developed throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

As the perceived threat to white privilege voiced by Powell and newspapers such as the *Daily Express* became amplified in the late 1960s, the efforts of groups such as the Bolton

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<sup>211</sup> Hartman and Charles Husband, *Racism and the Mass Media*, pp. 60-61.

Council for Community Relations—while still given representation in the *Bolton Evening News*—were neglected in favour of references to white identity and the disruptive nature of Asian cultural difference. In allowing and perhaps encouraging this to happen, the *Bolton Evening News* neglected the most vulnerable members of its community: Asian immigrants. The newspaper, like its Liverpool equivalents, felt no sense of obligation for immigrant populations and instead appealed to a wider audience of white readers. As a result, community action to improve relations between white and Asian people in the town was jeopardised rather than assisted by its local newspaper.

## **Chapter 9**

### **Moss Side Story: The Representation of Social Decline and Black and Asian Immigration in Manchester's Local Press, 1950-72.**

This chapter focuses on the period 1950 to 1972 and analyses the unusual relationship between the *Manchester Guardian* (*Guardian* after 1959), *Manchester Evening News* and *Manchester Evening Chronicle* and how this informed those newspapers' representation of race and immigration in Manchester. The *Guardian* strode the line between being a national newspaper and a local newspaper, and the financial support it received from its sister newspaper the *Manchester Evening News* allowed it to take a liberal stance on immigration without regard to reader opinion. In return, the *Manchester Evening News* was granted editorial freedom to pursue an anti-immigration line which proved to be popular with its audience in the 1960s. Rival newspaper the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* initially challenged the *Manchester Evening News*'s stance on immigration until it closed in 1963 as a result of falling advertising revenue. This left the *Manchester Evening News* with a monopoly over its market, as the *Guardian* turned its attention to becoming a national newspaper. While the *Manchester Evening News* continued to attack immigration into the late 1960s, the appointment of editor Brian Redhead in 1969 marked the beginning of a new, more progressive stance on immigration. The prominence of local community relations organisations and their engagement with the press reinforced this trend.

Special attention is given to the changing image of Moss Side, an area associated with black and Asian immigration, in the local press. In each newspaper, this area came to

symbolise the social problems immigration was perceived to pose. In the 1950s, anxieties about urban decline, unemployment and 'vice' in Moss Side lead to the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Manchester Evening News* representing black people as the cause of the difficulties the area faced. The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* challenged this view by focusing on the experiences of immigrants and the discrimination driving them into the city's lowest-quality housing. As local politicians took advantage of white resentment towards black settlement in Moss Side, the *Manchester Evening News* reinforced the idea that the problems in the area were associated with race. The *Guardian* challenged politicians to address unemployment and housing problems rather than focus on immigration, but the decline of the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* meant the *Manchester Evening News* faced no substantial local opposition to its position. A series of social investigations by academic Robin Ward in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, challenged negative views of Moss Side. In response to this and united community action within Moss Side to combat its problems, both the *Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News* began to represent the area as a success story and an example of the possibility of multiculturalism.

Local and national circumstances shaped the Manchester press's responses to race and immigration. The policy of slum clearance, which throughout the 1960s and early 1970s was beginning to affect areas of black and Asian settlement, heightened the newspapers' anxieties about urban decline and social change in Manchester and reinforced their focus on Moss Side as a symbol of these tensions. Political immigration legislation passed in the 1960s was interpreted by the *Manchester Evening News* as a necessary measure to ease competition for housing, but the *Guardian* challenged the measures and proposed an inclusive definition of citizenship and belonging. While the *Guardian* criticised Powell for his 'Rivers of Blood' speech, the *Manchester Evening News* opened its letters pages to local voices of support for

Powell. It used these letters to suggest the newspaper's own policy was representative of public opinion. As a counterpoint to reader hostility, the work of the Manchester Council for Community Relations and the research of Ward were given extensive attention by the *Manchester Evening News*. By the early 1970s, both newspapers shared a celebratory stance on Manchester's efforts of integrating black and Asian people and the *Manchester Evening News* responded to Ugandan-Asian immigration in 1972 in a way that reflected this new approach.

### Black and Asian Immigration into Manchester.

A sizable black community has existed in Manchester since at least the 1930s, when around 200 black people living around Salford docks gradually moved into the city.<sup>1</sup> The established position of black communities within Manchester before the War was attested to when the first Pan-African Conference was held in the city in 1945 with the input of several prominent black Mancunians.<sup>2</sup> Eyo Bassey Ndem found around 3,200 black people living in Manchester

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<sup>1</sup> M. Sherwood, 'Manchester and the 1945 Pan African Congress' (London, 1995), pp. 1-4. Evidence does, however, exist that suggests a longer standing black presence in the city. An early report into Manchester's black communities claimed that the first black settlers entered the city around 1902 before being followed in greater numbers by those seeking employment during the First World War. See Eyo Bassey Ndem, 'Negro Immigrants in Manchester: A Analysis of Social Relations Within and Between the various Coloured Groups and of Their Relations to the White Community' (Unpublished MA thesis, 1953), p. 30. Sherwood also found evidence of a 'little colony' of black men living within three miles of Manchester's Seaman Institute in 1926. See Sherwood, 'Manchester and the 1945 Pan African Congress', p. 2. Manchester's Archives and Local Studies, meanwhile, collected a series of parish registers that suggested black people had lived in Manchester since the eighteenth century on an online exhibition. See 'The Story of Juba Royton', [http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/448/archives\\_and\\_local\\_studies/3359/the\\_story\\_of\\_juba\\_royton\\_online\\_exhibition/1](http://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/448/archives_and_local_studies/3359/the_story_of_juba_royton_online_exhibition/1).

<sup>2</sup> Pan African Federation officers Peter Milliard and Ras T. Makonnen had lived in Manchester for many years. James Taylor, head of the Negro Welfare Centre in Manchester also played a prominent role in the congress. See Sherwood, 'Manchester and the 1945 Pan African Congress', p. 28. The Pan African Federation, formed before the Second World War had 300 members during the conference and though its influence declined in the following years, it had been a key institution for black settlers attempting to secure their position in the city. This black presence was illustrated by the formation of several ethnic social organisations in the early 1940s such as the African Students Union (formed 1946), Gold Coast Brotherhood (1948-) and Ibo Union (1946-): See Ndem, 'Negro Immigrants in Manchester', pp. 99-130.

by 1951, most of them from Nigeria and the West Indies.<sup>3</sup> The majority of this population lived across a small number of districts in close proximity to each other: Moss Side, Chorlton-on-Medlock and Hulme.<sup>4</sup> The 1950s saw a significant rise in West Indian and African immigration into the city, with the peak period of migration being 1954-63.<sup>5</sup> After 1963, migrants settling in Manchester were largely Asian people from West Pakistani states of Punjab and Lahore and from the Eastern cities of Dacca and Sylhet.<sup>6</sup> Between 1956 and early-1968, this black and Asian population would grow significantly in size to 35,000-40,000.<sup>7</sup> Of this amount, around 20,000 were Asian migrants<sup>8</sup>

As noted by Colin Holmes, Manchester had acquired a reputation for being a cosmopolitan city due in part to the survival of a Jewish community in the city.<sup>9</sup> As lawyer and anti-deportation campaigner Steve Cohen observed in 1987, 'Manchester liberalism' has historically been cited as the main reason why examples of racial violence have been rare in the city's history.<sup>10</sup> Marika Sherwood, meanwhile, argued that the idea Manchester has long

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<sup>3</sup> Ndem's survey found that 25 Gambians, 50 Gold Coasters, 100 Kroom, 2,000 Nigerians, 30 Sierra Leonians and 1,000 West Indians lived in the city. Ndem, 'Negro Immigrants in Manchester', p. 97. A *Manchester Guardian* report in 1954 seemed to confirm this figure by suggesting there were around 3,500 'permanent' black residents in Manchester at that time. *Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1954.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98. A survey carried out by Manchester's Youth Development Trust found that black people who had initially migrated into Salford in the early 1900s gradually moved into the area around Moss Side in pursuit of work in local industries. By 1945, the St. Bees Street area of Moss Side had become a de-facto 'reception centre' for black immigrants which encouraged further settlement in the area. See Youth Development Trust, 'Young and Coloured in Manchester' (Manchester, 1967).

<sup>5</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 26 April 1971.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>7</sup> Robin Ward, 'Race for Homes: Housing and Coloured Mancunians' (Manchester, 1968), p. 1. Ward identified the peak period of immigration as 1956-1961. A survey conducted by Manchester's Youth Development Trust had found that the black population was 20,000 in 1964, which indicated both the extent of immigration into the city since Ndem's 1951-3 surveys and the 15,000-20,000 increase since the peak period identified by Ward. See Youth Development Trust, 'Young and Coloured in Manchester'.

<sup>8</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 26 April 1971.

<sup>9</sup> While the Jewish community survival does demonstrate the cosmopolitan nature of Manchester, Bill Williams has raised demonstrated the extent to which prejudice existed in the city. See Williams, 'The Anti-Semitism of Tolerance'.

<sup>10</sup> Steve Cohen 'It's the Same Old Story – Immigration Controls Against Jewish, Black and Asian People, with Special Reference to Manchester' (Manchester, 1987), p. 27.

been the ‘least prejudiced city in Britain’ survived at least into the 1990s.<sup>11</sup> All three of these observers have questioned this reputation. In 1945, prominent Manchester establishments the *Ritz* and *Plaza* operated colour bars, while the campaigns of International Societies indicated segregation was practised in local labour exchanges, Trade Union branches and by high-profile employers such as Manchester Liners and the city’s branch of the Ministry of Labour.<sup>12</sup> Cohen, meanwhile, found prejudice towards black and Asian immigrants persisted into 1980s and had been reinforced by the decades of disadvantage black and Asian Mancunians had experienced.<sup>13</sup>

While the absence of racial violence in Manchester during the early postwar years has been cited as another example of the liberal attitudes of Mancunians, Ndem offered a more sceptical portrait of ‘race relations’ in the city during the early-1950s. Denials that racism existed in the city ignored ‘salient social facts’ relating to discrimination in employment and housing.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, he suggested a general ambivalence was felt by white Mancunians towards black people, while the existence of negative stereotypes about black inferiority was cited by interviewees.<sup>15</sup> While surveys taken in the late 1960s by the Manchester Council for Community Relations indicated overt prejudice was uncommon in Manchester, this chapter will show that similar sentiments to those evidenced by Ndem were often reflected in the pages of Manchester’s newspapers.<sup>16</sup>

The residential pattern of immigration into Manchester meant black and Asian settlers often lived in deprived areas scheduled for slum clearance (see Figure 20). Ndem found over

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<sup>11</sup> Sherwood, ‘Manchester and the 1945 Pan African Congress’, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>13</sup> Cohen, ‘It’s the Same Old Story’.

<sup>14</sup> Ndem, ‘Negro Immigrants in Manchester’, pp. 3-34.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 163-174.

<sup>16</sup> R. Ward, ‘Coloured Families in Council Houses: Progress and Prospects in Manchester’ (Manchester, 1971). The report found that 76% of those interviewed appeared un-prejudiced, while only 6% demonstrated prejudice.

80% of black Mancunians in 1951 lived in ‘slum conditions’ and Moss Side became known as the city’s coloured district.<sup>17</sup> This pattern was encouraged by increased opportunities for buying low-quality housing in areas undesirable to the white community.<sup>18</sup> By 1967, the Manchester Youth Development Trust’s survey of black residential patterns found only 15% of the black and Asian population—around 6,000 people—lived in Moss Side but that the surrounding areas remained the home of many black and Asian people (see Figure 21).<sup>19</sup> By the early 1970s, 10,000 Pakistanis were said to be living within the Victoria Park, Longsight, Rusholme and Cheetham Hill districts of the city, demonstrating migrant settlement was beginning to expand.<sup>20</sup>

While providing opportunities for black and Asian people to secure housing near to city-centre places of work, their concentration in the area in and around Moss Side led to negative associations being made between immigration and what came to be seen as Manchester’s ‘slum districts’. Already in the early 1950s, Ndem found the operation of drug and prostitution trades in Moss Side and the general decline in the area’s housing quality was blamed on the presence of black people.<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Burney highlighted the fallacy of this supposed causal link by demonstrating the long history of housing decline in Moss Side and by showing how Jewish and Irish immigrants had previously been blamed for the same conditions.<sup>22</sup> As this chapter will demonstrate, this negative association would go on to have a significant effect on the portrayal of Manchester’s black and Asian population in the press between 1950 and 1972.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* p. 241.

<sup>18</sup> Ward’s surveys, conducted 1966-68, found that the majority of black and Asian people in Manchester owned their houses. Ward, ‘Race for Homes’, p.1.

<sup>19</sup> Youth Development Trust, ‘Young and Coloured in Manchester’, p. 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 26 April 1971.

<sup>21</sup> Ndem, ‘Negro Immigrants in Manchester’, p. 36.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Burney, *Housing on Trial: A Study of Immigrants and Local Government* (London 1967), pp. 150-158.

## Manchester's Newspapers.

While Manchester's press changed significantly in the period 1950-72, the city was consistently represented by diverse newspapers. Until the early 1960s, the *Manchester Guardian*, *Manchester Evening News* and *Manchester Evening Chronicle* all offered distinct accounts of current affairs in the city. As this chapter will show, the *Manchester Evening News* and *Manchester Evening Chronicle* offered different perspectives on local and national events and, while maintaining a technically neutral political position, fell on the right and left of the political spectrum respectively. The *Manchester Evening News*'s emphasis on reader correspondence, lively journalism, and a strong editorial line had a significant influence on its coverage of black and Asian immigration into the city. The *Manchester Evening Chronicle*'s socially conscious feature investigations, meanwhile, gave more of a voice to immigrants themselves. The newspaper, however, fell victim to the increasing reliance on advertising revenue and was bought by its more popular competitor the *Manchester Evening News* in 1963.<sup>23</sup> As a result of this merger, the *Manchester Evening News* had eliminated its competition. The newspaper's editorial line was also reinforced by Tom Hardy's consistent editorship throughout the 1960s.

The *Manchester Guardian* was the principal newspaper of the *Manchester Guardian and Evening News Limited*, which also owned the *Manchester Evening News*. This meant that, following the closure of the *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, Manchester's two core newspapers were owned by the same company. Both were given editorial freedom and

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<sup>23</sup> Lord Thompson, proprietor of *the Manchester Evening Chronicle*, was reportedly losing £100,000 a year on it by the late 1950s despite its 250,000 circulation before its closure. While Lawrence Scott, director of Manchester Guardian and Evening News Limited, bought the newspaper in 1963, it had to be closed soon afterwards due to consistently poor returns. These high losses were due to the failure of the newspaper to attract advertising revenue away from the more popular *Manchester Evening News*: see Greenslade, *Press Gang*, pp. 163-164.

offered significantly different perspectives.<sup>24</sup> The *Guardian*'s charter decreed that it would maintain a progressive spirit in the face of growing commercialism in the industry.<sup>25</sup> While the *Manchester Guardian* changed its name to the *Guardian* in 1959 to signify its ambitions to become a prominent national paper, its editorial staff—and a significant portion of its investigative attention—remained in Manchester.<sup>26</sup> Edited by Alistair Hetherington, 1954-75, the newspaper would retain both its liberal ideology and attentive eye to social life in Manchester.<sup>27</sup> Politically, while repeatedly supporting Labour in elections and encouraging Lib-Lab cooperation in creating a moderate, left-of-centre consensus, the newspaper retained a critical stance on all parties.<sup>28</sup> This left-leaning stance meant reporters and feature writers were encouraged to concentrate on 'reforming topics' with a 'radical, vigorous, philosophical and inquiring' perspective.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Guardian* editor Alastair Hetherington and the *Manchester Evening News*'s editors, having no proprietor, were 'left in freedom' after their appointment. See Alastair Hetherington, *Guardian Years* (London, 1981), p. 65.

<sup>25</sup> The *Guardian* had been founded by John Edward Taylor as a way to provide an alternative perspective on the Peterloo Massacre than that offered by officials and the authorities. It would go on to offer a radical response to the Sudan and Boer wars. It was this position as a voice against dominant and conservative perspectives that subsequent owners and editors, most famously editor C. P. Scott, sought to maintain. Geoffrey Taylor, *Changing Faces: A History of the Guardian, 1956-88* (London, 1993), p. 4. For a more detailed account of this history, see C. P. Scott, *The Making of the Manchester Guardian, 1846-1932* (London, 1946).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28. Printing of the *Guardian* in London started on 10 September 1961 but Hetherington wrote 'The paper would be Manchester-based and Manchester-edited. It would print in London in order to get later news and arts notices into the paper...otherwise the changes would be as few as possible'. Taylor, *Changing Faces*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>27</sup> Taylor, *Changing Faces*, p. 10. Taylor argued the newspaper stayed true to its Manchester roots and local stories would often feature alongside the most significant of national and international events.

<sup>28</sup> Hetherington, *Guardian Years*, pp. 31. Both Hetherington and sub-editor Paddy Monkhouse had 'moderate, left-of-centre' political views, while recruitment practices often encouraged the employment of left-leaning journalists. In the 1945 and 1959 general elections, the newspaper supported Labour, while Hetherington maintained a close relationship with Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson throughout the 1960s and generally supported his subsequent governments. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-84.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45. This was how feature editor John Rosselli (1962-4) described the *Guardian* tradition of feature writing during his time at the newspaper. See Taylor, *Changing Faces*, pp. 58-9.

newspapers were owned by the same company. Both were given editorial freedom and offered significantly different perspectives.<sup>30</sup> The *Guardian*'s charter decreed that it would maintain a progressive spirit in the face of growing commercialism in the industry.<sup>31</sup> While the *Manchester Guardian* changed its name to the *Guardian* in 1959 to signify its ambitions to become a prominent national paper, its editorial staff—and a significant portion of its investigative attention—remained in Manchester.<sup>32</sup> Edited by Alistair Hetherington, 1954-75, the newspaper would retain both its liberal ideology and attentive eye to social life in Manchester.<sup>33</sup> Politically, while repeatedly supporting Labour in elections and encouraging Lib-Lab cooperation in creating a moderate, left-of-centre consensus, the newspaper retained a critical stance on all parties.<sup>34</sup> This left-leaning stance meant reporters and feature writers were encouraged to concentrate on 'reforming topics' with a 'radical, vigorous, philosophical and inquiring' perspective.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Guardian* editor Alistair Hetherington and the *Manchester Evening News*'s editors, having no proprietor, were 'left in freedom' after their appointment. See Alistair Hetherington, *Guardian Years* (London, 1981), p. 65.

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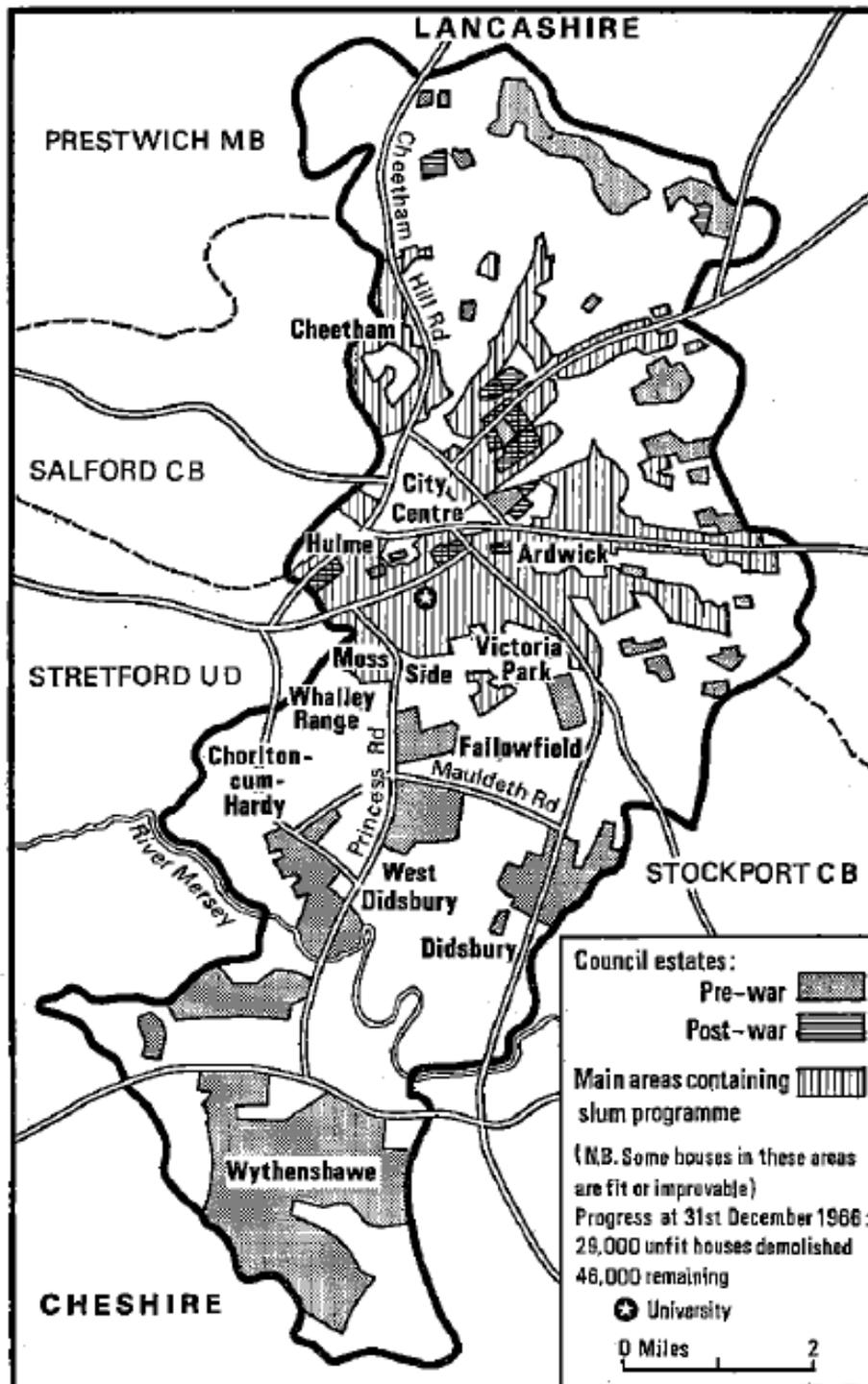


Figure 20: The areas of Manchester designated for slum clearance. From Elizabeth Burney, *Housing on Trial: A Study of Immigrants and Local Government* (London, 1967).

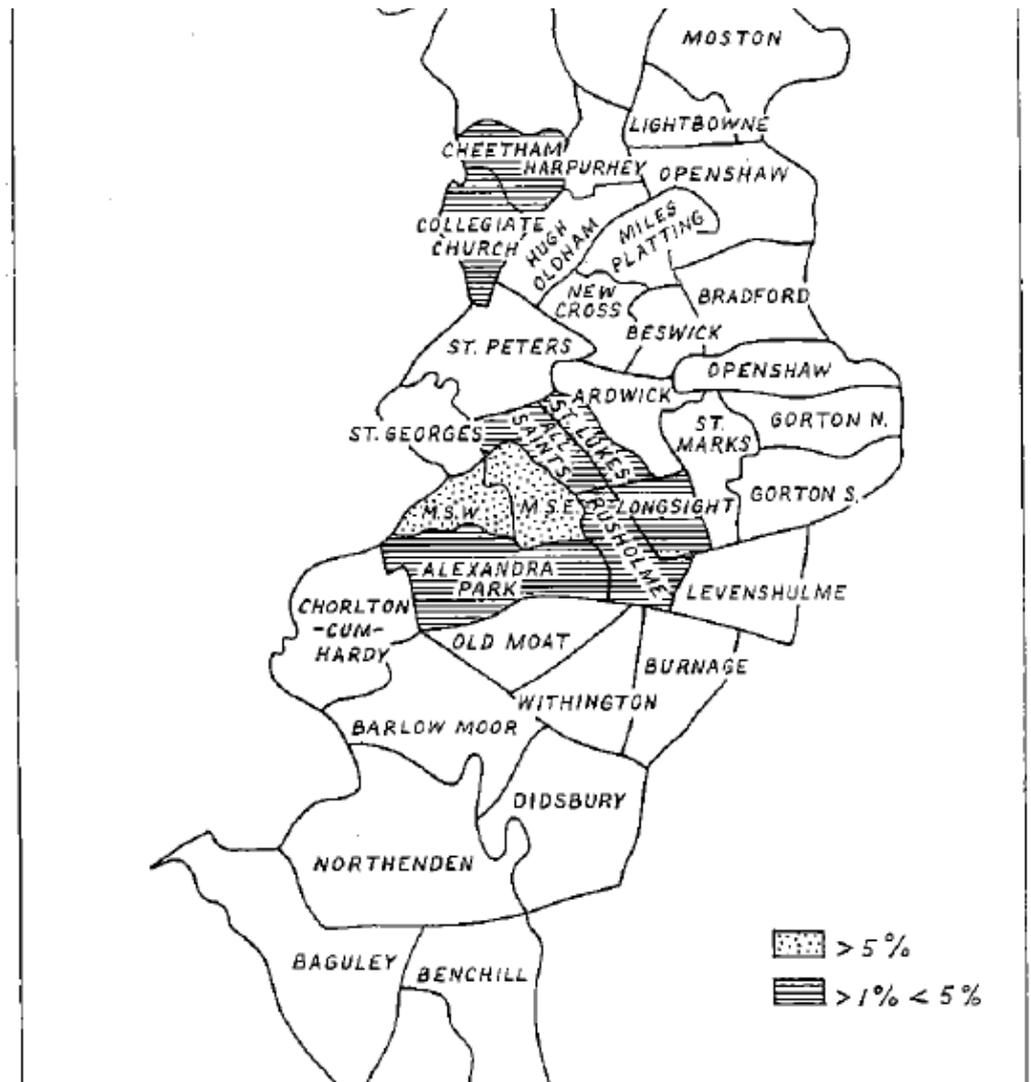


Figure 21: West Africans, Indians and Pakistans in certain Manchester Wards (M.S.W = Moss Side West, M.S.E = Moss Side East) in 1961. Within these Wards, all but Collegiate church had an a strong Asian population by 1971. More than 10 per cent of those living in Manchester who were born in India had expanded into Corlton-cum-Hardy and Withington by 1971. See Hazel Flett, 'Asians in Council Housing: An Analysis', in R. Ward (ed.), *Race and Residence in Britain: Approaches to Differential Treatment in Housing*, (Manchester, 1985) p. 61.

At the heart of the relationship between the *Guardian* and its sister paper the *Manchester Evening News* lay the complex commercial challenges facing contemporary provincial newspapers. In a famous editorial, C. P. Scott had written:

A newspaper has two sides to it. It is a business, like any other, and has to pay its way in the material sense in order to live....[but it has a] moral as well as a material

existence, and its character and influence are in the main determined by the balance of these two forces. It may make a profit or power its first object, or it may conceive itself as fulfilling a higher and more exacting function.<sup>36</sup>

In the 1950s and 1960s, the *Guardian* remained dedicated to its ‘moral existence’, yet was fighting to retain its ‘material existence’. While this situation developed throughout the 1960s, the *Guardian* remained completely dependent on the advertising revenue of its ‘money spinner’ the *Manchester Evening News*.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately, this complex relationship between the two newspapers facilitated both the continued radical stance of the *Guardian* and the editorial independence of the *Manchester Evening News*.

The respective ideological and commercial ambitions of the *Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News* led to a complex relationship between the newspapers and their readers. Hetherington described the average *Guardian* reader nationally as a man ‘in his thirties, a graduate, a professional doing well, mildly left-of-centre in politics and interested in current affairs’ while, in the North, their average age was over forty and the political outlook more Conservative.<sup>38</sup> While audience surveys showed a general close reading of features and editorial content, Taylor believed the *Guardian* was a businessman’s paper whose politics was seen as an ‘eccentricity’.<sup>39</sup> The *Manchester Evening News* meanwhile, used its letters pages—boasted to be the biggest in the country—to maintain its image as a newspaper which represented the general population of Manchester and its surrounding

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<sup>36</sup> Taylor, *Changing Faces*, p. 1.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5-20. The nadir of the *Guardian*’s financial difficulties was reached between 1966-7 when Lawrence Scott attempted to merge the newspaper with the *Times* in the face of growing losses. While the deal eventually fell through and led to growing tensions between Lawrence and Hetherington, the newspaper remained increasingly dependent on the *Manchester Evening News*. For an account of these years, see Taylor, *Changing Faces*, pp. 55-94 and Hetherington, *Guardian Years*, pp. 144-174. By 1971, the *Guardian* was suffering losses of £1.4 million per year, and was reliant on the *Manchester Evening News*’s £1.4 million yearly profit. See Greensdale, *Press Gang*, p. 271.

<sup>38</sup> Hetherington, *Guardian Years*, p. 28.

<sup>39</sup> Taylor, *Changing Faces*, p. 162.

districts. Its circulation figures of around 400,000 throughout the 1960s, meanwhile, demonstrated the extent of its popularity with its provincial audience.<sup>40</sup> The *Manchester Evening News*'s dependence on advertising revenue, general popularity and responsibility for maintaining the profitability of Manchester Guardian and Evening News Limited meant that appearing to represent its audience—and maintaining the support of its advertisers—was an essential motivation of its policy and coverage.

'We Must Clean Up this Blot NOW!': Black immigration and Moss Side 1950-60.

Throughout the 1950s, Moss Side was depicted as a key social problem facing Manchester and a symbol of anxieties about the city's decline. As black settlement in the area increased throughout the decade, these anxieties became increasingly associated with the perceived effects of immigration. While the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Evening Chronicle* attempted to provide a sympathetic account of the challenges black people experienced, the *Manchester Evening News* associated their presence directly with crime and poor housing conditions in Moss Side. Ultimately, all three newspapers racialised the socio-economic problems the area faced by associating them so closely with black immigration.

The *Manchester Guardian*'s coverage of black or Asian immigrants and their experiences in Manchester reflected its liberal ideology and demonstrated an awareness of effects of racism. An article in 1951 investigated the 'uncertain status' of black people who had settled in Britain.<sup>41</sup> It reflected black people's claims about the 'widespread' practice of discrimination and focused on difficulties finding jobs and quality housing.<sup>42</sup> The example of unemployment and housing discrimination in Liverpool was used as a portent of potential

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<sup>40</sup> Jackson, *The Provincial Press and the Community*, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 12 May 1951.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

problems Manchester could face if action was not taken to fight prejudice. The *Manchester Guardian* subsequently gave special attention to efforts being made to improve community relations in Manchester.

Articles throughout the early 1950s focused on Moss Side, which was represented as the city's 'coloured district'. An early report highlighted the statement made by Moss Side's councillors, clergymen and public figures denying the association between 'immorality' in the district and recent black immigrants.<sup>43</sup> The statement said crime had existed 'long before the advent of coloured people' and black people living in the area were 'respectable citizens'.<sup>44</sup> Other articles focused on the founding of community centres in and near Moss Side. The opening of an educational centre for black people in Hulme was said to be relieving unemployment in the area.<sup>45</sup> Positive coverage was devoted to the foundation of a community centre in Darcy Street, Moss Side.<sup>46</sup> The centre was established by African and West Indian residents and was said to have 'transformed' the 'once respectable, now decaying' street into a progressive, clean centre for community improvement.<sup>47</sup> Later in 1954, a feature about the opening of St. Gerard's Community and Social Centre on Denmark Road, Moss Side, focused on black and white locals turning a 'fairly dilapidated building' into a library, leisure centre and canteen.<sup>48</sup> Community relations efforts in Moss Side were characterised as transformative, and something which could improve the broader problems the area faced.

While the *Manchester Guardian* focused on positive efforts being made to accommodate black immigrants in Manchester, it also drew attention to examples of prejudice and discrimination in the city. An early editorial criticised the unwillingness of

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<sup>43</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 9 November 1953.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 20 August 1953.

<sup>46</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 8 April 1954.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 13 October 1954.

Manchester's Councillors to consider the appointment of black police officers to both liaise with and support the growing black population.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, an article exposed discrimination in the city by reporting Manchester City Licensing Justice claims that licensed houses in Moss Side were refusing to serve black customers.<sup>50</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* also published articles about the disadvantages faced by black workers in Liverpool and Manchester's docks.<sup>51</sup> Reflecting these concerns, a report later in 1955 repeated the complaints made by Community House, Moss Side, about the restriction of black people to low-paid labour.<sup>52</sup> Such coverage balanced the *Manchester Guardian's* portrait of community relations and provided a positive example of an active black community combating discrimination.

Motivated by its desire to uncover community relations in Moss Side, the *Manchester Guardian* published a series of investigative reports in 1957 which in fact contributed to negative perceptions of the effect of black immigration. While acknowledging the role of prejudice in confining the housing opportunities of immigrants, the newspaper's first feature closely associated this relationship with crime, overcrowding and poverty. It referenced the transformation of the area from its Victorian past, with large 'mansions' being described as gutted and divided into 'countless apartments' for West Indian, African and Chinese renters.<sup>53</sup> By portraying black people as impoverished and struggling to find work, their resulting drift into crime and over-crowded housing was said to be contributing to the continuing decline of Moss Side.<sup>54</sup> Its headline was drawn from an image which was said to

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<sup>49</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 31 July 1953.

<sup>50</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 5 February 1954.

<sup>51</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 30 May 1955; MG, 3 June 1955. Black workers at the docks were referred to as 'scabs' in an attempt to justify a 'colour bar' striking white workers were attempting to enforce.

<sup>52</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 29 November 1955.

<sup>53</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 12 June 1957.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

symbolise this decline: an advertisement for a ‘respectabubble room to let in a respectabubble house for respectabubble working gentlemen [sic]’.<sup>55</sup> The feature closely associated the perceived transformation of the area’s respectability with black immigration. While the following month the newspaper gave a glowing review of Granada TV’s black-narrated *Nightfall* special on Moss Side for showing the ‘human side’ of the black experience and for rising above the ‘conditioned reflex’ of associated immigrants with crime, its own features reinforced the negative assumptions *Nightfall* referenced.<sup>56</sup>

The following year, another *Manchester Guardian* article focused on housing in Moss Side and raised concerns about the ‘system’ by which black men came to buy and rent houses in the district. The feature claimed one-fifth of houses in Moss Side were owned by black occupiers or landlords.<sup>57</sup> Detailing how this had come to be, the feature, based on interviews with black locals, suggested groups of black people would buy Victorian houses as they came on the market. As more houses became occupied by black people, the feature implied, the remaining white home owners would sell up their properties at a depressed value which could be exploited by more black buyers.<sup>58</sup> As this ‘system’ was characterised as the means by which black people obtained houses, the feature only reinforced fears about black immigration and its contribution to ‘slum’ conditions.<sup>59</sup> By referring to long council-housing lists and difficulties in building new, high-quality housing, the report also suggested black immigrants were taking advantage of and adding to the problem of slum clearance.

The *Manchester Guardian* feature proved to be so troubling that a complaint against the newspaper was raised in Parliament by Labour MP for Hammersmith North Frank

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 10 July 1957.

<sup>57</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 15 September 1958.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* In some cases, the reporter suggested, black people deliberately acted in a way which would ‘frighten away’ white neighbours.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

Tomney. He argued that, based on his own investigations in Manchester, the feature was ‘not right in either in fact or presentation’.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, he complained the newspaper had refused to publish a letter written by residents of Moss Side decrying the feature.<sup>61</sup> This demonstrated the degree to which newspaper reports about Moss Side were causing concern within the area and reflecting resentment towards black residents. It also highlighted the extent to which even a socially conscious newspaper, by focusing too closely on the link between black people and housing problems, could contribute to negative attitudes about immigration into Manchester. Following so closely the 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill, such a portrayal of black communities in Manchester was particularly problematic.

In the early 1950s, the *Manchester Evening News* and *Manchester Evening Chronicle* featured little coverage directly relating to Manchester’s growing black population and so stood in contrast to the *Manchester Guardian*. Moss Side was being singled out as a key focus of coverage about ‘social ills’ and industrial decline in Manchester. Claims made by the Moss Side Vigilance Committee that the area was ‘rife with violence’ had instigated a series of reports by both newspapers.<sup>62</sup> A feature on the district in the *Manchester Chronicle* focused on an increase in cases of drug peddling and prostitution, which was blamed on the ‘tragedy’ of increasingly poor housing conditions.<sup>63</sup> A *Manchester Evening News* editorial, meanwhile, issued a degree of caution about ‘exaggerated’ cases of crime in the giving the area a ‘notoriety which it does not deserve and it may not easily lose’.<sup>64</sup> Despite this plea, readers’ letters in the following days raised concerns about ‘immoral men’ and ‘so-called

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<sup>60</sup> Hansard HC Deb 5 December 1958, vol 596, col 1581.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 26 January 1950.

<sup>63</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 27 January 1950;

<sup>64</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 27 January 1950.

women' bringing down the name of the city.<sup>65</sup> The *Manchester Evening News* itself would come to play an active role in promoting the district's notoriety.

While in the early 1950s the *Manchester Evening News* had cautioned against taking claims about social problems in Moss Side at face value, later in the decade it would itself adopt a crusading approach to 'cleaning up' the district. In June, 1957, the newspaper published a prominent feature campaign to rid Manchester of the 'BLOT' of criminality and unsanitary conditions in Moss Side.<sup>66</sup> The feature explicitly associated the black population with its assorted 'problems' in the city's 'black spot...where white clash with black, where vice, violence, filth and corruption merge into a cosmopolitan cauldron of crime'.<sup>67</sup> Utilising this evocative language, the newspaper had abandoned its previous caution and was actively contributing to the negative portrayal of both Moss Side and its black residents. Referencing the 'melting pot' imagery often used to describe American multiculturalism, the mixed-origin nature of the district was seen to be central to its perceived denigration.

The *Manchester Evening News*'s feature contrasted the alleged criminality of Moss Side's black population with the respectability of its white community. It argued that Moss Side 'boasted an eruption of murders...prostitutes who are the most flagrant in the country', much to the dismay of its oldest residents who were 'desperately try[ing] to stay respectable'.<sup>68</sup> Calling on local officials to 'help Moss Side's thousands of decent people root out this horror in their midst', it reflected the *Manchester Evening News*'s previous efforts to help restore the area to its Victorian prestige.<sup>69</sup> The 'roots' of crime, it argued, did not go deep but were a 'postwar phenomenon which crept up unnoticed like bindweed in a

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<sup>65</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 3 February 1950.

<sup>66</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 24 June 1957.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

flourishing garden'.<sup>70</sup> By moving from this imagery to references to the 'colour problem' in the area, the association between postwar immigration and inner-city decline was made clear.<sup>71</sup> Dismissing claims of housing discrimination, the feature criticised black people for 'blame[ing] their problems on colour' in order to justify crime.<sup>72</sup> Mixed-marriages were also associated with crime due to the alleged delinquency of 'half-caste' children.<sup>73</sup> By referring to both the area's 'respectable' past and immoral, multicultural present, the feature racialised the decline of Moss Side by associating it directly with black immigration.

The newspaper subsequently used readers' letters to reinforce the extent to which its crusading approach to 'vice' in Moss Side reflected the public's concerns. Readers adopting *nom-de-plumes* such as 'Deeply Concerned', 'Home Truth' and 'Parent' believed the feature uncovered the concerns of 'many thousands of Manchester people' and congratulated the paper on revealing a 'startling, horrifying truth'.<sup>74</sup> Demonstrated the extent to which the 'vice problem' had become associated with black immigration, one reader believed the condition of Moss Side highlighted how 'stupid and ignorant' it was to allow immigrants into the country, arguing that the 'influx' of black people was the 'root of this vast social problem'.<sup>75</sup> This letter portended the *Manchester Evening News's* own support for immigration legislation in coming years.

The anxieties presented in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News's* feature articles about Moss Side reflected wider editorial fears about black immigration in

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<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Webster has noted how images of rural Britishness were often used in media to highlight anxieties about immigration. See Webster, 'There'll Always be an England'. Howard Newby has also elaborated on the imagery of Britain in his study of popular anxieties concerning social change in rural England. See Howard Newby, *Green and Pleasant Land? Social Change in Rural England* (London, 1985).

<sup>72</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 24 June 1957.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 2 July 1957.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

both newspapers. As restrictions to immigration were being debated in Parliament in 1958, two *Manchester Guardian* editorials argued such action was ‘justified’ in order to avoid rising resentment caused by job and housing competition in areas like Moss Side.<sup>76</sup> The newspaper’s own reports about Moss Side had contributed to a mood of anxiety and scepticism concerning the maintenance of harmonious community relations which belied its initially positive articles.<sup>77</sup>

The *Manchester Evening News* took a much harder line on immigration following the Notting Hill and Nottingham riots, and linked the debates more directly to black migration into Moss Side. While acknowledging the role of racist white gangs, an editorial about the riots cited the presence of black people living off drug dealing and ‘immoral earnings’ and living in ‘over-crowded, ghetto housing’ as the cause of ‘white resentment’.<sup>78</sup> Black people were blamed for the prejudice and violence they faced as even ‘innocent’ immigrants were said to be judged for the actions of ‘guilty minorities’.<sup>79</sup> The answer to tensions in ‘inner-city, multi-racial’ areas, the editor argued, was to enforce ‘tougher laws’ concerning both immigration and ‘vice’.<sup>80</sup> While a number of readers’ letters expressed disapproval of the racism behind the riots, most reinforced the editorial position concerning the need for greater control over immigration, in order to avoid ‘social problems’ and white resentment.<sup>81</sup> While Moss Side was not explicitly cited in the editorial, its focus on housing, ‘vice’ and black immigration fitted the newspaper’s framework of representing Manchester’s own ‘coloured

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<sup>76</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 1 April 1958; 5 April 1958.

<sup>77</sup> The apparent shift in sentiment was picked up on by Labour MP for Salford West, Charles Royle, who, in a letter to the editor, complained that the recent editorials were out of line with previous policy. See *Manchester Guardian*, 14 April 1958.

<sup>78</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 2 September 1958.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 3 September 1958.

district'. In doing so, the editorial reinforced the extent to which social problems in Moss Side were seen as the result of black immigration.

The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* established a more sensitive response to poverty and residential decline, and challenged fears about immigration into Manchester. A series of features by reporter Barry Cockcroft focused on immigrants living in the city, and provided a sympathetic portrayal of black people in Moss Side. His 'Strangers in Our Midst' series of articles focused not on the perceived effect of immigration, but on the difficulties immigrants faced.<sup>82</sup> By speaking to immigrants and 'getting to know them', he offered a rare perspective that turned attention away from perceptions of black criminality.<sup>83</sup> Rather than presenting tensions and poor housing in Moss Side as the result of black immigration, Cockcroft suggested black people's experiences in Manchester had been 'maligned' by housing and job discrimination, which had left settling in Moss Side as the most effective way to find accommodation.<sup>84</sup> Challenging the association between black people and vice, he highlighted the presence of poor housing and 'vice' in the area 'long before a calypso ever rang out among the flanking walls'.<sup>85</sup> While admitting some black people turned to crime, the feature focused on those Africans and West Indians who worked in the local transport industry and were trying to alleviate conditions in Moss Side through organisations such as the St. Gerard Overseas-Centre. Black people were represented as victims, rather than perpetrators, of Moss Side's poor conditions and crime rates.<sup>86</sup>

Cockcroft's series of features, which also focused on Chinese, Asian and American settlers in Manchester, concluded that, despite the 'legendary friendliness' of Mancunians,

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<sup>82</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 2 June 1958.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

the city could be ‘so unfriendly’.<sup>87</sup> He emphasised the responsibility of readers personally to accept recent migrants.<sup>88</sup> The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* had adopted a considerably different response to the ‘Moss Side problem’, had provided a voice for black immigrants and encouraged readers to empathise with, rather than condemn, the black people in Manchester. While the feature articles neglected the long-standing presence of black people in the city by categorising them as ‘strangers’ who had ‘first appeared’ several years earlier, their apparent ‘strangeness’ was blamed on white ignorance rather than racial differences.<sup>89</sup> The newspaper challenged the negative perceptions of Moss Side and its black residents the *Manchester Evening News*’s campaign against ‘vice’ had encouraged.

This positive attitude towards community relations between black and white people was reinforced when, following the riots of Notting Hill and Nottingham, a *Manchester Evening Chronicle* article reported ‘all [was] quiet in Moss Side’.<sup>90</sup> It referenced the ‘Strangers in our Midst’ series and argued that ‘the whites and coloured of this city have learned to live together in peace’ and the district was an ‘example to the country’.<sup>91</sup> Moss Side’s multicultural community was used by the *Manchester Evening News* to symbolise the social problems in the district, but the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* used it as an example of the potential for black people to be accepted in British communities.

The *Manchester Evening Chronicle*’s sympathetic portrayal of Moss Side challenged the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News*’s negative features, but the district and its socio-economic conditions were associated with black immigration in all three newspapers. Reader responses to Cockcroft’s feature about the Manchester district of

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<sup>87</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 3 June 1958; 4 June 1958.

<sup>88</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 3 June 1958.

<sup>89</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 2 June 1958.

<sup>90</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 8 September 1958.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

Bradford—an area marked for slum clearance but which had not experienced black immigration—demonstrated the extent to which the concept of a ‘slum’ itself had been racialised. Reader Reverend Basil Higginson criticised Cockcroft for calling Bradford a slum and argued that a ‘slum [was] a place where character deteriorates as well as buildings’.<sup>92</sup> Providing an insight into attitudes towards Moss Side, he cited the district as an example of an area where this decline in character was happening. Describing Moss Side as a ‘congested, multi-racial area’, an otherwise positive *Manchester Guardian* article about Moss Side Baptist Church’s history reflected on the changing ‘character’ of the district, symbolised by the church’s now predominantly black congregation.<sup>93</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle* reporter Malcolm Scrimgeour, meanwhile, warned the transfer of white Mancunians to overspill areas outside the city and the growth of ‘immorality’ and ‘slum districts’ could ‘strike [a] death blow to [Manchester’s] spiritual and cultural life’.<sup>94</sup> His caution demonstrated the extent to which anxieties about slum clearance and immigration were tied to fears about the character of Manchester’s inner-city communities. White Mancunian identity was perceived to be under threat—both physically and culturally—from black immigration.

‘An Explosive Shuttlecock’: Moss Side and National Immigration Debates, 1961-67.

The racialisation of social problems in Moss Side influenced the Manchester press’s response to national debates about immigration in the early 1960s. Their anxieties about the effect of immigration were often communicated in relation to those social problems—housing, crime and education—which were most frequently cited in reference to conditions in Moss Side.

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<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 14 February 1958.

<sup>94</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 20 February 1958.

While the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* was largely silenced by its commercial decline and eventual absorption, the *Guardian* challenged the more hard-line anti-immigration sentiments present in the *Manchester Evening News*. The migration of Asians into Manchester led to anxieties about education, disease, and language being given more attention in both newspapers. Following the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act the *Manchester Evening News* reiterated its support for stricter measures to prevent the further growth of black communities in British cities. An editorial, reflecting its anxieties about Moss Side, warned that an ‘ugly situation’ would arise if further immigration increased the city’s housing shortages and led to the settlement of ‘drifters’ and criminals.<sup>95</sup>

A Moss Side by-election in November, 1961 allowed the newspaper to link national debates about immigration explicitly to social problems in the city. A feature by Geoffrey Whiteley about the election asked whether ‘colour’ would be the deciding factor in the results.<sup>96</sup> While British Union candidate Norman Kennedy had been nominated for the Moss Side West ward in the May elections of 1958, debates about black immigration had remained at the fringe of campaign debates.<sup>97</sup> This changed in 1961, when British Union, Conservative and Labour representatives were said to be ‘tossing’ around the topic of black immigration ‘like an explosive shuttlecock’.<sup>98</sup> In Moss Side, resentment about black landlords and overcrowding encouraged Conservative and Union campaigns to target anti-immigration, white working-class voters within the so-called ‘coloured quarter’.<sup>99</sup> The *Manchester*

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<sup>95</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 2 November 1961.

<sup>96</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 1 November 1961.

<sup>97</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 28 March 1958.

<sup>98</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 1 November 1961. British Union candidate Walter Hesketh’s pamphlets included slogans such as ‘Send the Blacks Home’ and, while Conservative candidate Frank Taylor denied exploiting the ‘colour question’, the cover of his own pamphlets were said to feature a picture of a black man and a plea support immigration control.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* The result of the election reflected the strength of the Conservative vote in the Ward as they obtained 41.1 per cent of the vote compared to Labour’s 25.8 per cent. The Union’s campaign ultimately failed, with Hesketh only receiving 5.2 per cent of the vote.

*Evening News*'s coverage of the election, by focusing on the 'colour question', reinforced the extent to which it was perceived to be the core problem facing Moss Side.

Already by November 1961, the financial difficulties the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* faced were limiting its ability to challenge the views of the *Manchester Evening News* as daily editorial commentary had been excised in an attempt to focus more closely on entertainment features. It was left to the (newly re-titled) *Guardian* to challenge the negative assumptions politicians were making about Moss Side. While a *Guardian* editorial had suggested concerns about housing could justify new immigration laws, another argued that the government should focus less on immigration and more on regulating housing and improving its slum clearance policy.<sup>100</sup> Calls made in parliament by the Conservative Minister of Housing Keith Joseph to speed up slum clearance and provide more housing became the focus of *Guardian* reporting.<sup>101</sup>

A *Guardian* article about the Moss Side by-election also focused on the concerns of black residents. The report relayed the argument of Nigerian James Adusanya concerning the responsibility of politicians to improve job opportunities for black people in Moss Side.<sup>102</sup> Shortly before the election, the *Guardian* turned its attention to positive efforts being made by black communities in Moss Side to improve local conditions and opportunities. A feature returned to St. Gerard's Community Centre, which was described as a 'vital and accepted part

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<sup>100</sup> *Guardian*, 8 February 1961; 18 February 1961; *Guardian*, 12 October 1961.

<sup>101</sup> *Guardian*, 23 June 1961. In parliament, Cyril Osborne had cited the 62,000 'unfit' houses that existed in Manchester as the primary reason why, he argued, immigration – regardless of colour – should be restricted. He claimed that 'Housing and immigration [were] linked; the problem in the one aggravates the problem in the other'. Williams, Joseph and Griffith, meanwhile, criticised Osborne for racialising a social issue. While Manchester was said to still have 600,000 'slum' houses, Joseph, emphasised that 7,750 had been cleared since 1956 and that Manchester's population had in fact declined since 1951. See Hansard HC Deb 22 June 1961, vol 642, cols 1821-32

<sup>102</sup> *Guardian*, 30 October 1961.

of Moss Side'.<sup>103</sup> The manager of the centre, Fr. Michael Walsh, called for improved housing policy and a stronger effort to challenge negative perceptions about Moss Side in order to facilitate 'integration'.<sup>104</sup> Alongside the *Guardian's* editorial criticism of immigration legislation, such features characterised black people in Manchester as active proponents of community improvement rather than as the 'social problem' referenced by electoral candidates.

The growing number of Asian immigrants living in Manchester also contributed to different approaches to the coverage of the perceived effects of immigration. In 1962, evidence of the anxiety that accompanied Asian immigration was reflected in press reports of outbreaks of smallpox across Britain and within Manchester itself. Mid-January marked the beginning of consistent coverage which frequently linked the outbreak with wider fears about the potential dangers of Asian immigration. The *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, previously anxious to temper scare-mongering reports, immediately drew attention to the calls made by the Conservative MP for Carlisle to limit or screen the entry of Asians 'to the greatest degree'.<sup>105</sup> Another story about the death of a boy with smallpox referenced Dr Reginald Webster's belief that an open door to Asian dependents was 'madness' and threatened to 'dilute' the standards of British community life.<sup>106</sup> This demonstrated the ease by which Manchester's newspapers could move from discussing immigration and disease to considering the perceived social and cultural danger of racial 'difference'. Ultimately, as was the case in Bolton, responses to smallpox petered out the following week and Manchester's newspapers appeared anxious to avoid panicking readers. Instead, also as in Bolton, the social and economic effect of immigration remained the focus of coverage,

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<sup>103</sup> *Guardian*, 2 November 1961.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 15 January 1962.

<sup>106</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 19 January 1962.

The *Manchester Evening News* devoted little coverage to the migration of Asians into Manchester in the early 1960s, but the *Guardian* investigated the development of Asian communities in the city. The newspaper first investigated the experiences of Asian people in Manchester in a feature article about the challenge of language barriers in school. Reporter Geoffrey Moorhouse focused on the experiences of Pakistani children and the reorganisation of the education system he felt was needed to accommodate the ‘growing problem’ of the immigration of dependants.<sup>107</sup> He criticised Manchester for not taking records of ‘racial groups’ within schools in order to maintain its liberal image as an ‘anti-segregation’ city and warned that continued Asian immigration would put increasing strains on the local Council.<sup>108</sup>

While Moorhouse’s feature identified Asian immigration as problematic, the *Guardian* concentrated on the welfare of Asian people in Manchester. Already in 1964, a new welfare centre for Pakistani immigrants—the Pakistani Welfare and Information Centre—had been set up in order to inform new settlers of the services available and to help in organising English language classes.<sup>109</sup> A substantial article was devoted to the efforts of the centre to distribute information in Urdu and Bengali, teach English, represent workers, and register Asian people in local health centres.<sup>110</sup> The article also emphasised the steady growth of local Asian communities and estimated that 10,000 Pakistanis now lived in South-east Lancashire.<sup>111</sup> Further reports on the centre’s activities identified the area around Upper Brook Street and Stockport Road in Longsight, a district neighbouring Moss Side, as the

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<sup>107</sup> *Guardian*, 16 April 1963.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> *Guardian*, 1 December 1964. High Commissioner for Pakistan Agha Hilaly’s visit to Manchester was also reported to demonstrate the growth of Asian communities in the city. See *Guardian*, 23 June 1964.

<sup>110</sup> *Guardian*, 22 December 1964.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

location of the city's now 7,000-strong Pakistani community.<sup>112</sup> While later articles highlighted the tensions existing between the Pakistani Welfare and Information Centre and the longer-standing Pakistan Society (formed in 1956), the *Guardian* continued to focus on the positive efforts being made by Asians in the city to secure a position within Longsight.<sup>113</sup>

When the Labour Government passed its own immigration and race relations legislation in 1965, the *Manchester Evening News* and *Guardian* again linked the national debates about immigration with relations in Moss Side. A report by the Manchester Integration Society had found around 12,000 black and Asian people to be living in Manchester by 1965, demonstrating the steady growth of immigrant communities in the city since the passage of the first Commonwealth Immigration Act.<sup>114</sup> Reflecting this, the 1965 legislation received more attention from readers of the *Manchester Evening News* in its correspondence pages. In particular, the passage of the Race Relations Bill appeared to encourage a sense of resentment among readers who believed it threatened white privileges in its attempts to secure racial equality.

While the first letter on the topic by A. P. Paverno criticised Labour for 'appeas[ing]...the racially prejudiced' with its tightening of immigration legislation, the response this letter received from other readers demonstrated a wider sense of anxiety and resentment.<sup>115</sup> The numerous letters criticising Paverno concentrated on 'over-crowding' and housing competition, insisting that those who lived near black people knew the 'real' effects of immigration.<sup>116</sup> Readers, adopting nom-de-plumes such as 'Basic facts', resented concerns

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<sup>112</sup> *Guardian*, 4 January 1965; 29 April 1965.

<sup>113</sup> F. Dean and A Bakht, the chairman and Liaison Secretary of the Pakistan Society respectively, wrote to the *Guardian* that the division of the community between the two centres was hampering efforts to coordinate demands for better housing and jobs within Longsight, *Guardian*, 17 August 1965; 18 August 1965.

<sup>114</sup> *Guardian*, 3 June 1965.

<sup>115</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 6 August 1965.

<sup>116</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 10 August 1965; 11 August 1965.

about the welfare of black people and defended the privileges of local white communities.<sup>117</sup> W. Barton, a reader from Salford, explicitly linked resentment over immigration to conditions in areas such as Moss Side. He questioned the authenticity of Paverno, who he argued was ‘too far away from the problem [of]....neighbourhood[s] where coloured [people lived] eight or ten to a house’.<sup>118</sup> ‘Mrs A’ from Moss Side thanked Barton for his letter as representing the thoughts of those living ‘in the middle of’ the ‘colour problem’ in the district.<sup>119</sup> The significant number of letters the *Manchester Evening News* published on the topic demonstrated the extent to which it identified immigration as a key local issue. The content of readers’ letters, meanwhile, demonstrated the extent to which the newspaper’s anxieties about Moss Side were reflected by some of its readers.

While the *Manchester Evening News* represented general anxieties about community relations between black and white people in its correspondence pages, the *Guardian* continued to investigate the realities of immigration and ‘race relations’ in the city. In particular, it focused on the formation of the Race Relations Board and its Manchester-based conciliation committee. The Lord Mayor of Manchester Alderman Bernard Langton had been appointed to the national Board and formed the Manchester Council for Community Relations.<sup>120</sup> Both the council and the conciliation committee were run by prominent local figures and responded to complaints made about racial discrimination and coordinated local

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<sup>117</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 17 August 1965. Even those defending immigrant rights, such as reader ‘Great White Hope’, betrayed their concept of white superiority by arguing that black communities should be treated fairly in order for them to be ‘integrated and educated into our present standard of living’. *Manchester Evening News* 19 August 1965.

<sup>118</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 2 September 1965.

<sup>119</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 6 September 1965.

<sup>120</sup> *Guardian*, 18 February 1966.

initiatives to promote equality.<sup>121</sup> The attention given by the *Guardian* to these organisations reflected its wider concerns about the practice of discrimination in Manchester.

In its report into failed attempts to amend the Race Relations Bill, the newspaper highlighted the ‘bundle of complaints’ about discrimination which were said to have been made in Manchester alone and were feared to be contributing to black unemployment.<sup>122</sup> Earlier in the year, *Guardian* reporter Geoffrey Whiteley had exposed the reluctance of Manchester city councillors to alleviate discrimination in the city. While Councillor Barry Lawson was said to have been willing to employ ‘suitable coloured immigrants’, Arnold Burlin had argued it was ‘not the right time to have them patrolling Moss Side’ as it would raise ‘tensions’ within the community.<sup>123</sup> In August, 1966 reporter Jonathan Steele suggested many local employers shared this reluctance to hire or promote black workers in order to avoid the resentment of white workers.<sup>124</sup> This situation, they argued, had left black people confined to ‘rougher jobs’ and underrepresented in local offices, shops and public services.<sup>125</sup>

While another election in Moss Side in March 1966 prompted the *Manchester Evening News* to acknowledge the existence of racism in Manchester, black residents of the district continued to be portrayed negatively. Pamphlets sent across the city by the ‘Race Preservation Society’ marked the beginning of local campaigns which would focus on debates about black and Asian immigration.<sup>126</sup> In a report on Moss Side—identified in the headline as the city’s ‘Little Harlem’—emphasis was put not only on the anti-immigration campaigns of Conservative candidate Taylor, but on the character of black people living in

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<sup>121</sup> Manchester City Police Superintendent A. G. Rose, for example, was both the chairman of the MCCR and a member of the conciliation committee. Representatives of local schools, employers, black and Asian communities and Manchester University were also members. *Guardian*, 22 July 1966.

<sup>122</sup> *Guardian*, 20 December 1966.

<sup>123</sup> *Guardian*, 7 April 1966.

<sup>124</sup> *Guardian*, 18 August 1966.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 16 March 1966.

the area.<sup>127</sup> It contrasted the engaged middle-class voters of Chorlton-cum-Hardy with the ‘eager-to-let-the-world-go-by....disillusioned immigrants’ who were said to care little for local politics.<sup>128</sup> Moss Side was described as the area ‘every city wished it didn’t have’ and whose streets were getting ‘drabber’ as thousands of Africans, Indians, Pakistanis, West Indians, Poles and Ukrainians continued to settle and socialise in the its ‘crime-encrusted chapels, blaring clubs and countless corner shops’.<sup>129</sup> By characterising the area’s perceived decline with reference to black and Asian immigrants, the *Manchester Evening News* reinforced its racialised representation of Moss Side as a slum.

Perceptions about black disillusionment and isolation were reinforced in the *Manchester Evening News*’s coverage of the Department of Education and Science’s report into immigrants in the local Youth Service. The colour of an immigrant’s skin, a feature highlighted, was said to have a ‘distorting effect’ which left young black people with ‘FEW JOBS – FEW GIRLS – FEW FRIENDS’.<sup>130</sup> The report held particular relevance amid wider concerns that Manchester’s crime rate had ‘soared’ as a result of youth offences.<sup>131</sup> While discrimination was seen as a major contributing factor to the disillusionment of black teenagers, the *Manchester Evening News*’s report emphasised the ‘warning’ that ‘in ten years time there will be twice the number of coloured youths living in Manchester’.<sup>132</sup> Its interpretation of the report reinforced images of black Mancunians as being outcasts, prone to drifting into a life of crime. Immigration, it was suggested, would exacerbate this position.

The *Manchester Evening News* had developed a tendency to highlight the negative edge of generally sympathetic official commentary on Manchester’s black communities.

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<sup>127</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 17 March 1966.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 21 July 1967.

<sup>131</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 20 July 1967.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

When Labour MP for Moss Side Jim Larkin commended local community relations programmes at a conference in October 1967, the newspaper placed emphasis on the potential dangers of black immigration.<sup>133</sup> Its article concluded—citing the position of Labour MP Tom Driberg—that anti-discrimination measures were needed primarily to prevent the ‘twilight’ areas of the city from becoming ‘coloured ghettos’ and ‘centres of tension and possible violence’.<sup>134</sup> Another official report—*Housing on Trial* by the Institute of Race Relations—was also interpreted by the *Manchester Evening News* in a way which associated discrimination with the growing decline of Manchester’s housing markets. If action to prevent housing segregation was not taken, a feature suggested, black and Asian people would continue to depress housing prices and ‘be equated with the slum schools, the sink on the landing, [and] the conditions that only the desperate or despairing will accept’.<sup>135</sup> While acknowledging the value of anti-discriminatory measures, the newspaper continued to equate the ‘problem of race relations’ with the negative effect black and Asian had on local housing.

In 1967, the *Guardian* demonstrated both a sense of alarm about tensions in Moss Side and a willingness to accept and publish criticisms of its approach to covering racism and immigration. An editorial about a Political Economic Planning report, while agreeing with Labour’s plans to strengthen anti-racist legislation, raised questions about further immigration into inner-city ‘ghettos’.<sup>136</sup> It argued that ‘it was obviously right to limit [the] entry’ of black and Asian immigrants so as to avoid creating ‘second class citizens living in third class conditions’.<sup>137</sup> Two articles later in the year also focused on concerns about the

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<sup>133</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 6 October 1967.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 26 October 1967.

<sup>136</sup> *Guardian*, 23 April 1967. The editor emphasised the existence of discrimination and its negative effect on the experiences of black and Asian people. However, he used examples of Britain’s inability to accept ‘difference’ to justify his support for immigration restrictions.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

negative experiences of black young people in Moss Side. An article outlining the findings of a report by the Youth Development Trust highlighted its evidence of both employer discrimination against black youths and the self-imposed isolation of black communities attempting to avoid racism.<sup>138</sup>

A more alarmist *Guardian* feature article detailed the evidence of a Youth Development Trust under the headline ‘Race riot danger spot is in Manchester’.<sup>139</sup> This feature had interpreted the findings of the Youth Development Trust in a way which represented Moss Side as a likely ‘flashpoint’ for future violence if black youths were not ‘quickly integrated’.<sup>140</sup> Reporter Michael Nally’s own portrayal of Moss Side reinforced its negative portrayal in the press and contradicted the *Guardian*’s less sensationalist coverage of the 1960s. Describing Moss Side as a ‘decaying area’ and a ‘rough patch’, Nally detailed its ‘ugly hotchpotch of large, run-down houses’ waiting to be demolished and suggested that ‘vicious street brawls’ were common on and around Denmark Road.<sup>141</sup> While maintaining the newspaper’s focus on the need for material improvement in the area, Nally’s description represented residents of the area as brutalised by their conditions.

Two readers’ letters, published under the headline ‘Life in Moss Side’, challenged Nally’s article. The Dean of Manchester and chairman of Manchester Council for Community Relations Alfred Jowett argued it was one thing to ‘point out the defects of Moss Side’, but another to ‘headline dark hints of race riots that may or may not take place.’<sup>142</sup> Suggesting references to ‘quick integration’ of immigrants ignored the complex nature of community relations, he criticised both the reports of the Youth Development Trust and the

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<sup>138</sup> *Guardian*, 11 July 1967.

<sup>139</sup> *Guardian*, 22 July 1967.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Guardian*, 30 July 1967.

*Guardian*'s alarmist coverage.<sup>143</sup> Reader H. P. Paget, meanwhile, also criticised the headline of Nally's article and its accompanying picture of black youths playing in derelict housing. The house pictured, he revealed, was 100 yards from Whitworth Park, and so the suggestion that children in the area were restricted to playing on building sites was misleading. He also highlighted the imminent demolition of dilapidated housing and the community efforts which had created an International Youth Centre on Denmark Road. In referring to these community resources, Paget directly challenged Nally's suggestion that Moss Side was a desolate centre for disillusioned youths.

The *Guardian* responded by saying that the original version of Nally's article but was edited for space, and so some key details were lost. His article, and the response it received, demonstrated the limitations of newspaper coverage; imposed by competition for space and reader attention. In this case, Moss Side was misrepresented due to the confines of a small article. The incident also highlighted the different function of the correspondence pages in the *Guardian* in comparison to the *Manchester Evening News*. The *Guardian* invited readers to challenge the newspaper if they felt it had failed to meet its own standards of journalism. In this case, readers' letters provided an opportunity for alternative and better informed individuals to challenge the newspaper's portrayal of Moss Side.

While the evidence of discrimination in Manchester had been acknowledged by reports in the *Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News*, both newspapers continued to associate black people with the city's 'slum problem'. As the pace of re-housing quickened throughout the 1960s, anxieties about Moss Side becoming a 'ghetto' within the city were exacerbated. The *Guardian* perceived both further black and Asian immigration and discrimination to be contributing factors to these fears becoming reality, and so reflected

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*

Labour's conception of 'race relations' and integration. The *Manchester Evening News* privileged the anxieties of white Mancunians and their calls for tougher immigration legislation in order to maintain the character of the city in a time of upheaval and change.

'I Always Thought This Was MY Land' – Immigration, Powell and Manchester's 'Race Relations Success'.

The Kenyan-Asian crisis of 1968 prompted an increased emphasis on debates about immigration in the *Manchester Evening News* and *Guardian*, debates which would become all the more prominent following Enoch Powell's delivery of his 'Rivers of Blood' speech later in the year. While the *Guardian's* anti-racist stance was hardened in response to these factors, the *Manchester Evening News* utilised its letters pages to present the newspaper's hostile stance on immigration as representative of its readers' opinion and that of the wider public. The publication of an extensive survey into attitudes towards race and immigration in Manchester the same year, however, demonstrated that the *Manchester Evening News* felt increasingly obliged to balance its editorial line with a more informed and thoughtful coverage of local relations which incorporated a wider variety of community and anti-racist voices.

From the start of February 1968, the *Manchester Evening News* followed the development of the Kenyan-Asian crisis, Labour plans to further restrict immigration and the debate surrounding Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech. A headline defined the immigration of Kenyan-Asians as 'Britain's greatest issue', which could 'divide or unite' the nation.<sup>144</sup> While the newspaper's editorial line on immigration had softened since the early 1960s, it maintained its calls for further restrictions. Referencing the 'disquiet' growing in the country

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<sup>144</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 27 February 1968.

concerning immigration, it highlighted what it felt were ‘loopholes’ in Britain’s immigration laws being abused to allow ‘remote’ relatives to migrate into the country.<sup>145</sup> While this argument classified humanitarian commitments to the families of black and British citizens as ‘loopholes’, the editor did stress the need to treat those already living in the country with ‘care and tolerance’ and condemned ‘racial extremists’.<sup>146</sup> In fitting with responses to immigration into Moss Side, he also argued Britain’s ‘ability to absorb immigrants’ was not unlimited, and so immigration should be ‘carefully controlled’ to maintain peaceful relations.<sup>147</sup>

The *Manchester Evening News*’s response to the immigration debate of 1968 was largely contained in its correspondence pages, which were repeatedly opened up to a significant number of readers’ letters on the subject. The tone of the majority of these letters was alarmist and firmly against both immigration and calls to integrate Manchester’s black and Asian communities. ‘Patient Patriot’ and ‘Regular Reader’, for example, warned of the ‘trouble’ ahead if immigration continued and raised the American Los Angeles riots as an example of the ‘sorry state of affairs’ developing in Britain.<sup>148</sup> A reader from Moss Side, meanwhile, resented having to accommodate ‘foreigners’ being ‘thrust’ into local communities and depressing housing and job opportunities.<sup>149</sup> In the 5 March, 1968 issue of the *Manchester Evening News* alone, eleven letters calling for further restrictions were featured under the headline ‘If People Voted on Immigration...’.<sup>150</sup> By collecting these letters under a suggestive headline, the editor reinforced his own position on immigration legislation by using the authority of local readers. As these readers justified their opinions with reference

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<sup>145</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 22 February 1968.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>148</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 28 February 1968; 2 February 1968.

<sup>149</sup> *Manchester Evening News* 2 February 1968.

<sup>150</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 5 March 1968.

to housing problems and overcrowded cities, they also reinforced the newspaper's focus on areas such as Moss Side as an example of the dangers of immigration.<sup>151</sup>

Readers' letters about immigration published in the *Manchester Evening News* not only favoured stricter legislation, but often rejected the idea of Britain as a 'multi-racial society' and defended the privileges of white people.<sup>152</sup> While one letter criticised politicians for 'betraying' the trust of Kenyan-Asians, sixteen letters supporting restrictions were collected beneath it under the headline 'I always thought this was MY land'.<sup>153</sup> A 73 year old Longsight resident called for the creation of a 'Britain for the British' in response to the 'coloured invasion' of the country, a sentiment echoed by readers such as 'Englishman' and 'Working Class' and 'John Bull'.<sup>154</sup> Demonstrating the dominance of anti-immigration sentiment, a single letter by Reverend Tony Durrans which defended black and Asian rights received hostile responses from seven readers. These letters reinforced the newspaper's editorial stance that the country was 'saturated', its public unsupportive of a 'multi-racial society', and the housing problems of Manchester being too great to take any further 'strain'.<sup>155</sup> Time and time again, the 'ordinary British people', 'British workers', ex-servicemen and pensioners were cited as being an ignored majority who wanted an end to immigration.<sup>156</sup> Another sixteen racist letters were published in one page on the 8 March 1968, accompanied by only three which defended black and Asian peoples' rights.<sup>157</sup> The use of *nom-de-plumes* facilitated readers' indulgence in racist language.

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<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 6 March 1968.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*; *Manchester Evening News*, 8 March 1968.

<sup>155</sup> *Manchester Evening News* 5 March 1968; 8 March 1968.

<sup>156</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 5 March 1968; 8 March 1968; 12 March 1968. Letters most commonly referred to the privileges of the 'English', 'genuine British', 'taxpayers' and 'workers'.

<sup>157</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 8 March 1968. Two of those pro-immigration letters themselves only supported the rights of Kenyan-Asians as British passport holders. The third, however, complained about the

Despite the dominance of anti-immigration letters in correspondence pages, the publication of readers' letters did offer some opportunities to challenge racist sentiment present within the *Manchester Evening News*. 'Hopeful' from Worthington followed the example of Reverend Durran and blamed racism—rather than well-founded concerns—for the hostile response immigrants were receiving in the newspaper.<sup>158</sup> Referring to the coverage of housing policy in the *Manchester Evening News*, he complained that 'if a man lives in a slum, he is told he created it...if by a stroke of luck or hard work he manages to better himself he is condemned by the usual crowd of malcontents for taking the home of the Englishman.'<sup>159</sup> Similarly, secretary of Chorlton-on-Medlock's Jamaican Association, A. S. Byfield, highlighted the hypocrisy of readers both blaming black people for slum conditions and condemning City Council efforts to help black families find better housing.<sup>160</sup> A 'fact checker' section of the correspondence pages also responded to readers' questions about immigrant benefits and highlighted the significant contribution to the economy made by immigration, which offset any welfare costs.<sup>161</sup>

The *Guardian's* coverage of the immigration of Kenyan-Asians contrasted with the *Manchester Evening News* in its criticism of the failure of the Labour Government to honour its commitments to Commonwealth and British citizens. An editorial classified the strengthening of the Commonwealth Immigration Act as a breach of the 'most basic human rights' of citizenship and a disguised 'concession to racialism'.<sup>162</sup> While acknowledging fears

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overwhelming amount of anti-immigration letters published in response to such a small number of anti-racist ones.

<sup>158</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 12 March 1968.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>160</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 25 March 1968. This letter referred to the letter of a Chorlton-cum-Hardy resident who had criticised Manchester Housing Committee's policy of allocating some new housing to black residents of slum clearance areas in order to avoid segregation in both old and new housing districts. See also *Manchester Evening News*, 12 March 1968.

<sup>161</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 12 March 1968.

<sup>162</sup> *Guardian*, 23 February 1968.

that areas where ‘too many [immigrants] concentrate too quickly’ had become sources of friction, another editorial stressed the importance of the Labour Government fulfilling its obligation to improve housing conditions and outlaw discrimination.<sup>163</sup> In the newspaper’s correspondence pages, even more critical responses to the bill contrasted with the anxieties expressed in letters to the *Manchester Evening News*. Several *Guardian* letters criticised the lack of compassion for the experience of Kenyan-Asians, while an economics professor criticised Conservative and Labour Government’s housing policies for the creation of those ‘slums’ used to justify the restriction of black and Asian immigrants.<sup>164</sup> The *Guardian*’s previous anxieties about immigration had been largely replaced by a renewed commitment to anti-racism and official action to alleviate the conditions often faced by black and Asian people.

Despite the *Manchester Evening News* support for restrictive immigration law, it responded to the findings of a survey into immigration and racism in Manchester by local academic Robin Ward. An ambitious series of features called ‘They Came to the Northwest’ were co-authored by Ward and journalist Eric Gillibrand, and provided a resoundingly positive representation of Manchester’s black and Asian communities. The lengthy, five-part feature provided a special opportunity for Ward’s research—and its anti-racist sentiment—to reach a large audience at a time when attitudes towards black and Asian people appeared to be at their most negative. The involvement of Ward facilitated a far more sensitive and informed portrayal of black and Asian communities than was common in the newspaper. As Ward was a staff member of the University of Manchester, and as his report was high-profile, the *Manchester Evening News* would have felt an obligation to publish the results. But the detail of the feature articles indicated a new openness to understand the realities of

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<sup>163</sup> *Guardian*, 26 February 1968.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid*; *Guardian*, 29 February 1968.

community relations and race in Manchester. The features were based on the results of a 110-question survey which had been completed by 766 white, black and Asian residents of Moss Side and Victoria Park, those areas of Manchester with poor reputations were shown in a new light.

While the introduction to the series still classified black and Asian settlement as a ‘problem’, the features themselves emphasised the importance of community action, equality and tolerance. The main findings of the survey were that Manchester’s 40,000-strong black and Asian population: did not experience a heightened rate of unemployment; often held stable jobs; owned their own homes in half of the cases; and experienced little ‘widespread discrimination’.<sup>165</sup> While discrimination was found to be a consistent part of the lives of black and Asian Mancunians, its impact was said to be lessened by community relations initiatives.<sup>166</sup> The efforts of the Manchester Council for Community Relations to liaise with employers and housing officials to help secure a ‘fair deal’ for black and Asian people in particular were singled out for praise.<sup>167</sup> One feature was devoted to the work of Manchester’s Community Liaison Officer Surendra Kumar and emphasised the importance of educating both immigrant and host communities about the realities of community relations in the city.<sup>168</sup> The ‘facts’ about immigration, rather than negative and uninformed perceptions, were said to be vital to improving the position of black and Asian people.<sup>169</sup>

The features directly challenged the negative perceptions of Moss Side the *Manchester Evening News* had reinforced over the years. The image of the area being a ‘Blacktown’, Ward argued, was ‘disappearing’ as the black population was able to rent or

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<sup>165</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 28 March 1968.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 18 March 1968.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

purchase housing in more dispersed areas such as Whalley Range, Old Trafford, Stretford and Longsight.<sup>170</sup> In his report into immigrants and local housing, Ward had found only 30% of ‘coloured families’ in Manchester lived in Moss Side by 1968 with the black population of the Whalley Road area west of the district in particular experiencing growth.<sup>171</sup> Asian people were said to also have moved away from Moss Side, preferring settlement in Victoria Park and Longsight and proximity to their shops and restaurants in Stockport Road, Rusholme and Chorlton-cum-Hardy.<sup>172</sup> A feature devoted to a youth club in Moss Side and broader efforts by its 18,000-strong West Indian population to alleviate the effects of prejudice and discrimination also provided a positive portrayal of the community.<sup>173</sup> Poor housing and unemployment was firmly blamed on discrimination rather than the ‘character’ of black people, and the representatives groups like the West Indian Coordinating Committee were given the opportunity to explain their struggles and successes in combating disadvantage.<sup>174</sup>

Looking to the future, and to the experiences of second and third generation immigrants in Manchester, the final feature in the ‘They Came to the Northwest’ used ‘mixed-race’ schools as an example of ‘positive race relations’. While Ward and Gillibrand admitted accommodating multi-language pupils was a challenge, they again focused on the work of community workers and the local Council to provide extra aid which had created happy, successful classrooms.<sup>175</sup> Additionally, the final feature presented both ‘facts and figures’ of immigration and accounts of ‘average’ black and Asian people about their hopes for the future. This approach stressed immigrants cost the country less in national insurance

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<sup>170</sup> There were said to be eighty ‘white faces’ for every one black in Moss Side.

<sup>171</sup> Robin Ward, ‘Race For Homes’. Elizabeth Burney also found evidence of the ‘migration’ of black and Asian people to areas such as Chorlton-cum-Hardy, West Didsbury and Levenshulme. Burney, *Housing on Trial*, pp. 157-158.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 20 March 1968.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>175</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 22 March 1968.

than did the average British citizen and showed many immigrants wanted only to be accepted into the social life of Manchester.<sup>176</sup> This typified Ward and Gillibrand's approach by challenging pre-conceptions, giving voice to diverse members of the community, emphasising the human and emotional element behind immigration debates and providing fact-based evidence about the realities of migration.

Ward and Gilliard acknowledged reader negativity about the effects of immigration by repeating warnings about the 'future problems' any further deterioration of community relations in Moss Side could cause. Crucially, they emphasised the responsibility of the white community and city officials to ensure this did not happen by eliminating discrimination.<sup>177</sup> By doing so, they represented racism—not the character of black and Asian immigrants—as the 'problem' Manchester faced, and argued tolerance, understanding and cooperation were the solution. Given the *Manchester Evening News's* resentful response to immigration, Ward's appeal to 'Manchester tolerance' appeared to be out of place. Previously, the newspaper privileged the opinions and prejudices of 'regular' readers. Rather than marking a changing point in its coverage, the 'They Came to the Northwest' series highlighted the disparity between the various voices the newspaper represented. As organisations like the Manchester Council for Community Relations became more official with the publication of their research and their issuing of press statements, the *Manchester Evening News* faced a greater obligation—as a local newspaper—to incorporate their views within its pages. Rather than reinterpreting immigration and Moss Side in light of Ward's findings, in the coming months the *Manchester Evening News* reinforced its emphasis on the racialised anxieties of white readers.

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<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

While Enoch Powell's speech was delivered only a few weeks after the *Manchester Evening News* had published its most progressive series of features on immigration, his racist sentiment gained editorial approval and a significant amount of reader support. Just days after the speech, the newspaper conducted a reader survey which found, while 66 out of 100 agreed completely with the speech, a full 100% believed he was right to give it, while not necessarily agreeing with his sentiment.<sup>178</sup> Later surveys of readers' letters found around 90 per cent of them to be pro-Powell.<sup>179</sup> Several letters pages have previously been devoted almost entirely to supportive letters, with 75-1 being said to be pro-Powell.<sup>180</sup> L. Malaites of Swinton argued Powell shared 'the exact thoughts of 90% of the British public'.<sup>181</sup> While citing statistics—even without any supporting evidence—lent this letter a false sense of authority, it was reinforced by the *Manchester Evening News's* own analysis of correspondence which claimed around 90% of reader opinion was on Powell's side.<sup>182</sup>

An editorial response to Powell's speech both reinforced the *Manchester Evening News's* support for immigration restrictions and aligned its policy with its readers' opinions. Citing the newspaper's own statistical analysis of the letters it received, as well as the made-up figures of some readers, the editor argued 'everyone knows that 90% of the population have grave forebodings about immigration policy'.<sup>183</sup> The editor suggested this was the 'kernel' of the debate and concluded the only 'sane' response to such misgivings was to rethink both the Race Relations Act and immigration restrictions. Included in the editorial were quotations of 'what the people are asking' and which referred to concerns about the limits of

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<sup>178</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 22 April 1968.

<sup>179</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 25 April 1968.

<sup>180</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 24 April 1968.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

housing and education provisions and rising unemployment.<sup>184</sup> While it was unclear whether these quotations were fabricated or taken from readers, their use offers further evidence of the *Manchester Evening News*'s editorial strategy to define its position on immigration as representative of public and reader opinion, lending the editor a false sense of authority.

The sentiment of the readers' letters and the editorial position of the *Manchester Evening News* following Powell's speech appeared to contradict the positive and progressive tone of the 'They Came to the Northwest' series. This highlighted the extent to which local newspapers provided a diverse and often contradictory forum of opinion. The *Manchester Evening News* gave a questionable amount of precedence to readers' letters as its correspondence page had a prestigious reputation to uphold as a symbol of the newspaper's engagement with its readers. Its editorial column, meanwhile, relied both on its independence from *Guardian* control and its synchronicity with readers' concerns in order to maintain the newspaper's image as a powerful, local voice of authority. Maintaining this image was somewhat of a commercial necessity, particularly during period during which its sister newspaper relied on its continued advertising strength.

The *Guardian*'s commitment to liberal philosophy, meanwhile, ensured its response to Powell challenged the legitimacy of his racist sentiment. Rather than providing a detailed account of the 'Rivers of Blood' speech itself, a report highlighted David Ennals's claim the immigration figures Powell cited were 'sheer fantasy'.<sup>185</sup> An editorial challenged the assumption Powell spoke for the majority, and cited an Institute of Race Relations survey which had found little evidence of wide-spread prejudice in Britain.<sup>186</sup> The editorial also

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<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>185</sup> *Guardian*, 22 April 1968. Ennals claimed that Powell's figure of Britain having a 'coloured population' of 3.5 million by 1985 was based on Cyril Osborne's inaccurate estimations.

<sup>186</sup> *Guardian*, 23 April 1968.

praised the newly-strengthened Race Relations Act, which it argued could ‘free’ the nation from prejudice by changing the ‘climate’ of feeling so racist language would become unacceptable.<sup>187</sup> By identifying Britain’s growing black and Asian populations as increasingly British-born ‘Englishmen’, the editor directly challenged the rationale behind the racist language of Powell and his supporters and reinforced the rights of immigrants. Moreover, he suggested politicians needed to complement the Race Relations Act with a renewed commitment to combating the economic problems which kept prejudice alive. Characterising ‘housing shortages in big cities’ as a problem which had existed long before postwar immigration and which had been continuously neglected by past governments, the editorial called for an end to the scapegoating of minorities and a heightened sense of official responsibility for the problems immigrants faced.<sup>188</sup> This argument challenged not only racism, but the representation of the black and Asian community of areas like Moss Side as un-British and disruptive.

In challenging the rhetoric of Powell and supporting the Race Relations Act, the *Guardian* provided an alternative definition of integration which reinforced the rights of black and Asian people rather than the privileges of white Britons. The editor defined integration as a process by which all disadvantages facing black and Asian people should be removed rather than one by which minorities would be expected to abandon their cultural traditions in order to lessen white resentment.<sup>189</sup> Journalist Brian Wicker also argued the debate surrounding Powell and the Race Relations Act should be interpreted as a moral one, with anti-racist legislation acting as a ‘test’ of the authenticity of Britain’s professed values of

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<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

tolerance.<sup>190</sup> The *Guardian*'s commitment to reinforcing white responsibility contrasted with the *Manchester Evening News*'s attempts to legitimise white resentment based on negative assumptions about the effect of immigration which it had propagated.

Throughout 1968 the *Guardian* and *Manchester Evening News* consolidated their editorial policy on race and immigration. The *Guardian*, being somewhat free from commercial obligations due to the financial support the *Manchester Evening News* provided it, maintained a progressive yet increasingly national-focused line against racism and immigration restrictions. The *Manchester Evening News*, meanwhile, reinforced its support for immigration legislation and challenged the idea white Britons had a responsibility to improve the experiences of black and Asian people. While Moss Side was rarely explicitly mentioned in responses to immigration debates, its emphasis on the disruptive effect black and Asian people had on local housing further damaged the district's reputation. The newspaper's attitude to reporting the experiences of black and Asian people in the city demonstrated a new willingness—or at least necessity due to its responsibility as a local newspaper—to give voice to the efforts of groups like the Manchester Council for Community Relations and the research of Ward. This did not interfere with, or contradict, the negative editorial line and dedication to readers' letters that were such a key part of its commercial identity. Its progressive feature reporting did not initially translate into a positive editorial line.

#### The Manchester Press and 'Harmony' in Moss Side, 1970-72.

Between 1970 and 1972, plans to re-develop Moss Side and re-locate residents of its slum clearance areas significantly changed the physical and demographical nature of the district.

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<sup>190</sup> *Guardian*, 25 April 1968.

Cooperation between white, black and Asian residents in Moss Side had challenged government plans to demolish parts homes in areas they felt had a strong community spirit.<sup>191</sup> While Moss Side would be increasingly threatened by demolition throughout the later 1970s, this positive local image of the area as a strong, multicultural community encouraged newspapers to reinterpret the district's troubled history. Moss Side's representation in the *Manchester Evening News* and *Guardian* became increasingly positive and celebratory. While the district had once been used as an example of the negative effects of immigration, it was now shown to be an example of the success of integration and the possibility of community solidarity in multicultural areas. The concept of integration and tolerance that lay behind these representations demonstrated the extent to which concepts of cultural difference and immigration as threats lay behind the newspapers' characterisation of the fragile harmony in Moss Side.

In 1971, Robin Ward's investigation into the re-housing of black and Asian people in Manchester had challenged negative perceptions about Moss Side and its future. A survey conducted throughout the early 70s was said to give an 'effective reply to those who find it in their best interest to magnify the presence of coloured immigrants in our society as a great social problem'.<sup>192</sup> He had found only a quarter of the 4,000 homes due for clearance in the city were occupied by black and Asian people and in both Moss Side and in council houses, discrimination and poor relations were rare.<sup>193</sup> Ward also highlighted a desire amongst black and Asian people to remain within Moss Side due to both proximity to work and attachment

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<sup>191</sup> For an account of community efforts to challenge slum clearance policies, see Robin Ward, *Where Race Didn't Divide: Some Reflections on Slum Clearance in Moss side* in R. Miles and A. Phizacklea (eds), *Racism and Political Action in Britain* (London, 1979), pp. 204-222.

<sup>192</sup> R. Ward, 'Coloured Families in Council Houses' (Manchester, 1971), p. 5.

<sup>193</sup> Ward's survey suggested that 76% of white Mancunians did not appear prejudiced, while only 6% were firmly racist. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

to the local area.<sup>194</sup> The report marked a shift in popular perceptions about Moss Side that would be reflected in Manchester's press. The district would come to be represented as a strong community that had been strengthened, rather than threatened, by its diverse population and the challenges black, Asian and white residents had faced together.

The *Guardian* reflected the optimism of Ward's survey in a report about its findings that marked council houses as 'great social levellers'.<sup>195</sup> The report cited 'traditional local attitudes' as a key factor in creating a 'harmonious atmosphere' in the city. Reporter Michael Morris also placed emphasis on the anxieties of black and Asian people concerning their relocation outside of Moss Side. When rebuilding plans were shown concerning the eventual completion of development in Moss side between 1976 and 1977, another report emphasised the desire of many to stay within the district and maintain their 'strong community bond'.<sup>196</sup>

Reinforcing this view, a *Guardian* feature by Carol Dix about the Alexandra Park Festival acted as a celebration of the positive effects of decades of black and Asian immigration into Moss Side. Titled 'Moss Side story', the feature emphasised the 'harmonious co-existence of local racial groups' in a district where it was said 'racialism [did not] exist'.<sup>197</sup> Referring to the need for economic and social regeneration in the area, Dix highlighted the 'warlike spirit' that had bonded the community in an effort to improve conditions and accept difference.<sup>198</sup> Instead of focusing on the decline of the area, the feature interviewed those who wanted to resist Moss Side being 'bulldozed off the map', many of

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<sup>194</sup> 95 out of 250 black and Asian people interviewed expressed a strong desire to stay in Moss Side, while 176 were happy to stay. *Ibid.* Peter Shapely's study of tenant activism among those affected by slum clearance in Manchester also argued that black, Asian and white residents of Moss Side united in opposition to re-settlement plans in the late 1960s and 1970s. See Peter Shapely, *The Politics of Housing: Power, Consumers and Urban Culture* (Manchester, 2007).

<sup>195</sup> *Guardian*, 26 April 1971.

<sup>196</sup> *Guardian*, 2 November 1971.

<sup>197</sup> *Guardian*, 22 May 1971.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*

whom had joined the Moss Side People's Association.<sup>199</sup> It appeared somewhat of an irony that, at the same time as actions were being taken to remove what had been described as a 'blot' on Manchester's socio-economic through slum-clearance, its portrayal in the press had improved to the point of celebration.

The *Manchester Evening News* also responded to Ward's report by celebrating Manchester tolerance in its editorial and feature columns. Its progressive attitude reflected Ian Jackson's observation that when Brian Redhead took over as *Manchester Evening News* editor in late 1969, the newspaper adopted a 'radical', left-leaning outlook.<sup>200</sup> The editor believed Manchester could 'take pride' in its 'race relations' and the successful settlement of black and Asians in the city.<sup>201</sup> Moreover, it emphasised the need to keep working at improving the position of minorities and securing a 'multi-cultural future' in the city through community initiatives. The editorial was accompanied by a summary of Ward's findings under the headline 'Harmony '71'.<sup>202</sup> This highlighted the extent to which the *Manchester Evening News* was willing to capitalise on an image of Manchester as a tolerant city, despite its own role in representing black and Asian immigrants in a negative way.

A *Manchester Evening News* series of picture-based features celebrating the history of Manchester's Pakistani community by photographer John Fowler and reporter John Williams reinforced Ward's positive portrayal of community relations in Manchester. The features provided a detailed account of the development of the community and its history. In contrast to past concerns about immigrant unemployment, Williams emphasised that the majority of

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<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.* This positive portrayal neglected the fact many black and Asian tenants remained in Moss Side due to the failings of Council re-housing policy. According to Burney, when houses with multiple occupancies were demolished only one resident or family would be granted council tenancy. As black and Asian people were more likely to be housed in multiple occupation homes, many were displaced by clearance and forced to find alternative housing themselves within Moss Side. Burney, *Housing on Trial*, pp. 170-172.

<sup>200</sup> Jackson, *The Provincial Press and the Community*, p. 260.

<sup>201</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 30 April 1971.

<sup>202</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 26 April 1971.

Pakistanis were employed in Manchester's Asian restaurants and the textile and steel industries.<sup>203</sup> Manchester resident of 21 years and restaurant-owner Abdul Hakim Choudhury was singled out as a success story of the efforts taken in Manchester to accommodate and integrate Asian immigrants by offering English classes. Emphasising the extent to which Asian people were represented as an integrated part of the community, the second feature in the series called the subjects of its photographs 'the new Mancunians'.<sup>204</sup> The feature focused on Pakistanis in local schools and again emphasised the ease with which immigrants in the city had learned English, adopted local accents and were becoming active members of the Longsight community.<sup>205</sup> An editorial argued called for a 'closer knowledge' of minority communities and cited features such as these as an essential component to maintaining community harmony.<sup>206</sup>

Later in 1971, Ward himself wrote a feature in the *Guardian* which placed immigration as central to the development of Manchester's social and cultural identity. Citing the long tradition of Manchester's Jewish and Irish communities, Ward argued that black and Asian people played a role little different from those of nineteenth-century white immigrants and even lived in the same districts.<sup>207</sup> While the feature was titled 'The Newcomers', it emphasised the long-standing nature of the city's black communities. Its reference to the 'strain on [Manchester's] tradition of tolerance' black and Asian immigration had caused highlighted the anxieties that lay behind much of *Manchester Evening News's* coverage of its effects.<sup>208</sup> While 'race relations' in Moss Side and its surrounding areas had come to be represented positively in the newspaper, it continued to question Manchester's ability to

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<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>204</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 27 April 1971.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>206</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 30 April 1971.

<sup>207</sup> *Guardian*, 13 October 1971.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

‘integrate’ a higher number of black and Asian people. This highlighted the reactionary side to Manchester liberalism, as celebrations of diversity and tolerance were often accompanied with warnings about the fragility of community harmony. Even as attitudes towards multiculturalism in Manchester improved, anxieties about immigration remained.

While the expulsion of Asians from Uganda prompted anti-immigration letters to appear again the *Manchester Evening News*, the variety of voices which were now frequently being represented in the newspaper consistently challenged their racist sentiment. Among the letters—the majority of which echoed the tone of those received during the Powell debate—were those from Moss Side residents anxious about the future of the district. L.H, for example, complained he had come to feel like a ‘minority among aliens’ in the district and suggested its conditions were ‘caused by immigrants’ between the 1950s and 1970s.<sup>209</sup> A report into the actions of the Manchester Council for Community Relations to set up reception centres in the city emphasised Ugandan-Asians would be easily accommodated due to the knowledge of English and often middle-class background.<sup>210</sup> Another article by reporter Sheila Mckenzie focused on those Mancunians willing to offer their homes to Asians.<sup>211</sup> While reports indicated 1,000 Ugandan-Asians would likely come to Manchester, a report quoted Kumar as suggesting no long-term problems would be predicted due to the eager action of volunteers and the Manchester Council for Community Relations.<sup>212</sup> Unlike in 1968, positive coverage of such efforts detracted attention away from hostile reader’s letters.

The *Manchester Evening News*’s response to a report by Shelter which labelled Moss Side as an area of ‘multiple deprivation’ also highlighted the newspaper’s opposition to

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<sup>209</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 14 August 1972; 16 August 1972; 21 August 1972.

<sup>210</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 1 September 1972.

<sup>211</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 6 September 1972.

<sup>212</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 7 September 1972.

negative portrayals of community relations in the district. Rather than blaming these findings on immigration, or raising concerns about the negative effect Ugandan-Asian immigration could have, an editorial emphasised the need for financial assistance to the district and commended the efforts to improve conditions its population had already undertaken.<sup>213</sup> By incorporating the increasingly official voices of community organisations and activists, the *Manchester Evening News* was finally starting to challenge the very negative attitudes towards Moss Side and immigration it had done so much to construct and reinforce.

### Conclusions.

Anxieties about social decline in Manchester were racialised by the local press's representation of Moss Side and its black and Asian communities. This was a complex process and one in which the different perspectives and motivations of local newspapers played a critical role. Even in the early 1970s, there was a sense of anxiety about the fragility of community 'harmony'. This was closely associated with concepts of racial difference, negative attitudes towards black and Asian immigration, and the resulting strain that was felt to be put on Manchester tolerance. While the portrayal of Moss Side in the press had changed significantly—in no small part due to the physical changes the district had experienced during the slum clearance scheme—those anxieties about changes to the 'character' of the area black immigration brought about could be found behind Ward's warnings about maintaining community harmony. The Manchester press provides another example of the complexity of concepts of tolerance and integration. Steve Cohen, writing about the *Manchester Evening News* in the late 1980s, referred to a 'reactionary liberalism' which he

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<sup>213</sup> *Manchester Evening News*, 14 September 1972.

felt defined its responses to immigration.<sup>214</sup> This chapter supports his view, as the newspaper's calls for action to integrate black and Asian immigrants often focused on securing the position of white residents.

The key lesson that can be garnered from the Manchester press's response to black and Asian immigration is the importance of diverse perspectives to challenge the dominance of newspapers which hold a monopoly on representing local events. The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* had acted as a challenger to the *Manchester Evening News*'s portrayal of Moss Side in 1958, but also demonstrated the dangers of the commercial newspaper market when it was absorbed. The *Guardian*, meanwhile, provided a rare example of a newspaper which maintained both its local focus and a sense of moral responsibility placed above commercial gains. This very relationship also allowed the *Manchester Evening News* to maintain its preference for representing the concerns of its white audience on which its advertising revenue relied.

Local activists and organisations challenged the representations of Moss Side and immigration in the press. By gaining authority through Labour's local government policy, and by actively engaging with the press and the local community, these organisations pressured the *Manchester Evening News* to represent a wider body of informed opinion, if it was to maintain its image as a source of balanced commentary on local events and concerns. This provides another example of how newspapers and the social communities they attempted to market themselves to interacted in complex ways.

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<sup>214</sup> Cohen, 'It's the Same Old Story', p. 17

## **Conclusions: Newspapers, Racism and Missed Opportunities.**

This thesis has demonstrated the opportunities postwar newspapers had to challenge popular and official definitions of race, belonging and British identity. Ultimately, the surveyed newspapers only intermittently acted upon these opportunities. The *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express*, *Bolton Evening News*, *Manchester Evening News* and the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Echo* held racist attitudes themselves, or at least did not believe it was their responsibility to represent or defend Britain's black communities. The *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror*, meanwhile, consistently tried to challenge racist definitions of British identity, but the resolution of their message was sometimes constrained by commercial procedures and party-political agendas, as well as by the limitations in their framework of tolerance. The *Guardian* developed a liberal and celebratory stance towards multiculturalism, though it shared some of the ambiguities of the *Daily Mirror*'s concept of tolerance. For the liberal newspapers, however, the writing was already on the wall as Rupert Murdoch's *Sun* had begun on its path to dominating the popular newspaper market.

The commercial language and structure the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* had developed by 1945 allowed them to comment on social and cultural change in a way that could appeal to and lead their readers. The popularity of these newspapers, which had risen to unprecedented levels in the 1950s and 1960s, ensured that they reached huge daily audiences and could shape perspectives on current events. Similarly, local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester reached large audiences within their communities. While the provincial newspaper industry faced financial difficulties between the 1940s and early 1970s

due to competition for advertising, the collapse of rival local publications had, by the 1960s, left newspapers like the *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Echo*, *Bolton Evening News* and *Manchester Evening News* with a monopoly on their markets. As the black and Asian population of Britain remained relatively small and isolated even by 1970, the content and presentation of national and local newspapers was one of their readers' few windows onto the experiences of immigrants. As such, newspapers shaped how a large proportion of the public interpreted official discourses of race and citizenship in the postwar years.

The newspapers surveyed in this thesis demonstrated in their coverage of race and immigration awareness of the influence they held over the representation of news. Their reporters, correspondents and editors rarely wrote in a way that could inform readers of the essential details of social, political and cultural affairs. Instead, they employed a variety of rhetorical and journalistic strategies to communicate distinct perspectives on social change. Editorial policies were informed by and reflected the attitudes of their owners. While proprietors and editors held a privileged position when it came to forming editorial policy and employing staff, individual journalists also shaped the representation of social change through the style of their writing and the sources they relied on. The many editors and journalists mentioned in this thesis were elevated by their involvement in the newspaper industry to a position of great power and responsibility.

The response of the newspapers surveyed in this thesis to postwar racism and immigration demonstrate the multifaceted definitions of belonging and Britishness available to popular audiences. Hugh Cudlipp and Cecil King, as editor and director of the *Daily Mirror* respectively, and Lord Beaverbrook, the proprietor of the *Daily Express*, had specific visions about the type of society postwar Britain should be. These ideas informed the content of their newspapers and, in the context of imperial decline and Commonwealth immigration,

shaped their attitudes to race and identity. Entrenched ideas about Britain's imperial past and a belief in a hierarchical racial order often defined the *Daily Express's* responses to immigration. The way it characterised black and Asian settlers in Britain was shaped by, and fed into, Beaverbrook's strategy of using his newspapers as pro-empire propaganda tools as well as commercial enterprises. The *Daily Mirror's* irreverent approach to challenging traditional and official ideas had been developed during the Second World War in an attempt to attract a neglected audience of working-class readers. Reflecting this commercial image and the ideology of its staff, the postwar *Daily Mirror* encouraged social change and a movement away from traditional and imperial ideals. As such, it was far more open to reinterpreting concepts of British identity to incorporate black and Asian settlers and was willing to uncover examples of official and public racism.

The responses of the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express* to racism and immigration went through three broad stages. Between 1945 and 1958, both newspapers generally defended the rights of black and Asian immigrants on the grounds of their common British citizenship as afforded by the 1948 British Nationality Act. The *Daily Mirror* went beyond this by launching a high profile campaign against racial discrimination spread across its editorial, news, feature and correspondence columns. In doing so, it attempted to lead public opinion in favour of a multicultural and inclusive definition of equal British citizenship and called for anti-racist legislation. The *Daily Express*, meanwhile, betrayed its staff's anxiety about the effects of immigration throughout its coverage of sexual relationships between black men and white women. 'Mixed' marriages were characterised as a corruption of traditional imperial relationships which had perceived black people to be inferior subjects. By asking 'would you let your daughter marry a black man?', journalist George Gale appealed to the ever-popular topic of sex, reinforced racist attitudes and anxieties and made readers question the effect

immigration would have on their domestic lives. The *Daily Express*'s concerns about the reversal of imperial power relations it felt would be brought about by black immigration and equality meant that its commitment to citizenship rights was compromised even while it campaigned in favour of maintaining the Commonwealth.

The Notting Hill and Nottingham riots of 1958 marked a turned point in both the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Express*'s responses to racism and immigration. In response to the riots, the *Daily Mirror* for the first time appeared sceptical about the effect black and Asian immigration was having on Britain and its knee-jerk reaction shaped its support for restrictions. The restrictive immigration legislation introduced by the 1964 Labour Government also posed a dilemma for its editorial policy. Both the reader correspondence the *Daily Mirror* received criticising its pro-immigration policy and the newspaper's high-profile support for the Wilson government encouraged its editorials to compromise their policy and support the legislation. Feature articles and editorials supporting Labour's 1965 Race Relations Act, however, demonstrated the *Daily Mirror* and *Sunday Mirror*'s continued dedication to anti-racism. The 1958 riots provided an opportunity for the *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express* more openly to represent its anxieties about black and Asian immigration. Driven by memos from Beaverbrook, the editorial policy of the newspapers supported the Commonwealth Immigration Bills of 1962 and 1965. Feature articles justified this support by communicating to readers the effect black and Asian people were perceived to have on schools and communities. Immigration was defined as a threat to the privileges of white Britons and to domestic British identity and culture.

The Kenyan-Asian crisis of 1968 and Enoch Powell's delivery of his 'Rivers of Blood' speech the same year marked the third stage of the *Mirror* and *Express* newspapers' responses to racism and immigration. As immigration became the subject of national debate

during 1968, related coverage was wide-spread and correspondence pages were dominated by letters supporting the racist and anti-immigration sentiment of Powell's language. His speech encouraged the *Mirror* newspapers to challenge racism and when the Conservatives returned to power in 1970, the *Daily Mirror* reaffirmed its commitment to black and Asian rights. In order to do this, editorials and feature articles attempted to challenge racially exclusive definitions of Britishness. They characterised British identity as open and malleable, and black and Asian settlers as an important part of domestic society whose rights and privileges were much the same as white Britons. The anxious popular climate of 1968 provided an opportunity for the *Express* newspapers to harden their stance even further and to call for a complete halt to black and Asian immigration. Even during the humanitarian crises that followed the expulsion of Asians from Kenya and Uganda in 1968 and 1972 respectively, *Express* editorials and features continued to insist Britain held no obligations towards black and Asian people, and that white rights should be privileged.

The policy of local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester did not replicate these three stages, but instead were influenced by diverse local circumstances. While black immigration was not a key subject of interest for the national press in the late 1940s, the long-standing history of black presence in Liverpool, and the racialised disturbances of 1948, had already begun to shape anxieties in the local press. In Bolton, Commonwealth immigration only became a subject of local interest in the 1960s as Asian people began to settle in the town. The migration of black people to Manchester during the late 1950s, meanwhile influenced how local newspapers communicated anxieties about the effect of immigration years before the riots of Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958. Growing rates of Asian immigration into Manchester in the 1960s and the changing demography of the city's immigrant communities, meanwhile, also shaped local coverage.

Rather than being influenced solely by national narratives of immigration and anti-racism, anxieties about local social and cultural change and concepts of racialised space shaped the representation of immigration in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester. Underdeveloped districts in each of the cities were targeted by long-term slum clearance strategies throughout the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s. Those areas marked for clearance were often also those that had experienced the highest rates of black and Asian immigration. Areas such as Granby (Liverpool), Deane (Bolton) and Moss Side (Manchester), and the social, economic and criminal problems they experienced, became increasingly associated with immigration in local newspapers following periods of black and Asian settlement. Segregation in housing and employment and the re-settlement of white residents into suburban new towns intensified these racialised associations. Newspapers also associated immigration with anxieties resettlement and the decline in indigenous culture. The portrayal of inner-city areas as ‘little Harlems’ in the press reflected fears about the declining whiteness and Britishness of local cultures.

The racialised anxieties surrounding slum clearance and socio-economic decline largely went unchallenged by the editors of Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester’s newspapers. Reader correspondence columns, which at times of local and national debate overwhelmingly supported racist attitudes, were used as justifications for editorials, news columns and features which negatively represented local black and Asian communities. Indeed, certain editors of the *Bolton Evening News* and *Manchester Evening News* actively encouraged racist attitudes by directly reinforcing the privileges of white residents and bemoaning the perceived deterioration of local communities in which black and Asian people had settled. The *Liverpool Daily Post* and *Echo*, meanwhile did not see it as their responsibility as commercial enterprises to defend a community representing such a small percentage of its

audience. Instead, these newspapers relied upon statements and reports by local authorities—who had themselves been accused of practicing institutional racism—which characterised the city's black community as a disruptive presence.

As forums of local opinion, provincial newspapers did provide opportunities for a wide variety of voices to be represented. Feature writers, often having a greater awareness of the experiences of black and Asian people through their investigations, sometimes offered more positive portrayals of immigrant communities than those espoused by editors. In the late 1960s, as local organisations investigated the experiences of black and Asian people under the incentive of Labour's 'race relations' policy, their voices and research became increasingly incorporated into the coverage of local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester. Organisations and individuals like the working party on race relations, the Bolton and Manchester Community Relations Councils and sociologist Robin Ward became frequent contributors to the local press, often directly challenging negative and racist representations of black and Asian residents. The continued Manchester focus of the liberal *Guardian* provided a special case as, despite regarding itself as a national newspaper, it had encouraged the collection and publication of research and investigative journalism into the realities of life in Moss Side. While reliant on the profits of its sister publication the *Manchester Evening News*, and so unable to interfere with its anti-immigration stance, the *Guardian* often offered a more positive portrayal of Moss Side as a strong community and a 'success story' of multiculturalism.

While each surveyed newspaper provided a distinctive response to racism and immigration and race and identity, certain themes can be observed across all of the case studies presented in this thesis. Firstly, in each case the complex nature of newspapers as commercial products, mouthpieces for the policies of proprietors and editors and as forums of

diverse opinion influenced how social, political and cultural changes were communicated to a large community of readers. Despite the influence of editors and proprietors, each newspaper acted as a forum of opinion for diverse voices such as politicians, journalists, researchers, community organisations, representatives of immigrant communities and many other organisations and individuals.

It was a great irony that, even as each newspaper questioned the extent to which black and Asian settlers were British, these people were rarely considered to be part of their audiences. Black and Asian people themselves were rarely represented as more than interviewees or the subjects of research. This reflected the lack of opportunities in the field of journalism, but the failure of the *Daily Mirror* in particular to employ prominent black or Asian journalists appeared particularly contrary to their own dedication to equal opportunities. Instead, each newspaper appeared to have a clear conception of its readership as white. This had a significant and diverse effect on the way they addressed their audiences. As Conboy observed, newspapers construct a national community of readers through their language.<sup>1</sup> Believing their audiences to be predominantly white, newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester consistently privileged the anxieties of white readers over the rights of black and Asian communities. The *Express* newspapers repeatedly addressed a white community of readers in order to reinforce their perception that ‘the British’ were white and needed to work together to reinforce white privileges in the face of black and Asian immigration. Conversely, the *Mirror* newspapers opened dialogues with white readers in their attempts to lead public opinion away from racially exclusive definitions of citizenship and Britishness. Both due to the realities of the press market and the commercial and

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<sup>1</sup> Conboy, *Tabloid Britain*, pp. 10-15.

ideological motivations of these newspapers, the imagined community of readers that they constructed in their language and content was itself racialised and white.

All of the newspapers surveyed in this thesis also employed similar strategies and adhered to stylistic conventions in their responses to racism and immigration. While daily news columns followed a general pattern of reporting ‘facts’ gathered from official sources such as politicians, courts and police officers, the way they were structured and the voices they privileged fed into wider policy strategies. Headlines clearly drew the attention of readers to a certain feature of the story—be it the evils of racism or the ‘strain’ immigration put on public services—while the choice of sources, or the emphasis certain people or opinions received, shaped how contemporary debates were communicated. Correspondence pages, in reality a selection of unrepresentative and often uninformed opinions, were often characterised in the national and local press as barometers of public opinion and examples of the newspapers’ engagement with their audiences. The *Bolton Evening News* and *Manchester Evening News* often used correspondence pages to establish their anti-immigration policies as popular, representative and legitimate. The *Daily Mirror*, in contrast, published hostile reader responses to immigration and to its own policies in order to reinforce the necessity of its educational and anti-racist feature articles. At certain points, individuals challenging the policy of newspapers or other readers used correspondence pages as opportunities to voice their opinions. All the while, letters pages were popular with and served commercial purposes by engaging newspaper readers.

The editorial columns of each newspaper served an argumentative function. They directly addressed readers, be they national and local political elites or the ‘average Briton’, in their attempts to lead their opinion or guide their consumption of news. While various editors and journalists wrote the largely anonymous editorial columns, they represented a

carefully constructed policy that reflected often long-established opinions. Feature articles served an essential role in reinforcing these argumentative positions. Interestingly, considering the diverse policies of each newspaper, the content of features about racism and immigration was broadly similar across all publications. Generally following the formula of a white journalist embarking on an investigation into a 'coloured district', feature articles combined the ideological ambitions and journalistic pretensions of newspapers with their audience's attraction to human interest perspectives. Many of them gave black and Asian people and anti-racist campaigners a chance to respond to criticism and often offered a generally positive portrayal of 'race relations'. This reflected the stylistic conventions of feature writing and the expectations readers would have had about the quality and authenticity of the investigative journalism carried out by newspapers. The strategic use of feature articles meant that journalists often interpreted the findings of their investigations in a way which distorted realities in order to reinforce the editor's policy. In this way, the sense of authenticity features held was itself used as a tool in the wider policy strategies of newspapers.

While a content analysis approach to newspapers offers limited insight into the reception of newspapers, the concurrent analysis of the national and local press does offer special opportunities. As Husband and Hartman's study of the influence of popular media on attitudes towards race demonstrated, the meanings applied by national newspapers to racism and immigration influenced reader opinion in conjunction with their local experiences. In Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester ideas of white privilege, belonging and the social dangers of racism did indeed inform local newspaper coverage of immigration. The similarity between the coverage of the 1965 and 1968 Race Relation Bills and Enoch Powell in the local press, for example, had significant parallels with that of the *Daily Express*. The

discourse of the national press was interpreted and re-constructed in response to local social, economic and cultural realities. This suggests that the popular press provided key rhetorical and symbolic tools for representing local anxieties and so did have an effect of the attitudes of the reading public.

As well as telling us about the production, content and influence of newspapers, this thesis addresses the wider historiography of race, immigration and identity in Britain. The argument, repeated consistently in the pages of the *Daily Express*, *Manchester Evening News*, *Bolton Evening News* and even the *Daily Mirror*, that black and Asian settlers could be 'integrated' only if the 'flow' of immigrants was cut off, demonstrated the rationale that often guided the experience of multicultural racism as described by Panikos Panayi. Indeed, newspapers played a central role in constructing, reinforcing and communicating a discourse of liberal tolerance which implied that black and Asian people already in the country should be accepted. On the other hand, the representation of immigration as a threat to white British privileges ensured that limits were often applied to the capacity of white communities to 'tolerate' and 'absorb' black and Asian settlers. In towing this line, newspapers simultaneously defended their own and the nation's image as liberal and acknowledged the increasingly multicultural nature of British society. They also reinforced the idea that many of the privileges of Britishness were exclusive to white people and so facilitated and justified the survival of racism.

The *Daily Express* in particular implied that tolerance was an essential tool in maintaining public order but that, in their private lives, white Britons should not be obliged to accept black and Asian people as equals. The *Daily Mirror*, in contrast, often used Britain's reputation as a tolerant country as a rhetorical device to encourage their readers to live up to the standards of Britishness in their private interactions with black and Asian people. The

study of newspapers can contribute to our understanding of the historical power of the concept of tolerance highlighted by Colin Holmes. The discursive use of references to tolerance and integration in the national and local press suggests that, as Bill Williams and Tony Kushner argued, liberal tolerance played a key role in the practice and justification of British racism.

The consistent references to imperial hierarchical racial relationships in the *Express* newspapers also illustrate how ‘memories of empire’ influenced public discourses of race. The image of Britain as the white metropole of a black empire informed the *Daily Express*’s characterisation of immigration as an inversion of traditional racialised relationships. Anxieties about the end of empire, however, constituted only one of many influences on the press’s engagement with race and immigration. In the local press, for example, ideas about white privilege were more closely related to competition for housing and jobs and fears about social and cultural decline. While references to the past dominance of British colonial officers may have proved to be a powerful tool in expressing beliefs about white privilege, it was local, rather than international, anxieties that drove provincial newspapers’ responses to immigration. The *Daily Mirror*, meanwhile, demonstrated how the logic that underpinned British imperialism could be challenged by popular newspapers. Not only did Cudlipp and King disapprove of the imperialist racism, but they felt the public wanted postwar newspapers to adopt a new language that broke with tradition. These dual strategies meant the newspaper was happy to disregard memories of empire when they were no longer perceived to be relevant or useful.

The engagement of newspapers with both elite and public racism also questions historiographical debates about the relative influence of political and popular discourses of race and identity. While Kathleen Paul was right to expose the extent of racism in the 1950s

and its influence on political policy formation, her assumption that elite discourse was imposed on the public through media and rhetoric ignores the complexities of newspaper coverage. Political parties' policies relating to citizenship, immigration and racism were reinterpreted, challenged and distorted by newspapers before they reached readers. Indeed, newspapers were a key source of political news for the public and were crucial to popular interpretation of official policies. The *Mirror* and *Express* newspapers consistently and openly challenged party-political definitions of race and identity. While the position of the Conservative and Labour parties influenced the editorial policy of these newspapers at several points, their independence from party lines was celebrated by their staff and readers. In the local press, political policy was interpreted through the prism of local circumstances and anxieties. Newspapers provide historians with an opportunity to investigate the relationship between political and popular discourses of race. Indeed, newspapers were political and popular commercial products.

Reflecting on the shadow Powell cast over national and local newspaper coverage of racism and immigration after 1968 illustrates the complex relationship between political, media and public concepts of race and identity. The support Powell received from the majority of newspapers surveyed in this thesis could imply the irresistible power of the political and imperialistic rhetoric he used. Instead, Powell's public importance should in part be seen as a media creation. Powell recognised the power of newspapers and had circulated copies of his speeches to local and nation newspapers both before and after 1968.<sup>2</sup> The 'Rivers of Blood' speech was delivered to a small audience, but it was newspaper and television coverage that extended its reach across the country. It was the editors of newspapers like the *Daily Express* and *Manchester Evening News* which characterised the

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<sup>2</sup> John Junor, *Listening for a Midnight Tram*, p. 60.

speech as representative of public opinion, and published unrepresentative polls and reader correspondence reinforcing this view. They did this because Powell's sentiment reflected their own policy, developed over decades and in response to diverse social, cultural, ideological, political and commercial influences. The *Mirror* newspapers, meanwhile, challenged Powell's language and—perhaps with a more limited degree of success—attempted to lead their reader's responses to it.

In the context of newspaper coverage of the 'River of Blood' speech, concepts of white Britishness were pervasive. As much as the speech itself, it was the 1968 Race Relations Bill which encouraged local and national newspapers to support Powell. In part thanks to the *Daily Express's* interpretation of the legislation, the bill was perceived by many to be an official attack on white privilege. It was resentment against this, rather than simply anxieties about immigration, which was often cited in editorials, features and letters agreeing with Powell. The *Mirror* newspapers, which had long-supported anti-racist legislation, were the newspapers most fervently opposed to Powell's supporters. The 'Powell debate', and its prominence in newspaper coverage, demonstrates the influence concepts of white privilege and white British identity had on popular responses to racism and immigration in postwar Britain and the role of newspapers in communicating and reinforcing them.

While postwar newspapers had the potential to challenge racism, they largely failed to do so. For many of the surveyed newspapers, this reflected the intentions of their owners and editorial staff. The *Daily Express* had a racist agenda that undermined many of the anti-racist voices it occasionally represented. Local newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester perceived that their responsibility was to the white majority among their readers and to maintaining high sales in a difficult market. As such, anti-racist voices were largely neglected in favour of editorial policies that opposing further immigration and reinforcing the privileges

of white residents. The concepts of tolerance that these newspapers often espoused were limited, and reinforced the white definitions of Britishness.

By the early 1970s, newspapers in Liverpool, Bolton and Manchester had begun to demonstrate the potential of local journalism to challenge racism. The increasing attention given to the actions and statements of Community Relations Councils in each location meant that immigrants were given a voice and were increasingly represented as part of their local communities. While the race relations policy of the 1964 to 1970 Labour Government has largely been condemned by historians, the success of Community Relations Councils in voicing their criticisms of local authorities in the press suggests they may have had a positive and previously neglected influence. Further research on their activities and impact into the later 1970s is needed before a proper re-assessment of community relations policy can be made.

The commitment of the *Mirror* newspapers to anti-racism and to an inclusive definition of Britishness was limited by their need to retain their mass audiences. Underlying their policy on racism and immigration was the prioritisation of the maintenance of public order over citizenship rights. Their campaigns against racism and in favour of anti-racist legislation were reinforced by news coverage of America's race riots of the 1960s and by ominous illusions to similar violence breaking out across Britain. While this argument proved a powerful rhetorical challenge to racism, it ultimately revealed the limits appealing to a mass audience of predominantly white people imposed on Cudlipp's editorial policy. By emphasising the negative effect racism would have on white Britons throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the *Mirror* newspapers ultimately privileged their security over that of black and Asian people. This reflected a commercial reality; their audience was predominantly white. But by adopting this policy, and by compromising their anti-racist stance in their support for

the 1965 and 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Bills, the progressive definitions of multiculturalism the *Daily Mirror* espoused in the early 1970s had already been compromised.

As Rupert Murdoch's *Sun* became increasingly popular in the 1970s the *Daily Mirror*'s circulation declined, so did the opportunities for popular newspapers to challenge racist definitions of privilege and British identity. The *Sun*'s subsequent status as Britain's best-selling newspaper and its drift towards sensationalist, sex-obsessed journalism and right-leaning rhetoric marked the end of the high watermark in popular, progressive journalism that the *Daily Mirror* at its best had signified.<sup>3</sup> While several newspapers, such as the *Guardian* and *Independent*, continue to challenge the representation of immigrants as welfare 'scroungers' and 'phoney refugees', they reach drastically smaller audiences. The *Daily Mirror* itself, following the demands of the modern newspaper market, has little opportunity to challenge authority in the manner it once did. Given the influence that popular newspapers had on public attitudes towards race and immigration between 1945 and 1972, the racist language popularised by the *Sun* and the modern incarnations of the *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* is deeply unsettling.

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<sup>3</sup> Bingham, *Family Newspapers?*, pp. 266-267.

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