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***The Making of a Victorian Newspaper
during a Period of Social Change***

1855 – 1865

**George William Newkey-Burden
PhD in Journalism 2011**

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capacity is achieved. *The Daily Telegraph* claims:

THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WORLD

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DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the origins of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, during a period of social change, under the direction of two successive proprietors from 1855 to 1865. Extensive research was undertaken to examine the proprietors' control of the newspaper - with particularly significant findings on the founders, their policy and how this changed following the handover. As a result it has been possible to rectify repeated inaccuracies concerning the newspaper's ownership and editorial development.

Further original findings have contributed to a fuller awareness of Lt Col B.W.A. Sleigh, the founder of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, the progenitor of the current *Daily Telegraph*.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Please note that original wordings and spellings have been used in quotation throughout.



Chapter 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

When John Ellerthorpe [an editorial staffer] died in 1915, it was said...

“All reliable record of the early history of the paper [*The Daily Telegraph*] with which he had been so long associated perished, for he often used to say that the legends which had come down by word of mouth had so often been repeated that their errors had presently acquired the character of truth...”

(Richardson 1927, p.124)

This soon proved to be correct. The difficulty of disentangling the legends from the verifiable fact, considering the limited known resources on *The Daily Telegraph*, presents a researcher of the newspaper with a serious challenge. Even Lord Burnham, a descendent of Joseph Levy, admitted to its inadequate documentation:

“*The Daily Telegraph* may have broken records, certainly it kept none.”

(Burnham 1955, Book jacket)

Philip Guedalla [1889-1944, barrister and writer] summarised this process of historical distortion, then passed on as fact, when he said:

“History repeats itself, historians repeat each other.”

(Oxford Dictionary of Quotations 1999, p. 353)

It is the hope of this research and its author that it will correct the previous inaccuracies that have come to affect this subject, and prevent future historians from erroneously repeating the false myths; those “legends...which had acquired the character of truth”.

This work covers the period from 1855 to 1865 with a particular emphasis on *The Daily Telegraph*, which commenced publishing on June 29, 1855, when the

government stamp duty on newspapers was abolished. In addition to this is included, for the first time, a detailed biography of the founder Lt. Col. B.W.A. Sleight, an unpredictable man whose brief appearance within the newspaper industry has an importance that has been overlooked by historians in the past.

The intention to start this research had been long held and having now completed forty-six years with *The Daily Telegraph*, in what is still sometimes referred to as the Fleet Street environment, my initial surprise was how sparse is the recorded early history of *The Daily Telegraph* itself.

Any researcher who takes a detailed interest in his subject soon becomes aware of inaccurate facts which have been so often repeated that history loses its integrity. My work soon revealed inadequacies of this nature in previous literature on this subject. Only three books have been written specifically on *The Daily Telegraph* itself - one of these is a chronicle of 150 years of news stories, (Howse 2005) - none covered in depth the period 1855-1865 that being the particular interest of this study. References to *The Daily Telegraph* contained in other works on newspapers, tend only to repeat the same factual errors propagated by their predecessors.

This was the background, with the awareness of previous gaps and inaccuracies in the record, to which I began to commence some tentative research on the subject. I was fortunate in 1989 when my long-held interest in newspaper history and Peterborough Court at 135, Fleet Street in particular, was recognised by the newly-appointed CEO. Then under new ownership, *The Daily Telegraph* was being relocated to Docklands. I met Andrew Knight who, to my eternal gratitude, gave me free hand authority to keep back that which I felt to be important. This initiated a period of my life concerned with preserving and recording the changes within *The Daily Telegraph*.

Amongst the few long undisturbed records that came into my keeping, one document dated February 17, 1857 (Document 1), was of particular significance. Signed and sealed by Sleight and his printer J.M. Levy, its contents revealed dates and events quite contrary to previously recorded history of *The Daily Telegraph*. It was a defining moment in my research and the direction it would take.

The abolition of the stamp duty, one of the major turning points in Britain's newspaper history, coincided also with the launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on June 29, 1855. By the year 1865 *The Daily Telegraph* claimed, on its contents bills, 'The Largest Circulation in the World'.

Throughout my research my mind has been focused on how and why newspaper circulations fluctuate. This has puzzled proprietors since newspapers began. Now still working within the industry I have watched their attempts to build circulation within their chosen newspaper. The pioneering work of Sleigh and subsequently Levy regarding price and circulation of *The Daily Telegraph*, new to Britain at this time, has been given much thought.

During the first ten years covered, *The Daily Telegraph* had two consecutive proprietors, both with completely differing personalities and skills. Yet where so many newspapers foundered within a few months, under the successive enterprise of these two pioneers the paper, after a difficult start, eventually began to thrive. The product of their endeavour, *The Daily Telegraph* has, for the past 155 years in varying degrees with its contemporaries, shaped and recorded our country and its democratic values. Despite the advent of radio, television broadcasting and more recently the internet, newspaper publishing is still a very traditional activity, and counts amongst its numbers some of our oldest established institutions. Yet how much do we really know of the people who founded these great empires? How did they manage to interest and encourage advertisers and the readers to buy and remain loyal to their papers in the first place?

This is what this work sets out to discover, whilst setting in place the first detailed biography of Lt.Col.B.W.A. Sleigh, the founder of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*; in the hope that it should place his work in the history books where it belongs. It reveals both his extraordinary contrary personality, and chronicles and corrects, through much research and newly discovered documents, the origins of *The Daily Telegraph*.

1.2 METHODOLOGY DOCUMENTATION AND LITERATURE SOURCES

Due to the lack of published material on the subject of Sleigh and the early years of *The Daily Telegraph*, every effort was made to locate primary source material and documents.

It has been my privilege through this research to be the first person, in over a century, to handle certain original documents and long-stored material concerning the newspaper by virtue of my long association with *The Daily Telegraph*, which is the central subject of this study. The benefit of this primary source material is that it has given me the opportunity to discover new information and correct often repeated inaccuracies. In addition to this, other key facts have been found from official law reports and *Hansard*, thus giving accuracy and authority to the findings. Further primary source material has been found in the National Archive at Kew, The Metropolitan Archive Centre, and through The Society of Genealogists and The Greenwich Heritage Centre.

The Burnham (Levy) family archive was consulted through the kindness of the Hon Lucia Whitehead, a great-granddaughter of J.M. Levy. Through Lucia's sterling work in sorting and creating the Burnham archive, together with her generosity in giving her time to lengthy conversations, much information was gleaned. It was touching to hear Lucia refer to her great-grandfather Edward, the first Lord Burnham (1833-1916) as the 'governor'. This was how he was affectionately known to the staff at *The Daily Telegraph* throughout his tenure with the newspaper, between 1857 and his death in 1916. Much additional information has been given over the years in conversations with Lucia's brother, the late Lord Burnham (6th Baron 1931-2006) and Lucia's nephew Lord Burnham (7th Baron).

Sleigh, it was discovered through this research, made three attempts to get into parliament. This was a chance discovery found while searching within contemporary issues of *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* for material regarding circulation figures I ascertained that he attempted Boston, Midhurst and Greenwich. The biggest and hardest fought at these election battles was between Sleigh, the co-proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph*, and General Sir

William Codrington for Greenwich in 1857. Details of this election battle and an insight of Sleigh's pugnacious personality were clearly shown in a file discovered at The Greenwich Heritage Centre. This file contained further primary source material which had been apparently stored, unseen, since 1857 and was a major find. Contained within it were actual election posters, printed with wooden type, original letters to and from Sleigh concerning his election campaign and details of Sleigh's efforts to get polling carried out by ballot, rather than by a show of hands. These gave, together with the findings in the bound volumes of *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*, a rare and very clear insight to the proceedings with which Sleigh, the subject of much of this research, was involved.

Actual *Telegraph* material included vellum legal documents detailing the sale and purchase of buildings that have stood on the site of the ancient hospice of the Bishopric of Peterborough, located at and behind 131 to 141 Fleet Street. These collectively are of interest to a student of London streets and lanes, but selectively they proved of interest to this research. Also found amongst these were the original property purchase documents, signed by J.M. Levy and his brother Lionel Lawson, thus recording the early years of the development of the famous 135, Fleet Street newspaper office location.

A number of original quarterly balance sheets were found and these gave reliable evidence, recorded here for the first time, of the early progress of the company. The findings from these returns are expressed in the graph in appendix 2. Included within these accounts were details of the purchase of machinery, details of expenditure in the running of a Victorian newspaper, and the remuneration of the partners based on their holding of the division of the sixty-four share parts. The signing-over document of *The Daily Telegraph* from Sleigh to Levy 1857 (Document 1) turned out to be the most significant original primary source document found and its significance was far reaching.

In an attempt to piece together the life of B.W.A. Sleigh, the founder of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, a genealogical study was commenced. Hitherto only his year and place of birth was known. After much searching in the

National Archive Centre, the Probate Office and the Guildhall Library details of his birth, marriage(s), army record, residences in London were chronicled. From further primary sources, details of his bankruptcies and his partnership, when he launched *The Daily Telegraph* in 1855, were added from *The London Gazette*.

Online research revealed some detailed facts on Sleigh which were followed up and these might not have been found had this resource not existed. This also proved most useful in accessing information from the National Census returns.

Following up an obituary of a Commander Sleigh, spotted in *The Times*, a significant meeting was arranged with two Sleigh family members from collateral lines of descent, neither knowing of each other's existence. This resulted in the discovery of a family history manuscript written by Sleigh in his own hand and dated 1840. Further meetings with a great-granddaughter of Sleigh, Carol Lourdas, resulted in a discovery of a portrait image of Sleigh himself. This was an exciting find as the sepia photograph (Illustration 3) became the only known image of the founder of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*. It had been undetected in a family album for over a century and was clearly marked on the back "Lt. Col. B.W.A. Sleigh".

As the research progressed so did the unravelling of inaccuracies of facts concerning the early transfer of ownership of *The Daily Telegraph*. Through some correspondence found together with Document 1, Sleigh's involvement and contribution was seen in a better light, his achievements having, it seemed, been written out of history. The newspaper reports of the 1856 law case Levy v Lamb, when Levy was an employee at *The Sunday Times*, gave legal authority to the ownership question.

Research was then directed to Sleigh's life in Canada. Correspondence with universities and historical societies yielded sparse information but remote clues were followed up in Canadian Maritime newspapers and led to significant findings. Circulation figures were gleaned from newspaper announcements and these revealed that, at times, demand was greater than the printing capacity could supply.

A synthesis of all these varying primary sources enabled me to accurately establish details of Sleigh's life and his time and ownership of *The Daily Telegraph*. The secondary material has added further details which helped to corroborate facts and the sequence of events unearthed during the course of this research,

As mentioned an early surprise was to find that no books or research papers, giving detailed accounts of *The Daily Telegraph's* origins, exist for the period covered by this research 1855-1865. However, the rare book *Pine Forest and Hackmatack Clearings*, which Sleigh (1853) had written, with accomplishment and aplomb, two years prior to the launch of *The Daily Telegraph* yielded information on Sleigh's North American experiences; he omitted of course his less successful exploits and his imprisonment. The book, *Peterborough Court, The Story Of The Daily Telegraph*, (Burnham 1955) was written from the 4th Lord Burnham's personal experience with the newspaper to which he added comments from a former staff member, Walter Bell. This book yielded little information on the 1855-1865 period of the *Daily Telegraph* but served as a useful tool in researching the subsequent Levy proprietorship.

A letter found from Sleigh to a George Dornbusch dated August 15, 1855 (p.86) eventually, after much research, led to a wealth of information and significant findings about Sleigh, the Rational Peace Party and Richard Cobden. The book, *Reminiscences of an Old Bohemian* by Ralph Strauss (1883), included the unheard of reference that Richard Cobden had an early financial involvement with Sleigh and *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*. This answered questions and put into context the unlikely campaigning, within the early editions of the *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, for the Rational Peace Party.

The centenary book, *The Story of The New York Times 1851-1951*, (Berger 1951, p.14), includes a revealing account of the launch, in 1851, of *The New York Times*. Research has revealed that Sleigh was obsessed by the North American Press and that he had visited New York in the year of the newspaper's launch. It was exciting to read the initiatives employed by *The New York Times* in its early days, many of which were subsequently employed by Sleigh between June 1855 and February 1857. It was revealed

that *The Canadian Dictionary of National Biography*, unlike its British counterpart, included an entry for Sleigh. From this it is clear that very little has been recorded of his early life and fails to give any information on him between 1857 and his death in 1869. In his book *British Newspapers and Their Controllers* (1947), Lord Camrose incorrectly describes the transition of ownership from Sleigh to Levy, and this is generally symptomatic in most recorded mentions of *The Daily Telegraph*.

Amongst reference books consulted:- J. Hall Richardson's book *From the City to Fleet Street* (Richardson 1928), *The Street of Ink*, (Simonis 1917), *Fleet Street in Seven Centuries* (Bell 1912), *The Encyclopaedia of The British Press 1492 – 1992*, (Griffiths (1992)), *Fleet Street, Five Hundred Years of The Press*, (Griffiths 2006), all included good general background knowledge of Fleet Street. Another *Plant Here The Standard*, (Griffiths 1996), increased my knowledge of the newspaper itself, which enjoyed for sometime national newspaper status, it also dovetailed into this specific research with the account of the competition between *The Standard* and *The Daily Telegraph*, both seeking the loyalty of the penny press market. A reference, in *The Dictionary of National Biography* 2004, (p.558) to J.M. Levy, states incorrectly that he was the proprietor of *The Sunday Times* and that he took over the proprietorship of *The Daily Telegraph* on August 20 1855. This is an important reference book and, no doubt, like the incorrect entry in *Debretts* has contributed to misinformation being repeated.

On a positive note it is pleasing to mention that, since my interest and research has been underway, Duff Hart-Davis the author of *The House The Berry's Built* wrote:

“Earlier accounts [of the transfer of ownership from Sleigh to Levy] have suggested that this happened after only a few weeks; but a document (Document 1) which came to light when the paper vacated 135 Fleet Street, in 1986, shows that Levy made Sleigh a payment of £2,000 on 17 February 1857.” (Hart-Davis 1990, p.28)

A further mention was made by Christopher Howse in “How We Saw It” he wrote “research in progress by George Newkey-Burden ...suggests that Arthur Sleigh retained ownership of the *Telegraph* for longer than had previously been thought...”(Howse 2005, p.36). These are two examples, to date, where this research has resulted in getting the ownership facts more accurately reported.

A Bibliography appears at the end of this work.

1.3 STRUCTURE

Chapter 2. B.W.A. SLEIGH

In this chapter a biographical account of Col Sleigh, the founder of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, is described. Apart from the knowledge that he was born in Canada in 1821 and had served in the army, little was known of him. This chapter therefore includes much new information together with the newly discovered and only known likeness of him. This brings Sleigh out of the shadows and places him, for better or worse, into the limelight.

What sort of person was he and what was his background prior to 1855, when he launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*? The research revealed that he had led an extraordinarily varied life in the UK and North America; that he had started a number of commercial enterprises which all faltered through a recurring pattern, one which he seemed incapable of controlling.

By studying his various commercial and military activities, insights are revealed into his personality, and questions are raised concerning his integrity and intentions.

Chapter 3. VICTORIAN BRITAIN

Although Sleigh led a very varied and reckless life, his lasting claim to fame was his founding of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* in 1855. In this chapter the British Press up to the 1850s, the Reform Act of 1832, the Stamp Duty and the growth of prosperity in Britain in the mid-Victorian era are discussed. This gives an indication of the position of England and why he chose June 29, 1855, as the newspaper's launch date.

Chapter 4. THE FOUNDING OF *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH & COURIER*

This chapter, which is central to the study, describes the founding of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

There is little recorded of Sleigh and the early days of the newspaper and the research has resulted in many new findings. The original backers and their investment are now known and their short-term involvement left Sleigh in a very precarious position. How he coped with this is chronicled from new sources. The leading articles have been studied and their surprise slant took the research into unexpected territories. Why so many references to *The Rational Peace Party* and what, if anything, was the

basis of Sleigh's alleged feud with the Duke of Cambridge? Why was Sleigh, who had himself purchased a commission in the army, so against this system? Throughout this chapter Sleigh's objectives are highlighted and so too his printer's participation. The influence of the Press in America, particularly *The New York Times*, is recognised and its lasting impact on the British Press is discussed.

Sleigh's restlessness and his other agendas are noted and underline the recurring fault in his personality and business dealings. Whether Sleigh was simply a reckless adventurer, a man of questionable motives, or a great man it is considered.

Chapter 5. INNOVATIONS AND STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

How Sleigh managed to keep *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* afloat in the first year and a half is thoroughly researched in this chapter. Who were the editors and what sort of impact did they have on the early days of the newspaper? How did Sleigh pay his printing bills and what revenue was coming in from the advertisers? Did the arrival of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* hinder in any way the position of *The Times* as the newspaper of record?

This was a very hectic time for Sleigh and reveals much of his stubbornness and reckless determination. This chapter introduces the Levy family and their investment into the enterprise.

Chapter 6. SLEIGH'S ATTEMPTS TO ENTER PARLIAMENT

A completely unexpected twist came by chance through this research, when studying bound newspaper volumes of newspapers, that Sleigh had made three attempts to gain a Liberal seat in parliament. What was he trying to achieve, and were his motives merely self-seeking or honourable? Had he already, through the columns of *The Daily Telegraph*, been campaigning for his various causes? Sleigh's membership of the *Society for the Promoting of Vote by Ballot*, together with newly discovered original correspondence, is included.

Sleigh's future hung critically on a successful attempt to get into parliament and the turn of events and their impact on Fleet Street and the Levy family is fully related. This new information was revealed from the unread or unrecognised details in the bound volumes and is also richly augmented by the later discovery of a file that had lain untouched in The Greenwich Heritage Centre since 1857.

Chapter 7. QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP JUNE 29 1855 – FEBRUARY 17 1857 ANALYSIS - CORRECTION – CONFIRMATION

In September 1855, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the Levy family started their involvement as printers of *The Daily Telegraph and Courier*.

This chapter covers the question of ownership during the newspaper's first seventeen months. An analysis of newly-found court cases and documents of this period yielded many surprises. As a result of these the hitherto incorrect entries in newspaper history books, including *Debretts* and the *DNB*, are now recorded accurately for the first time, putting Sleigh and his contribution to the Press in his rightful place in the history of Fleet Street .

Chapter 8. LEVY TAKES FULL CONTROL, ASSIGNMENT OF TITLE

This chapter introduces the commencement of the new era of the more simply titled *The Daily Telegraph*. The Levy family is now in full control. How the family formalised its partnership, who they were and their respective places within it is the subject of this chapter. The location of the offices, company rules and their vision and awareness during its early ownership is discussed.

Chapter 9. PROGRESS UNDER NEW PROPRIETORSHIP

The re-launch of the newspaper brought further new initiatives, including the hiring of a new breed of writing staff. Edward Levy's editorial objectives and skill in recognising that the newspaper should be 'a reflection of world events' began to show signs of success. Who the comment writers, known as the "triumvirate", were and their various strengths have been individually researched.

Inevitably, when the Levy's new ideas were proving successful, competition began and they countered this challenge with vigour. A leading article, published on March 29, 1858, is included giving a first-hand account of their positioning of *The Daily Telegraph*.

Chapter 10. CIRCULATION SUCCESS

The combined input, both of a very different style, of Sleigh and later Levy resulted in a rapid circulation growth. This brought its own problems with supply and demand.

Delivery delays and technical difficulties had to be overcome and the introduction of 'Ten Hoe feeder Presses' from America is reported in this chapter.

The success was such that *The Daily Telegraph* on April 20, 1865, announced on its contents bill: "The Largest Circulation in the World".

CONCLUSIONS

Appendix 1. The galley proof. This yielded clues which were followed up resulting in much new information.

Appendix 2 (1) Graph of comparative circulation... *Times* v. *Telegraph* 1855 – 1865.

(2) Graph of *The Daily Telegraph* revenue 1855 – 1865.

Appendix 3. Expenditure details December 31, 1864. This original handwritten document dated 1865 gives actual details of expenditure.

Appendix 4. Time Line 1855 –1865* *The Daily Telegraph*

Appendix 5. Time Line 1818 –1887* Burrows Willcocks Arthur Sleigh,

Appendix 6. Time Line 1811 –1888* Joseph Moses Levy

*These Time Lines are in note form, being a collection of facts gleaned from a variety of sources. They are included as they give an account of a wide variety of activity.

Appendix 7. Register of Proprietors and Directors 1855 – 1903. This is included as it gives a record of proprietors spanning nearly fifty years.

Appendix 8. Press reaction to Sleigh's book.

Document 1 Assignment of a Moiety of the Business of *The Daily Telegraph* & *Courier* newspaper and the effects thereof. B.W.A. Sleigh Esq. to J.M. Levy Esq.

This document, printed out in full, is the critical document discovered in Fleet Street which gave dates and details hitherto unknown to historians

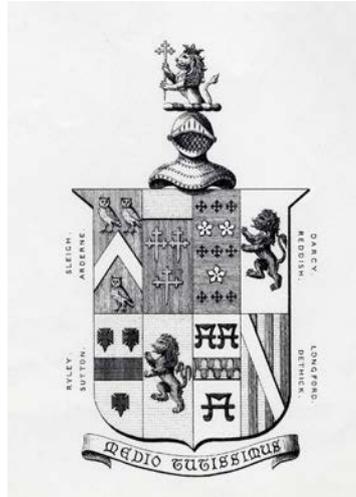
Document 2 Deed Of Settlement of *The Daily Telegraph*. November 9, 1860.

This lengthy document is included not only for the information contained but to be sure that a copy exists as a back up of the original document.

A Supplement List and picture sources are included.

Chapter 2

BURROWS WILLCOCKS ARTHUR SLEIGH



2. Sleigh family Shield and crest

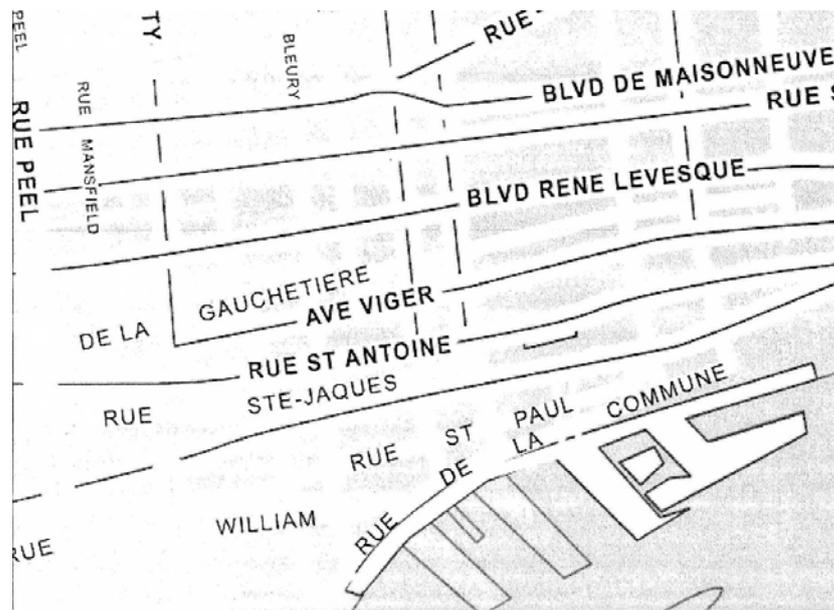


3. Newly discovered and only known portrait of Burrows Willcocks Arthur Sleigh (1821 – 1869)

The founder of The Daily Telegraph & Courier June 29, 1855

2.1 The character of Col Sleigh

Burrows Willcocks Arthur Sleigh was the second son of Dr William Willcocks Sleigh and his wife Sarah Campbell. This branch of the Irish Sleighs, pronounced “slee”, rather than sleigh, descends from a Derbyshire family. The ancient Sleighs, like so many families, claim descent from Norman Conquest invaders. Burrows, known more usually as Arthur, was born in Canada in St. Paul Street, Montreal in 1821 while his father was on a medical lecture tour, and the family returned to London in 1823.



4. St Paul Street, Montreal – Sleigh’s Birthplace

Sleigh had an older brother, William Campbell Sleigh who became a successful barrister and was prominent in The Tichborne trial in 1871. William was educated at Westminster School where he was a contemporary of Alfred Bate Richards (1820-1876), who became the first editor of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*. William Sleigh subsequently studied at Oxford University before becoming a lawyer.

Most of (Col) B.W.A. Sleigh’s education was received in Canada and the United States of America. There is no record of him having attending university, so maybe he felt that he was in his older and more successful brother’s academic shadow? Perhaps, through travel and entrepreneurial activity, he felt that he might prove himself to be his brother’s equal or superior?

Aspirations for a seat in parliament

Both brothers made several attempts to enter parliament and Col Sleigh attempted this despite having no property, which was then a requirement. Sleigh attacked privilege in print and on the hustings and generally resented authority. He was prone to exaggeration and created an impression of himself far beyond his standing.

Debt was a way of life for him and no doubt his self aggrandisement and his bogus military rank helped him get credit far beyond his worth. His family life, too, appears to be lacking a conventional structure. Three times married, and children born out of wedlock, this was not the norm of the professional class at this time, and even if it were it certainly would not have been openly declared.

His authorship indicated a campaigning spirit, yet too often he chose to expose corruption in the legal profession and authority in general, while sailing close to the wind himself.

Family leave England for America

In 1834 Sleigh's father quarrelled with the management of his hospital, the Royal Western in London, and as a result he left England for Cincinnati in America. In July 1835 Dr Sleigh was known to be in Philadelphia as he spent two nights in the common jail of Hamilton County, for an attempt to defraud a Miss Williams of the sum of 1800 dollars which she advanced to assist him to come from London to America. (Pendleton 1836, p. 91)

B.W.A. Sleigh was thirteen at the time his father went to America. Sleigh wrote that: "during two separate epochs of early life I have resided in the British American Provinces. For four years, on that continent, I was the school-fellow and college chum of many men who have since achieved a position and standing in their country". (Sleigh 1853, p:V11). So one can surmise that he also attended school there until he was at least seventeen or eighteen.

Sleigh now living in England

In 1841, B.W.A.Sleigh is shown in the UK Census return as named Arthur and as a gentleman of independent means, aged 20, living in St. James' Square, Westminster. Also included are his mother, his sisters Sarah and Elizabeth and brother Ralf.

and labels 32
City or Borough of *Westminster*
Parish or Township of *St. James'* Enumeration Schedule

PLACE	HOUSES		NAMES of each Person who slept therein the preceding Night.	AGE and SEX		PROFESSION, TRADE, EMPLOYMENT, or of INDEPENDENT MEANS.	Where Born	
	Occupied or Building	Inhabited		Males	Females		Whether Born in same County	Whether Born in England, Ireland, or Foreign Parts
<i>St. James' Square</i>			Thos. Gwynne 21			<i>M. Y.</i>		<i>No</i>
			Wm. M. Nelson 24			"		"
			Rich^d Taylor 21			"		"
			Samuel P. P. P. 15			"		"
			Charles David 20			"		"
			Wm. Gwynne 30			"		"
			Wm. Gwynne 23			"		<i>Y</i>
			Henry Parkin 30			"		"
			Samuel Allen 20			"		<i>No</i>
			Thos. P. P. 30			"		"
			Rosalie Bentley 35			<i>F. Y.</i>		"
			Mary Ann Taylor 25			"		"
			Juditha Boyle 20			"		"
			Juditha Mackenzie 30			"		<i>Y</i>
			Mary Ann Boyle 20			"		<i>No</i>
			Fanna P. P. 20			"		"
			Rich^d Abbott 25			"		<i>Y</i>
			Mary Murphy 25			"		<i>No</i>
			Rebecca Parker 29			"		<i>No</i>
			Ann Robinson 20			"		"
<i>do</i>		<i>1</i> Charles Sleight 20			<i>S. Y.</i>		<i>Y</i>	
		Wm. do 40			"		<i>Y</i>	
		Ann do 16			"		<i>Y</i>	
		Eizabeth do 10			"		"	
		John do 5			"		"	
TOTAL in Page 32					12	13		

D f

5. 1841 Census – Sleight family

As a twenty-year old this shows his style, panache and audacity as he probably had no employment at that time. There is no evidence of his ever having any independent means. Audacity seems to have been the making of or, perhaps, the downfall of this interesting yet irascible man.

Link with Richard Cobden

Richard Cobden knew of Sleight's father, Dr Sleight, when he was an agent for *The Society for the Protection of Agriculture in Great Britain and Ireland*, in 1851.

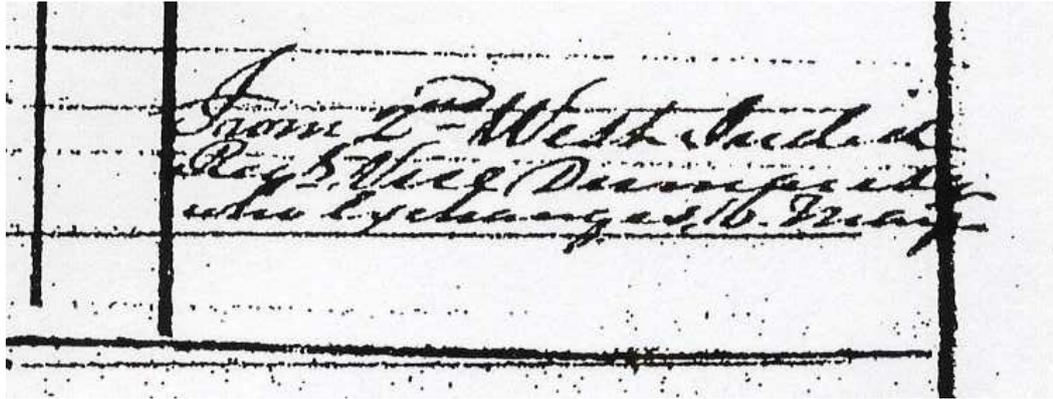
(Howe 2007, p 224)

2.2 Sleigh joins the army

In 1842, aged twenty-one, Sleigh returned to Canada and on July 23rd joined the 2nd West India Regiment as an Ensign in Canada. He subsequently served in the 2nd King's County Regiment, British North America and became a Lieutenant by purchase on November 10, 1844 in the 77th Regiment of Foot stationed in Chatham.

LIST of the Commissioned Officers of the 77th Regiment of Infantry
both days inclusive, shewing the periods for

Rank	Names of the Officers	Periods for which considered to be Effective, as belonging to the Corps		Remarks as inserted on the respective Muster-Rolls		
		From	To	1st Muster	2nd Muster	3rd Muster
Colonel	Macleod J. A.	July 30	Sept 1	On Leave	Indefinite	
Lt. Colonel	Bradshaw A. W.	"	"	On Leave	On Leave	On Leave
Major	Wilson J. W.	"	"			
Captains	Algeo J. B.	—	—	Detachment	Detachment	Detachment
	Tomkins J.	"	"	Success	Success	Success
	Pigou G.	"	"	do. Sabourville	do. Sabourville	do. Sabourville
	Bradshaw A. W.	"	"	On Leave	On Leave	On Leave
	White H. J.	"	"	Detachment	On Leave	On Leave
	Griffiths H. D.	"	"	do.		
	Crofton E. H.	"	"	On Leave	On Leave	On Leave
Lieutenants	O'Brien B.	"	"	Detachment	Detachment	Detachment
	Hackett J.	"	"	Sabourville	Sabourville	Sabourville
	Crofton E. H.	—	—	—	—	—
	Dumaresq C. S.	—	—	—	—	—
	McCarthy J.	"	"			
	Wells G. H.	"	"			
	Cary G.	"	"	St. Kingston	St. Kingston	St. Kingston
	Carson H. L.	"	"			
	Foster J. B.	"	"			
Sleigh B. W.	"	"	On Leave	On Leave	On Leave	



6. Sleigh 2nd West Indies Regiment thence to the 77th Regiment of Foot

Sleigh never experienced active service but saw peacetime overseas service in Jamaica and Canada.

Sleigh at St James's Palace - 1846

With the rank of Lieutenant in the regular army, Sleigh would be eligible to attend Her Majesty's Drawing Room receptions at St James's Palace. These well attended events included a wide selection of official people and Sleigh was present on February 12th, 19th and 27th and March 20th. Various on these dates other guests included, Lt Gen J.W. Sleigh [a distant cousin], Admiral Codrington and HRH the Duke of Cambridge. (*Times* 1846, p.5). There is little doubt that Sleigh, having attended receptions in the presence of Queen Victoria at St James's Palace, would have traded on this and held his audience enthralled in his future Canadian dealings. On 2nd September 1846 he sailed with his regiment from Gaspé to Quebec City, in HMS "Belle Isle." (Sleigh 1853, p.209) after further two years of service in Canada on 12 September 1848 sold his commission to an Ensign Thomas Elliott, with the rank of captain, and retired from the army. (*London Gazette* 1848, p.33, 53)

2.3 Sleigh returns to England as a civilian

Shortly after this he came back in England and, under the name of Arthur Sleigh, he published *The Royal Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry Army List No.1*, April 1st, 1850. This publication contained the names and seniority of every Regimental Staff Officer in the Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry.

No. 1.

FULLY-BIND HALF-YEARLY.

APRIL, 1850.



Price 10s. 6d.

THE ROYAL MILITIA

1710

YEOMANRY CAVALRY ARMY LIST:

CONTAINING THE
NAMES AND SENIORITY OF EVERY REGIMENTAL AND STAFF
OFFICER IN THE MILITIA AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY,

DESIGNATING
WHETHER LORDS OR DEPUTY LIEUTENANTS OF COUNTIES, MEMBERS
OF PARLIAMENT, OR JUSTICES OF THE PEACE;

RESERVING
THE SERVICES OF SUCH OFFICERS AS HAVE HELD COMMISSIONS
IN THE REGULAR ARMY;

DETAILING
THE COUNTRY SEATS, PARKS, AND DOMAINS OF THE LANDED GENTRY
SERVING IN THOSE CORPS.

THE REGIMENTS OF MILITIA,
ARRANGED ACCORDING TO SENIORITY OF NUMBER;
REGIMENTS AND CORPS OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY,
AS HEAVY AND LIGHT DRAGOONS, HUNGARS, AND LANCERS.

A COPIOUS ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF REGIMENTS
ACCORDING TO COUNTY DESIGNATION;

AS ALSO, THE NAMES OF EVERY OFFICER ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED, WITH REFERENCE
TO THE REGIMENTAL PART IN THE MILITIA AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY ARMY LIST.

A HISTORY OF THE SERVICES, ORGANIZATION, AND EQUIPMENT OF THE
REGIMENTS OF MILITIA AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY:

AN ABSTRACT OF THE MILITIA ACTS; AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY REGULATIONS.

Revised and Corrected from Official Documents
CORRECTED TO DATE OF PUBLICATION.

BY

ARTHUR SLEIGH, ESQ.,

LATE ASSISTANT BATTAL MASTER OF THE 7TH REGIMENT; FORMERLY CAPTAIN YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

LONDON:

BRITISH ARMY DESPATCH PRESS,

50, BUNFORD STREET, STRAND.

1850.

7. Title page from *The Royal Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry - Army List No. 1* Published by Arthur Sleigh.

Subtitles to this publication amplify the contents indicating whether they were lords or deputy lieutenants of counties, MPs or JPs, listing those who had held commissions in the Regular Army and detailing the country seats, if appropriate.

This was similar to a small *Who's Who* and it only came out in one edition. Sleigh's hope would have been that a high percentage of the entrants would purchase a copy.

2. 4 Sleigh awarded the honorary rank of Lt Col and made a JP

Sleigh was again soon back in Canada as a civilian with high aspirations and at the height of his notoriety in the Maritime Provinces, Sleigh was granted the honorary rank of Lt Col in the Canadian Militia and became a local JP. These titles were subsequently rescinded when it was revealed that he had no means to support his

grand ideas and was then declared bankrupt. This did not prevent him from using the rank of Lt Col for the rest of his life.

On returning to England he became the proprietor of the *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard*, which had been edited, for two years, by his friend and future first editor of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* - Alfred Bate Richards, then aged 35. This publication he sold for £900 to a Major Samuel Walker of the “King’s Light Infantry,” at the end of 1854; a sale which was to come back to haunt him. (Chapter 7.4)

2.5 Military and Naval settlement—New Brunswick

In 1851, Sleigh attempted to launch yet another scheme; this time his idea was to create a settlement of Military and Naval personnel in New Brunswick. His idea, as explained in Sleigh1853 (pp.86,87) was to act as an agent to sell land first to officers from the UK, on half-pay, then to officers retired from service; second, to the sons of officers of families of deceased officers; and third, to pensioners of discharged soldiers, with good characters, and the sons of either class. In no way to make the movement a military one (sic).

In Sleigh’s usual manner he went head on into his scheme without proper planning and produced a prospectus which raised questions and resulted in an investigation.

The report stated that (Captain) Sleigh had issued a prospectus of a Company formed for promoting a mixed Military and Naval settlement in New Brunswick. This prospectus was such that it gave the impression that the Company had already purchased land and had a list of governors and deputy governors and officers together with a description of the class of emigrants required and the advantages offered.

What the Commission of Enquiry had found was that several people had been named as governors, but the list had not been settled as it was alleged, and the land had not been actually acquired. Furthermore it was revealed that the advantages offered were vague and impossible to deliver.

The description of the proposed Colony was very vague and calculated to mislead and they [the Commission of Enquiry] did not, under any circumstances, consider an attempt to form a settlement of discharged soldiers and sailors deserving of public encouragement. The Emigration Commission added that a few months, if not weeks, previously Sleigh had been declared bankrupt with debts of £3000 and assets of £1000. (Land Report 1851)

2.6 Railroad director in Canada

Later in 1851 Sleigh was still in Canada and the transport situation in the Maritime Provinces became his next focus of interest and hopeful profit. He was genuinely fond of this area and felt, that if a better link could be made between Halifax, Montreal and Quebec City, this would benefit Canada by making a faster ongoing shipping connection with the USA and Great Britain.

At this time the only means of getting from Halifax to Quebec, a distance of over six hundred miles, was by coach and horses. This journey, only possible in the summer months, took between five and six days to complete. It was an uncomfortable and exhausting experience and wholly unsuitable for freight transport. The alternative, summer and winter, was to get a steamer, run by the Honourable S. Cunard, from Halifax to Boston which took about forty-eight hours and then by rail to Montreal and then, by steamer, to Quebec. The new shorter link was much needed.

Earlier lengthy discussions

There had been discussions for some years for a railroad connection to be constructed between Montreal and Halifax, and in June 1847, an Act passed the Legislature in Canada, to which Royal Assent was given by Her Majesty in Council on 15th of April, 1848, and a proclamation was made by his Excellency the Earl Elgin and Kincardine in the *Canada Gazette* of 24th June, 1848, designated “An Act to incorporate the Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Railway Company.”

For the next year or two, plans and counter-plans were made and the Railway Company secured as patrons, Lieutenant-General the Earl of Cathcart, Lieutenant-General Lord Seaton, Lieutenant-General Sir Howard Douglas, Bart., all recent governors in British North America.

Colonel Sleigh was appointed deputy chairman and he felt that the prospects were good. However there was political and personal jealousy between politicians of the Maritime Provinces and a major row broke out between a representative from Nova Scotia and the secretary. The Colonial Office would not cooperate with the secretary and said that the Charter had lapsed; and as a result of all these jealousies the project collapsed. (Sleight 1853, pp. 180-184)

2.7 Steamship operator

The British Colonial Secretary in London having refused to co-operate with the Halifax and Quebec railroad venture, the indefatigable Sleigh turned his mind to a steam boat service linking Quebec with the Maritime Provinces and to ports in the USA. Sleigh, in his customary manner, acted impulsively and the project was put hastily into action. This was a newsworthy project and the press made much of it.



8. *The Steamship Albatross*

The *Albatross*-New Mills list (Registered Canadian steamships 1817-1930). In this list the *Albatross* (0124) is described as “long narrow, high out of the water, exceedingly sharp bow, round stern, rather wall sided. The service failed and the *Albatross* was wrecked in the Gulf of Mexico on April 10, 1853. Capt Sleigh seems to have had a dubious reputation and considerable mystery surrounds this”. (New Mills List 2006, p.7). The *Albatross* illustration (8) might possibly be a successor to Sleigh’s steamship?

New steamboat route

A reference in the *New York Times* June 26, 1852 (p.1) reported:

The steamship *Albatross*, recently on the route between this port and Charleston, was sold yesterday to a company of gentlemen at the eastward, for 85,000 dollars cash. It is the intention of the purchasers to put her on the route between New York and Quebec, touching at Pictou and Halifax, connecting at the latter port with the Cunard steamers. One of the parties to the purchase, it is said, has obtained a contract from the English [British] Government for carrying the mails from Halifax to Quebec, at a compensation of about 15,000 dollars per annum.

“That one of the parties to the purchase had obtained a contract from the English Government...at 15,000 dollars per annum” was clearly one of Sleigh’s pre-sale exaggerations and there is every possibility that his co-purchasers had proceeded with the deal believing that this contract was in place.

Sleigh claims to be sole owner

Despite the report stating that the *Albatross* had been sold to “a company of gentlemen,” Sleigh always maintained that he was the sole proprietor. The *Albatross*, a steamer built in Philadelphia, was of 1100 tons, and by virtue of its economy was ideally suited, in Sleigh’s view, to this particular service. She could carry passengers and four-hundred-and-fifty tons of freightage. (Sleigh 1853, p,190)

Great excitement in the Maritime Provinces

The imminent arrival of *The Albatross* was given a glowing build-up in *The Islander*, a newspaper published in Charlottetown PEI, referring to Sleigh in the most glowing terms. Major Norton, United States Consul in Pictou, Nova Scotia, had been completely taken in by the ever persuasive Sleigh, so too the islanders.

THE ST. LAWRENCE STEAMER

NEW ARRANGEMENT

The noble project of placing a steamer on the St Lawrence originated with Major Norton, the efficient United States Consul at Pictou, Nova Scotia, and through his efforts Provincial Grants, towards this object, were obtained from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island Legislatures.

While the projector of this movement has been in New York, completing his arrangements, Captain Arthur Sleigh, late of the British Army, a gentleman of great wealth, and extensive Land owner in Prince Edward Island made overtures to the Major, which have been accepted, the proprietorship has changed hands, and the line will go into operation on a more extended plan than was at first contemplated.

Captain Sleigh has purchased the beautiful steamer *Albatross*, now in New York, and she will leave immediately for Quebec, touching at Halifax, Pictou, Charlottetown, Shediac, Miramichi, and Gaspe. It is said to be the

intention of the proprietor to put another boat on the route as soon as she can be obtained.

Thus, through the efforts of Major Norton alone, this spirited enterprise, so important to the Colonies, has been projected; and under the new arrangement, it will be placed on a footing of permanent success. No man in the Colonies has a deeper interest at stake than Captain Sleigh. His Estate on Prince Edward Island – his future place of residence – embraces 100,000 acres of land, equal for agricultural purposes to any part of British North America, and is intersected with bays and rivers, embracing “mill privileges” and shipping facilities of great importance in the prosperous commercial progress of that colony. And more than all, we know the proprietor to be imbued with unconquerable enterprise, and that heartfelt spirit of ambition for the prosperity of his adopted country, which has long been wanted to stimulate trade and commerce throughout the British Colonial possessions, and secure to that people a permanent prosperity, derived from their own abundant resources. (*The Islander*, July 2, 1852, p.2)

Journey time successfully reduced

New York Daily Times (July 15, 1852).

On a trip from Quebec to New York the *Albatross* arrived on August 30th 1852 with 27 cabin passengers (10 from the Greenwood family) and a further 18 in steerage.

“The quick trip of the steamer *Albatross*, before reported by telegraph is confirmed by a passage from New York to Halifax was shortened by 18 hours—the *Albatross* having made the voyage in 52 hours”.

Sleigh’s largesse

Sleigh hosted a number of parties in the various ports of call to which the great and the good attended. Having thrust himself into the limelight, the events and his speeches were received with great interest much applause and were extensively reported in the press.



9. *Quebec Harbour Scene circa 1850*

July 9th 1852, *The British North American* carried the following account:

“Soon after the arrival of the steam-ship *Albatross*, on Tuesday, cards of invitation were issued by Colonel Sleigh, to His Excellency the administrator of the Government and family, Admiral Sir G.F. Seymour and family, the heads of departments, officers of the Army and Navy, and ladies, and other gentlemen and ladies, friends of the gallant proprietor of the *Albatross*, at a dejeuner, at two o’clock on Wednesday”.

Sleigh made a lengthy speech and proposed the health of the Governor of the Province and the President of The United States. He stressed that, although he was a true monarchist, he regretted that the United States had split from the monarchy but recognised them as being part of a great, enterprising, energetic and intellectual nation. The United States Consul in his reply stated inter alia:

“You have taken a bold stand, by purchasing this splendid boat and placing it on the route at once; and though “tis not in mortals to command success,” none can deny that you deserve it. I am confident that your efforts will result in a successful issue. If I know the spirit of my own countrymen, they will give this enterprise most liberal encouragement. They will do so with the more zest and energy when they become better acquainted with your country. At present these Colonies are comparatively unknown. The Mother

Country knows nothing of them. My own countrymen know nothing of them. The heads of my Government know nothing of them. This I know, Sir, for I have recently had communication with the head of my Government, who expressed his astonishment when I told him that Nova Scotia alone has resources of more value than any State in the Union-California not excepted. How are these resources to be developed and made available? By encouraging such enterprise as this, which brings to your shores men of enterprise and capital? Colonel Sleigh is not a Nova Scotian, but should you hail him to your shores with less enthusiasm for that? Show me the man who has invested so much money, at so great a risk, in an enterprise pregnant with such enlarged benefits to the people of this Province, and tell me if he is not entitled to your respect and sympathy. Is there a man that will not exclaim, "Success to his cause!" You have launched into a project of great hazard, Mr Chairman; but let the Governments and people of British America sustain you as they ought, and success is certain - a success which will bring greater prosperity to their doors..."

Albatross venture in doubt

Despite Sleigh being hailed as a man of enterprise and capital, there was an aura of caution expressed in the United States consul's reply, almost as if Sleigh had primed him to work into his speech a suggestion aimed at the provincial government to subsidise the venture. Even at this early juncture Sleigh had clearly taken on more than he (and others unwittingly) could themselves finance. His gamble, in promising English Government support, was not forthcoming and the financial problems were mounting. Despite these problems the press continued to report the *Albatross* saga.

The Quebec Morning Chronicle on July 20, 1852, reported:-

With a "few such men as Colonel Sleigh, Canada would make more progress in two years than he has hitherto done in twenty. He not only deserves success, but (else we much mistake) will command it. On the principle of granting a patent to the discoverer of any new application of science, Colonel Sleigh ought to receive some years a legislative grant from this and the other Provinces, to place him beyond the possibility of failure. The British Government acted so with Mr.Cunard, the American Government in a

similar manner with Mr. Collins, and Canada must, as in duty, do something for Colonel Sleigh”.

Sleigh’s unfulfilled promises

What was not mentioned was that each trip from New York to Quebec was costing 1,950 dollars for insurance alone and only operational for the five months, June to October, when the St Lawrence was free of ice. The premiums would have amounted to 14,500 dollars. (Sleigh 1853, p.190) Without either Provincial Government support or a contract with the British Government for carrying mails for about 15,000 dollars a year, which Sleigh had misleadingly claimed was in place to his lenders, he stood no chance of covering his costs.

It would seem that, had even the most basic business research had been conducted, this situation would have been anticipated. Sleigh, as we have seen and will continue to be seen through this work, was impetuous, impulsive, persuasive and reckless. Despite his ideas being worthy and often ahead of their time, he appeared to always set himself on a collision course with reality. This was no exception.

Sleigh departs in high dudgeon

It was when his proposal was turned down, by the British Government, that Sleigh left the Province in high dudgeon. There must have been some glee at Sleigh’s failure from some of the local inhabitants; particularly from those who had expressed early doubts as to his credibility. These were summed up by a Prince Edward Island resident, Mr. John Lepage, who wrote this rather unusual poem: (Bremner1932, pp.146-147).

The Sleigh Bubble of 1852

Here hangs a tale!” one Captain Sleigh
Came to our Isle, report did say,
A very Rothschild in his way – a banker steady,
For all St. Peter’s he could pay the *rhino* ready!

Well,! Captain Sleigh, the rich, the rare!
In every month was everywhere

And, to be sure, how some did stare! With mouths wide gaping!
And others cut both earth and air Bowing and scraping!

Last Spring, the Strait he went across,
On to New York, with little loss
Of time, and got the *Albatross*, The arrant Schemer!
She gave the whole affair its gloss - That flashy steamer!

Return'd the lion of the hour!
A large estate seem'd in his pow'r,
Up to Morrell he made a tour, Angled and sported,
And scatter'd largesse by the shower! (So 'twas reported).

Not yet Lieutenant-Colonel Sleigh *bruided*,
So high was *Captain* Sleigh reputed,
That a great dinner next was mooted, Of choice description!
As high dignity well suited, A pound subscription!

The dinner o'er, the crumbs were clear'd,
When toasts and *sentiments* were heard:
The Queen, of course, name so endear'd To all the nation –
Some speaker spoke, and loud was cheer'd With approbation.

After the Queen - "here's Captain Sleigh,
Our honour'd guest from far away;
With right good will we hail this day, His bright appearing!
Long, long among us may he stay." (Tremendous cheering!)

He gave response, in happy style,
With easiest flow and blandest smile,
Prais'd his broad acres in the Isle, Replete with beauties;
And preach'd a homily meanwhile On landlord's duties.

'Twere long to tell, for much was said
O forfeits, fish, and mutual trade
The Albatross each trip she made Might bring some notion,
And steam off stock, for money paid, Across the ocean.

'Tis said the Turkeys, hearing this,
Gobbled: and gabbling geese did hiss;
Each sheep, with trembling in its fleece, Bleated amain,
While loud the kine, their young to miss, Bellow'd again.

As hues of pure prismatic dye
Fade fast before the admiring eye:
As northern lights pass thro' the sky, Or send, or smoke,
This bubble big just flitted by. And then it broke!

And left our Island *Captain* Sleigh,
Lieutenant-Colonel yesterday:-
The Albatross would never pay, And no great wonder,
Sans eggs or geese, she steam'd away With noise like thunder!

A local author's summary of Sleigh

Boyde Beck in his *Unauthorised History Of Prince Edward Island* (1996 pp.89,90) describes Sleigh... "He swept into the colony, trailing promises and humbug like a cross between a carnival shrill and a whirlwind. At a banquet organised to honour his arrival he seemed to divine the secret dreams of the Colony's business class...he announced his steamer, *SS Albatross*...his plans to found a bank; he founded a newspaper in Halifax in 1850 – bankrupt in six months...founded the Halifax and Quebec Railway, it failed...bought the huge Worrell Estate, over twenty one thousand acres... representatives of Mr Worrell came to call as evidently Sleigh had put only a very small deposit as a down payment...they caught up with him in Halifax where he was stored in the city jail while they confirmed he was broke."

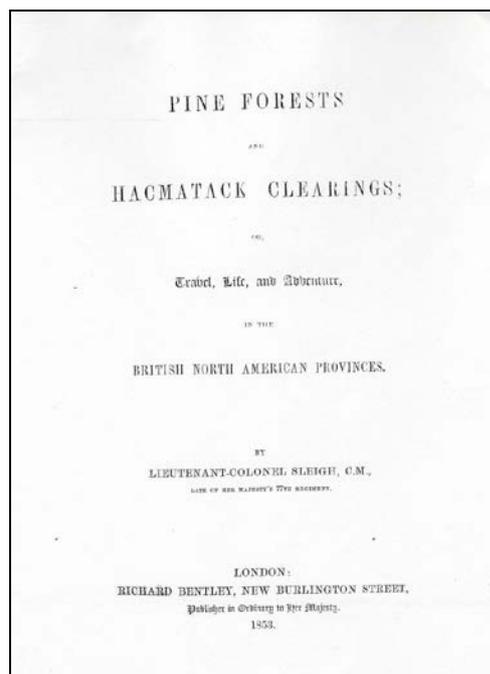
2.8 Sleigh's various opinions of Canada

Sleigh had his own definite opinions of Canada and considered whether the provinces are “places of settlement for gentlemen with limited incomes,” and argued against independence for Canada “which would result in the spread of slavery.” He also encouraged the building of a Trans-Canada railway which was an idea also supported by Alfred Bate Richards who became editor of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* in 1855. (Sleigh 1853, p.86)

2.9 Authorship

Sleigh's imprisonment in Halifax, Nova Scotia resulted from his financial problems concerning the *Albatross* venture and his failure to keep up his mortgage payments for the Worrell estate having only paid a small deposit. He took vengeance on the Maritime people who he felt had betrayed him through his book, entitled *Pine Forests and Hackmatack Clearings or Travel, Life and Adventure in the British North American Provinces*, published in London by Richard Bentley in 1853.

The title, Sleigh explains in the preface, was chosen because Hackmatack clearings was where hamlets then townships were formed; Hackmatack being *Larix Americana* which grows in profusion in the North-eastern States and British America.



10. Title page from *Pine Forests and Hackmatack Clearings*

Letter from Richard Cobden

Sleigh sent Richard Cobden a copy of his book and received the following letter:

Mr Cobden presents
his compliments to Colonel
Sleigh, & has received the
volume which he was
so good as to forward him,
& he begs to express
his sincere regret for
the delay which has
occurred in sending this
acknowledgment. -
Colonel Sleigh's letter
was accidentally mislaid
at the moment when
the volume came to
hand, otherwise its receipt
would have been
instantly acknowledged. -

103 Westbourne Terrace
15 June 1853

11 Cobden's Reply to Sleigh

His book, which he probably started or at least contemplated while he was in prison, has wonderful descriptions divulged with great relish of the shady politicians and the totally corrupt legal profession of the Maritime Provinces. It reveals much of Sleigh's thoughts and observations of Canadian life. It not only chronicles his Canadian travels from 1843 to 1853, but is written in the hope of arousing awareness.

In the preface he concluded by saying: "...Should my work excite, in the most remote degree, a stronger interest than has been heretofore shown on the part of the English reader, in the destinies of Her Majesty's magnificent Colonial possessions in British North America, I should be satisfied.

But should the facts stated and the conclusions drawn be considered of sufficient importance to cause inquiries to be made, which may lead to the permanent retention of Her Majesty's Ministers to the danger which threatens those Provinces, and of the British North American Colonies as appendages of the British Crown, through the introduction of institutions more suited to their advanced state of progress, then indeed will the object which I have in view be more than achieved." (Sleigh 1853, p.ix). Press reviews appear in Appendix 8.

2.10 The British Columbia Overland Transit Company

Sleigh had failed in shipping, railways and the creation of a company to promote a mixed Military and Naval settlement in New Brunswick. Then after he had again failed to be elected to parliament and his enforced sale of his *Daily Telegraph* interests, Sleigh turned his mind to yet another business enterprise.

to 1. full of BU- C. — E, ka, — en R, ut ish 'or 'ie- — n- L ilt ed sta us es ed ly- y- x,	... W. A. Wilson and Chambers, 21, Water-street, Liverpool; or to Grunday and Co., 124, Bishopsgate-street, and 55, Parliament- street, London.	arriv auth- pack- ticke must
	<p>BRITISH COLUMBIA OVERLAND TRANSIT, via CANADA.—The British Columbia Overland Transit Com- pany will punctually despatch on the 31st of May, at 12 noon, from Glasgow, in the first-class and powerful screw steamship UNITED KINGDOM, 1,200 tons burden, 300-horse power, JAMES CLARKE, Cominander, a party of first and second class passengers for Quebec, Canada, and over the Grand Trunk Railway and continuous lines of railway to Chicago and St. Paul's, and via the Red River settlements, in covered waggons, to British Columbia. This is the speediest, safest, and most economical route to the gold diggings. The land transit is through a lovely country, unequalled for its scenery and salubrity of climate. More than one-half the distance from Quebec is by railway. Through fares, £42 from England to British Columbia; saloon berths, £5 extra. Letters received from the agents in Canada announce that a first spring party, of 52 in number, had left for British Columbia by this route. Above 1,000 carts annually trade along this line. There are numerous posts, missions, and stations from the Red River Settlements, along the Saskatchewan, now discovered to abound in vast gold deposits, to the Rocky Mountains. The route is now constantly travelled with perfect safety. Full particulars can be had at the offices, 6, Copthall-court, Throgmorton-street, E.C.; of Messrs. Bennett and Wake, 77, Cornhill; of Angus D. Macdonell, Esq., Secretary North-West Transit Co., Ontario-hall, Toronto; and D. Hime, Esq., agent, Toronto, Canada West.</p>	<p>L May Lond Appl E 7th, Ed est at LON- West Rege D inclu Retur day, Chapi Down I R and S large ford,</p>
	<p>LIVERPOOL LINE of PACKETS for CALIFOR- NIA.—Follows the Magellan.—For SAN FRANCISCO (taking goods at a through rate to Vancouver's Island), the first-class clipper ship STAD ASSKEN, 3 T. L. 11 in Veritas. Apply to Messrs. Thos.</p>	

12. Advertisement published in *The Times*

May 17, 1862. (p.2)

Sleigh named his new enterprise *The British Columbia Overland Transit Company* and in May 1862 advertised in the *Times*. Because of Sleigh's commercial record, and perhaps from a tip-off from someone like Major Walker, who had suffered from a previous Sleigh business encounter, questions were asked at the Emigration Office. A report was requested to be submitted from the Permanent Under-Secretary, Sir Frederic Rogers, to his grace the Duke of Newcastle.

An interview with Sleigh was arranged, in May 1862, which formed the basis of a report. Sleigh gave a clear account of his intentions for setting up the Company. He had been inspired, he said, by the information he had gleaned from

J. Despard Pemberton's book, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*. In the book's dedication (to John Rae, MD, FRGS, p. vi) Pemberton wrote:

"...an enterprise of great national importance, that of connecting England, via the Canadas, Red River Colony, Saskatchewan, British Columbia, and Vancouver Island, with Australia, by one unbroken chain of commercial and postal communication. That the undertaking, large as it may sound, is far from being impracticable, will, I am persuaded, be inferred from the evidence adduced."

Sleigh, not unexpectedly, omitted this reference on page 94 of the same book:

"...the routes to British Columbia and Vancouver Island, the trail via Red River, North Saskatchewan, and the Punch-bowl Pass in the Rocky Mountains, or other similar trails usually travelled by brigades of Hudson's Bay Company. To hardy trappers, lightly equipped, and confident in their knowledge of the passes of the country and its resources, as well as from their skill in woodcraft and mastery over Indians, these routes are perfectly safe, but should not be encountered by strangers or emigrants."

The despatch from Governor Douglas to which Sleigh referred was dated October 18, 1859 and indicated that the experiment of a land journey from the Red River to British Columbia, by parties of Red River people, had been accomplished with carts with the exception of the Coutannais Pass. Sleigh was never slow in name dropping when needed to add authority to his well honed persuasive manner.

Arrangements had been made

Sleigh continued confidently by stating that arrangements had been made at St. Paul's to provide the necessary stores of food, horses and carts for the journey across the Saskatchewan Country. In answer to the objection that great hardship and exposure

might be encountered, he replied that the party would be accompanied by a number of Indians as guides and assistants, all men in the prime of life.

The interview was so far successful for Sleigh, who had allayed many misgivings, and the authorities were confident enough to report that in rendering safe the overland journey to British Columbia, there cannot be any doubt that an essential service would be of benefit to that colony. As a rider they added that all that will be necessary is to watch the proceedings of the Company to see that their engagements with the emigrants are carried out in good faith, and to submit that the attention of the Governors of Canada and British Columbia should be called to that point. The portion of the Company's operations carried on in this country will be comparatively unimportant. A subsequent entry in the minutes from a Mr. Elliot did add that Col Sleigh (a Colonel of Militia) "...may perhaps raise prejudice in this office against the bona fides of a Company with which he is associated: but for all the idea of Colonel Sleigh may be, and is, in my judgement a very good one."

Dreadful hardships and possibly perish

A further entry in the minutes from a Mr. Fortescue made mention that: "...although future generations will traverse the Continent and enjoy good roads and railways, he felt that any large party of inexperienced travellers from England would encounter dreadful hardships and possibly perish". He wisely predicted that he did not expect any to complete the journey and that the company will pocket a large sum of money from the Emigrants for taking them to [British] Columbia, and then convey them to Canada, where the impossibility of their proceeding further will be made manifest, and thereupon will arise great complaints and disputes in which the Company logically demonstrate that the failure is not their fault, but the poor people will nevertheless be planted in quite a different place from which they intended to reach, having paid five times too much for the distance accomplished.

Mr. Fortescue continued that the scenario he had just described is put into further doubt by seeing that this scheme is one of the numerous projects of Colonel Sleigh, whom he believed to be a reckless and unreliable speculator. He then said that there were previous recorded entries indicating that Sleigh is unfavourably known to this department. It was also stated that there was no evidence of capital to enable the company to fulfil any engagements into which it might enter. Another entry stated

that this Company with Colonel Sleigh as its spokesman has a highly suspicious look. But these adventurers may prove pioneers of something better. Despite the misgivings aired in the report, Sleigh was able to continue with his plans. True to form, it was only a matter of weeks before major problems started to occur.

A charge of fraud

At The Guildhall Justice Room on August 22, 1862 there was now pending, before the sitting Alderman, a charge of fraud against Sleigh, the secretary of the British Columbia Overland Transit Company.

In reply to the advertisements in *The Times* (May 17, 1862, p.2) thirty-three passengers had paid £42 each for their passage from England to British Columbia. On May 31st they sailed from Glasgow and arrived at Quebec, where they were forwarded to St Paul in Alberta, arriving there on June 27th. On their arrival there, they found to their horror that no arrangements had been made to forward them to British Columbia.

It transpired that Sleigh had not paid the guides and carriers, who were to take the passengers over the Rockies, and they refused to proceed until payment was received. This payment was never made. Eight of the passengers returned but a further twenty-five were unable to get the funds for their return, neither did they have money to find alternative transport for their onwards journey. They were in a state of distress which, with the coming of the North American winter season, put them in a most deplorable situation.

2.11 Escape to Spain

It was stated during the investigation that Col Sleigh of St John's Wood acted as Manager of the Company and that he had received the whole of the money paid by the thirty-three passengers and that he had since sold his furniture and gone to Spain to be out of the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts.

An appeal to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle for assistance, in either repatriating or helping the passengers to complete their journey, was turned down.

It would be quite impossible for Her Majesty's Government to undertake the duty of extricating persons who have embarked in impracticable enterprises, and had allowed themselves to be imposed upon by designing persons from the consequence of their imprudence.

So continued the recurring pattern of good and forward thinking ideas by Sleigh collapsing through his unreliability and inability to plan and carry them out in a business like manner.

Sleigh written out of history

There has been very little recorded about Sleigh and his heroic efforts in keeping *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* publishing during the first 17 months of its precarious existence. Heroic and hare-brained they might have been, yet they appear to have been suppressed and written out of history. That *The Telegraph* kept going was no fluke, it was by a mixture of determination, coincidence, tenacity and sheer audacity. Certainly, as in all Sleigh's ventures, audacity played a critical part. This is covered in Chapter 4.

The accounts of Sleigh's attempts for a seat in parliament have never before been written into any sparse references to him and yet his attempt to gain the Greenwich Liberal seat, against Sir William Codrington, in 1857, caused a lot of interest within the national newspapers. This is covered fully in chapter six.

2.12 Sleigh's family

He married first a Miss Franklin, daughter of a Royal Artillery Colonel of who no trace can be found, she probably died. Sleigh married secondly, in Cork, Charlotte Spellen who bore him a son and three daughters, one of whom, Charlotte Sarah, born in 1847, married Frederick Henry Maitland later the 13th Earl of Lauderdale. (Debrett's Peerage & Baronetage 2008, p. 838)

Charlotte (Lady Lauderdale) died in India in 1881. Sleigh's wife Charlotte died in 1863 and he then married for the third time in 1867 Emma Papps. By this time Ethel had been born in 1865 and subsequently Ralph in 1866 followed by Alice in 1868.

Sleigh died, aged 49, at 9 Royal Avenue, Chelsea on the 22nd March 1869; the cause of death being cerebral apoplexy. His occupation was entered as Lieutenant Colonel 64th Regiment, but this was subsequently amended, on the death certificate, to read 77th Royal Regiment.

A search in the Probate Office failed to find either a will or an administration, so it must be assumed that, despite his creative mind and his attempts at such a variety of endeavours, he died a poor man.

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF DEATH



Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Application Number W 115523

REGISTRATION DISTRICT <u>Chelsea</u>									
1856: DEATH in the Sub-district of <u>South Chelsea</u> in the <u>County of Middlesex</u>									
Columns:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No.	When and where died	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Occupation	Cause of Death	Signature, description and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar
411	Twenty second March 1861 9 Royal Avenue Chelsea	Barrons William Arthur Sleigh	Male	47 years	late Lieutenant Colonel 6th Regiment	Cerebral Apoplexy 12 days Certified	C. Briskam present at death 9 Royal Avenue Chelsea	Twenty Second March 1861	C. S. Long Registrar

See note overleaf

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a Register of Deaths in the District above mentioned.

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the 17th day of October 1861.

DAZ 055829

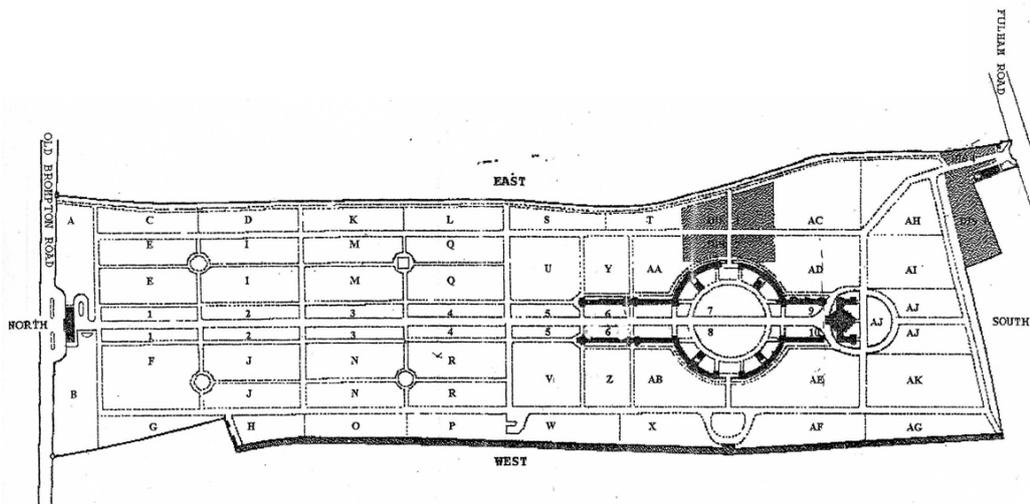
CAUTION: THERE ARE OFFENCES RELATING TO FALSIFYING OR ALTERING A CERTIFICATE AND USING OR POSSESSING A FALSE CERTIFICATE ©CROWN COPYRIGHT

WARNING: A CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY.


 17/10/2001

13. Sleigh's Death Certificate

The informants were, C. Briskam and N. Sleigh who was, in all probability his daughter Nora - then just 18 years old.



14. Brompton Cemetery

Sleigh is buried in vault D, compartment 6, Brompton Cemetery, S.W. London.

Chapter 3

3.1 The British Press up to the 1850s

National newspapers in Britain began in 1702 with the founding of *The Daily Courant* in London. In the eighteenth century, news was conveyed by means of dispatches delivered by sailing ships and the horse and carriage. It was not until the 1830s and 1840s, with the coming of the railways and the electric telegraph, that news became more immediate and of a more worldly nature. These early newspapers served two purposes, on the one hand to make the owners wealthy through advertisements and cover price and on the other, through editorial content, the wielding of influence, power and prestige. Editorial content was therefore often written on the back of the advertisements assuring high page traffic

Since the launch of the *Daily Courant* in 1702 a succession of other local and national newspapers had hit the streets on both sides of the Atlantic. *The Belfast News Letter* was launched in 1737, the *Yorkshire Post* in 1754. In the USA, *The New Hampshire Gazette* in 1756, *The Hartford Courant* in 1767 and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1771.

In the UK, *The Morning Post* was founded in 1772 and was followed by *The Glasgow Herald* in 1783. *The Times*, originally known as *The Daily Universal Register*, was founded in 1785 and *The Observer*, the oldest surviving Sunday newspaper, in 1791. The earliest newspapers were single sheets printed on both sides; these were followed by larger sheets, still printed on both sides, then folded to make a four-page newspaper.

The *Quarterly Review*, first published in 1846, reported in the same year, that there were 14 daily newspapers in the United Kingdom; 12 of which were published in London and two in Dublin. By 1880, at which time *The Daily Telegraph* had, since 1865, claimed the largest circulation in the world there were, in London, eighteen daily newspapers, of which thirteen were published in the mornings and five Evening. In addition there were 56 Morning and 40 Evening papers published in the provinces; three Morning and one Evening in Wales; 14 Morning and 7 Evening newspapers in Scotland; 13 Morning and Evening in Ireland; one Morning paper in the Isle of Man, and one in Jersey, a total of 157 Daily Newspapers in the United Kingdom. A statistic had also appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, indicating that in 1846 there was a total of 551 Daily and Weekly newspapers published in the UK (130 had their origins in London). Only five years later in 1851 there were 563. The real change came about in

1855 with the abolishment of the Stamp Duty, when a flood of hopeful publishers suddenly appeared *The Daily Telegraph and Courier* being one of them.

3.2 The Reform Act (1832)

When the Reform Act was passed in 1832, local newspapers were active in their ideas for the new society in their particular area. Certainly in the manufacturing areas of the north of England, the twice-weekly newspapers were selling up to 9,000 copies per issue. Because newspapers were taxed and were therefore costly, high readership per copy resulted; so much so that it was estimated that the *Leeds Mercury*, in 1839, was seen by an average of fifteen to twenty persons, per copy sold, giving it a minimum readership of about one hundred and fifty thousand. A correspondent to the *Manchester Times* in 1836 estimated a readership of twenty five readers per copy and a London journalist suggested that the *Manchester Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* had up to fifty to eighty readers per copy. (Read 1961, p.202)

In 1854, the total circulation of daily papers throughout the United Kingdom was under 100,000 copies per day, of which *The Times* accounted for 51,000. Sixteen years later, in the Franco-Prussian war, the *Daily News* alone reached 150,000. (Storey 1951, p.18)

Detailed figures have survived

The news reported in the Provincial Press was augmented by the increasing number of readers of the London Press, although these were read in addition to the local newspapers, observed W.H. Smith, the leading London newsagent. Detailed figures have survived of the number of London newspapers sent to Manchester in the 1800s.

On July 30, 1837, W.H. Smith sent one hundred and seventeen copies of *The Times* to Manchester plus six hundred and six copies of other London newspapers. By 1851 Smith was sending eight hundred and forty-six copies of *The Times* each day and four hundred and forty-four copies of other London newspapers. Provincial newspapers were highly charged with local news and discussion of problems in society of the post-Reform Act era; whereas the London newspapers were read by the wealthy manufacturers for more world news.

3.3 Stamp Duty – tax on knowledge



15. *The Government Duty Stamps*

As the readership of newspapers increased in the early 18th century, so obviously did their influence. The government felt threatened by opinions expressed over which they had no control. In 1712, to counter this, a tax of a halfpenny was imposed on newspapers, pamphlets and advertisements in an attempt, through price increase, to deter readers. This tax impeded the development of the press both in pagination and circulation.

Cobden's views on the tax

In 1850 Richard Cobden, who was at the time seeking a platform for his pro-peace ideals, recounted to John Cassell (1817-1865) a publisher of magazines aimed at the middle classes...

[Cobden] believed the newspaper stamp to be the greatest grievance that the democracy had in the whole list of fiscal exactions. So long as the penny (stamp) lasts, there can be no daily press for the middle or working class.

Who below the rank of a merchant or wholesale dealer can afford to take in a daily paper at five pence? Clearly it is beyond the reach of the mechanic and the shopkeeper. The result is that the daily press is written for its customers - the aristocracy, the millionaires, and the clubs and news-rooms. The great public cannot afford to pay for them. The dissenters have no daily organ for the same reason. The governing class in this country will resist the removal of the penny stamp, not on account of the loss of revenue (that is no obstacle with a surplus of two or three millions), but because they know that the stamp makes the daily press the instrument and servant of the oligarchy. (Morley 1905, p.885)

The Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps – July 10, 1851. p.9

The proceedings of the committee included Richard Cobden's questions and the minutes read:

2551. Mr. *G.A. Hamilton*. Bearing in mind the superior character of the literature of the "*Times*"- do you think if the price of the "*Times*" was reduced, that its circulation would be increased without its tone being lowered? – Yes; in Manchester I sell the "*News of the World*," a threepenny paper, to the number of 3,500 every Saturday, and more than 4,000 of the "*Weekly Times*" and the reason is, that the price is so much lower, it enables a working man better to purchase it; it is also 3d. London papers generally are 6d. and Manchester papers 4½d., and they take a threepenny paper, not caring what politics they are; it is not a matter of politics with them, but a question of price; they take it because it is cheap.

2522. If the price of *The Times* were reduced, do you think that the writers of the "*Times*" would have to write themselves down to the level of the readers? – No; I think that those already in the field would have a great advantage over anybody else coming in.

2553. *Chairman*. What a working man wants is a record of facts, is it not? – Yes; the current events of the week.

2554. Mr. *Cobden*. Is the penny stamp an unpopular thing amongst working people? – I do not think it is unpopular; that is to say, not to the extent that it was when it was 4d. When it was 4d, there was a strong feeling against it; but now whilst they can purchase a cheap paper at 3d, of the size which they do now, they have less feeling against it than they had formerly when it was 4d.

2555. Is there any feeling amongst the working people themselves, that the penny stamp is kept on partly with a view of preventing them from getting cheap publications, and having their own organs of the press partly for the sake of the tax? – Yes. Particular bodies would issue a publication of their own if it was not for the imposition of the tax. If any particular trade or party chose to publish a record of their proceedings, they come, under the operation of the Stamp Laws, and therefore they are unable to give currency to their peculiar views or opinions, and to that extent the stamp tax prevents them from doing it.

Thornton Hunt and the ARTK

Thornton Hunt, who subsequently became the second editor of *The Daily Telegraph*, was a prominent member of the *Association for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge* (Griffiths, 1994, p.326). Others on the committee included: Thomas Milner Gibson president; Francis Place, treasurer; Richard Cobden and John Bright.

Newspapers paid an Advertisement Tax of one shilling and sixpence on every advertisement published - irrespective of size. This was reduced in August 1853 to sixpence and subsequently in 1855 the tax was repealed. The Stamp Duty of 1d on every newspaper sold had been abolished at the time of the launch of *The Daily Telegraph and Courier* on June 29th 1855.

Duty on newsprint itself remained after June 1855, the duty payable worked out at three pence per pound weight. Fourteen copies of the four-page *Daily Telegraph* priced at one penny weighed one pound so the tax came to a fraction under one farthing per copy - about 23%. This had to be taken into account when the proprietor considered increasing pagination, as unless the yield from advertisements could be increased, there was no chance of more profit. This was not helped by a prejudice from the major advertisers to a newspaper being sold for a penny; they felt that at this low cover price their products would not be seen by the purchasers they were targeting.

Opposition to the removal of tax continues

Lord David Cecil opposed the abandonment of taxation on newspapers in parliament: ... [Cecil] failed to see how a tax on newspapers could in any way be considered a tax on knowledge. Could a person of education learn anything from a penny paper? It might be said that people might learn what had been said in Parliament. Well, would that contribute much to their education? They might read the foreign intelligence, of which many would understand very little, and they might see the opinions of the editor of the paper. No doubt all this was very interesting, but it did not answer any true idea of education, or carry any real instruction to the mind. It was a prostitution of real education to talk of this tax as a tax on knowledge. (*Speech to The House of Commons, March 18, 1860*)

The Daily Telegraph fought hard to get this tax abolished and its efforts were crucial in its final abolishment. Leading articles denounced it regularly, and Edward Levy and George Augustus Sala, the *Daily Telegraph* writer at large, organised meetings at

which other journalists, and many politicians, spoke in favour of its abolition. There was opposition from the aristocracy and a large section of the middle classes to the development of the cheap press, and the high-priced journals unanimously opposed it. The clergy were also against it because previously illicit unstamped papers had been mainly atheistic or republican.

“Charles Dickens refused to sign a petition for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge, on the express ground that he would not promote a deluge of printer’s ink in England similar to what was to be seen in America.” (Morley 1905, p.666)

Deputation to the Prime Minister

In 1858 Edward Levy with George Augustus Sala headed a deputation to the Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby, on the matter. Lord Derby received them in a very cavalier manner, and after listening to their case he dismissed them with some scornful remarks intimating that there was not the slightest chance of the removal of the Duty if he, and his government, could prevent it. So with this disappointment it was back to Fleet Street and the struggle to carry on continued.

Tax abolished 1860

As luck would have it, Derby and his government were defeated the following year (1859), and in 1860 the Gladstone budget finally abolished the tax on newsprint.

To *The Daily Telegraph* this was of huge significance, as it represented a benefit of twelve thousand pounds a year (Burnham 1955, p.10), and was another huge step in its early and successful development.

The removal of the Stamp Duty, which had impeded the development of the press for so long particularly in pagination, circulation and price, now opened the way for an eager and new readership and from this point on parliament became more accountable to the population at large. For the newspaper publishers, the opportunity of attracting high circulation and much increased revenue, a new dawn awaited them.



Letter to Queen Victoria

It would appear that Queen Victoria had asked the Prime Minister for an explanation of working of the press to which he replied by letter.

Extract to Queen Victoria from Lord Palmerston, dated 1861. ...The actual price at which each copy of the newspaper is sold barely pays the expense of paper, printing, and establishment; it is indeed said that the price does not repay those expenses. The profit of the newspaper arises from the price of the advertisements, and the greater the number of advertisements the greater the profit.

But advertisements are sent by preference to the newspaper which has the greatest circulation; and that paper gets the widest circulation which is the most amusing, the most interesting, and the most instructive. A dull paper is soon left off.

The proprietors and managers of *The Times* therefore go to great expense in sending correspondents to all parts of the world where interesting events are taking place, and they employ a great many able and clever men to write articles upon all subjects which from time to time engage public attention; and as mankind takes more pleasure in reading criticism and fault-finding than praise, because it is soothing to individual vanity and conceit to fancy that the reader has become wiser than those about whom he reads, so *The Times*, in order to maintain its circulation, criticises freely everybody and everything; and especially events and persons, and Governments abroad, because such strictures are less likely to make enemies at home than violent attacks upon parties and persons, in this country. (Letters of Queen Victoria, 1837-1861 vol.111. p. 589, quoted in *Royal Commission of The Press Report 1947-1949* p.154)

3. 4 Growth of prosperity 1851-1871

At this time the wealth of Britain was fast growing, faster than from 1800 to 1855, although no specific data for the first 50 years of the century appears to have been recorded, the gross national income definitive estimates from 1851-1871 were:

1851 ...£523m

1861... £66m

1871 ...£916.6m

(Mitchell & Dean 1962, p.366)

As prosperity increased so, too, did education and with it literacy. There was an increasing demand for more reading matter, and this was very timely for the newspaper industry as was the removal of the newspaper tax. This, together with the subsequent removal of the excise duty on paper itself, took reading matter to within the purchasing power of the less well off mass of the population. By the 1850s there was a large and still enlarging working class public although it had been estimated that between two-thirds and three-quarters of the working classes could read by the 1830's. (Webb 1963, p.149)

This indicates that the upswing of readership was of an already increasingly literate population (The Education Act was not passed until 1870) and not just the result of the removal of taxes. Newspapers were now playing a vital part in national and international communication and made for a better informed and therefore discerning community.



16. Contrasting images of Britain in the 1850s.

Chapter 4

4. 1 Founding of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*

In an effort to explain what it is that compels a person to launch a newspaper, *The Royal Commission on the Press 1947-1949 Report* (p.14) stated that...

In the nineteenth century newspapers were commonly family properties and while they did earn comfortable profits, they were valued for the prestige and the political and social influence their possession conferred rather than as a source of dividends.

The Report added that in addition to the commercial and political aspect, causes close to the heart of a newspaper proprietor and the opportunity to express them were particularly strong motives of newspaper ownership.

Purposes, the report stated, are seldom single, and the motives seldom unmixed; the desire to make money, the desire to make opinion, and the desire to make a good newspaper can and do insensibly blend.

1855 was a turning point for the British Press when *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* was launched and, through two successive proprietors, it pioneered a new approach to journalism. The style was followed by the press at large and is much as we know it today. The founder, described as an obscure and hitherto little known figure, is generally referred to as Col Sleigh. (Burnham 1955, p.1)

After June 29, 1855, magazines, local and national newspapers were free of the stamp duty, but not yet the tax on paper as explained in chapter 3.3; and now, costing less to the public, an upswing in circulation and profit could be expected.

Sleigh, despite being undercapitalised, embraced the opportunity and decided that there was no better time to be the proprietor of an aspiring new national newspaper and , full of hope and promises, was planning the way ahead.



17. *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* June 29, 1855

Col Sleigh launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on June 29, 1855 and like most enterprises that he started, he was overambitious and undercapitalised. Sleigh was only 34 years old at the time of the launch. Amongst his motives were the opportunities to air his views and grievances, establish a cheap yet quality newspaper, similar to those he had seen during his visits to America, and to fulfil his hopes of prosperity and to gain a seat in parliament. He had a lot to say.

Very little has ever been recorded of this complex man but the little there is, invariably refers to his vendetta against the Duke of Cambridge. The reason for the quarrel is not known but, in chapter 4.7, an attempt has been made to discover the likely reasons. A vendetta in itself is hardly sufficient reason to start a newspaper and it will be seen that Sleigh, who held strong opinions on a variety of topics, had the tenacity, if not the means, to pursue them.

Sleigh had been travelling in the United States between 1850 and 1852, (Sleigh 1853, p.328), and while he was there *The New York Times* was launched on 18th September 1851. *The New York Times* declared that “the publishers would make *The [New York]*

Times at once the best and the cheapest daily family newspaper in The United States.” (Berger 1852, p.14) This was so similar to Sleigh’s launch announcement described in 3.5.

The founding proprietors of *The New York Times*, Sleigh would have noticed, started publishing at the price of one cent, (Berger 1852, p.7), this to undercut both Gordon Bennett’s *Herald* and Horace Greeley’s *Tribune* whose newspapers were priced at two cents.

It would seem likely that the launch of the *New York Times*, priced at one cent, made a profound impression upon Sleigh and it is quite uncanny how this and other tactics were used in the launch of *The Daily Telegraph* four years later. Was it a coincidence that these aspects of the North American press, with its broad-spectrum news, pricing and the use of newsboys to sell on the streets, were followed by Sleigh when he launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*? Was he, as seems likely, inspired by and endeavouring to emulate the rapid success of *The New York Times*?

4. 2 Pre-publication confusion

Before the launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* there was some confusion as to who was to be the editor. This resulted in a court case heard five and a half months after the launch. This hearing reveals some interesting new facts and contains some inaccuracies.

The case was heard, in the *Court Of Queen’s Bench, Westminster*,
November 16, 1855:

Bail Court

***Sittings at Nisi Prius [a trial of actions] King’s Bench Division -
before Mr. Justice Crompton and Common Juries***

Cole v. Sleigh

Mr. Edwin James and Mr. Hawkins appeared for the plaintiff; and Mr. M. Chambers and Mr. Lush for the defendant.

In this action the plaintiff sought to recover the sum of £48 under the alleged agreement by which he was engaged as the editor of the *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, at a weekly salary of £4. The defendant pleaded that he never made the agreement with the plaintiff.

Mr. E. JAMES, in opening the case for the plaintiff, said that the plaintiff was a barrister-at-law of very considerable literary attainments, and the action was brought against Colonel Sleigh to recover damages for a breach of contract. It was a most simple case.

To be sold for one penny by boys in the street

In the early part of this year Colonel Sleigh and two other persons named Goldsmith and Walker [not the partners who joined up with Sleigh for the June 29, 1855, launch of the *Daily Telegraph & Courier*] joined in putting forward a paper which was to be sold for the small sum of one penny, and which was now sold by little boys in the street under the name of the *Daily Telegraph*. The original price was to have been two pence, but that had been altered.

Mr. Cole to become editor?

It appeared that a gentleman named Mortimer, who was to have published the paper, was spoken to by Colonel Sleigh as to engaging editors.

The plaintiff, Mr. Cole, was known to have great literary attainments, and Mr. Cole, was known to have written articles for various magazines, and Mr. Mortimer suggested that Mr. Cole should be engaged as the editor for the new paper; and it would be shown that there was a most distinct and positive agreement entered into, by which Mr. Cole was to receive for most arduous exertions the miserly stipend of £4 per week. That was to have been the salary for the first three months, and it was held out to Mr. Cole that after that time it would be considerably increased if the circulation of the paper became enlarged. Colonel Sleigh had since that period treated Mr. Cole in the most contemptuous manner.

Mr. Cole had, in consequence of what Colonel Sleigh said, removed from his residence in Montagu Street, Portman Square, to Trafalgar Place, that being much nearer to the office of the newspaper

Sleigh declines having any correspondence with Cole

The amount which Mr. Cole sought to recover was £48, as it was clear the engagement had been for three months, Mr Cole had written to Colonel Sleigh, and the answer was, "Colonel Sleigh declines having any correspondence with Mr. Cole."

Mr Cole had written the opening [leading] articles in the paper on its first appearance. The evidence would be placed before the jury, and they would doubtless give their verdict for the plaintiff for the amount claimed.

Mr John Mortimer (potential publisher) gives evidence

The following evidence was then adduced in support of the plaintiff's case:-

Mr. John Mortimer. – I am a printer and publisher, carrying on my business in the Strand. I know Mr. Cole and Colonel Sleigh. I know that in March, 1855, Colonel Sleigh had made arrangements for bringing out the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper. I was to publish it. Colonel Sleigh asked me about engaging an editor. I mentioned it to one gentleman, who refused it on account of the smallness of the salary. The salary was £200 per annum. I then introduced Mr. Cole to Colonel Sleigh. They had a conversation about the duties which Mr. Cole would have to undertake. I was to make the pecuniary arrangements with Mr. Cole, as Colonel Sleigh said he did not like speaking about them, out of delicacy.

After that I came to an arrangement with Mr. Cole about becoming the editor. I mentioned to him that the salary which Colonel Sleigh instructed me to offer was to begin at £4 per week, but that at the end of the first three months it was likely to be much increased. Mr. Cole made some remarks upon the smallness of the salary and the immense amount of work which would have to be done for it, but said that he would undertake it. I communicated that to Colonel Sleigh, and he seemed perfectly satisfied.

Mr. Cole was to write two articles for the paper, which was expected to come out in a few weeks. This was in March. The paper was to come out in April. The articles were written by Mr. Cole, and I handed them to Colonel Sleigh.

Incorrect launch date quoted in court

The paper did not come out until August 4th. [This is incorrect as the launch date was June 29, 1855]. I don't know who the proprietors were at that time [they were not Goldsmith and Walker]. Some time after this Colonel Sleigh one day mentioned to me that before the paper came out he had recommended to him as editor another gentleman, and asked my opinion of him. I said I considered him admirably adapted for the situation on some accounts, and he told me that he had determined to engage him. I asked how he was going to get out of his engagement with Mr. Cole. He said that he would see to that. I asked him some time afterwards what he had done in the matter, and he said he had written him a letter – such a one as would polish him off.

Mr. Cole was living in Montagu Street, Portman Square. I heard Colonel Sleigh say something about Mr. Cole changing his residence. He said it would be necessary for him to come nearer the office. That was after I had engaged him.

Cross examined. – I have no connexion with the *Daily Telegraph* newspaper. I was one of those who were to have been the publishers. There was some alteration proposed in the size, and I then ceased to have anything to do with it. I had the conversation with Mr. Cole in my own office, 141, Strand. The whole of the pecuniary matters was placed in my hands. I have seen hundreds of persons about it. The present sub-editor was engaged by me. I engaged the little boys, and these were the only persons who were engaged in writing. No other important engagements were made by me. I was to have been the printer and publisher. I engaged the editor in place of Mr. Cole. All arrangements depended upon the stamp being taken off.

Alfred Bate Richards appointed editor instead of Mr. Cole

The gentleman who has taken Mr. Cole's place is a Mr. [Alfred Bate] Richards. Mr. Cole was to be editor, but Mr. Richards was to write the articles. My own agreement was in writing. Colonel Sleigh named the sum of £200 per annum. It was to be paid weekly. It was to have been a salary of £4 per week. I mentioned that in the presence of Mr. Cole. I said that the salary was to be increased if the circulation increased. It was proposed that a room in my house in the Strand should be the editor's room, and that the paper should come out there. The publication of the paper at all was uncertain; it depended upon the passing of the [removal of the stamp] Act.

Re-examined. - It was necessary to engage editors, writers and reporters before the paper came out. The salaries were to begin when the services were rendered. All the boys were engaged. Reporters were engaged also. I had no reasons for not publishing the paper.

Smallness of salary

Mr. Cole. - I am the plaintiff, and a member of the bar. I have devoted my time to literary pursuits. This engagement was made through Mr. Mortimer, who spoke to me in March. A few days before after that I saw the defendant, who said that Mr. Mortimer had mentioned my name to him, and he had objected at first to my being engaged, as I had not been the editor of a paper previously. He mentioned the smallness of the salary. He said that I should find the residence where I then was very inconvenient, and I should have to be at the office from 9 o'clock at night until 3 o'clock in the morning. I said that I would take lodgings nearer. The paper came out on the 4th of August [this is a repetition of the incorrect date of the newspaper's launch]. Previously to that Colonel Sleigh told me to write some articles; which I did, and gave them to Mortimer. I held myself in readiness for the duties of the paper, and

abstained from engaging myself on any other paper. I sent a letter to Colonel Sleigh, and received an answer to it.

Cross-examined. - I have never practised as a barrister. I have been for four years engaged in literary pursuits. I have been insolvent, and was remanded for eight months. Mr. Mortimer recommended me to Colonel Sleigh. Colonel Sleigh explained to me that the publishing of the paper was almost dependent upon the stamp being taken off; but even if were not taken off, he should bring it out as a two penny paper. I had a conversation with Colonel Sleigh about some alterations. I was to write the articles, and Colonel Sleigh was to be editor himself He said that writing articles would be nearly as profitable as being editor. I heard something from Mr. Mortimer, and I wrote to Colonel Sleigh.

Re-examined. - I had at that time all my arrangements. I was extravagant as a young man, but since my insolvency I have been earning my livelihood with my pen.

Mr. M. Chambers, on the part of the defendant, made a very able address to the jury, endeavouring to show that there had been no contract entered into by the parties, and that, therefore, the verdict must be for the defendant.

His Lordship, in summing up, told the jury that if they were of the opinion that there had been an engagement for a reasonable time they must find for the plaintiff, with such temperate and moderate damages as they conceived him to be entitled to. If not, or they thought there had been an engagement for 12 months, then he must tell them that in point of law they must find for the defendant. He must say that it was perfectly unnecessary and most cruel to have dragged the plaintiff's insolvency into the matter. It had occurred a long time ago, and he had been getting an honest livelihood since that time by his pen.

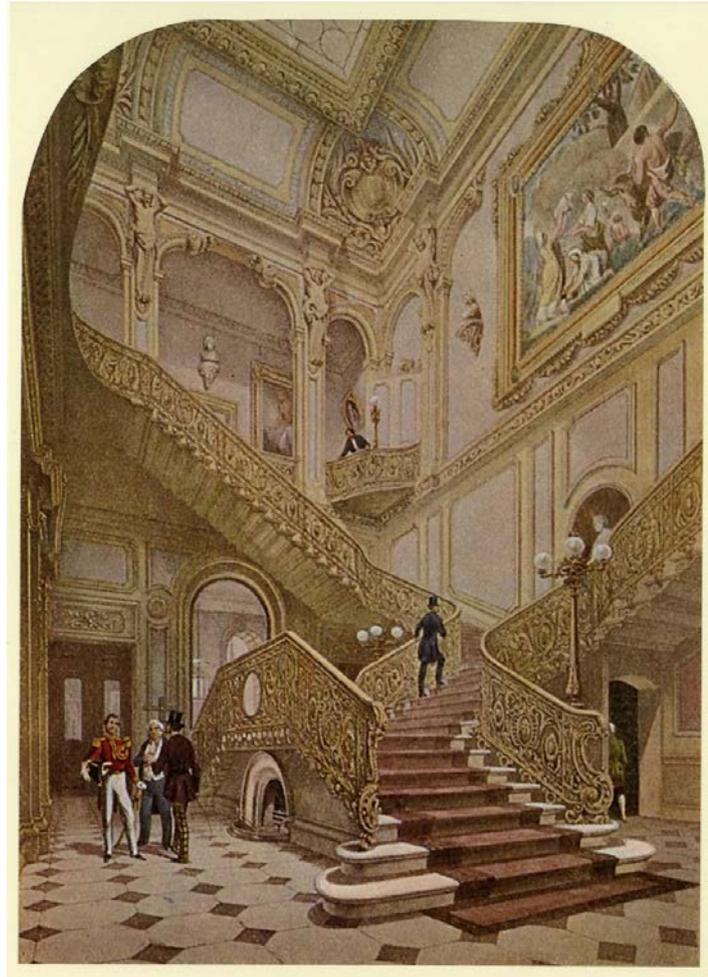
The jury found for the plaintiff, that he had been engaged for a reasonable time, with £30 damages. (*The Times*, November 17, 1855, p.11)

Apart from giving an insight into the apparent disorganised way that early arrangements were being carried out, this case did reveal some crucial facts. That all arrangements were dependent on the removal of the newspaper tax and Sleigh's desire to sell the newspaper, once established, at a price of one penny and to employ news boys to distribute it. As his first leading article will show, Sleigh had a definite target audience in mind.

4.3 Sleigh seeks backers, writers and a printer

Sleigh's varied and many enterprises had a consistent pattern, they were always undercapitalised, without any business research and soon floundered. He owned no property and his funds were meagre. In order to employ some writers and to appoint a printer he needed financial backers. He found his backers in his London club.

Sleigh and the Army & Navy Club



18. *The Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall circa 1850*

Sleigh was a founder member of the Army & Navy Club in 1846 (interview Mary Duffy, Army & Navy Club, May 29, 2010) and made good use of it as a postal address. His backers came from the club and it might be that *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* was planned from these premises. This could also have been where Sleigh was most in contact with influential people including the Duke of Cambridge who

was president from 1847 – 1858. *Telegraph* legend indicates that Sleigh had little respect for the Duke.

The “club gentlemen” backers

He got backing from Army & Navy club members Edmond Yates Peel, Edward Heneage Dering and Cholmeley Edward Dering, these formed a partnership, each providing £1,500.

E. Y. Peel was a Lt Col in the 11th Hussars and a descendant of the 1st Baronet, Sir Robert Peel of Drayton Manor, Staffordshire.

E.H. Dering and C. E. Dering were brothers and descendants of the first Baronet, Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden-Dering, Kent.

This business partnership was short lived as explained in Chapter 3.12.

Coincidentally and revealed by this research, that a Henrietta Charlotte Dering married on May 14, 1829, the Rev. Julius Deedes, vicar of Marden in Kent. Julius was the son of William Deedes of Sandling, Kent, the ancestral home of Lord “Bill” Deedes. (1913-2007) who joined the *Daily Telegraph* in 1937, and served as editor from 1974 to 1986.

Editor appointed

Alfred Bate Richards a school friend of Sleigh’s brother and old ally of Sleigh became, at the age of 35, the first editor of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*. This was referred to in the court case *Sleigh v Cole* on November 16, 1855 (Chapter 4.2).

Richards had been editor of the weekly *British Army Despatch* in 1848, which was one of Sleigh’s earlier ventures and had had a stab at proprietorship with a publication entitled *The Mirror of Time* which lasted less than 12 months. He was educated at Westminster School with William Sleigh (Arthur’s brother) and at Exeter College Oxford. After taking his degree in 1841 he had published anonymously *Oxford Unmasked*; a denunciation of abuses in the university. One can see how he and Sleigh were of the same ilk.

Premises acquired

The partners set up at 253, Strand, the location being now where the road, opposite Devereux Court, widens at the Law Courts. Contemporary illustrations and the 1838

Tallis map (Bell1912, p.526) of the area, indicate conclusively that this was the location.



19. *Daily Telegraph & Courier* offices, 253 The Strand, 1855 – 1861

Printer appointed

Sleigh approached the printing company Taylor and Greening of Fetter Lane but was reluctant or, more likely, unable to put down a £50 deposit asked for to guarantee wages to their workforce, in the event of a stoppage or other calamity which would have left the printers with wage demands. Eventually, Mr David Aird of the printing firm Aird and Tunstall, whose premises were in Exeter Street, Covent Garden, agreed to print Sleigh's newspaper without a deposit.

4.4 Mission statement and publication date confirmed

The Daily Telegraph & Courier was first published on Friday, June 29th 1855 and sold at a cover price of two pence (2d). It had four pages each of six columns. The first four columns, on the front page, contained classified advertisements. The remaining twenty columns, within the newspaper, were devoted to editorial lifted from contemporary newspapers, some thinly disguised as coming from “*our own correspondent*”.

A notice in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* (p.3) stated:

Our readers will perceive that in place of reporting the proceedings of parliament in full, we give a copious summary, in the belief that the great

majority of readers of the Daily Press will prefer the pith and marrow of debates to the lengthened reports presented every morning in the columns of our contemporaries.

We have resolved that the Advertising Columns of *THE TELEGRAPH & COURIER* shall in no instance exceed the first page. We are obliged to defer the insertion of many favours until future numbers. Anticipating from the very flattering support we have already received, and the numerous orders from advertisers, that our advertisements will be so very numerous, that their insertion would trespass upon the reading columns of our journal, we are already making arrangements to issue *THE TELEGRAPH & COURIER* as a double Supplementary sheet, as often as occasions require, feeling satisfied that ere long our journal will be permanently enlarged to eight pages.

We do not propose as yet to issue a stamped edition, consequently any paper for post, by having a penny postage stamp affixed to it will be transmitted through the Post Office.

This notice is typical Sleigh, full of hope and exaggeration. Successive editions give no indication of any clamour for advertisement space and the motive for such a notice was, without doubt, to give an impression of an effective and highly sort-after newspaper, and for advertisers to hurry their advertisements to it - they didn't! A study of the columns indicate that they contained mostly unpaid advertisements, these lifted from other journals, and often repeated in order to prop up the front page and give a semblance of a market place.

4.5 The first leader, June 29, 1855, and statistical analysis of the American Press p.3.

Editorially the first leader, if not written by Sleigh, certainly reflected his positive personality. It commenced with what was probably, a well honed and, no doubt, long held desire to expound his hopes for his newspaper-*THE DAILY TELEGRAPH & COURIER*. It reads:

The gradual improvement in the moral and intellectual condition of the great masses of the people of this country, within the last half century, may be ascribed to the more general diffusion of knowledge and the extension of education among the lower classes. Beacons of hope have arisen in all parts of the kingdom, shedding the light of

knowledge upon the aspirations of free-born reflecting men. The people, when once enabled to avail themselves of this boom, turned their thoughts upon analysing the laws by which they were governed. No longer kept in an ignorant state of mental serfdom, they were capable of reasoning, and the result of thought was a loud and determined, though constitutional, resistance to that by which they had hitherto been oppressed. Step by step they manfully fought for that which was dearer than life-the altars of a free people.

Their path to freedom had been cleared when the enslaving dominion of a foreign potentate was hurled forth from these shores, when the lazy sanctuaries of bigoted priesthood were razed to the ground, and a line of sovereigns placed upon the throne of the United Kingdom, whose chief claim to so great an inheritance arose from their acknowledging but one pure faith. Abuse after abuse was pointed out, and so surely was each wrong redressed. The Parliament and the Press re-echoed the sentiments of the classes, and the Crown assented to the wishes of the subject.

The Whipping-post, the Pillory, the Stocks-those instruments of a degraded people-were levelled to the ground, when a free Press taught man, moulded in the image of his Maker, that cruelty and vengeance deterred not from crime, and that more was to be achieved by reforming the refractory, than by indelibly branding shame and ignominy upon the body here, and brutalizing the mind so as to be rendered unfit for a saving thought of the soul hereafter. To the beneficial representations and remonstrances of the Press may we ascribe the almost virtual abandonment of the accursed punishment of the lash in our glorious army. The fresh conquests thus obtained by the power of the Press, in the tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of its mental advocacy of right, in contradistinction to the dreaded dictation of an armed and licentious mob, instead of rendering that Press tyrannical, immoral, and an instrument to be feared, have made it, under constitutional monarch, the safeguard of the Throne, the improver of morality, and the guardian of the subject. Let not, then, the new era of journalism, which we this day inaugurate in the

Metropolis of the world, be viewed in any other light than as an additional monitor to the people and a loyal champion of the Sovereign and the Constitution.

That a legislative enactment which tends to the more a general diffusion of sound knowledge, can be unwise, is indeed to assert that which is simply ridiculous. It was all very well for our older contemporaries of the Morning Press to presage all manner of evil from the moment of the passing of the Newspaper Bill - that was quite natural. We cannot be angry with the monopolist for not joyfully welcoming the intruder, when he sees another competitor enter the field of his operations. The days of such chivalrous hospitality are passed, and although not greeted with their kindly good wishes we will premise thus much, that the high tone of conduct which has hitherto so elevated the London Daily Press to its present distinguished position of acknowledged talent and brilliancy of genius, will not be found wanting in the columns of the new coadjutor of its labours, *The Telegraph & Courier*, nor shall we direct that parentage which we by no means are unwilling to recognise with feelings of gratitude and admiration.

With reference to the price of our journal, we trust our present number will show that we can produce a literary commodity not inferior to that of our contemporaries. In a commercial point of view, the more extended circulation which will be conferred upon the Press unfettered by a compulsory stamp, enables the proprietors to be assisted in the conduct of their journal by the literary talent of the day, so that in no wise should the contents of our paper be inferior to that of any publication extant. In other countries where a Cheap Press is the universal medium of daily intelligence, we find journals which cannot be excelled in England for talent, energy of conduct, thorough soundness of views, and high moral conduct.

In the United States - that glorious off-shoot of Anglo-Saxon stock - to see an ignorant man, one unable to read or write, is an exception. If such are to be found, they are either Negroes, or emigrants from our own islands and the Continent. As an evidence of the moral general

diffusion of knowledge in the trans-Atlantic Republic, we find there are 2,800 newspapers in existence, of which number 424 are published in New England States amongst the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, 876 in the middle States and 784 in the Western States, bordering upon the mighty waters of the Ohio - the Mississippi, the Missouri, and Arkansas. Thus the wild trapper of the far west, and the rough and ready woodman of the Atlantic States alike enjoy the luxury of a Free Press.

To further analyze [sic] the statistics of the American Press, it appears that there is one journal for every 7,261 inhabitants; and those journals are sub-divided into 350 Dailies, 150 Tri-weeklies, 125 semi-weeklies, and 2,000 Weeklies. The amount of paper consumed in the United States to supply this great demand, is equal to 130,000 tons, or 131/2 lbs per head; and that for a population of 23,000,000; while in the United Kingdom, with a population of 28,000,000 we only consume 90,000 tons per annum, or 43/4lbs per head; and in France, with its 35,000,000 inhabitants, 70,000 tons or 4 lbs. per head is only consumed. The average daily circulation of the American Press is 3,000,000; annual total circulation 422,600,000! How far then are we behind hand in the progress and diffusion of healthy and useful knowledge in comparison with our Anglo-American brothers, the denizens of a country which in 1776 barely numbered two millions and a half of Anglo - Saxon Colonists?

With these figures [no source details were given] staring us in the face, our mission is to extend to this country the benefit of a cheap and good Daily Press, and now that Parliament has wisely knocked off the last shackle which fettered the progress of the Press, in this great metropolis, we take our stand, availing ourselves, the first possible moment the law permitted, of the Repeal of the Stamp Duty, to issue our Journal at the price of Two pence, as a candidate for popular favour.

In the principles of *THE TELEGRAPH & COURIER*, (the former name we trust appropriate, from the sources of our special information, and the latter, as evidence of our means of dissemination

and circulation) and in our conduct of this journal, we shall be guided by a high tone of independent action; we shall be bound to the fetters of no party; we will be fearlessly independent - not the independence of unchecked and thoughtless attack, but the independence of utterance befitting Englishmen; we shall be ever thoroughly loyal and constitutional in our sentiments, in the objects of our labour, and in advice to our fellow-subjects - purely patriotic in our motives - and as Christians. (Leader *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, June 29, 1855, p.3)

There is a very positive and triumphant message in this first leader which shows considerable prescience. One imagines, during the planning process for his new newspaper, how eagerly Sleigh honed this first leader and published it with much hope and excitement. Sleigh's claim that "we shall be bound to the fetters of no party, we will be fearlessly independent" strikes an odd chord as he soon after he started campaigning for *The Rational Peace Party* (Chapter 4.8).

A cheap and good daily press

This first leading article also demonstrates how much Sleigh was fascinated by and obsessed by the North American press. He launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* after a thorough investigation of the statistical information gleaned from the North American newspaper market and he was perceptive enough to see the real possibilities awaiting him in the UK. The inclusion of this interesting information must have played an important part in his persuasive presentation to his backers.

Sleigh's price awareness, with his hope of emulating the American newspapers pricing, coupled with quality journalism, indicated an intelligent formula for high-reader interest and anticipated circulation building. His real intention was to target the new literate class, who had been too underpaid to be able to afford heavily taxed newspapers. People were emerging better educated and with a new-found hunger for information and awareness for the news of the day. Also it is clear that Sleigh had his own strong agenda and was determined to campaign vigorously within the editorial columns for reform. The readers warmed to it.

The second leader, in the most flowery prose, criticises a group known as the Administrative Reformers, on the grounds that they are only seeking to feather their own nests, rather than through any real desire for reform. This had been his criticism

of the provincial politicians, many of whom, Sleigh had crossed swords with in Maritime Canada.

4.6 Purchase of military commissions and flogging in the peacetime army

In the third leader he attacks the procedure, at that time, of obtaining commissions in the militia, by purchase. The radical general and MP for Westminster, Sir George de Lacy Evans, was a strong advocate for the abolition of commissions by purchase.



20. General Sir George de Lacy Evans MP and radical general

Described by Spiers (1983, p.vi) “Sir George de Lacy Evans (1787 – 1870) was a redoubtable Victorian general. In a military career which spanned nearly half a century he distinguished himself as a subaltern in India and in the Peninsular War, as a staff officer in North America and at Waterloo, and he commanded the British Legion for the Spanish constitutional cause against the Carlist insurrection. As a Member of Parliament, Evans advocated political, fiscal, and ecclesiastical reform, he consistently promoted army reform, specifically the abolition of flogging in the peacetime army, the abolition of the purchase system, and an improvement in the pay, conditions, and terms of service of the rank and file.”

Sir George de Lacy Evans was given the command of the 2nd Division in the Crimea, during which his concern for the welfare and morale of his men minimised losses from ill health including cholera. His professionalism, at the Battle of Alma in 1854, was such that not only did he lead his men with distinction, taking them across the river to the relief of the Light Division, but also maintained the offensive by prompting the Duke of Cambridge to provide support with the First Division. (*DNB* 2004, p.701)

As a professional soldier and a radical MP, Sleigh held de Lacy Evans in high regard and, through *The Daily Telegraph & Courier's* leading articles, and subsequently through his speeches during the Greenwich election, Sleigh campaigned for de Lacy Evans' reforms.(Chapter 6.4)

The third leader of June 29, p.3 commented:

It is hard that the military service of this country should be made a stronghold of Mammon, and a field of barter. The system of purchase must, however, in a long and arduous war, be considerably modified. This, then is a special reform that is likely to be effected by the war with Russia, whose Czar, nobles, and soldiery, are the real administrative reformers of England in the experience they teach us. The plan advocated by Mr. Layard, that in future no commission which has been bestowed into a mercenary transfer, is one of those resolutions which melted for the nonce into thin air within the walls of Old Drury, together with many other virtuous designs of agitating patriots and wholesale and retail Catos.

We regard it, nevertheless, as a not very unwholesome proposition under certain restrictions in favour of those whose length of service would render the old regulation a positive hardship and injustice. It is one which would, carefully carried out, do good to the nation, boasting as she well may, the finest troops and the bravest armies in the world. Leaving this question for future consideration, let us turn our attention for a while to the Militia, where a practise exists which we believe to be unlawful, and which is certainly not less fatal to the wellbeing of that branch of Her Majesty's service than devoid of decorum and justice. There are two peculiar recommendations recognised for obtaining a commission in the Militia. Former service in the Army is one, and county

position is another. We need not say that the 1st is the most honoured. In these latter days, however, the Militia Service is necessarily much thrown open, and in many ways causes it to become the subject of a most disgraceful traffic.

Everyone knows that there is no more responsible officer in a regiment than the Adjutant. Upon him devolves the Administrative duties of the corps. He emphatically must be a soldier of experience accustomed to the discipline of men and the routine of service. This being the case, it is essential that in every case this appointment should be given to men who know something practically about their military duties. Now, an adjutancy being more lucrative than other posts, is greatly in requisition; and we are sorry to say is frequently exposed for sale in the commission market, although it is an appointment professedly held open as a reward for meritorious retired officers from the Line. It is notorious that not only adjutancies, but Majorities, Companies, Lieutenancies etc, in the Militia, are sold almost openly by traders in such wares.

Let any man be asked, who belongs to a military club, if he has not seen circulars lying on the table offering Militia commissions for sale. The thing is frequently known, and it ought to be put an end to. Let us give a case in point. It is of one who had purchased an adjutancy in the Militia for the sum of £1,200. One day his colonel called him into the orderly room, and said to him, "Sir, you must quit the regiment!" "Of what have I been guilty?" replied the captain bold, in country quarters; "What breach of discipline have I committed, sir?" The rejoinder was "None, sir, whatever," but alas! Still accompanied with the ominous words, "Sir, you must quit this regiment!" At length the colonel vouchsafed the reason. He had heard of the purchase. The adjutant was forced to obey and that gentleman has brought an action against the officer whose appointment he had purchased, and who is now a major in another regiment of militia, and if ever the cause come on for trial a pretty exposé there will be of these practices.

The grievance is not either plaintiff's or defendant's—it is that of the nation; and will be, until so evil a system is abolished. If a few more colonels would emulate him, whose conduct we applaud in this transaction, the illicit traffic in Militia Commissions would be ended and that right speedily. Were half-a-dozen such losses to occur to half-a-dozen purchasers of militia commissions we should secure better officers. In the meantime let not this lesson be lost one

who “would be an adjutant”. At the present moment we have heard of two majorities for sale in the militia, price £600. They are now on the market. It would be well to inquire into whose pocket this amount would be transferred upon the sale being effected.

This practice Sleight also strongly opposed, despite having purchased and sold his own army commission. He held the view that, in the Crimean war, many officers were not up to the mark and consequently there was immense suffering amongst the rank and file. At this time it was possible to purchase a commission, without service training of any kind and be in command of perhaps hundreds of men, simply on one’s county rank or standing.

Additional leader – June 29, 1855

IMPORTANT RUMOUR. We have heard the intelligence, from good authority, that Lord Raglan has resigned, owing to the bad state of his health. We have heard, but can scarcely credit the report, considering the seniority of other officers there, that General Simpson, chief of staff, has assumed the command. We regret to state that the health of Sir George Brown is also said to be far from satisfactory.

In fact Lord Raglan died on the evening of June 28, 1855, as edition number one of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* was going to press.

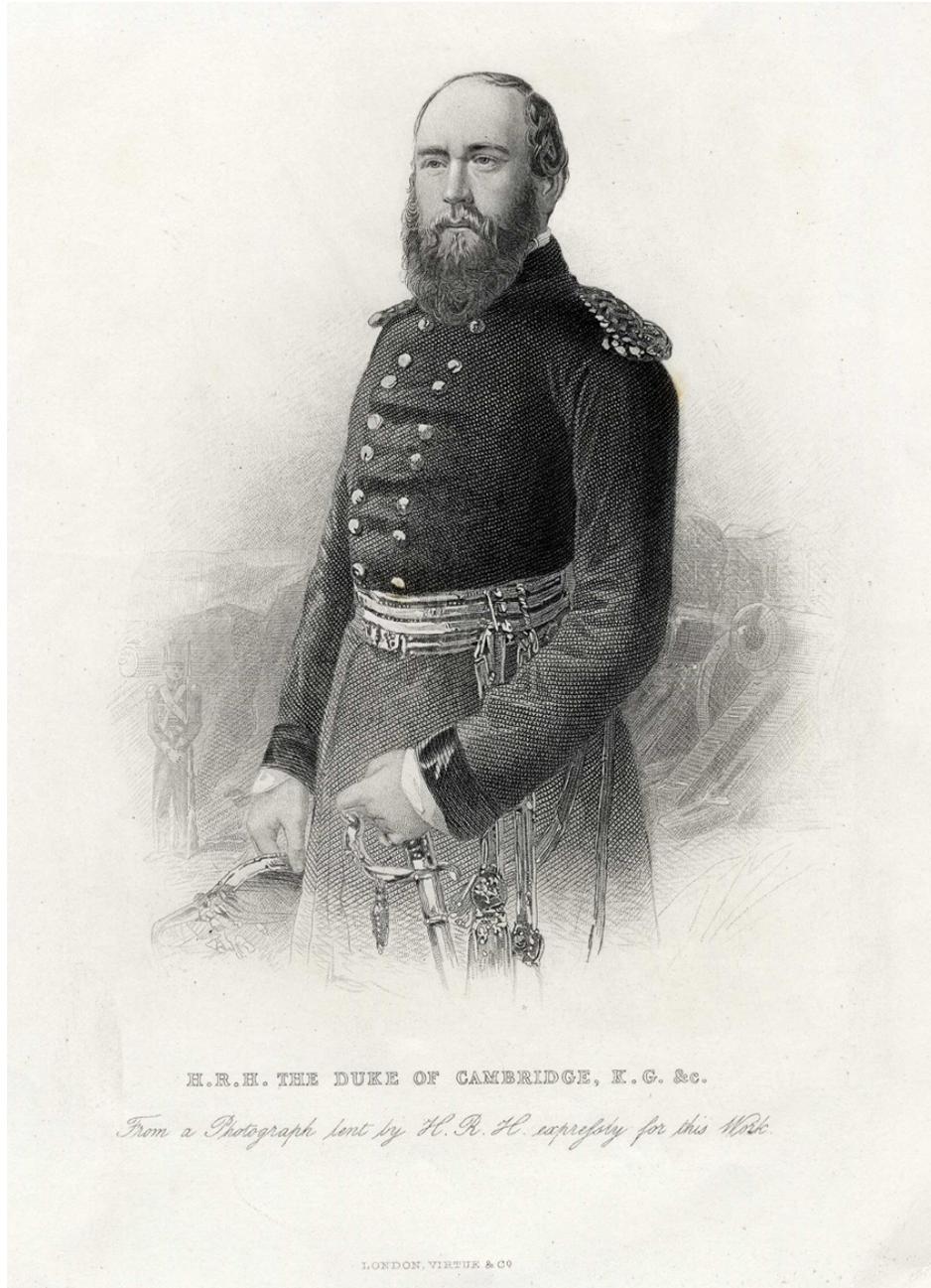
General contents of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, June 29, 1855. Edition 1

This first edition carried four columns of advertising, three columns of Parliamentary news, a reference to Harrow Speech Day, and reports of the money market and racing. It continued with Theatres, Court and Foreign news. These were by-lined from “Our Own Correspondent” in Paris, Italy, Austria, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Heligoland and the West Indies. *The Telegraph & Courier* having its own correspondents in all these places was a far-fetched claim. Other subjects include Law Notices, Police Intelligence, Shipping, Births Marriages and Deaths.

Amongst the miscellaneous news items published on the first day are to be found: an accident to a burglar, news about the state of the Kentish hop fields, a tremendous conflagration at Shoreditch, wholesale issue of spurious coins and most interestingly a

complaint that the electric Telegraph always goes wrong when it passes through Austrian territory.

4.7 Sleigh and the Duke of Cambridge



H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE, K.G. &c.

From a Photograph lent by H.R.H. expressly for this Work.

LONDON, VIRTUE & CO

21. H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge.

1818 -1904

The few details recorded of Col Sleigh invariably make reference to his vendetta against the Duke of Cambridge who later became Commander-in-Chief of the army:

“History does not reveal the reason of the quarrel but from what is known of the gallant colonel it may well be that on this occasion at least the duke was in the right” (Burnham 1955, p.1).

What was it that Sleigh found so unacceptable about the Duke of Cambridge? Sleigh, as a young cornet in the 77th Regiment of Foot, had attended Queen Victoria’s receptions at St James’s Palace(Chapter 1.2); at one of these the Duke of Cambridge was present. It is unlikely though, that among several hundred attendees, Sleigh would have been engaged in conversation with him at such an event.

More likely is that both being members of the Army & Navy Club in Pall Mall, they might have crossed swords there. The Duke was president of this club from 1847-1858, the club where Sleigh and his original founders were members (Duffy, interview 2010). Had there been a contretemps between Sleigh and the Duke or was it Sleigh’s disdain for privilege above merit?

It is clear that by birth, rather than by ability, the Duke attained high office. It is also known that the Duke was fortunate at the battles of Alma and Inkerman where the results could have been defeat had he not been guided, encouraged and supported by professional generals. Despite this, medals and awards were showered upon him.

Sleigh repeatedly expounded, in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, that the Duke represented the unfairness of the class divide, having wealth, power and privilege without merit, and in battle, command of men, without professional military training. He exemplified the system, whereby the upper classes were able to purchase military commissions (despite Sleigh having purchased his own) on wealth alone, that particularly irked Sleigh.

The Duke of Cambridge’s early career

George, Duke of Cambridge was the son of Adolphus, the first Duke of Cambridge who was the youngest son of George III, being at the time his only grandchild. He was made a knight of the Order of the Garter in 1835 and held the rank of colonel in the Jager battalion of the Hanoverian guards from the age of nine. On 3 November 1837 he was made a brevet colonel in the British army. On 15 April 1842 he was appointed as a lieutenant-colonel in the 8th Light Dragoons and ten days later transferred to the 17th Lancers as its colonel. On 7th May 1845, at the age of twenty-six, he was promoted major-general. He demonstrated an interest in military education by accepting appointments as a commissioner for the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the Duke of

York's school in 1850. On 1 April 1852 he was appointed inspector-general of cavalry, and in this post wrote several memoranda criticizing the current state of the army and advocating a divisional organisation, annual manoeuvres for all three arms (Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery), and a system of retirement for senior officers which would permit younger men to assume senior commands. The subsequent camp held at Chobham in 1853 confirmed the prevalence of many shortcomings within the army's organisation.

Income of £12,000 a year

His father died on July 8th 1850 and he thus became the second Duke of Cambridge and received an income of £12,000 a year. He commanded the troops at the funeral of the Duke of Wellington, and on 28 September 1852 was transferred as colonel from 17th Lancers to the Scots Fusilier Guards.

The duke was chosen, in February 1854, to command the First Division in the army destined for the Crimea. At 35 years of age, he was the youngest of the divisional commanders due to serve under Lord Raglan. He reached Constantinople on the 10th of May.

Promoted lieutenant-general with no battle experience

He was promoted lieutenant-general on June 19th 1854 and proceeded to the Crimea. He had never served in battle before and lacked experience of field command. At the battle of Alma on 20 September 1854, he actually considered withdrawal but urged on by Sir Colin Campbell and Sir George de Lacy Evans and ordered by Lord Raglan, the duke responded in a slow, deliberate and hesitant manner. Once he had halted his forces on the other side of the River Alma, he had to be pressed again by Sir Richard Airey, the quartermaster-general, to resume the advance. At this point, he ordered his men forward and they moved to the front, scaled the slope and he led a successful assault on the Russian fortress. At the battle of Inkerman on 5 November 1854 the duke led the Brigade of Guards to the assistance of the 2nd Division and retook 'Sandbag Battery'. He had a horse shot from under him and found himself left with only 100 men, while the remainder pushed down the slope. He found himself nearly cut off by the advancing Russian column and had to gallop back to his lines with his aide-de-camp. The Guards lost 622 officers and men out of 1,361 engaged.

Showered with honours yet dejected by slaughter of the guards

Subsequently the duke was ordered to rest and left the Crimea on 25 November and a medical board invalidated him home on 27 December. Broken in mind and spirit and utterly dejected by the slaughter of the Guards he was, nevertheless, showered with honours, twice mentioned in dispatches, thanked by Parliament, awarded the medal with four clasps [this was the Crimea medal with clasps for the battles of Alma, Inkerman, Balaklava and Sebastopol], the Turkish medal, the Grand Cross of the Legion d'honneur and the GCB on July 5 1855.

Insufficient self control

As soon as he recovered his spirits, the duke repeatedly pressed the authorities to sanction his return to the Crimea, even to succeed General Sir James Simpson when he resigned as Raglan's successor in November 1855. Lord Panmure, the secretary of state for war, rejected the proposal, doubting that the duke would display sufficient 'self control' and offered him instead the governorship of Gibraltar, which the duke rejected. (*DNB* 2004, p.799)

July 17, 1855 *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* p.3

Sleigh continues to attack both the late Lord Raglan and The Duke of Cambridge:

The English Church is a sale of livings - the British Army a sale of lives. We do not mean by the latter assertion the legitimate homicide which war occasions, and which we regard as we do the law of storms and other purifying processes for the ultimate benefit of mankind; but we refer to the army before Sebastopol, murdered by folly so inconceivable, by incapacity so atrocious, that the whole assumes the shape of a method, and we have no name to express either the deed or our abhorrence of it.

This is an example of Sleigh's contempt for the late Lord Raglan and the lack of leadership of his generals. He talks of the luxury of their living, despite being at war, whilst the undernourished and dysentery-suffering troops, without adequate supplies and weaponry fall dead and are buried in shallow graves.

The full text of this section of the leader column states:

We quote the following precious paragraph from the *Morning Chronicle*. We shall not say of it “this needs no comment,” for we think indeed that it does.

Let our readers weigh well the terms of this gracious announcement:

“The Foreign Legion - The Duke of Cambridge has been appointed, by Lord Panmure, to the Command-in-Chief of the Foreign Legion. The appointment has been approved of by Her Majesty and will appear in Tuesday’s *Gazette*. His Royal Highness having resided for several years in Hanover, where his father, the late duke, was the representative of William the Fourth, the Germans consider him as one of themselves, and, being well acquainted with their habits and dispositions, speaking German fluently, his nomination to the high post will be hailed with satisfaction by the whole Legion. His Royal Highness will accompany the Legion to the Crimea.”

***The Daily Telegraph & Courier’s* leader continued:**

Commander-in-Chief of the Foreign Legion! Does his Royal Highness regard this as an upward step? We regard it, indeed, as a downfall to one who fought at Alma and Inkerman, at the head of our British Guards. “The appointment has been approved by Her Majesty,” and, doubtless, by Prince Albert. “His Royal Highness [Cambridge] having resided for several years in Hanover, etc, the Germans consider him as one of themselves.” Then we suppose the English are not to consider him as one of themselves. Be it so, and farewell Cambridge! “His nomination to the high post (let him beware of a still higher post in such company!) will be hailed with satisfaction by the whole Legion.” We suppose that they would not object, were they consulted, to anything that promised them more gelt and patronage. “His Royal Highness will accompany the Legion to the Crimea” Alas! Poor Duke, and is it even so?

We have long thought the Duke was due in the Crimea, but we do not think that this is precisely the manner in which he ought to return thither. We regret to see a straightforward man like himself whom we have always considered an Englishman in feeling, consent to be made a cat’s-paw to popularise this mercenary band. If the Duke suffered too much in seeing the destruction of his splendid troops at Inkerman, surely it is no compliment to the memory of those that fell there to return at the head of a band of aliens. Why does not Prince

Albert himself command that favoured body, and so answer the sneer of *PUNCH*, and win a title to his spurs, cocked hat, and money-bags? There is another very important consideration for the Royal Duke.

Should he be taken prisoner, he will be liable to instant execution – should Russia feel inclined to prosecute her rights. We know, that were the Isle of Wight to be invaded, what we should do with a foreign mercenary, of the leader of the band, if we caught him. Imagine such a thing as a foreign power attacking us, and hoisting a flag of all ragamuffins to attract the scum of other and neutral states by the hopes of plunder, pay, bounty, and snug farms, denied to its own soldiers. Let us put ourselves in the position of our foe. Let us fancy ourselves assailed by troops of Saxe Coburg Gotha and Belgium, these powerful states being at peace with us and represented at St James's by their ambassadors. What should we be inclined to do? We should find work for the Provost Marshal, and string them up like onions on our trees. Of course we should. We should call them bravoos, pirates, and cut-throats, for coming to set fire to our homesteads, and pollute our soil for pay. And, if we should catch the Captain General of these marauders we should not inquire too narrowly into his rank, lineage, or antecedents; but hang him a little higher than his fellows. This is plain English speaking, and the Court parasites may gainsay it, if they can.

The Duke of Cambridge is a deservedly-popular man. If he, and those connected with him, prefer the popularity of Hanover, it is a pity that they should ever have left the appanage of the Georges. As Hanoverians they might have fought with us against Russia, if they had a mind, and of course we should have paid them for it. The Russian war is doing something besides burying our Guards. There seems to be a spell upon our whole conduct and proceedings.

We do not anticipate much from General Simpson, remembering the innocent soubriquet formerly prefixed to his name. Sir Colin Campbell, we regret to learn, is exhausted and worn out. Lord Cardigan came back to dine at the Palace, where he was not wont to dine. Sir [George] de Lacy Evans came back to say but little, and that little in compressed bitterness, towards the close of his days. Sir Charles Napier came back fierce, disappointed, and vindictive, to be silent for awhile. [Admiral] Dundas commands in the Baltic, and [Aimable]

Pelissier finds out the difference between Russians and Arabs, Sebastopol and Constantine. Sir Edmond Lyon seems not to escape the spell. He, too, has committed an act which has shaken the confidence of the fleet in the purity of his character. The fine gold is no longer without alloy. In the midst of these circumstances it is that the sauer-kraut warriors go forth, and he who led the stalwart battalions of our English Guards but one short twelvemonth since to victory and death, is now doomed by Court management to march at the head of bought soldados of fortune, with regard to whom we could only congratulate the country on one point and that would be their speedy and complete departure, never to return to English soil.

July 19, 1855 *The Daily Telegraph & Courier.* p. 3

Despatches have been received in town by Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, from which it appears that The Foreign Legion embodied at Halifax, and recruited in the United States has been ordered to be disbanded, after causing to this country an enormous expense. This refreshing statement is a fitting pendant to the announcement of the Duke of Cambridge's appointment to that high post, the command of the German Foreign Legion...is not the Royal Family of England of foreign extraction? Is not the Royal Duke of Cambridge a Hanoverian - one of themselves?

July 20, 1855 *The Daily Telegraph & Courier.* p. 3

An anecdote's told of an Irishman who, being called by his superior officer during an engagement to join him, cried out, "Faith, I can't, your honour, I've taken a prisoner," "Then bring him along", was the answer. "He won't come," responded Paddy;" Then come yourself," cried the officer; "He won't let me," said poor Pat. It appears to us that, as a besieging force, the Allied army is in a similar predicament, are besieged—obsessores et obsessi. We cannot move, and Sebastopol objects to be taken. The accounts are so conflicting that it is really difficult to know what to believe; but it is our own opinion, we may be mistaken, that we are as far off taking Sebastopol as ever, which is confirmed by a letter from a Correspondent from the Crimea. Now and then we are favoured with a "shave" about Luders, and then with one from some deserter or deserters, by whom it is affirmed that the besiegers are at the last gasp.

Unfortunately this has been said so often that we cannot attach the slightest belief to it. We believe we are about as near taking our home Sebastopol as the one in the Crimea, and vice versa.... we are assured that there is no truth for the paragraph which was promulgated by a contemporary, that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was appointed to take the command of the Foreign Legion. His Royal Highness is not aware that he is to fill the command.

It is, however, now decided that the Royal Duke does not return to the Crimea, orders having been sent out to Scutari for the Duke's grooms and horses to return to England; also the valuable charger presented to his Royal Highness by the Sultan. His Royal Highness's stud and grooms have been stationed there ever since the Duke left for England, in expectation that when his health was thoroughly re-established, he would return to the seat of war. We are rejoiced to perceive that the remonstrances which we made on the appointment of the Duke of Cambridge to the command of the Foreign Legion have had the desired effect. As the only journal which opposed so great a sacrifice of the gallant Duke's previous services, we take to ourselves the credit of the relinquishment of the design.

Sleigh's contempt for rank and privilege amongst army officers was perceptive. On July 5, 1856, The Duke of Cambridge was appointed commander-in-chief of the British Army. This gave him the responsibility for the administration of the army and the command of forces in the field. He was resistant to change and army promotions continued, too often, to be on social standing rather than merit. As mentioned in chapter 4.6. General Sir George de Lacy Evans, who held the parliamentary seat for Westminster, continued to campaign for the removal of purchase of military commissions and promotion without merit. It was not until after his death, aged 82, in 1870 that the Bill was finally passed by parliament.

The Duke of Cambridge was the longest serving head of the British Army and served for thirty-nine years. During this time the army's efficiency declined and it wasn't until the appointment of Lord Wolseley in 1895 that the military started to improve.

Sleigh opposed the indiscriminate use of the lash

The suffering of soldiers, and the appalling conditions and indifference to their plight, was a subject close to Sleigh's heart, as was the indiscriminate use of the lash. Sleigh

hated the way that the Crimean war was being conducted and concerned for the suffering of the troops.

The Rational Peace Party whose views had not been supported by the press (Morley 1879, p.641), started to make overtures to Sleigh in the hope of getting more national coverage, but what were their objectives?

4. 8 The Rational Peace Party

The Society for the Promotion of Universal Permanent Peace, also known as *The London Peace Society*, was founded on June 14, 1816. In its first communication to the public in 1817, the Society announced that it was “principled against all war, upon pretence.” The object of the society was to print and circulate tracts and to diffuse information tending to show that “War is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind; and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace, upon the basis of Christian principles.” Although its official platform was based on an absolutist pacifist stand, its members included peace workers who did not all accept the full pacifist stance.

Henry Richard with Cobden and Bright campaigned for peace

The most influential staff appointment for the Society since its inception was that of Henry Richard as Secretary in 1848. “With Richard Cobden and John Bright, he carried the ideals of peace and arbitration into every part of England, until his retirement in 1885”. (Doc Group CDG – B, Great Britain. *The International Peace Society Records 1817-1948*, Swarthmore College Collection)

In a speech to The House of Commons, (Hansard, p.1409) on June 5th 1855, shortly before the launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on the 29th, Cobden said:

“I claim the same standing ground, in discussing this question of peace or war, as any other honourable gentleman. I will deal with it as a politician, strictly on the principles of policy and expediency; and I am prepared to assume that wars may be inevitable and necessary, although I do not admit that all wars are so. We, therefore, who took exception to the commencement of this war on grounds of policy, are not to be classed by individual Members of this House with those who are necessarily opposed to all wars whatever. That is but a device to represent a section of this House as advocates of notions so utopian that they must be entirely shut out of the arena of

modern politics, and their arguments systematically denied that fair hearing to which all shades of opinion are fairly entitled no matter from what quarter they may emanate. I say, that we have all one common object in view - we all seek the interest of our country; and only basis on which this debate should be conducted, is that of the honest and just interests of England.”

August 6, 1855 *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, p: 3

The Leading article comments:

...Never did a recusant politician receive a more severe and withering reprimand than Sir William Molesworth, on Friday evening, in the House of Commons, from the member for the West Riding - Mr Cobden. We have for a long time been disgusted at the bare-faced, turn-coat principle exhibited by our public men; but in no case has this been carried to a greater extent than by the present Colonial Minister (Sir W. Molesworth)...Essentially it was felt that Sir William who had been a great admirer of Cobden and Bright's Anti-Corn-Law, but had turned against Cobden in his pursuit of peace... Sir William had for fifteen years, professed the same sentiments upon the war as had Mr. Cobden. And therefore, as Mr. Cobden remarked, the member for Southwark "is not entitled to much weight as an advocate of war". This is a proper opportunity to give a flat and direct denial to the reiterated and false designation applied by Sir William Molesworth and others to the powerful body represented by Mr Cobden. That Party is, as Mr. Cobden properly designates it "the peace party", not "the peace at-any-price party" but the RATIONAL PEACE PARTY.

What is meant by the "peace party" is totally different to the "peace-at-any-price-party." The latter is an ingenious epithet concocted by the fire-brands who ought to be designated "the war-rapine-and-bloodshed-for-political-purposes party".

The sentiments of Mr. Cobden, and the *rational peace party*, have been too often explained to require repetition in our columns. But the public have been blinded and prejudiced, by the false and unfounded designation attached to that body, as the "*peace-at-any-price-party*." The "*rational peace party*" ever were and are still opposed to the war with Russia...The *rational peace party* were against the present war. But it is a vile slander,

which that party repudiates with disdain, that their principles are those which would tamely submit to an invasion of the sacred soil of their country...Take our word for it, the “nationalities” of Europe who compose the “balance of power” will never have the time to invade us, if we will only let them fight it out amongst themselves. By such a line of conduct, the one advocated by Mr. Cobden and the Rational Peace Party, what millions and billions of treasure would have been saved to us-what thousands and tens of thousands of the widows, the orphans, the fatherless and the distressed, would be now in the full enjoyment of those earthly domestic hopes which have been so cruelly severed by the vile demon war, and whose affections are now buried in the cold gory grave till they shall meet in that haven “where the wicked cease from troubling , and the weary are at rest.”

August 6, 1855. p. 8 *The Times* reported the Molesworth/Cobden exchange in the House of Commons in quite a different way. There was no support of the Rational Peace Party and Cobden received no support at all.

We are fortunate that the Peace Party does not increase in this country, for we cannot but feel that such an increase must have been counter-balanced by a corresponding decrease in the ease and confidence of social intercourses, so that what we gained in peacefulness with regard to foreign nations would be dearly purchased by an increase of envy, hatred, backbiting, malice and uncharitableness among ourselves. ...A man of war, such as are those ordinary mortals on whom Mr. Cobden looks down with so much philosophical contempt, would probably have thought it scarcely in the interests of concord and good fellowship to drag hustings speeches before the House of Commons, and to make terms in themselves sufficiently acrimonious the gratuitous cause of a still more acrimonious discussion. “The beginning of strife,” says the wise man, “is like the letting out of water,” and in this case the head of the Peace Party officiated as turncock.

August 7, 1855. p. 3 The next day, Sleight expresses, in the first leader, sympathy to the cause of peace.

The people have awakened from a dream, the brilliant scenes of anticipated conquest have become huge mausoleums of mangled corpses, the “Cheer

boys, Cheer” was but the prelude to “Dead march in Saul;” the dashing Light Dragoon fades into hideous spectre, unhorsed, with bleached bones and grim skeleton visage, lonely mouldering away to mother-earth beneath the sward of the valley of the shadow of death - the scene of the memorable charge of the valiant 500 (sic). The desire for peace has commenced by gentle and distant murmurings, the horizon of our martial aspirations has become clouded, and a storm gathers in the North and in the South, the East and the West, which must ere long, burn forth, and the nation, aroused, on the brink of the rule will cry aloud Peace, Peace!

Those honourable members whose names we have pointed out have, in conjunction with the true and ever unchangeable friends of rational peace, Milner Gibson, Richard Cobden, and a noble band of co-workers in the good cause, fearlessly stood forward in their places in Parliament, and denounced the insane suicidal policy of the present Government.

August 8, 1855. p. 3. *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* – a letter from a reader:

Sir- I was much gratified upon perusing your very able leading article in *The Telegraph and Courier* on Monday last. It was the first time I had seen your excellent paper, and I rejoice, with many other friends of rational peace, to find a daily journal which handles the great question of peace or war in such an eloquent and convincing tone. You deserve the prayers of all good people to cheer you on in the noble cause which you advocate. Cold and senseless to the human happiness of our fellow-creatures would be those who could neglect, by every means in their power, urging upon all useless wars - such as the one we are at present engaged in. Your journal conveys all that can be desired on this head, and may all friends in the good cause aid in its circulation.

The line of demarcation on which Mr Cobden drew in the House of Commons, between the rational peace party and the peace-at-any-price party was a most admirable one. There has been a very grievous and mistaken opinion in the hearts of my fellow-countrymen upon this point, which I think will be removed by your untiring exertions. Let but the rational bearings of the war question be candidly explained, as you have done so thoroughly and

I feel convinced that good will shortly result. It behoves all right-minded and zealous Christians to reflect upon the fate which awaits us as a nation, the wrath which will be poured forth upon us, should we much longer continue at war, commenced, as the present one was, under “false pretences” and continued after terms of honourable peace were offered by Russia, without any prospective advantage of any kind achieved.

What are we fighting for? No one can answer. Is it for territory? No. Is it for honour? Surely we have gained a full quantum of that at the cannon’s mouth ere this war commenced. The “bubble reputation” was not needed to add to our long list of martial prowess. Has the object been to prop up Mahomedanism, and to dishonour the Cross? If so, we are succeeding to our heart’s content. If we had had entered upon a war to redeem the Holy Sepulchre out of the hands of the debased Turks, there might have been a shadow of an excuse for us as a Christian people; but when we reflect that we have waged war upon a monarch who desired to protect his subjects in their worship of the Blessed Redeemer, when persecuted and denied the full exercise of their religion, by a Mahomedan race of infidels, is not this horrible fact sufficient to bring down upon us the indignant wrath of Heaven? Go on Sir, in your noble crusade, and success will await your labours- Yours obediently, ONE OF THE RATIONAL PEACE PARTY.
Market Street, Manchester, Aug.6, 1855.

The Daily Telegraph & Courier campaigned aggressively for a Peace Party based on a rational approach. Its editor, Alfred Bate Richards was less enthusiastic. So too were the three club gentlemen investors. In parliament there was a group of MPs who were sympathetic to this cause and the pros and cons of the war in the Crimea was a subject of passionate debate. *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* opposed the war and most of the military leaders, taking a stand far beyond that of *The Times*. This was popular with many of the new readers, who shared the same sentiments and contributed to the rapid rise in circulation.

4. 9 Money in short supply - Sleigh abandons editorial independence

By early August 1855, *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* had been going for six weeks and had published 41 issues. Money was in short supply and such was Sleigh's plight that he had abandoned his mission statement published in the first leader of the launch edition of June 29th 1855, in which he declared "...we shall be guided by a high tone of independent action; we shall be bound to the fetters of no party; we will be fearlessly independent..." yet he campaigned for the Rational Peace Party and thereby Cobden benefitted from good press, whereas *The Times* took a more contrary view.

Richard Cobden

Cobden had for many years harboured a desire for a newspaper to promote his ideals. In 1844 it was said that "Cobden had, at that time at any rate, supreme faith in the potency of this vast propagandism. He still believed that if you brought truth to people's doors, they must embrace it. Projects for the establishment of newspapers for the spread of the views of his school, always interested him keenly" (Morley, 1905 p.291).

Later in 1855 Cobden wrote to Michel Chevalier a French politician in Paris who, like Cobden, believed in free trade, peace and international co-operation, reminding him that in 1852...

He [Cobden] had been denounced by nearly every London newspaper, and at present he was now in the same predicament respecting his opinions upon the war. But is it not possible that two or three years may produce in my view opponents the same change upon the one question that has undoubtedly been effected on the other? Depend on it there is a good deal of unreasoning passion and pecuniary selfishness on the part of the people and the Press of this country in the present warlike clamour.

I know of proprietors of newspapers who have pocketed £3,000 or £4,000 a year through the war, as directly as if the money had been voted to them in the Parliamentary estimates. It is not likely, unless they are disinterested specimens of human nature, that they will oppose a policy so profitable to themselves. (Morley 1905, p. 641)

A letter appeared in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on Saturday August 11, 1855 (p.3)

MR. COBDEN AND THE WAR

To The EDITOR of THE TELEGRAPH & COURIER

Sir-Every one who takes an interest in passing events must have observed that, ever since the commencement of the war-which is now, I rejoice to add, fast losing its popularity - *The Times* has made a point of dealing out its attacks unsparingly on Mr. Cobden. The peace opinions entertained by the Great Free-trader happening, at the outset, to jar with the ultra-war views of the Thunderer, that journal cannot forgive the heinous crime, and it lets slip no opportunity to hold up Mr Cobden to what is generally called "public ridicule and contempt." The statement made by Mr. Cobden in *The House of Commons* – that on Sir William Molesworth being offered place in the Aberdeen Administration he avowed himself an exponent of his (Mr. Cobden's) views – has served as a foundation to the last attack of the *Times*. This statement that journal sets down to be the result of a *private* conversation at the Reform Club, made with a mixture of "jest and earnest" to parry "inconvenient questions;" and thereupon launches out a tirade of abuse on the head of the hon. Gentleman, for his making use in the House of Commons of sentiments which occurred in the course of private conversation and gossip, and which were never intended to reach the public ear.

Mr. Cobden has, however, thought fit to reply – he does not always deign to do so – to *The Times* attack. "My authority for the fact (he says) is not merely the rife gossip of the hour, but the unsolicited declaration of Sir William himself in the most *public* place of the Reform Club."

But *The Times* did not stop here. The Sir William Molesworth "breach of trust" affair but served as a fulcrum to rest the lever which in that journal's estimation was to hoist Mr. Cobden to a position more to be pitied than envied. A mortal column is devoted to abuse – to shadow forth the "inexpressible absurdities" which have illustrated Mr. Cobden's public career since 1852. And what is the cause of all this, may I ask? Is it because the Great Reformer thought it wise and proper to oppose the war at the outset, and, following an upright and honest course, does so still? Or

is it because *The Times* sees that the people are gradually veering round to Mr. Cobden's views. And thereby adding to the fear that the violent war party and their pet organ may some fine morning be found in a minority?

Let us go back to the position that Mr. Cobden occupied when first the war commenced. Behold him with a few devoted followers standing up in the British House of Commons advocating peace, that harbinger of every blessing. Hear him ridiculed by the House, laughed at by the multitude, pitied by the press. Turn to the present time. Behold the Great Reformer surrounded by the most talented in the House of Commons, all as urgent as himself in the advocacy of peace: and listen to the voice of the people now being strenuously upraised against an iniquitous and unjust war. Verily, "time and events" *have* judged between Mr. Cobden and *The Times*.

Is it not true that Austria and Prussia as allies were not to be depended on? Has it not come to pass that our army were sent to the Crimea in total ignorance of the place they were going to attack? And did not Mr. Cobden tell us all this—aye, and much more that has since been verified? *The Times* knows this; that journal sees Mr. Cobden's star again in the ascendant, and endeavours, by the fabrication of falsehoods, to drag him down, and consign him to that oblivion to which it has laboured unceasingly for the last three years to send him.

The Times knows its power – that power may be for good or evil; let it not unscrupulously exercise it; let it not forget the words of the great poet, that -

"'Tis excellent to have a giant's strength,

But 'tis tyrannous to use it as a giant."

The time *may* come – it is fast approaching – when Mr. Cobden's war views will be fully sifted, weighed and understood; and when, to use his own words, "the people of this country, recovering their wonted commonsense, may call for the impeachment of the present Ministry, as the sole responsible authors of the continuance of the war." A tax-gatherer sentinelled at every door will do more to ease the people to think, inquire, and join in the demand for a rational peace, than the leading articles of the *Times* and its emissaries will accomplish in the way of stirring up the

people to wage war, until Russia is humbled and beaten back to the icy regions from whence she emerged.

Trusting that you will still persevere in your efforts to bring about a rational peace, and that success may await your well-meant efforts, I remain, yours truly,

AN HONEST REFORMER

London August 10, 1855.

4. 9 Richard Cobden hitherto the unknown backer

That *The Daily Telegraph* published such a letter and gave so much space to *The Rational Peace Party* and Richard Cobden is surprising. However this mystery was eventually explained with the discovery of a reference to Cobden.

...I knew him [Alfred Bate Richards] when he was editor of the then newly started *Daily Telegraph*, poor Sleight's unlucky lucky venture, to the starting of which the great Richard Cobden had contributed certain funds - a fact little known, with which I became acquainted through my friend Julius Faucher, then Cobden's secretary, an eminent German political economist and leading free-trader later on, and up to the time of his decease in Italy a few years back, a distinguished Progressive Member of the Prussian Commons. *The Star* was in gestation then, and Dr Faucher advised Cobden to help Sleight to start the *Telegraph* as a *ballon d'essai*, wheels within wheels you see. (Strauss 1883, p.188)

This turned out well for Sleight as the ideals for peace expounded in *The Daily Telegraph* were popular with the new readers and as a result the circulation rapidly increased. It did not turn out so well for Cobden and his cohorts on *The Morning Star*. In "English Radicalism" Maccoby wrote:

Unfortunately the London *Daily Telegraph*, the first of the newspapers to achieve financial success [later] at a price of one penny, very soon proved that the hopes which had spurred on the Radicals like Cobden and Holyoake to the Cheap Newspaper combat might have been dangerously illusory... *The Rational Peace Party* probably made a mistake in allowing *The Daily Telegraph* to establish a firm hold on the 1d. public before launching their own penny newspaper *The Morning Star* in the course of 1856. It

appears, that the delay was partly due to Joseph Sturge who, though finally undertaking the effort necessary to raise the large capital required, had hesitated for a considerable time in view of previous unhappy experiences with newspapers... too many newspapers, he thought, had strayed from the original purpose of their proprietors due to lack of funding. (Maccoby 1886, vol. iv, pp.59, 60)

Cobden's funding short lived

Despite the rise in circulation, this was not matched by the advertisement revenue, and Sleigh's efforts to continue publishing were now getting desperate with mounting debts owed to his printer, Aird and Tunstall, and his newsprint supplier. Wages to his staff were also lagging behind and the future of the venture was still extremely bleak. Cobden, whose views had had a thorough airing in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, was probably not prepared to invest any more funds into the venture; it might have been that he suggested that Sleigh contact George Dornbusch, a campaigner for peace and other worthy causes.

4. 10 Sleigh approaches George Dornbusch for help



22. George Dornbusch – an admirer of Cobden and campaigner for peace.

Sleigh soon made his approach to Dornbusch, whose identity I recently established, for help. He was a well-to-do merchant, who ran a business from Threadneedle Street in the City of London which published *The Floating Cargoes Daily List*, an information list of arrivals of cargoes from around the world.

No. 63.

THE FLOATING CARGOES DAILY LIST.

LONDON, 21st JULY, 1858.

REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD AS A NEWSPAPER.

(Private.)	ARRIVALS.	LONDON, 21st JULY, 1858.	SAILINGS.								
FROM FALMOUTH 19th & 20th JULY, 1858—Wind											
CARGO	SHIPPED AT	TONNAGE VESSELS & CAPTAIN'S NAME	ADDRESSED TO								
Wheat <i>Ghika</i>	<i>Odessa</i>	257 <i>Isabella Hay, Hoptoff</i>	Alexiadi Delta & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	496 <i>Alexander, Pev, Anonova</i>	Finn, Fison, Crenkhi & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	259 <i>Clara Wirsach, Folger</i>	H. & J. Johnson								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	— <i>Nepenthe, Shearer</i>	Nicolopolo & Chrisovolini								
Maize	<i>Odessa</i>	126 <i>Jantez, Schmidt</i>	T. Brown, Dundalk								
Barley (Sold)	<i>Odessa</i>	265 <i>Arnold V. Wenzelrad, School</i>	Tubini, Corpi, & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	169 <i>Maria Thedera, Kaneta</i>	A. Paichari								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	209 <i>George & Maria, Wilson</i>	R. & S. Asser								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	197 <i>Oceanus, Springer</i>	Sekamp & Tewes, Bremen								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	208 <i>Syar, Koster</i>	Haste, Hutchinson & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	142 <i>Torneo, Berg</i>	S. Reggio								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	163 <i>Metis, Bulling</i>	C. Kekulé								
Oats	<i>Odessa</i>	263 <i>Elvino Louise, Ulrich</i>	T. Woodham, Southampton								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	310 <i>Equivalent, Marobas</i>	Hove & Watney								
Rye	<i>Odessa</i>	349 <i>Tempio, Zabravich</i>	J. Hoyack & Co., Rotterdam								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	176 <i>Tjoly, Petersen</i>	Jantsen & Barnstorff, Amsterdam								
Rapeseed	<i>Odessa</i>	155 <i>Ernest, Mail</i>	Mavro, Basily & Co.								
do. (Sold)	<i>Odessa</i>	110 <i>Vltz, Engelman</i>	Argenti, Sechini & Co.								
Millet & Oats	<i>Odessa</i>	— <i>Albion, Armstrong</i>	Spartali & Co.								
FROM QUEENSTOWN MONDAY, JULY 19, 1858, Wind											
Wheat <i>Ghika</i>	<i>Odessa</i>	275 <i>Ledersale, Lawson</i>	A. Ralli & Co.								
do. <i>Kalafit</i>	<i>Odessa</i>	170 <i>Prospero, Rosetto</i>	Mavro Basily & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	191 <i>Mary, Inkster</i>	Scandri Bros, Liverpool								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	155 <i>Eudora, Williams</i>	Jas. Fin & Co., Dublin								
Maize	<i>Odessa</i>	74 <i>Mathilde, Hauss</i>	do.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	160 <i>Torrance, Walsh</i>	R. & J. Devereux, Wexford								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	374 <i>Dunfries, Log</i>	To Order								
do. (Sold)	<i>Odessa</i>	340 <i>Olivia, Romano</i>	Tubini, Corpi, & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	260 <i>Broggin, Olsen</i>	To Order								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	161 <i>Thomoe, Jacobson</i>	do.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	112 <i>Wedal, Willmann</i>	do.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	298 <i>Richard Young, Law</i>	Lacorridi & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	142 <i>Cornelia Wilhelmina, Hookell</i>	To Order								
do. (Sold)	<i>Odessa</i>	290 <i>Royal Trieste, Wright</i>	Zarifi, Bros.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	309 <i>Maxwell, Briggs</i>	do.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	174 <i>Flora, Orfar</i>	Spartali & Co.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	174 <i>Raglan, Davis</i>	To Order								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	120 <i>Trusty, Bell</i>	do.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	212 <i>Madelina, Mazzoni</i>	do.								
Barley	<i>Odessa</i>	372 <i>Pasqualina, Svich</i>	do.								
do. do.	<i>Odessa</i>	211 <i>Industry, Egan</i>	do.								
Linseed (Sold)	<i>Odessa</i>	320 <i>Pharolavni, Demirovic</i>	Zarifi, Bros.								
Current Prices of Floating Cargoes, Calling for Orders at Queenstown or Falmouth.											
The Price includes Cost, Freight, and Insurance to Ports of destination.											
WHEAT, BERBERNE, 45—47s.	MARIANOPOLE, 45—47s.	TAGANROG, 45—46s.	per 492lb.								
ODESSA GHILKA, 45—46s.	per 492lb.	POLISH ODESSA, 38—40s.	SARDOCKIA, 40—42s.	per 490lb.							
GALATZ, 37—39s.	KALAFIT, 37—39s.	RUSSIA, 35—37s.	per 490lb.								
EGYPTIAN SAID, 38s.—39s.	BEHARA, 37—37s.	per qr.									
MAIZE, GALATZ, 35—35s.	ODESSA, 35—35s.	per 490lb.									
BARLEY, ODESSA, 22s.	DANTYAN, 22s.	EGYPTIAN, 17—18s.	per qr.								
BEANS, EGYPTIAN, 31—32s.	per qr.	ODESSA, 28—29s.	per qr.								
OATS, ODESSA, 11—11s.	6d. per qr.	RYE, DANTYAN, 25—25s.	per qr.								
		MILLET SEED, 22s.	per qr.								
floating cargoes reported arrived at ports-of-call											
1858.	TOTAL	WHEAT	MAIZE	BARLEY	OATS	BEANS	RYE	MILLET	DARE	LINSEED	RAPESEED
Since 1st Jan. 739	1	289	148	190	18	12	9	6	17	57	18
Jan. 10 July	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mon. 12	10	2	3	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tues. 13	17	4	2	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wed. 14	41	8	16	9	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Thurs. 15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Frid. 16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

FROM FALMOUTH JULY 20, 1858—

Wheat *Ghika* *Odessa* 257 *Isabella Hay, Hoptoff* Alexiadi Delta & Co.

do. do. *Odessa* 496 *Alexander, Pev, Anonova* Finn, Fison, Crenkhi & Co.

do. do. *Odessa* 259 *Clara Wirsach, Folger* H. & J. Johnson

do. do. *Odessa* — *Nepenthe, Shearer* Nicolopolo & Chrisovolini

Maize *Odessa* 126 *Jantez, Schmidt* T. Brown, Dundalk

Barley (Sold) *Odessa* 265 *Arnold V. Wenzelrad, School* Tubini, Corpi, & Co.

do. do. *Odessa* 169 *Maria Thedera, Kaneta* A. Paichari

do. do. *Odessa* 209 *George & Maria, Wilson* R. & S. Asser

do. do. *Odessa* 197 *Oceanus, Springer* Sekamp & Tewes, Bremen

do. do. *Odessa* 208 *Syar, Koster* Haste, Hutchinson & Co.

do. do. *Odessa* 142 *Torneo, Berg* S. Reggio

do. do. *Odessa* 163 *Metis, Bulling* C. Kekulé

Oats *Odessa* 263 *Elvino Louise, Ulrich* T. Woodham, Southampton

do. do. *Odessa* 310 *Equivalent, Marobas* Hove & Watney

Rye *Odessa* 349 *Tempio, Zabravich* J. Hoyack & Co., Rotterdam

do. do. *Odessa* 176 *Tjoly, Petersen* Jantsen & Barnstorff, Amsterdam

Rapeseed *Odessa* 155 *Ernest, Mail* Mavro, Basily & Co.

do. (Sold) *Odessa* 110 *Vltz, Engelman* Argenti, Sechini & Co.

Millet & Oats *Odessa* — *Albion, Armstrong* Spartali & Co.

FROM QUEENSTOWN JULY 19, 1858—

No Sailings of Grain or Seed-laden Vessels.

LONDON, WEDNESDAY, 21st JULY, 1858.

To-day the WEATHER in LONDON was fine, partially cloudy. Wind South, oscillating Westward, TEMPERATURE warm. BAROMETRICAL CHANGE, 29.7, 4-points lower than yesterday. The weather in the United Kingdom yesterday, according to telegraphic reports was on the east coast, fine and warm, but in Ireland and on the west of Scotland, and the south-west of England, the weather was mostly unsettled, and more or less rainy. Last night a good deal of rain fell about the metropolis.

Yesterday the WEATHER on the European continent, was according to telegrams from various places, variable. In France, in the North West and Centre, where the grain harvest is now in full activity, the weather appears to have been yesterday mostly cloudy and slightly showery. The COTTON TRADE in the markets of the United Kingdom held yesterday was generally reported as quiet, with prices of West, Hind, and Main, tending downwards.

In FRANCE the course of the corn trade in most of the markets held during the last few days was reported as tending downwards.

In Paris the Flour trade yesterday was very quiet and prices generally lower, in consequence of the more encouraging grain harvest-results in the north of France.

The price of Four-mark Flour was yesterday quoted in Paris on the spot, 66s.50, about 2s. 6d. per 280lb. Delivery this month 66s.50 to 67s. per 157 Ks. August 67s. Four last month 1858, 67s. Four first month 1859, 66s.

IN MARK-LANE to-day:

The attendance of the trade was fair, the tone quiet. The sample-show of home-grown Oats was small, the supply of country-made Flour small.

The foreign grain-arrivals into London since last Monday were: 5,480 qr. wheat, 4,950 qr. barley, 11,330 qr. oats, 5,440 qr. rye, and 200 qr. flour.

Flour, French, 33—40s.; Newfield, 30—31s. slow sale at rather under last Monday's prices.

Barley, English, 28—42s. per qr. firm, at about last Monday's currency.

Oats, Irish, 20—22s. per qr. steady, at last Monday's rates. The export demand continues.

floating cargoes.

To-day's list of ARRIVALS at ports-of-call reported arrival of 39 grain-laden vessels, viz. 8 Wheat, 16 Maize, 9 Barley, 2 Rye, and 3 Oats. SAILINGS, 4, viz., 2 Maize, 2 Barley

By telegraph several grain-laden vessels were reported arrived to-day at Falmouth and Queenstown.

Of the CARGOES arrived at Ports-of-Call there remain offered on Sale about 9 Wheat, 1 Berberne, 3 Odessa Ghilka, 1 Polish Odessa, 2 Egyptian, 1 Brazil, 1 Galatz, 1 Sodorica, 3 Maize, 1 Beni, 1 Brazil, 2 Lagos, 1 Egyptian, 6 Barley, 2 Brazil, 2 Smyrna, 1 Iremail, 1 Galatz. Several cargoes reported to order, consignees unknown at present.

The SALES reported to-day not previously mentioned were: WHEAT on passage Odessa Ghilka, 44/; per 492lb. U.K. (a resale).

BARLEY arrived Brazil (Zakalia) 22/6 per qr. U.K. (a resale). do. (Madagascar) 23/3 per 400lb. U.K.

OATS arrived in London St. Petersburg 39lb. per bushel, 23/6 per qr., Cont.

GEORGE DORNBUSCH, LONDON,
Office, South Sea House, Threadneedle Street, E.C.

23. Floating Cargoes Daily List

Dornbusch was an international campaigner for peace - yet his efforts today are long forgotten - and a supporter of worthy and various radical causes. He was a strict vegetarian and it was through this that his successors were traced. Five generations later, they are still vegetarians. After attending a vegetarian event in Manchester on Thursday 26 July, 1855 (p.3), Dornbusch's name appeared in the report of the meeting in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*. Could it be that Sleigh was attempting to pander to him, as a prospect, in the hope of obtaining financial help; or was it just a coincidence?

Dornbusch was a likeminded thinker and associate of Cobden, so much so that he named one of his sons Conrad Cobden. He also contributed to Cobden's funeral expenses and, as shown in illustration 24, he was a contributor to the abolition of capital punishment fund. (Burle family archive)

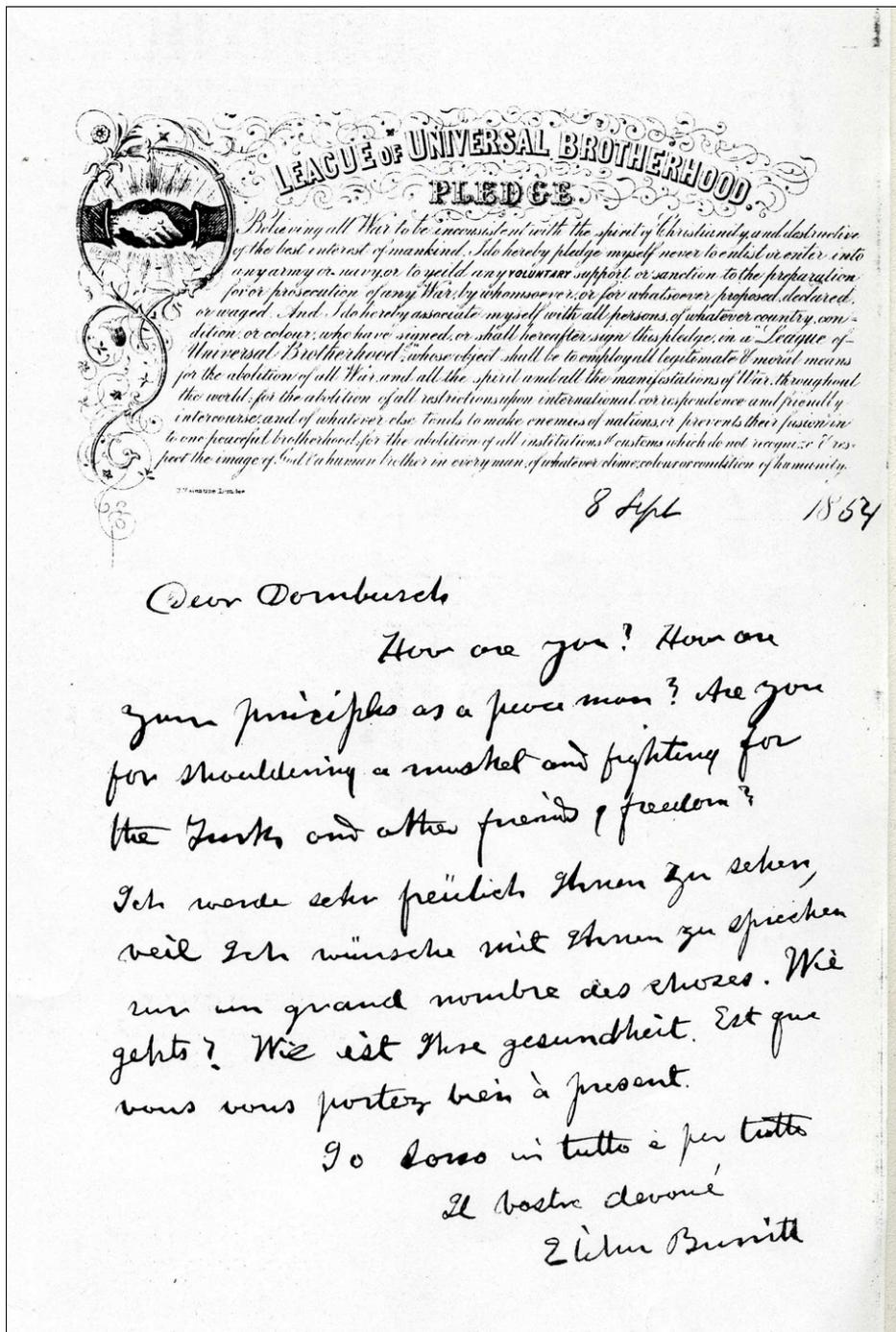
March	3d Month 1865	1865 4th Month	April
1	W th Sugar 4/7 1/2 E	1.10 -	1 J G G Siemens £125 - -
2	E Dried 1/2	4 - -	do law expenses 60. - -
4	Darnpool's L.I. Oct 5/6	1.56 -	7 Cobden's funeral 1 - -
	6 shirts	1.12 -	E wheel 6/ 1 - -
	Shorter	-.10 -	10 Johnson Mill chert 1 1 -
10	E	1.10 -	dupl. 1/2 1 -
	Wm Stokes all chert	-.10 -	Ada's school 4 12 9
14	E rice 10 th 2/6 10 th 3/4 5 th 3/9	1.10 -	UK Alliance 2 - -
17	Goodland a clock 1/4	1 9 -	Abolition. Capital. punishment 1 - -
	Woodrough Row (Cannet George)	-.10 -	Iron & land tax 1 17 -
20	Mr. T. Bales 26/	1.19 -	Jehovah's 5 - -
20/9	W th Sugar 4/7 1/2 E Oct 4/8 1/2 3/1	1.15 -	15 E W th Sugar 10 bags 7 Oct 10 -
27	Over rates due Lady Day	1.12 6	20 E 1/2 birthday 6/ 2 6 -
u	five guineas 11 Gros Villes	1 8 6	25 E 5 th 5 th 5 th 10 th 5 th 1
	do 224 hours road	-.18 6	
	Miss Lamb's printing	3. 3 -	Siemens 185 - -
	36 Tin cans practice	1.16 -	203 11 9
		20.14 -	Wainwright 30 - -

24. Dornbusch's diary entry of contribution to Cobden's funeral fund.

Clearly he was a wealthy man and through his very profitable enterprise used his wealth (at his death in 1873 his estate was valued at a remarkable £38,876) to further his ideals. Dornbusch was treasurer of the Stop-the-War League with a colleague, the Quaker philanthropist Joseph Sturge; the holder of passionate but sometimes very narrow views of the anti-Slavery Movement, the Peace Movement and teetotalism. Sturge had been the prime mover for establishing the penny *Morning Star* (chapter 4.9) and had stood as parliamentary candidate for Nottingham in 1842, but was defeated by John Walter, the proprietor of *The Times*.

Dornbusch and the League of Universal Brotherhood

Dornbusch also had connections with Elihu Burritt who was the founder of *League of Universal Brotherhood*. Burritt (1810-1879) was an American social activist, born in New Britain, Connecticut. His many causes included opposition to slavery, working for temperance and working to achieve world peace. President Lincoln appointed him as United States consul in Birmingham



25. Letter from Elihu Burritt

As can be seen from the letter (Illustration 25) Burritt was a proficient linguist and, having started out as a blacksmith, was known as the “Learned Blacksmith”.

Dornbusch and Burritt and their likeminded peacemaker pacifists were always trying to get their message to a wider public and Sleigh, who was strapped for cash, was playing into their hands.

August 15, 1855. Meeting between Sleigh and Dornbusch

Sleigh holds a meeting with Dornbusch and sends him a letter summarising the details of their conversation:

Offices: 253 Strand,
Daily Telegraph & Courier,
August 15th, 1855

To: George Dornbusch

Dear Sir,

I reduce to writing the propositions I requested you this morning to convey to your friends.

I am willing to transfer the entire control of the political portion etc., of *The Telegraph & Courier* to a committee to be chosen by the Rational Peace Party, and to whom I am willing to confer the right of nominating a Supervising Editor, through whose hands every article should pass, and by whom the policy of the paper should be guided.

The terms I propose are:

Ist. The Party to purchase from me for a sum agreed upon my paper, I retaining some shares, but these shares not to carry with them any right or power to interference on my part.

Or, secondly.

The Party, if they prefer this arrangement to the one of purchasing as stipulated in the first clause to take say 4,000 copies daily, to be circulated all over the United Kingdom, a large number of which would, of course, be sold, and thereby the expenditure to a certain extent reimbursed; but that circulation to be guaranteed to me. I agreeing to the same restrictive clauses as to policy, Committee of Supervision, Editor, etc.

In all matters I am equally willing to abide by such further terms as will thoroughly secure *THE TELEGRAPH & COURIER* to the Party and their organ.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully, B.W.A.Sleigh.

Alfred Bate Richards' misgivings

Although Sleigh would not have wanted to hand over any part of the control of his newspaper, in his despair this was an opportunity to keep the venture going and was in line with the newspaper's peace campaigning. However, Alfred Bate Richards, the Editor, was not keen on this possible arrangement and had always been uneasy over the Cobden-influenced peace party campaigns.

During the first eight weeks of the paper's existence, the paper had had, in Richards view, too many editorials and follow-up letters on The Rational Peace Party, yet there was much sympathy to the cause which was reflected by the strong reader interest.

A letter appeared in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on August 18, 1855, from a member of The Rational Peace Party. This might have been a timely letter, planted to attract the attention of the peace campaigner George Dornbusch and in the hope of receiving more funding:

“IS NOT THE PRESENT A FAVOURABLE OPPORTUNITY
TO CONCLUDE TERMS OF PEACE”

To The Editor of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*

Sir, Your consistent advocacy, in your admirable journal, of the cause of rational peace induces me to make a brief trespass upon your space, to entreat those who are still clamorous for war to pause and say if the hour has not arrived when an earnest and sincere exertion should be made to obtain, if possible, an arrangement of the present unhappy quarrel with Russia. The moment is opportune. The success of Sweaborg, and the signal victory which, it appears has been just gained at Tchernaya, enables the Allied powers to approach the consideration of a Pacific arrangement without dishonour, or the possibility of having improper motives imputed to them.

To come forward now, even more than halfway, would be as grateful as it would be dignified, and could not fail to prove to the civilised world that devotion to principle, and conviction in the Justice of their cause, alone prompted England and France to engage in hostilities against Russia. But aversion, which two Christian powers must entertain to the spilling of blood, must be strongly seconded by considerations of prudence and self-interest, as war is a lottery at best, and the triumph of to-day may be followed by the defeat of tomorrow.

The Times, it will be allowed, is no-peace-at-any-price journal - far from it; *The Times* is a war publication, which recommends a vigorous prosecution of war, and is

impatient for an assault of Sebastopol. Let us, then, see how it points out the difficulties, the dangers which we have to dread, should we not take the south side of that fortress in a very few weeks.

“Yet, unless not only our own information, but the general opinion of the camp be grievously at fault, our own troops are likely, during the ensuing winter to suffer not a few of those privations and hardships which attracted such sympathy during the past gloomy season. That the allied armies will pass the winter before the beleaguered city it is scarcely necessary to urge. Allowing for the most brilliant success on our part, it is hardly likely that the south side of Sebastopol city can be taken in the next two months, and it must be remembered that the south side is only a kind of *tete dê pont*, having no connection with Severnaya, or north side, which cannot be attacked from our present position, or by any other means than turning the Russian positions on the Tchernaya, or operations with Eupatoria as a base.”

This is a sad picture, but by no means an over-charged one, nor does the organ of the Government endeavour to conceal the raw nature of our soldiers in the Crimea - men who can, doubtless, gallantly fight, but when the severities of a winter campaign are to be endured, their constitutions will succumb, although their courage, in the face of the enemy, no one could for one moment presume to deny.

We know our losses last winter. Yet then the British regiments were composed generally of men who had been some time in the service; at any rate, they were not youths hastily levied to supply the wants of a destructive war. But of such youths have the late draughts sent to the seat of war been chiefly made up. They may become excellent soldiers, but they possess neither the moral courage nor the bodily strength to support great hardships, and the more pains should be taken to lessen the sufferings of their first winter campaign, lest the calamities of this second year be deeper than those that are past.

As to the railway, the conception of which was so creditable, and which has really done much good service, the prospects are anything but brilliant. It is expected to sink bodily into the mud. The sleepers are laid on that deceitful soil which in dry weather is so hard and firm, and which a few hours of rain converts into a slush in which man and horse struggle in inextricable confusion. Early in July a warning was given, a day's wind and rain tore away the rails in several places, while in others the sleepers settled deep in the yielding mud. Traffic was suspended for several days. But dry weather returned, repairs were made, and till lately, all has gone well. There has since,

however, been more rain, and now “the fun is” to see the trucks overturn in the mud caused by twenty-four hours’ wet weather. That the railway will be useless as soon as the rainy season commences is the universal opinion in the British army, and we see no reason to dissent from a judgment based on the facts we have narrated.

Every innovative, indeed, which can influence a general and an army must now act on the Allied force before Sebastopol.

We read further in *The Times*: “We are in the middle of August; the rains may begin in October, and are sure to accompany the opening of the next month. Now, if the south side be not taken before the setting in of the rains, then all our batteries and trenches, caps, zigzags, parallels, and approaches in advance of our old right and left attacks, must be abandoned, as they will be full of mud and water. Last winter the allies occupied one slope, the Russians another; between, there was a valley almost impassable as a gulf. During the summer we have slowly won the valley, and all our advanced works are in its bed. But it can only be kept in summer weather; as winter sets in we must fall back on our old positions, and lose what has cost us so many months of labour, and so many thousands of lives. The engineers who opened the campaign in April looked to the capture of the place before the waters which had just dried up from the face of the earth should again return to it; and there is still time, though every passing day diminishes it”.

Here are inducements strong enough to cause the boldest to hesitate and to reflect whether an honourable peace, even at a sacrifice of some concessions be not intolerably better than continuance of such ruinous a war. A MEMBER OF THE RATIONAL PEACE PARTY, Dorking, Surrey, Aug 17, 1855. (*Daily Telegraph & Courier*, August 18, 1855, p.3)

By this time Dornbusch would now have received the letter from Sleigh containing his proposition for *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, for conveying to his friends. These included James Bell, a Quaker MP, and the committee of the restructured Peace Party, under the chairmanship of John Hamilton.

Dornbusch acted as treasurer and F.W.Chesson; L.A. Chamerovzow, the anti-slavery activist, and George Wilson (president of the Anti-corn-law league in Manchester) attended. Cobden welcomed this new body although he kept his distance from it. (Semi-Detached Idealists: The British Peace Movement and International Relations, 1854-1945).

F.W.Chesson was a campaigner for the rights of indigenous people and while visiting the United States he had been concerned by the passing of the fugitive slave law and the return of a fugitive to his master. In 1852 he became secretary to the Peace Conference Committee, forming a friendship with radical anti-slavery campaigner George Thompson, whose daughter Amelia Ann Everard he married in 1855. It seems that Human Rights and International Peace were the bonding factors of this group.

4. 11 *The Morning Star* newspaper is being planned. Cobden et al

Later in 1855 another newspaper for the voice of the peace was being planned in Manchester, *The Morning Star*. Cobden and Bright were to be consulted on policy, but had no financial interest in the venture. Cobden in a letter to Bright wrote:

What is doing about the penny paper? [*The Morning Star*] If as a precaution that the paper shall go wrong, I should be inclined to say that it would be well not to have a too enthusiastic peace man as its managing editor...There must be a good deal of the wisdom of the serpent as well as the harmlessness of the dove to float such a paper, and unless it can be established as a newspaper, it will not attain the object we have in view. What say you to this? (Morley 1876, p.637)

These wise words were written at about the time of Sleigh's approach to Dornbusch.

No deal resulted

Cobden, Sturge and their group of peace activists were clearly keen to have a newspaper as a voice for their views. Sleigh might have thought that, as *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* was already promoting their views, a quick and partial transfer to them would get him out of his financial trouble. But no deal was struck with either Dornbusch or the Rational Peace Party and with the *Morning Star* launch plans continuing, Sleigh had to desperately seek other means of financial help.

4.12

August 18, 1855. Sleigh partnership splits

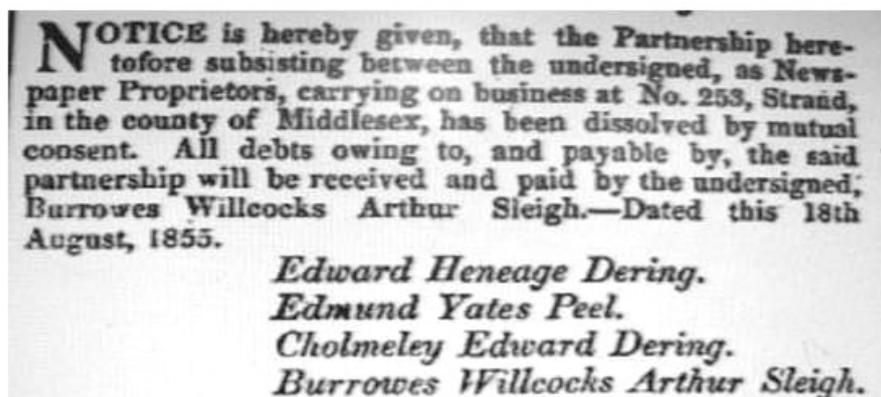
It was at this time that Sleigh and his founding partners, E.Y. Peel, E.H and C.E. Dering, split. Sleigh had been advanced £1,500 by each of them and as he (Sleigh) subsequently declared, "advanced the intelligence" (quoted by Sleigh in court on December 22, 1857, Chapter 6.2).

Sleigh claimed that the partners didn't like the idea of the cover price reduction to one penny, he wished to continue but "they were in a great funk" (Appendix 1). There had also been disagreements, between Sleigh and his editor Richards, over the Cobden inspired campaign for peace and this later resulted in a further split between the two of them. Richards resigned his editorship.

Sleigh now sole proprietor and editor

Peel and the Dering brothers were each offered £450 (against their original sum of £1,500 each) and they backed off with some relief. Sleigh thus became editor and sole proprietor and relished the lack of their cautious encumbrance.

A notice, dated 18 August 1855, of the dissolution of the partnership was published in *The London Gazette*. This entry was no doubt placed at the insistence of the partners as they were highly nervous of Sleigh's financial position and simply did not want any further involvement.



NOTICE is hereby given, that the Partnership heretofore subsisting between the undersigned, as Newspaper Proprietors, carrying on business at No. 253, Strand, in the county of Middlesex, has been dissolved by mutual consent. All debts owing to, and payable by, the said partnership will be received and paid by the undersigned; Burrowes Willcocks Arthur Sleigh.—Dated this 18th August, 1855.

Edward Heneage Dering.
Edmund Yates Peel.
Cholmeley Edward Dering.
Burrowes Willcocks Arthur Sleigh.

26. *The London Gazette notice – August 18, 1855 p. 4155*

Sleigh was now on his own but still keen to carry on – notwithstanding his debts.

August 20, 1855. From now known as *The Daily Telegraph*

Sleigh wasted no time in continuing to hone his product and two days after the split from his partners he changed the mast head to large Gothic typeface for the main title of *The Daily Telegraph*; the "& Courier" was placed below in a much smaller type face.

4.13 September 2, 1855

A most significant meeting in Fleet Street - Levy agrees to print

It was not long before Sleigh had a much needed stroke of luck when, by chance, he met in Fleet Street the printer and manager of *The Sunday Times*, J.M. Levy. The result of this meeting gave Sleigh breathing space as Levy agreed to print, from September 3, 1855, *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

Levy continues to manage and print *The Sunday Times*

Levy had been recruited by Lamb, the proprietor of *The Sunday Times*, to invigorate and print his newspaper. The circulation of *The Sunday Times* had been in decline for some years. In 1846 the circulation figure was 17,500 and in 1854 this had dropped to 7,000 copies sold per week (figures supplied by News International). Levy was to be paid a salary based on circulation increase. J.M. Levy continued to manage and print *The Sunday Times* while Sleigh controlled *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

The planned printing arrangement, to also print *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, went to Chapman's, the company owned by J. M. Levy, of Peterborough Court, Fleet Street. Joseph Ellis became the publishing superintendent. Ellis had been a senior printer on *The Field* and was recruited by Levy to handle the printing of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* in addition to printing *The Sunday Times*. His name and address appeared at the foot of the final column on the back page: (Chapter 10.1)

**“Printed and published by Joseph Ellis, of
No. 2 Northampton Terrace, City Road, in the
Parish of St. Luke, at the Office No. 253, Strand,
in the Parish of St Clement Danes, in the County
of Middlesex.”**

27. Monday, September 3, 1855

Chapter 5. Innovations and struggling to continue publishing

5.1 The Penny Press

September 17, 1855. Sleigh reduces the price of the paper to one penny

The idea to reduce the price of his newspaper to one penny had been on Sleigh's mind for sometime. Even by his well-known unconventional approach, this was felt in London to be a far-fetched idea. It was a bold move even to consider the reduction in price at a time when *The Daily Telegraph & Courier's* finances were at rock bottom. Was it a spoiler done in a fit of pique to the anticipated launch of the *Morning Star*, a paper planned to promote radical ideas and the peace movement, which was to be sold at one penny? It might also have been Sleigh's way of attacking Cobden, a backer of *The Morning Star*, for getting so much Peace Party publicity for what was probably a very small investment in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

As *The Morning Star* was much delayed and didn't get launched until 12 months later, it is more likely that Sleigh, who had got his idea from the United States, was determined to test the market in London, sooner rather than later.

The origins of the Penny Press

By 1855, the penny press was firmly established in the United States whereas in the UK newspapers were expensive and still heavily taxed. The newspaper proprietors, in the United States, were more aware of the interest the public had in police and court proceedings, and anti-slavery was a familiar topic. The American newspapers covered much more news than their UK contemporaries, which assumed that the public was obsessed with parliamentary matters above all else.

The penny press appeared in the United States in 1832 with the launch of *The Cent* in Boston; this was a short-lived newspaper. Then in August 1833 *The Sun* was launched by Benjamin Henry Day in New York. This newspaper became a model for the penny press and led to the establishment of penny papers in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Albany amongst many others.

Sleigh's admiration for the American press

Sleigh liked America and was excited by it. This can be seen in his leader, as described in chapter 4.5, and published on June 29th 1855, (p.3), where he gave at great length statistical details of the American press. Pricing was not the only aspect that he followed. There are further indications of the North American press, when he launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* (Chapters 4.1) Sleigh had long held the idea

of selling the paper at one penny, and would probably have launched at this price had he been able to get a printer to take him seriously and support his venture.

American thoughts on a one cent newspaper

In London, newspapers had always been expensive so a newspaper launched at a price of one penny would have caused commercial misgivings from an intended printer. A similar problem was encountered in America when in 1832, Dr. Horatio David Shepherd, [proprietor of *The New York Morning Post*] noticed whilst walking through the Bowery, how readily, candy, peanuts and other trinkets sold for one cent. Upon this observation he had his inspiration for a one cent newspaper. He had to approach several printers, before his idea was accepted and even then his printer, Horace Greeley, insisted that [a reduction in price from] six cents to one cent was too risky and insisted that his proposed newspaper, *The Morning Post* [USA], was to be initially sold at two cents. (Lee 1917, p.185)

Through Sleight's entrepreneurial endeavour he would have seen the aggressive marketing and the 'editor to editor' banter of the competitive newspapers in American cities.

Richard Cobden's observations on America



28. *Richard Cobden 1804 - 1865*

The editor's role in the UK differed from that in the United States and Richard Cobden observed ...the social deference that was paid in private by great people to the famous editor (*The Times*), and was scandalized, here also rather unreasonably, to find

him dining at tables where every guest but himself was an ambassador, a cabinet minister, or a bishop. An eminent visitor from the United States, who had access to London society, was for a long time perplexed by the social attentions that were bestowed on this mysterious being, and in conversation with Cobden contrasted the position of the press and its conductors in England with that of similar personages in his own country. Cobden, referring to this in a letter to Mr. W. Hargreaves (a supporter from Burnley) wrote:

“In America, the editor or proprietor puts his name on the front of the paper, fights the battles of his party openly, shares in the honours of its victories, and is to be found among the senators, the governors of the states, etc. But with us the conductor of *The Times* preserves a strict incognito to his readers, on the plea that anonymous writing is necessary for preserving his independence, whilst he inconsistently drops the mask in the presence of those who dispense social distinctions and dispose of government patronage - the very persons towards whom in the interests of the public he ought to preserve his independence.” (Morley, 1885 p. 886)

Genius of American legislation

Further Cobden observations are shown by Chesson:

“the very genius of American legislation is opposed to ignorance in the people, as the most deadly enemy of good government. Not only are direct measures taken to instruct the poor throughout the United States - not only are all newspapers and the advertisements untaxed - but care is used, by excepting from fiscal burdens the humblest ingredients of the material of printing - such as paper, rags, type, etc - to render knowledge as cheap and accessible as possible.

The newspaper press forms a distinguishing and rapidly improving feature in the economy of the United States. In 1834, according to the American Almanack for 1835, the aggregate of newspapers published under different titles in America was 1,265, of which ninety were daily journals; and the entire number of copies circulated during the year is estimated at ninety millions.

In the British Islands three hundred and sixty-nine newspapers are published, of which seventeen only were issued daily. The annual sale of these is estimated at about thirty million.

If, therefore, we compare the newspaper press of America and England together, allowing for the disproportion of inhabitants in the two countries, we shall be compelled to acknowledge that there is more than six times as much advertising and reading on the other side of the Atlantic as in Great Britain.” (Chesson 1903, para 535)

Sleigh follows the American style of news reporting

Sleigh followed the American style by publishing a wide selection of news with many human interest stories. From a very wary start these began to grip the attention of the readers and, towards the end of the first year, resulted in a rapid increase in circulation. Sleigh did not, though, follow the North American habit of publishing the editor’s name on the front page or devoting the entire front page to news.

5. 2 First penny edition published – September 17, 1855

Much information of Sleigh’s early efforts, during the launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, has been gleaned from an undated, unsigned and incomplete galley (Appendix 1), with no evidence of it having ever been published despite proof corrections. This important galley was discovered amongst ephemera salvaged during the move from Fleet Street in 1998:

The little money invested in the speculation was gradually growing less, and the circulation of the paper was also getting lower and lower [this was during the first three months]. Our editor was, however, still hopeful, and was fertile in expedients to keep the journal afloat. From a circulation of a thousand or so a day our journal gradually fell to one of from two to three hundred a day. The two club gentlemen [there were three] who had embarked with the “colonel” in founding the paper began to fear accumulating debts and difficulties, and expressed a wish to retire from the concern. Accordingly in due course a notice appeared in the *London Gazette*. The “Colonel” saw his chance, and jumped at the opportunity for dissolving the partnership that existed, if any partnership ever existed, and turning over the property, such as it was, to the “Colonel.” Our editor, now sole proprietor, no sooner got our journal into his own hands than he determined to carry out an idea he had long entertained. Forthwith our journal was to be reduced to the

price of one penny, and notices were at once issued to this effect. On the 17th of September, 1855, our first penny-number appeared.



29. Enamel advertisement sign-1d

Sleigh - father of the penny press in England

The evidence in the court case *Cole v. Sleigh* (Chapter 4.1) together with the galley (Appendix 1), indicating Sleigh's plans for a one penny newspaper, confirms that although Sleigh was very much the struggling sole proprietor at this time, it was he who was the father of the penny press in Great Britain. Sleigh's objective was to have the largest, best and cheapest newspaper in the world. This reflected his expansive personality perfectly. Levy's involvement from September 2, 1855, was that of printer of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* and he was still the business manager and printer of *The Sunday Times*. Sleigh was still finding it impossible to make the venture break even so, too, was his printer, Joseph Ellis, and his sub-editor and general manager, Ralph Harrison.

The Quarterly Review 1880, (article vii p. 503) describes those days:

The founder and first proprietor was Col Sleigh, a gentleman of great courage and energy, but possessed of hardly sufficient capital to make a cheap newspaper a paying speculation". It went on to say that: "But for the boldness and self-sacrifice of the then manager – Mr. Ralph Harrison, who afterwards transferred his services to the 'Birmingham Daily Gazette'it [*The Daily Telegraph*] could at one time hardly surmounted its difficulties.

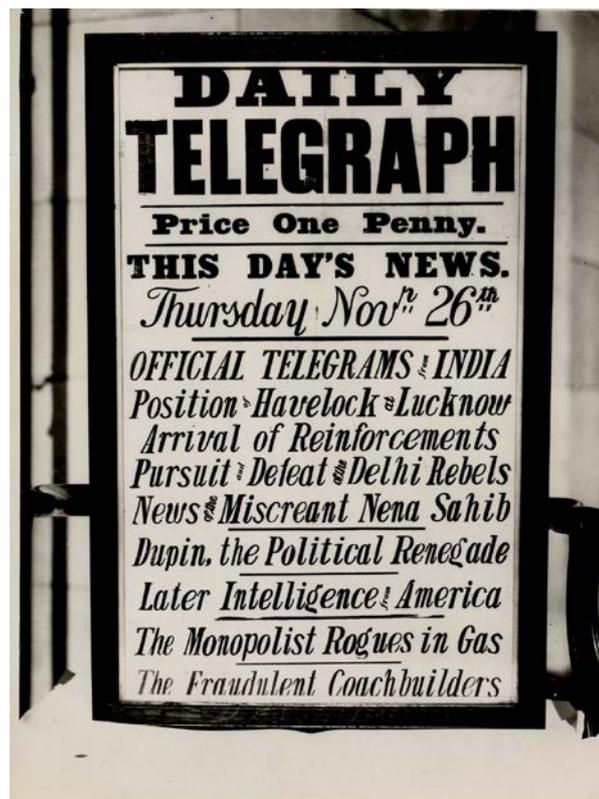
Many years later in a speech which Mr Harrison delivered at a Press Dinner, he alluded to his experience as a sub-editor, and described the nature of his duties:

"...my staff, for economical reasons, was a very small one, and we toiled late and early to make the paper as good as possible, the pecuniary

circumstances considered. My duties were something like these: Get out of bed at ten in the morning, write a leading article, bring it down with me for the printer, and then go on with sub-editing till the early hours of the next morning. A few hours sleep, and then at it again! For fifteen years he held the position of sub-editor”.

Ralph Harrison’s sterling work was mentioned in *Modern Truth’s* obituary to J.M. Levy on October 20, 1888: “...The paper during its first ten years largely owed its success to the energy and business despatch of Mr Ralph Harrison, the sub-editor, now proprietor of the *Marylebone Mercury*, whose services were generally felt to be most meagrely acknowledged by the late Mr. J.M. Levy”.

The Levy family’s old foe, Labouchere, was the proprietor of *Modern Truth*, so he took this last chance to have a yet another dig at J.M. Levy.



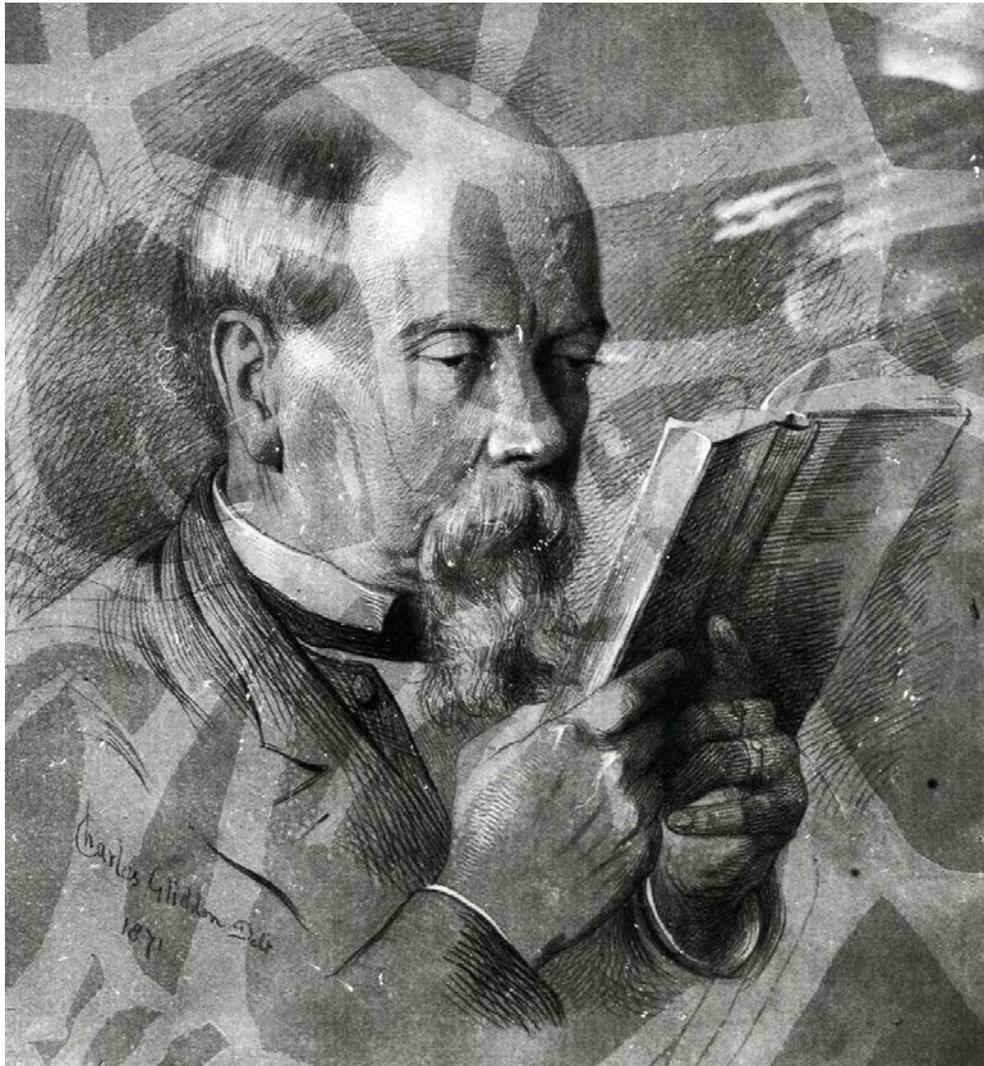
30. *The Daily Telegraph* the paper of news – One Penny

September 1855. *The Daily Telegraph*, at the price of one penny, was beginning to increase its print-run but with each edition Sleight, without increased advertisement

revenue, was working at a loss. He had started the enterprise in his typical style of under capitalisation and, in the previous month, described in 3.12, he had had to pay off his three original investors.

5.3

1855 Thornton Hunt appointed managing editor



31. Thornton Leigh Hunt, second managing editor of *The Daily Telegraph*

With the departure of the partners and his editor, Sleight enlisted the support of Thornton Leigh Hunt to the role of editor. Hunt was a forty-five-year-old journalist who had served on *The Constitutional*, a publication promoting radical ideas, such as the extension of the suffrage and vote by ballot. This was of particular interest to Sleight who would have been pleased to have a fellow campaigner on his paper. Another strong bond was Hunt's founding membership of the Society for the

Promotion of the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge. He was chiefly a leader writer and he was a strong supporter of Gladstone. Throughout his career Hunt advocated political freedom and social improvements and allied himself with groups such as the Chartists and the People's International League, organisations which fostered democratic social reform. He fathered fourteen children between his wife Kate and his lover Agnes Jervis Lewis. He is buried in Kensal Green. (Viera, *DNB* 2004, p.874)

Although Hunt, in reference books, is described as "editor" his position was in reality that of "managing editor and leader writer"; the role of "proprietor/editor in chief" being held by Sleigh. The tradition of the proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph* holding this position lasted another one hundred and thirty three years. Lord Hartwell (The Hon. Michael Berry) was the last proprietor and editor-in-chief of *The Daily Telegraph*, a tradition broken when Conrad Black bought the newspaper in 1988.

Thornton Hunt submits plan for his re-launch objectives

Thornton Hunt submitted his plan for the editorial future of *The Daily Telegraph*. This was an amalgam of Sleigh's and *The New York Times* approach of broadening the news and features. His report stated:

...The main object of this memorandum is to consider how the success of *The Daily Telegraph* can be protected against a competition which looks in some degree formidable; I rely strongly on two principles. The first is that a belief in the disproportionate increase of success in other papers will tend to bring about the success of those others. The second is, that any success which is not in one way or other progressive and constantly on the increase will not continue but will decline and cease. We are only now at the beginning of a new era in science and let us not forget that science is to be taught in every school. Our policy should be one of making the leading daily paper take the lead also in that department of general yet special intelligence.

We should report all striking events in science, so told that the intelligent public can understand what has happened and can see its bearing on our daily life and our future. The same principle should apply to all other events - to fashion, to new inventions, to new methods of conducting business.

A paper of high authority should always have at command such men as can write with correctness, certainty, distinct force and authority on military, on naval affairs, on law.

“High authority, correctness, certainty, distinct force and authority” these were the objectives coupled with the broadening of all aspects of daily national and international life. (Burnham 1955, p.7)

The Daily Telegraph was clearly ready to unsettle the dust of Fleet Street, rather than replicate the established newspapers. Much thought was being given to changing how things were done. An innovation was soon established for the last leader (there were always four) which was about the House of Commons. Using fictitious names and constituencies the writer would tease the Members of the House with good humour; this soon became a hugely popular and much discussed feature, one hitherto unknown within the London Press.

Another innovation was the first book review published on September 19, 1855. This was of the *Memoirs of the Reverend Sydney Smith*, a Canon at St Paul’s Cathedral and a campaigner for the reform of parliament. The proximity of St Paul’s cathedral and Temple Bar, where *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* offices were located, together with the Canon’s campaigning, which would have appealed to Sleight, perhaps were instrumental in the selection of this first book review? The review ran to three quarters of a column. .

In September 1855, the first reference, and a very positive one, to circulation appeared in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* in the issue dated September 20, 1855, (p.3), just three days after the reduction in cover price to one penny. It stated:

<p>The circulation of <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> EXCEEDS THAT OF ANY LONDON MORNING NEWSPAPER, with the exception of <i>The Times</i>. More than that, the Circulation of <i>THE DAILY TELEGRAPH</i> is greater than any four Morning Newspapers all put together.</p>
--

The Times* circulation unaffected by the arrival of the 1d *Daily Telegraph
Throughout *The Daily Telegraph*’s first decade with its unprecedented rapid rise in circulation, it is interesting to note, and as can be seen in the graph (Appendix 2), that

the circulation of *The Times* was not unduly affected. But what is not know and can only be speculated upon, is what increase *The Times* might have gained had *The Daily Telegraph* not been on the scene?

5.4

Box number system

The ever resourceful Sleigh, in an effort to encourage advertisers to his newspaper, became the pioneer of “The Advertiser’s Letter-Box” a precursor to the “The Box Number System”. This system might have been on that he had seen in action in the villages and townships while he was in North America.

In its early existence, on September 21, 1855, it was simply a box placed in the lobby of *The Daily Telegraph* Offices at 253, Strand, By Temple Bar, London. The inaugural notice appeared on page three above the first leader and announced:

ADVERTISER’S LETTER-BOX

To further facilitate, through the medium of our paper, the wants of the million, we have opened in our office an ADVERTISEMENT BOX, alphabetically arranged. Any Advertisement inserted in *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH* can be in future addressed “TELEGRAPH ADVERTISEMENT BOX, 253, STRAND.” Advertisers, on calling or sending for their letters, must produce the Office Receipt for their advertisement. All letters charged ONE PENNY on delivery.

The letter-box will prove of great convenience to those who advertise:

Want Situation

Apartments to let

Houses to let

Advertisements of Governesses and Tutors

To Capitalists etc

The Clerk of the Advertisement - Box Department will, on request, re-forward to any Address given, which will be held strictly confidential, Letters directed to Advertisers. Postage stamps must be left to pre-pay for the same, which will be returned whenever called for, if not used.

Resistance to the Penny Press from advertisers

Despite the lack of advertisement revenue the circulation was going well, but advertisers were still not attracted to the newspaper. There was resistance to a new cheap newspaper, which was further exacerbated when the price was reduced to one penny. Advertisers felt their association with a cheaply-priced newspaper diminished the authority of their advertisement.

The four-page newspaper contained twenty-four columns and only three of these contained advertisements. Of the forty-one advertisements published on page one, Col Sleigh's advertisement for the second edition of his book *Pine Forests and Hackmatack Clearings* was by far the largest.



32. *The Duke of Beauclerk "The Daily Telegraph places itself in the hamlet and secures its place in the Palace"*

5.5 Editorial innovations and objectives

Sleigh declared in *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on September 17, 1855, (p.3)

“There is no reason why a daily newspaper, conducted with high tone, should not be produced at a price which will place it within the means of all classes of the community. The extension of the circulation of such a journal must prove beneficial to the public at large. If artisan and Peer can alike peruse daily the same wholesome literary matter, produced by first class writers, the general tone of society must benefit. The working man will feel assured that we consider that he is deserving of having laid before him a newspaper compiled with care which places it in the Hamlet and secures its place in the Palace”.

There is so much of Sleigh’s hopeful and relentlessly striving personality in this notice. We have seen, how all too often, he took on more than he could cope with and yet had he not been like this, *The Daily Telegraph* would never have got started and struggled through increasing difficult times.

A large selection of books was reviewed on October 15, 1855 (p.3). These included the *Introductory Book of Geology* by David Page and the *Theory of the Influence excited by the mind and Anomalous Conditions of Animal Economy* by James Glen.

These were both published by Blackwood & Son.

In addition to these books *The Englishwoman’s Domestic Magazine* and a *Boys Own Magazine* were also reviewed. These were both monthly publications.

Shortly after this, on October 29, the first dramatic criticisms are published. The first was from The Haymarket Theatre, *The Beginning and the End*, a drama of the domestic tragic class which was produced for the first time. Following this from the Drury Lane Theatre, a three-act broad comedy of *Married for Money*, then Sheridan’s celebrated burlesque of the *Critic* or a *Tragedy Rehearsed* was revived. “Never was a new or resuscitated piece received better by a crowded audience”.

The pioneering journalists

The great difficulty for the proprietor was to find writers capable of expressing themselves in the style which *The Daily Telegraph* had chosen. Not only finding them but also paying them! Casual contributors were available but they gave no consistent

style. Sleigh, still the proprietor/editor, had, in addition to Thornton Hunt, Ralph Harrison to whom I have previously referred. His task was that of sub-editor, paragraph writer and make-up manager. There were four others who had worked with the printer Levy on *The Sunday Times* and had been recruited to help out. They were Augustus St John and his three sons Percy, Bayle and Horace. They were very useful contributors in the early days and Augustus was a notable writer of political leaders. The recruiting of *Sunday Times* writers suggests that, although Levy was still on *The Sunday Times*, he was in discussion with Sleigh and that his influence was sometimes more than simply that of the printer.

Fearless leading articles

Sleigh's bold and fearless leading articles and opinions were those of a spirited campaigner, rather than from the pen of a professionally trained journalist. But a campaigner he was and his introduction of the penny press to Great Britain must make him one of the unsung heroes of the newspaper world.

His hopes for rapid profits did not materialise in time for his enterprise to sustain itself. There was some consumer resistance from middle-class Britain, yet *The Daily Telegraph* was gradually beginning to get noticed. By January 1856, six months after the launch, the circulation figure was given as 27,000 (per day). (Burnham 1955, p. 6)

On October 28, 1855 the masthead which originally had been *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* then changed, on August 20, 1855, to more simply *The Daily Telegraph* with the “& Courier” much reduced in size, was further on August 20, 1855, when the “& Courier” was dropped completely from the masthead.

Sleigh - The editor and proprietor encounters newsvendor's resistance

Further information from the galley. (Appendix 1)

A daily paper for one penny took the London market at once. Instead of from two to three hundred a day, in a week we were printing as many thousands.

And here a fresh and unforeseen difficulty arose. The newsvendors, with the Leviathan newsvendor-a great monopolist-at their head, refused to sell our paper. They could not afford to come down to our office for the paltry profit of four pence on every thirteen sold. What was to be done?

The “Colonel” determined on enlisting a detachment of boys drawn from the ragged schools of the metropolis, and making flying newsvendors of them. For these boys uniforms were provided, and on their caps were worked in large letters the name of the journal. Their instructions were to station themselves at the newsvendor’s door, bawl out the name of our paper and the price. And this they did to a good tune.



33. *Newsboys employed to sell the penny newspaper*

Did Sleigh get the idea of using newsboys to go out and sell the newspaper on the streets, thereby by-passing the reluctant wholesalers, from his observations of newspaper distribution whilst in the United States a decade earlier?

The galley (Appendix 1) continued:

...Our circulation was going up daily; our paper was being bought; our advertisements were rapidly dropping in. The newsvendors did not like the boy interference with what they considered the rights of their trade, and so they met together in a body and resolved to send down a deputation to our proprietor. After an interview, the “Colonel” - who, as we have said, always fought shy of deputations - agreed to withdraw the ragged school boys, on certain conditions.

The “Colonel” further engaged with this deputation to send round our journal every morning in carts to the newsvendor’s shops. And so he did for a short time; but, the demand for our journal daily increasing, the “Colonel” at length took the matter up boldly, and determined on fighting the newsvendors. He issued an order that on and after a certain date the news carts would be withdrawn, and intimating that all newsvendors requiring our journal must come to the office and buy for themselves.

This, after some remonstrance, they at length did. The Leviathan newsvendor, too, was glad to come terms with the “Colonel,” who thus obtained a great victory over a strong combination - not, however, without a struggle.

For a while the “Colonel” had the ball at his foot. Every man worked like a slave to keep the journal equal in all respects to its high-priced contemporaries. Bold and fearless leading articles, good commercial news all the telegrams that could be cribbed, a Paris letter, sporting news, and “selections” or “prophecies” from a well-known hand, soon raised our journal in public estimation, and we were fast becoming a power, with a circulation only excelled by one of the London high-priced journals.

January 10, 1856. Positive circulation announcement

Despite a buoyant circulation achieved by a mixture of human interest news and the new price point of one penny, Sleight was still desperate for cash. His spirited and bullish approach was, as ever, hopeful and a notice printed in the edition of *The Daily Telegraph* on Thursday January 10, 1856 (page.3) claimed:

<p>The circulation of <i>The Daily Telegraph</i> is greater than all the other newspapers put together, and is consequently at the head of the London Daily Press</p>

This notice was not at all true as *The Times* still had a larger circulation.

January 26, 1856. p.3: Advertisement rates increased

Advertisement rates had increased to one shilling and sixpence for two lines, and on Saturday, January 26, advertisements covered the full six columns of the front page. There is evidence, too, that there were more paid-for advertisements, but still not enough revenue from them. A sign of better commercial expertise had been shown on January 19, 1856, by the inclusion of the notice to advertisers, formerly appearing above the leader on page three but now placed, more sensibly, at the head of column one on the front page.

5.6 *Daily Telegraph* February 8, 1856. p.3: Campaign for life peerages.

In a leading article, typical of Sleight's hand, *The Daily Telegraph* supported Sir James Parkes's elevation to the House of Lords who, having no male heir, had been granted a life peerage:

Sir James Parke has been elevated to the House of Lords in order to bring to the thin and enfeebled ranks of the legal portion of that Assembly the aid of his deep learning and great judicial experience. To continue the honour in the person of another who could not supply a similar desideratum at any future period seems about as sensible as if we sent to Paris a committee of the Peace Society to chalk out the next campaign in the Crimea; or selected half-a-dozen members of the Prize Ring to revise the Liturgy. The ex-Judge has no children to inherit his new dignities--like Macbeth, he wears a barren coronet. "No son of his succeeding." There was no prospect of "a tenth transmitter of a foolish face" in the direct Wensleydale (his chosen title) line. Under all the circumstances, therefore, viewing the matter with eyes not obscured by prejudice, tradition, or custom, it appears to be quite natural and equitable that the peerage should terminate with the honoured existence of him who has earned it, instead of passing to strangers, who will have done nothing to deserve it, and to whom the cost of supporting its dignity may possibly prove more a source of embarrassment than gratification.

We regret to see the name of Lord Brougham-who owes all that he has and all that he is to the fact of his being a member of the aristocracy of

talent--should be pressed into the service of those who are making an outcry about the danger to which territorial nobility is exposed. The following passage is copied from the versatile ex-Chancellor's work on political Philosophy: Even the "far more powerful body of the English lords" would suffer materially were their honours and "privileges personal and not hereditary." The English peers are the great territorial potentates --the landed grandees of the country, joined with the heads of the law and the ornaments of the military and naval professions. The natural unites with the political aristocracy to endeavour and illustrate our Upper House. All its members are either distinguished for ample wealth or for wealth united with celebrity and personal acquirements; and many of them count a long line of illustrious ancestors, from whom they draw their honours with their estates, whose place they fill, whose names they bear" (quoted from Lord Brougham's work on Political Philosophy).

We see nothing in all these fine words to militate against the occasional, or even frequent, infusion of new blood into the House of Lords, in the shape of peers for life. We presume that the greatest sticklers for hereditary legislation will admit that the eldest sons of peers may now and then turn out to be blockheads or zanies, and as those, in the course of nature, must succeed, not only to the estates, but to the law-making prerogatives of their fathers, would it not be wise to neutralise them by the introduction of a sprinkling of "the heads of law, and the ornaments of the military profession," of life members distinguished "for celebrity and personal acquirements?"

But we are afraid we are wrong again - we are arguing the question upon principles of common sense, instead of upon the authority of legally established precedent. Well we shall endeavour to consider the subject for a few minutes from this point of view.

Opposition from *The Morning Post*

The Morning Post was one of the first to take up a lance, and offer to do battle for the threatened privileges of the House of Lords, it wrote:

“The recent creation of peerages for life is only getting in the thin edge of the wedge, it is the first attempt which has been made to destroy the separate action and independence of the House of Lords. Again, our contemporary talks of vindicating the dignity and independence of the Peerage from an unconstitutional exercise of the Royal prerogative—dangerous because in the present instance establishing a perfectly unnecessary and gratuitous precedent.” And Lord St Leonard said last night in the House that the Wensleydale [Parke] peerage was illegal. Now, if the reader will have patience with us for a few moments, we think we can point to very high authority in opposition to these statements, and allow that the crown has long enjoyed, and occasionally exercised the right of creating life peerages.

In Sergeant Stephen’s *New Commentaries on the Laws of England*, (Volume iii, pp. 6 and 7) We find it is laid down that Peers are now created either by writ or by patent. The creation by writ or the King’s Letter is a summons to attend the House of Peers by the style and title of that barony which the King is pleased to confer; that by patent is a royal grant to a subject of any dignity and degree of peerage as in the case under discussion. Creation by writ has also one advantage over that of patent; for a person created by writ holds the dignity to him and the heirs general of his body without any words to that import in the writ; but in letters patent there must be words to direct the inheritance, else the dignity ensures only to the grantee for life. “FOR A MAN OR WOMEN MAY BE CREATED NOBLE FOR THEIR OWN LIVES AND THE DIGNITY NOT DESCEND TO THEIR HEIRS AT ALL.”

Sergeant Stephen, in support of this view, refers to “*Coke upon Littlejohn*” 9.16: It will be observed that, although Lord Lyndhurst characterised the creation of the new life peerages in general term, as “a flagrant violation of the great principle on which the Constitution was founded,” as “unjust and unwise,” and as “fraught with mischievous results,” the noble and learned lord took care not to commit himself, like another ex-Chancellor, Lord St. Leonards, to the opinion that the ennobling of Sir James Parke was an illegal act. This prudent reserve on the part of Lord Lyndhurst, taken in connection with the admirable

addresses of Lord Granville and the Lord Chancellor, is, we think, decisive as to the part of the question which involves the right of the Crown.

Whatever conclusion the Committee for Privileges in the Lords may come to on this subject we are fully persuaded not only that the Crown has the power of creating peers for life, but that it has been judiciously exercised in the present instance, and that the frequent use of it, under the direction of a wise and patriotic minister, may not only be of great advantage to the public service, but of no inconsiderable benefit to the hereditary branch of the Legislature itself.

Sleigh repeatedly shows his concern that in society there should be in authority only people of merit, that is merit earned through their

5. 7 Debts and opposition encountered

March 12, 1856 Sleigh signs a new lease on 253, Strand

Sleigh was clearly still acting as the proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph* as on March 12, 1856 he alone signs a 21-year lease on 253, The Strand, where he had been since the previous June, at a rent of £220 pa. Levy was at this time fighting his case against Lamb for the purchase of, or part of, *The Sunday Times*. This case was found against Levy.

March 17, 1856 Sleigh counters opposition from *The Morning Star*

The Daily Telegraph appears in a new and enlarged format in response to the launch of the advanced radical paper, *The Morning Star*. This was the planned newspaper allied to the principals of Dornbusch, Cobden and Peel, to whom Sleigh had made overtures when he wrote to Dornbusch for help on August 15, 1855.

From the galley (Appendix 1):

...A powerful party in Manchester, with the view of promulgating those opinions peculiar to the Manchester school of politics, started a penny daily newspaper in London. The "Colonel," however, always great at expedients, was determined not to be beaten. Our plans were secretly laid, and on the day our rival was announced to appear, our journal was to be permanently enlarged to a size one-fourth over and

above the new paper. On 17th March, 1856, the first number of the penny Manchester organ was issued, and on the same day our journal came out in its enlarged shape. "I'll take the wind out of their sails," said the "Colonel," and so he did. The public, always eager for quantity, flocked to the journal, and higher and higher went the circulation. We were now printing from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand a day. Sleight's added value to his penny newspaper resulted in a further circulation increase, but at such a low selling price, and with insufficient advertising coming in, his debts increased sale, however, only brought with it increased expenditure and, as a matter of course, increased monetary difficulties. Paper was dear, there was still heavy duty upon it, and our staff had been considerably increased. Weekly wages had to be paid, paper bills had to be met, and advertisement accounts, on which we mainly depend, were slow in coming in. And so the "Colonel" was getting slowly into debt. Still he struggled on with indomitable pluck, living from hand to mouth. The money clerk and cashier was a man of expedients. He could cut a five or ten-pound note in two, and leave each of the halves with neighbours, getting the full value of the note, bringing the brother halves together again when a little money came into the exchequer. A five-pound note did duty for a time as ten pounds, and ten-pound notes as twenty pounds. And our difficulties were not lessened by our editor's ambition. (Galley Appendix 1)

March 1856

Levy takes a more active role

At this point J.M. Levy who, having just lost his court case against *The Sunday Times* (see 7.1), would have had a clear idea of Sleight's lack of working capital. He would also have seen quite clearly that *The Daily Telegraph* containing Sleight's ideas, new to Fleet Street, was gaining readers at an unprecedented rate. Levy's thoughts were no doubt shared by his astute brother Lionel and his accomplished young son Edward, who had gained print and editorial experience on *The Sunday Times*. With an ever increasing debt owed to them by Sleight the opportunity of a takeover was presenting itself

5. 8

April 25, 1856 Levy advances Sleigh £3,000 and appointed general manager of business

Sleigh was becoming more and more distant from the paper as his debts were mounting. Levy advances Sleigh £3,000 and was appointed general manager of the business department. This increased Levy's stranglehold on Sleigh.

Sleigh and Levy in 50/50 partnership

Four months later, on September 1, 1856, Sleigh and Levy enter into a 50/50 partnership. Sleigh still had hopes of entering Parliament, his strong convictions having been well aired in *The Daily Telegraph*. As an MP he would become immune from legal action against his debts.

Our proprietor's ambition

Sleigh was getting restless which was so much part of his character. Sleigh, the rolling stone, was always looking ahead for the next deal and opportunity and the galley (Appendix 1) reports on this:

He would get into Parliament, and expose in the House of Commons the incapacity of the heads at the Horse Guards. But there was a property qualification required for members then, and our editor had no property. He succeeded, however, in borrowing an old lady's rent-roll, and, on the strength of this, came forward as the Liberal candidate for a Lincoln borough. His canvass was, however, a fruitless one, and so he beat a retreat - a very ignominious one - before nomination day.

Back to London our editor - and now it must be borne in mind "Colonel," proprietor, and editor were one - came, but somewhat unsettled. He had set his mind on Parliament, and no one could persuade him to wait his opportunity. We were fast growing in influence as a newspaper, and in a short while would have been able to have fought successfully for a candidate in the Liberal interest, but not yet...

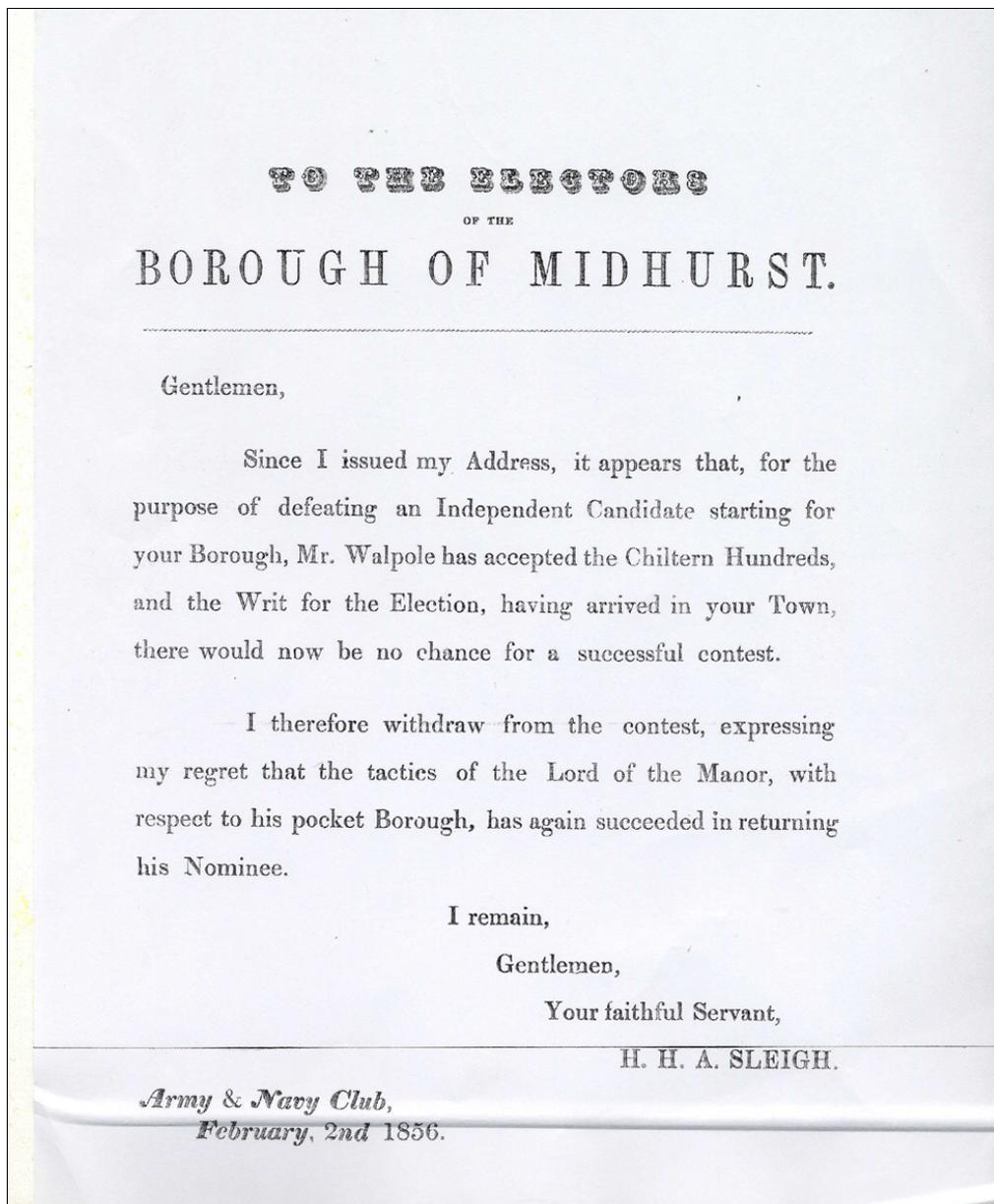
At this point the incomplete galley finishes. Sleigh's attempts to get into Parliament were all fought while he was the proprietor, then joint proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph*. His hope must have been to be a newspaper proprietor and MP, giving him the status and power for which he so craved.

Chapter 6. Sleigh's Parliamentary attempts

6.1 January 1856. Parliamentary seat of The Borough of Midhurst

Sleigh's, first attempt was the Liberal nomination for Midhurst in Sussex. This was the birthplace and childhood home of Richard Cobden, so it might have been at the suggestion of Cobden himself or a curious coincidence?

Sleigh's campaign commenced on January 1, 1856, and over the next four weeks he failed to gain much support. His planned rousing speeches at the Spread Eagle Hotel fell on deaf ears and, on February 2, 1856, he distributed a printed handout (Illustration 34) addressed from the Army and Navy Club which read:



34. Sleigh's handout announcing his withdrawal for Midhurst.

6. 2. February 1856. Sleigh and the Parliamentary seat of Boston

Just a month later, Sleigh attempted to gain the Liberal nomination for Boston in Lincolnshire.

THE BRITISH BANNER.
PUBLISHED EVERY TUESDAY AND THURSDAY.
LONDON, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1856.

TO THE FREE AND INDEPENDENT
ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF
BOSTON.

GENTLEMEN,—Understanding that a vacancy will shortly arise, through the retirement of one of your respected Members, the Hon. Henry Heathcote, I do myself the honour to announce to you my intention of soliciting your suffrages as a Candidate for the representation of your ancient borough in the Commons House of Parliament.

I offer myself upon independent Liberal principles, and beg to state, that my political views are generally in accordance with those held by the present Administration. I am a zealous advocate for the extension of education. I desire to see lessened those burthens which now press so heavily upon the professional, commercial, and industrial classes through our present unequal system of taxation. I am an uncompromising enemy of all sinecures, and I will devote the best of my abilities to the removal of those flagrant cases of corruption which still so glaringly encroach upon the hard earnings of the tax-payers of these kingdoms. I shall advocate a thorough reform in the entire system of our Parliamentary representation, by a more general extension of the franchise. I am an opponent of all Governmental schemes of centralisation. I desire to see the beneficial results of free trade more extensively carried out, by further legislative enactments. I believe that there is an urgent necessity for a large and comprehensive improvement in our laws, the administration of which is now alike vexatious and unnecessarily expensive.

With reference to the great question of the day, should the present negotiations for Peace fail to arrive at a successful conclusion, I will strenuously support a vigorous prosecution of the War, with the entire strength and resources of the nation. I shall oppose any terms being accepted save those which shall, in the fullest manner, protect Europe from a renewal of the insidious designs of that northern despotism which we have had to combat with our best blood and treasure. Should we have Peace, I shall, nevertheless, always maintain the necessity of keeping our military and naval establishments upon a footing of thorough efficiency and unimpaired organisation.

I consider that there is a loud and just demand for a large measure of military reform. I shall advocate greater inducements for enlistment, by means of a more extensive system of promotion from the ranks being conceded to our gallant, though ill-rewarded soldiers—a more equitable reward for merit, valour, and long service than can ever be secured under our present baneful system of purchase. I am an unflinching opponent of punishment by the lash, and shall endeavour to expunge from the Mutiny Act the power of awarding so degrading and debasing an infliction.

Having retired from the army, I have devoted my best energies to the cause of the people, and the same anxiety for their happiness, and their moral and political elevation, which has already secured for my labours so large a share of popular approval, will still actuate me in my Parliamentary career, should you do me the honour to return me as your representative to the House of Commons. Having myself no professional objects of advancement to secure by a seat in that House, I shall fearlessly, and irrespective of all party influences, devote my whole time, thoughts, and energy to the cause of reform in the State, the Church, the army and navy, and in every department of the public service.

I hope to have many opportunities of more thoroughly explaining my political views during the personal Canvass it will be my pleasure and duty to make in your borough.

In conclusion, considering it to be the bounden duty of a representative to faithfully watch over the local interests of his constituents, should you return me as your representative to Parliament, my best energies will always be placed at your disposal, collectively and individually.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your faithful Servant,
B. W. A. SLEIGH.
Army and Navy Club, Pall-mall, Feb. 23, 1856.

35. *The British Banner* published this open letter from Sleigh.

(Feb. 26, 1856, p.6)

March 5, 1856

This election and the alleged shenanigans were reported in *The Daily Telegraph*:

“The nomination of the candidates took place at noon yesterday, when W.H. Adams, Esq., was proposed by Mr. F.J. White, and seconded by Mr. J. Wren. Herbert Ingram, Esq., was proposed by Mr. Tuxford, and seconded by Mr. Thomas. The show of hands was largely in favour of Mr. Ingram, when a poll was demanded on behalf of Mr. Adams.

The polling takes place this today. Greatly to the regret of a large body of electors, Lieutenant-Colonel Sleigh prior to the nomination, had signified his intention to withdraw from the contest. During the nomination yesterday the colonel’s name was loudly cheered, and all classes regretted the retirement of the gallant candidate”.

The British Banner on March 6, 1856 (p.6) wrote:

Having had means, more ample, perhaps, than those of any other journal in the metropolis, of becoming acquainted with the election movements in Boston, we were quite prepared for the result of Colonel Sleigh’s offer of himself to represent that borough. In a former article we strongly commended Boston to the colonel. It contains, doubtless, a body of electors - men of truth, honour, and patriotism; but along with the soundness, there is intermingled a large amount of corruption this the colonel has found, to his cost. The gallant officer was, nevertheless, the best of men to practise upon - possessing, not simply a spirit to resist, but a hand to chastise. In *The Daily Telegraph*, of this day, he has done somewhat to ventilate the Boston pest-house. Few things are more to be desired than that every high principled candidate, offering himself to a corrupt constituency had in his hands a journal circulating nearly 30,000 copies daily.

Votes for sale to the highest bidder

Today, the Colonel declares that “there exists, at the present moment, a confederacy of freemen and electors, known as the ‘Rock Club,’ who march through the town with a green banner and a fife and drum, making known to the rival candidates that, there they are, ready to be purchased, and to sell their votes to the highest bidder!”

A deputation from this stony squadron of pure patriots, no later than Tuesday morning last, numbering some twenty voters, waited upon the agent of the above candidate, and requested to be informed how much per head that gentleman was willing to pay for their votes.

Disgusted at such corrupt and abominable proceedings, with a spirit which is deserving of all praise, Colonel Sleigh spurned the aid of each myrmidons, and withdrew from a contest in which honour was not to be achieved even by a candidate who goes in first at the head of a Boston Poll.

When it was announced that the Independent candidate would withdraw, his committee marched into his rooms, and each formally presented bills thus worded. 'To attendance upon Colonel Sleigh in committee and canvass, £1.10s. And these are 'Free and Independent voters,' who have a voice in returning to Parliament one of the representatives of the country.'

Now after this, let us hear no more of Sarum and Gatton [notorious rotten boroughs], *The Telegraph* asserts, that, at the election in 1852, which seated Mr.Heathcote, "it is stated that more than £20,000 was expended in securing the return of the honourable member."

Under these circumstances, is it a matter of astonishment if Colonel Sleigh withdrew his pretensions, leaving it to his opponent to walk over the course? To have acted otherwise had been, by participating in the corruption, to have shared the guilt, and to have upheld, instead of opposing the enormity. The two courses which were open to him were, respectively, stamped by honour and by infamy. Could a true patriot require one moment to determine his preference?

Sleigh's announcement to the electors.

To the Electors of the Borough of Boston:

After a canvass of your borough, I find that the local interest of the other two candidates have so far influenced the votes of a considerable number of the electors as to induce my friends to think it would not be advisable for me to further disturb the peace by continuing the present contest. I therefore withdraw from it. I have to thank you for the great courtesy I have received at your hands, and although I am well aware from the numerous flattering promises of support I have received during my canvas, that I would have polled a large number of votes, I yet consider the contest would have been too uncertain to warrant my now proceeding further.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your Faithful and obliged servant.

B.W.A. Sleigh. Committee Room, Red Lion Hotel, Boston.

6. 3 Society for Promoting the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot

Sleigh's interest in the *Society for Promoting the Adoption of Vote by Ballot* was a way forward for him as having no means to buy votes, he had to rely only on his undoubted skills as an orator and his persuasive manner.

During the contest for Boston, Sleigh was in correspondence with the society:

To: Col Sleigh

Sir - Understanding that you are a candidate to represent in Parliament the Borough of Boston, I am directed by the Committee of this Society most respectfully to enquire whether, if elected, you intend to support Mr. H. Berkeley's annual motion for the "Ballot,"

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

Wm. Wickham, Hon. Sec.

Offices of the Society for Promoting the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot.

5, Guildhall Chambers,

Basinghall Street

London. Feb 26, 1856.

Sleigh replied on March 1, 1856:

To: Wm. Wickham,, Esq.,

Hon. Sec. Ballot Society.

Sir-I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26 ult, enquiring from me, as candidate to represent in Parliament the Borough of Boston, whether I intend to support Mr. H. Berkeley's annual motion for the "Ballot." In reply, I beg you to do me the favour to inform the Committee of the 'Society for Promoting the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot,' that, in the event of my return to Parliament for Boston, or any other constituency, it is my intention to cordially support Mr. Henry Berkeley's motion, as I consider the principle of the Ballot of far greater importance towards the reform of our system of Parliamentary Representation than the extension of the Franchise under present circumstances-

I am, Sir, your faithful servant.

B.W.A. Sleigh

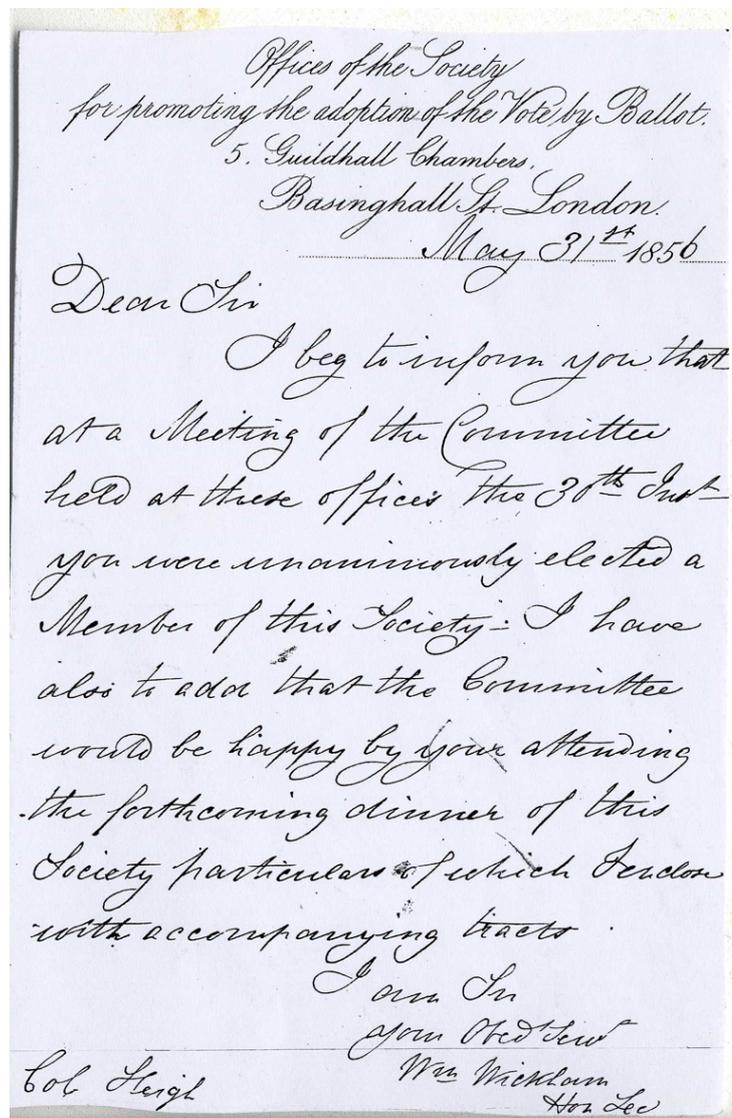
Army and Navy Club, March 1, 1856.

Interests of the electorate

Being a staunch advocate, Sleight believed that until the adoption of vote by ballot became the law of the land, it was not possible to have a Parliament properly identified with the interests of the electorate. The society was located at 5, Guildhall Chambers, Basinghall Street, London. The society reflected Sleight's sentiments and, to potential parliamentary candidates, gave strength to his cause

Sleight elected to the Society

Because of Sleight's strong campaigning for the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot, on May 31st 1856 he received confirmation that he had been elected a member of the Society.



Offices of the Society
for promoting the adoption of the Vote by Ballot.
5. Guildhall Chambers.
Basinghall St. London.
May 31st 1856

Dear Sir

I beg to inform you that
at a Meeting of the Committee
held at these offices the 30th Inst
you were unanimously elected a
Member of this Society: I have
also to add that the Committee
would be happy by your attending
the forthcoming dinner of this
Society particulars of which I enclose
with accompanying tracts.

I am Sir
your Obedt Serv^t
Wm Wickham
Hon Sec

Col. Sleight

36. Letter to Sleight from the Society for the Adoption of the Vote by Ballot

Having attempted twice in one year to win a parliamentary nomination, Sleigh was undaunted and keen for another chance to stand.

6. 4 February 1857. Sleigh and the Greenwich by-election

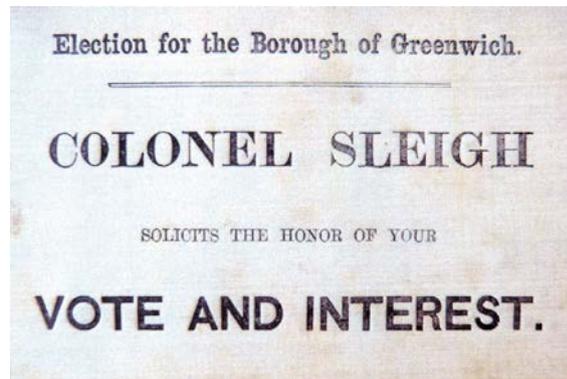
Sleigh had considerable debts, which were careering out of control, but if he were to succeed in getting a seat in Parliament he knew, that he would be shielded from them (5.8). He seized the opportunity to contest the Liberal seat for Greenwich against General Sir William Codrington.



37. Sir William Codrington

This most exciting by-election took place in on February 10, 1857. Codrington, aged fifty-three, was seventeen years older than Sleigh. He came from a famous family and, having been commander-in-chief of the war in the Crimea, he had a high public profile. Sleigh, who had campaigned for various reforms in *The Daily Telegraph* as described in 3.5, welcomed the opportunity to promote them and do battle with his *bête-noir*, General Codrington.

Sleigh the people's candidate



38. Poster - Greenwich

The by-election was particularly hard fought and Sleigh and Codrington were clearly at odds with one another on several key issues. Sleigh, the “People’s Candidate,” had, for a long time, campaigned against promotion in the militia being obtained by purchase and social standing. This was borne out by the publication of two letters published in *The Daily Telegraph* p.3, on January 3, 1857, aimed at Codrington. These letters stated that Codrington had played an inconspicuous part in the Crimean War and should not be perceived as a military hero.

Palmerston had sent Codrington to represent Greenwich to please Prince Albert and to prevent any middle-class man getting into the House of Commons. Prince Albert had brought pressure to bear on the late Lord Hardinge who had been anxious to appoint the experienced Sir Colin Campbell as commander-in-chief of the Crimea. Albert overruled Hardinge, and General Codrington was appointed commander-in-chief only because he “came of a better family” than the rightful successor Sir Colin Campbell.

Sleigh’s campaign topics

The election reports taken from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times* reveal much of the make-up and style of Colonel Sleigh and are important as they show his true passion. Anti-flogging in the armed services, commissions and promotion by purchase in the army, vote by ballot and the repeal of income tax, which had been increased to finance the Crimean War, were amongst the hard-fought topics. Within Sleigh’s speeches are to be found references to his proprietorship and founding of *The Daily Telegraph* and his pioneering innovations.

Codrington held many opinions that Sleigh found abhorrent. Amongst these were flogging in the services and the purchase of commissions by those without any military training. Sleigh had vented his wrath vociferously against such views in the columns of his *Daily Telegraph* since its launch on June 29, 1855. A more natural opponent for Codrington would have been hard to find and Sleigh appeared to win significant support from the rank and file of Greenwich. He worked harder and held more meetings than Codrington, but came up against “the system” which endeavoured to undermine him throughout his campaign. His money problems and previous dealings came back to haunt him. Had there been a one-man one-vote system and no Government Screw, Sleigh might well have had a more successful campaign. The *Telegraph* carried more space throughout in support for their man Sleigh, *The Times* sided more with the establishment candidate Sir William Codrington.

December 13, 1856

The Borough of Greenwich requisition to Colonel Sleigh:

Sir—We, the undersigned Electors of the Borough of Greenwich, approving of your advanced political sentiments as a sound Liberal, request that you will permit your name to be put in nomination as a candidate for the representation of our Borough in Parliament, to occupy the seat vacant by the retirement of Peter Rolt, Esq. Yours faithfully Carte
W. Moore, LL.D., Chairman.

Jno. Townsend, Chris. Teesdale, J.N. Robinson, John Dawson. James Seaward, George Everest, J. Dow, W.R. Hudson, G. Tomlinson, G.J. Moor, John Myon, Thos. Moor, Thos. Tassell, Chas Kibble, John Hills, W. Maslen, R. Trickett, A. Davies, Geo. Conell, Jas. Bishop, M. Spiller. J. Reed, John Patterson, Jas. Dobson, H. Moyze, J. Smith, W.H. Smallwood, C.D. Watkins, W.B. Barker.

And 200 other Electors.

Sleigh responded on December 15, 1856:

To: Dr. Carter W. Moore LL.D., and to Messrs, The Electors whose names are signed to the above Requisition:

Gentlemen—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a Requisition, dated the 13th inst., calling upon me, in consideration of you approval of “my advanced political principles as a sound Liberal,” to offer myself as a candidate for the representation of your ancient borough in the Commons House of Parliament. It would be an affectation upon my part were I not at once to convey to you the gratification I feel at receiving a requisition so numerous and influentially signed, and which I am informed, contains the names of a large number of electors than have been for many years attached to a single document. I have, therefore, great pleasure in accepting the honourable position which your requisition has called upon me to fill, and, in compliance with your request, I offer myself as a Candidate for the representation of your borough in Parliament.

My political sentiments are known to you, but, for the information of the electors in general, I may state that I am an advocate for Vote by Ballot, and I believe, until it becomes the law of the land, we can never expect to have a Parliament thoroughly identified with the interests of the people. I shall therefore continue to most strenuously advocate a measure which ever received my cordial support. The Income-tax presses very heavily and unequally upon the precarious and uncertain incomes the trading and industrial classes. I advocate an early and total repeal of that impost, and also a more equitable assessment of the taxation of the country, including a general Country or District Poor-rate, in lieu of the present oppressive and partial mode of assessment.

I am zealously attached to the cause of Civil and Religious Liberty. I take a great interest in Naval and Military questions, and having served, for many years in the army, I am better qualified to practically advocate a system which shall recognise the claims of merit as paramount to all other considerations. Independent of being interested through family ties with your Borough, I shall watch with great care over your local interests. I shall have numerous opportunities of more thoroughly explaining to the electors my political sentiments, and, I shall be returned to Parliament as your representative.

I have the honour to remain, gentlemen, your faithful servant.

B.W.A.Sleigh.

***The Times*, December 19, 1856**

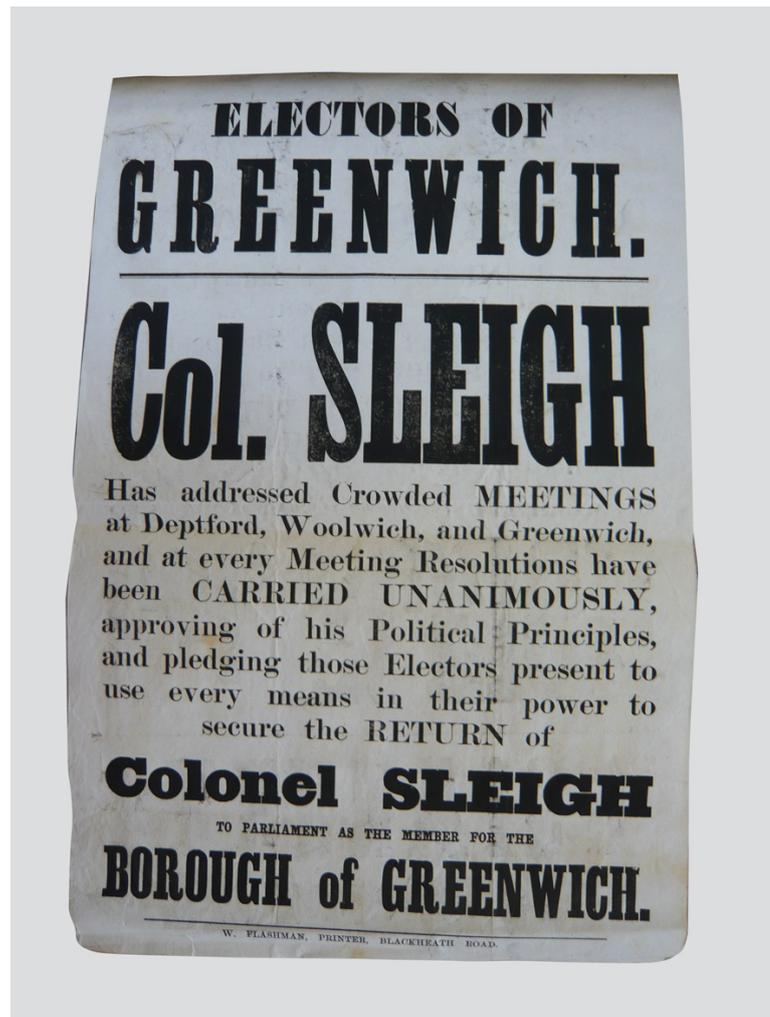
During the last few days a requisition has been circulated for signature within the borough, calling upon Colonel Sleigh, “reputed to be the proprietor of a daily penny metropolitan newspaper”, to come forward as a candidate. The document stated that it had been signed by 230 “electors” the names of 30 of whom are published; but it has since been ascertained that 17 out of the 30 are names which are not upon the register, and that some of the voters who did sign have, since the announcement that Sir William Codrington was about to declare himself a candidate, requested to withdraw their names from the requisition to the Colonel, alleging the reason for this that they signed under a misunderstanding.

Colonel Sleigh has issued an address, on which he accepts the honourable position which the requisitionists ask him to assume speaks significantly of his “advanced political principles” and declare himself an advocate for vote by ballot, an early and total repeal of the income-tax, and a more equitable assessment of the taxation of the country. Of course he adds, in common electioneering parlance, that he is zealously attached to the cause of civil and religious liberty, that he takes a great interest in naval and military questions, and that he has served for many years in the army. He also announced his intention to address the constituency on the evening of Monday next.

Still the proprietor

The Times description of Sleigh being “reputedly the proprietor of a daily penny metropolitan newspaper” is both significant and disparaging, and shows its condescending view of the first penny newspaper. It also reconfirms that Sleigh was still the proprietor (on a fifty/fifty basis with J.M. Levy) of *The Daily Telegraph*, in December 1856, seventeen months after its launch,

Sleigh immediately sent off a letter to *The Times* stating that: “Every name attached to the requisition calling upon me to permit my names to be put in nomination is that of a voter. It is all nonsense about 17 out of 30 names not being upon the register”. I deny that in toto.” Codrington had secured the government’s support and Sleigh, appealing to the “people” had a good following, but he felt *The Times* and the Establishment were conspiring against him.



39. Election Poster 1856/7

December 23, 1856, p.3. A letter to the Editor of *The Daily Telegraph* from An Elector, Committee Rooms, Portland Hotel, Greenwich, stated a summary of all that Sleigh stood for was written, probably, by or with Sleigh's approval:

Sir - I in common with my brother electors, appreciate the delicacy which restrains your pen from flashing forth sparkling denunciations, which have rendered the leading articles of *The Daily Telegraph* so celebrated, at the heads of those who would endeavour, by every possible means, to injure the candidature of Colonel Sleigh, the friend of the people. I can, however, easily imagine you biding your time, and only waiting for the fitting opportunity to loosen from their leashes the dogs of war - the talented and eloquent inspiration of your pen.

The present election for Greenwich affords an opportunity for my brother electors to show that the days of Treasury dictation are at an end. We have been bought and sold

like Carolina slaves, and the Treasury whip would still apply his cow-hide to drive us to the poll to vote; for whom? - why, for the scion of a Tory house - a favourite Guardsman, who was thrust into a position he was wholly unsuited to hold - the Commander-in-Chieftainship of the Army in the Crimea. If General Codrington were to get into Parliament, what would it avail the electors of our borough? They would just return one more aristocratic nominee to forge fresh chains by which the liberties of the people are curbed.

Our House of "Commons" should be designated the Lower House of Aristocrats. It teems with moustachioed and bearded nonentities. There we seek in vain for men of the people. No voice is raised in those sacred precincts on behalf of the over-taxed and the down-trodden. And when a man appears, whose genius and intellect has raised a Free Press, as a guardian of a people's liberties, we find Treasury spite evoked to heap upon his head the abuse every patriot must accept as his portion.

Men of the borough of Greenwich, of Woolwich, and of Deptford, permit me, in the columns of the *Telegraph*, as an elector, and as one of yourselves to ask you in this contest to act like men. We want no self-sufficient aristocratic nominee for our representative. Were we to return General Codrington, he would cut us ere many months, when his subservient votes had secured for himself his reward in the shape of a Commander-in-Chieftainship in India. Our Admiral's representatives have hoisted the blue Peter and sailed away from us long before this, with the Borough of Greenwich in their pockets. Our Generals will march away, to the tune of "The *Dupes* we left behind us," when they have the opportunity. Our Lawyers secure seats upon the Bench; let us therefore steer a new course, and ally ourselves with patriotic manhood. There is quite a sufficiency of Sir Williams in The House of Commons. What we require is a man who can and will denounce abuse and Government corruption. Such a man we believe we have found in the People's Candidate. There is no flinching in him. He will beard abuses even in the lion's den. The Government know this, and the moment they heard that Colonel Sleigh had been called upon to offer himself as a candidate, they went in a frantic search after some aristocrat, and they picked up General Codrington, and without a moment's loss of time, he is thrust forward uninvited, and a requisition is concocted, which takes a week to get up, signed by Admiralty tools, Secretaries of Government hospitals, and the *employees*, cousins, and brothers of those in receipt of treasury pay. And this is called a spontaneous expression of a people's wish! The *Times* says "500 signatures" have

been received for this precious document. Why, with three great Government yards and arsenals, Greenwich, Woolwich, and Deptford, one would think 1,000 names could have secured long before this. What are 500 names, in comparison to the 8,000 electors? I do not care if 2,000 names were secured for the Tory Requisition, for they will get every name that will vote, and, deducting the signatures from the number of voters, and we have at once a majority, which will return our candidate at the head of the poll. This time, I trust, the electors of Greenwich will show that our borough is no longer to be made a medium of time-bargains. The seat was offered to Colonel Sleigh for £1,500 and I am given to understand that the agent who sells our borough, drove with the Colonel to the Treasury, to see how Mr. Hayter felt. But the whipper-in at once saw that our candidate was a man whose spirit would rebel at giving his votes as the Government tools would require, and consequently General Codrington was sought after.

The shades of Navarino have been evoked to crave sympathy for the semi-Tory, whereas the candidate of our choice has to point to his having established the first free unstamped metropolitan newspaper, and he can refer with pride to the manner in which he has advocated the rights of the people ever since the first number of *The Daily Telegraph* was issued. His promises are not now merely evoked for electioneering purposes; Colonel Sleigh has proved that he has at heart the cause of the people. Such men we want, and such men we will have in parliament. We care not whether fortune has ever been fickle with him; we care not whether he is in a position to make a fool of himself by throwing away thousands in purchasing the good offices of “leading members of the constituency” whose price is £1,500; we heed not the abuse which is ever heaped upon the head of rising men; but we do care that Greenwich should be properly represented in Parliament, and we will this time show the Treasury that—despite their tools, despite their hired organs—who hate the man who has given the death-blow to the high-priced newspaper press, and who would therefore combine to crush him by their abuse, their venom, and their spite—we will organise, and rally around a gentlemen who deserves well of the people, whose cause he has ever advocated. Colonel Sleigh SHALL BE returned to Parliament as our representative. The working men, the independent tradesmen, the true liberals of our borough, will rally round the man of our choice, and now that the “heather is on fire,” If necessary, thousands of the men of Greenwich, Woolwich, and Deptford, will assemble, and, with Colonel Sleigh at their head, they will show the poor Government

dockyard and arsenal slaves that free men will no longer have their suffrages filched from them by Treasury whips.

Let us at once organise district meetings, and we will bid defiance to *The Times* and all other hired slavish organs of a tottering Government. Now is the time for action, and electors:-

“Heredity bondsman know ye not,

Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow!”

Your obedient Servant,

AN ELECTOR.

Committee Rooms, Portland Hotel, Greenwich, Dec 22, 1856

January 2, 1857, *The Daily Telegraph* p. 3

The Greenwich Election...That this committee have learned, with regret, that A.R. Bristow Esq., after acting as chairman of the meeting at Greenwich, at which it was resolved that the Ballot was necessary to the true representation and good government of the people of this country, should be instrumental in promoting the return of Sir Wm. Codrington, an opponent of that measure...The Ballot Society will promote Colonel Sleigh's candidature, and it is expected that another Ballot meeting will be held next week in Deptford...Colonel Sleigh, the popular candidate for Greenwich, has met with the greatest possible success in his canvas; and there can be little doubt but that the "People's Candidate" will have a tremendous majority.

January 3, 1857, *The Daily Telegraph* p. 2

The Greenwich Election.

Last night a very numerous and highly influential public attended a meeting of the inhabitants of Deptford and Greenwich and the neighbourhood, this was held in the Lecture Hall, High Street, Deptford, for the purpose of hearing from Colonel Sleigh, the popular candidate for the borough, a full exposition of his political opinions.

Long before the hour appointed for the commencement of the proceedings, the Hall was crowded to excess, at least 900 persons being present. The Rev. M.C. Gascoigne was unanimously called on to preside, and on opening the proceedings said that the meeting was convened for the purpose of considering the best means of exercising one of the most important political privileges with which they could be entrusted, a sacred obligation on them as citizens, namely, the election of a representative in the

House of Commons (Hear, Hear). The question involved was one that concerned the wellbeing of their country, and which they were bound to consider, not only with respect to themselves, but their wives and children, who would be affected by the manner in which they discharged their duty. In the exercise of the elective franchise they were discharging a trust that had been transmitted to them from their forefathers, and patriotism and proper feeling should induce them to return Members to the House of Commons who would correctly represent their sentiments and feelings, by which means they would be promoting the interests of their common country.

He was induced to make those observations, because an attempt was being made on the part of Government to tamper with the exercise of their right for the furtherance's of Ministerial purpose. (Hear, Hear). He would strenuously counsel them not to yield to that influence which aimed at subverting their liberties and which, if they had the interest of the country at heart, they were bound to resist to the utmost. (Hear, Hear). If they were not willing to be taxed unnecessarily, they should return to Parliament those representatives who would exercise a vigilant control over the public expenditure, and who would be governed in their conduct by an interest for the popular welfare, instead of being actuated by the views of a Ministerial party. After some further observations to the same effect the Rev.gentleman concluded by introducing Col Sleigh to the meeting as a gentleman calculated to represent their interests and local requirements in a most efficient manner.

Colonel Sleigh, who was received with the most enthusiastic plaudits, then came forward, and when the cheering had subsided addressed the meeting.

Sleigh's speech

Mr Chairman and gentlemen, when it was first announced that there was a vacancy in the representation of Greenwich, I heard that there had been numerous applications made to different influential persons to allow themselves to be put in nomination as candidates for the honour of representing the borough in Parliament. I believe that amongst these was Admiral Stewart, who declined in consequence of his professional engagements. Other liberal gentlemen were applied to, but they refused to stand for different reasons. (Hear, Hear and a laugh).

At last some friends of mine in this borough requested me to allow myself to be put in nomination. As a young man, I thought there was a certain degree of presumption in offering myself to solicit your suffrages – (No, no) – the suffrages of the electors of so

important a borough; but at length I yielded to the solicitations, considering that I should be doing no harm in coming forward, and when I look at the opportunity of explaining my political views affording you an opportunity of judging whether I was entitled to your suffrages. (Hear, Hear). I would be the last man to obtrude myself unjustifiably on the notice of a constituency, did I not consider that I might be the means of rendering, through my humble but zealous exertions, some service to the cause of political progress and social advancement. (Hear, Hear). I believe the time has arrived when advanced civilisation and altered circumstances make it imperative that we should apply to ancient institutions the best of present utility, and abolish many of the antiquated notions which we have inherited from our ancestors. (Hear, Hear). Instead of lauding “old” England, we should turn our attention to “young” England, and as one of the latter, I will take the liberty of laying my claims before you, and expound as fully as possible my political sentiments and feelings. (Hear, Hear and cheers).

I pledge myself

As I am only desirous of giving you a full transcript of these sentiments, I shall be most happy to answer any question that may be put, which I pledge myself to do without the slightest reserve. When I consented to allow myself to be put in nomination for the borough, I had reason to believe that I should have received support from the influential quarter, but I found that one of the gentlemen who is supposed to have the borough in his pocket was disinclined to offer me the support to which I had looked forward. I said that in my political career I had offered no vexatious opposition to the Government and that I would not feel bound to oppose them if they put the right men in the right places. (Hear, Hear).

Sleigh declares himself as the founder of the Penny Press

But when I came forward, and they ascertained that I was the humble individual who had founded a Penny Press in this country, and when they reverted to the leading articles in that paper with which I am connected, they at once perceived that I would not be their slave, and then they endeavour to trample upon me. But though the government wished to withdraw the patronage because they knew that I would not swerve from my political principles, the same reason has secured for me the suffrage of electors in this borough. (Hear, Hear and cheers). I felt also that, notwithstanding the calumny which had been heaped upon me, I was sustained by the reflection, that

as an Englishman there was nothing in my past life that sullied my reputation, or, as a member of an honourable family, blemished my escutcheon - (Hear,Hear) - and, therefore, as an Englishman, I felt justified in offering myself to your notice. (Cheers) I was aware at the time that I presented myself to you that the Government had resolved to oppose me through thick and thin, and I felt satisfied that the screw would be applied, as, I was well aware that the unconstitutional practice of Government interfering between the electors and the candidate was resorted to.

Under the circumstances I addressed a letter to Government asking them if they intended to adopt that unconstitutional practice in the present instance, and received a letter from the Home Office stating that Government would not oppose me. Notwithstanding, you perceive how the contest is carried on. If you return me you would show that men in the Government employment are not to be Government slaves. (Hear, Hear)

I come now to my political creed. I maintain that the only way in which you can promote your political rights is by the manner in which you exercise your franchise, and by introducing measures that will prevent your votes being controlled, and until such can be devised you can never expect to be free from Government influences. I have always been an enthusiastic advocate of vote by ballot. (Cheers). I sincerely believe that the adoption of that measure would be the means of making the House of Commons the reflex of the political feelings of the community. (Hear, Hear and Cheers). As that House is now constituted, it is a mere addendum to the House of Lords, and will remain a close borough so long as men are not permitted to express their political opinions at elections without persecution. (Hear, Hear). But if you succeed in obtaining vote by ballot, you will remove the great evil of the day, and have the right men in the right places. (Hear, Hear). It is true that you may not have men for your representatives.

January 5, 1857, p.12.

Codrington confirms he is standing as a Liberal reformer

The Times gave a report amounting to one complete column which covered General Codrington's ideas. These included a firm statement that he was standing as a Liberal reformer rather than a Conservative. He went on to say:

There was one point intimately associated with the question of civil and religious liberty to which he would for a moment advert. Some time ago they had a contest for the Parliamentary representation of that borough of Greenwich, in which a gentleman

of the Jewish persuasion was a candidate, and was eventually elected and he [General Codrington] thought rightly so. He would now say, in reference to that subject, that should he be returned to Parliament the cause of the admission of Jews to seats in the Legislature should have the utmost support...He then went on ...” in reference to the important question of church-rates, he thought the right principle was that those of another church should not be taxed for the support of one particular church.” A further and popular reference included... “Income tax and the 9d in the pound, imposed to pay for the Crimean war, should be removed

January 10, 1857 *The Daily Telegraph* p. 2.

Doubts expressed concerning Sleigh’s credentials

Sleigh, on presenting himself, was received with prolonged cheering and stated that, it was being bandied about that he was not actually entitled to the rank of Colonel [this was in fact correct].

He pointed out that he had served in Her Majesty’s regular forces, until he retired by the sale of his commission [correct – this was from his regular commission with the 77th. Regiment of Foot].

He had then, at a later time, proceeded to Canada, where troubles had arisen, and had offered his services [not so].

He had been appointed colonel commandant and it had been provided that officers in Canada, in consideration of services rendered to the Canadian revolution, should be granted the same rank in every part of the British Empire [facts not correct in his case].

It is ironic that Sleigh admitted the sale of his commission as he was campaigning against this system of purchase. It was not true to say that “troubles had arisen in Canada and he had offered his services”. His rank of Lt Col was an honorary one in the Canadian Militia and was rescinded shortly afterward it was granted when he was declared bankrupt and a fraudster then committed to prison in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

He was not entitled to call himself a Colonel.

Sleigh’s property ownership qualification in doubt

There were doubts too as to his claim to property ownership, this being a requirement to stand for Parliament. Sleigh had previously borrowed a rent book from his mother-in-law (Spellen) and had managed to get this accepted. To counter these accusations,

members of his election committee produced a handout which was freely distributed within the borough.

During this meeting Sleigh declared: "At present the House of Commons was so constituted that it was nothing but a house of subordinate aristocrats, who looked upon the people with the greatest contempt, and until the House of Commons represented the intelligence and interests of the country they would never have equitable or wholesome laws for the well-being of themselves and their children."

January 7, 1857 Sleigh's supporters testify as to his character

At a MEETING, held at the "Centurion Inn," Deptford Broadway, on Wednesday, January 7th, 1857, the following was unanimously adopted:—

We, the Undersigned, ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF GREENWICH, hereby certify, that we have investigated the various slanders which have been propagated to the attempted injury of COLONEL SLEIGH'S character, and, after carefully seeing by documentary evidence that such malicious rumours are not true, we pronounce them one and all to be false, and testify that COLONEL SLEIGH'S position and standing in Society is that of a Gentleman and man of honor, and that he is one thoroughly deserving of the entire confidence of the Constituency; and we further certify, that COLONEL SLEIGH'S property qualification has been exhibited to this meeting, and established beyond all probable doubt, as of ample value to qualify him to take his seat in the Commons House of Parliament.

DAVID BASS, High Street, Deptford.
THOMAS BAYLEY, New Cross Road, Deptford.
THOMAS COOK, Hatcham.
ALEXANDER DICKSON, High Street, Deptford.
M. C. GASCOIGNE, New Cross.
THOMAS INGOLD, Broadway.
SQUIRE S. LUCAS, Greenwich Road.

SAMUEL Mc CLELLAN, Senior, Deptford Bridge.
SAMUEL Mc CLELLAN, Junior, Broadway.
CARTER WILLIAM MOORE, Grove, Blackheath.
ALFRED PEPPERCORN, Broadway, Deptford.
WM. GURLEY SMITH, Florence Road, Deptford.
THOMAS TASSELL, Broadway, Deptford.

M. C. GASCOIGNE, CHAIRMAN.

Moved by Dr. MOORE, and Seconded by Mr. S. Mc CLELLAN;

RESOLVED:

That the best thanks of this Meeting be given to the Rev. M. C. GASCOIGNE for his kindness in presiding on this occasion.

40. *Sleigh's supporters repudiate doubts on his character*

January 8, 1857, p.12. *The Times* carried a report of a constituency meeting where “Codrington was asked by a working man, whether in view of the mismanagement by Generals and the aristocracy of the war in the Crimea, he would vote for promotion by merit and not by purchase in the army?” Codrington replied by saying that “he had been asked a difficult question, for was merit not the very thing they all wanted to find out? ...he could only say that he was NOT prepared to vote for the abolition by purchase of commissions in the army”.

**January 9, *The Daily Telegraph* p.2. Flogging in the services –
Codrington at odds with Sleigh**

At a meeting, in answer to a question which came from the belly of the hall, General Codrington said... “he was not prepared to abolish flogging in the army” (hissing and counter cheers).

The Daily Telegraph published on the same day (p.2), a full column which covered the main points of the meeting with balanced fairness.

The newspaper reports give a real insight into Sleigh’s thoughts. They confirm much of the deductions gleaned from the leading articles which had published in *The Daily Telegraph* a year earlier.

References to Sleigh and the cheap press

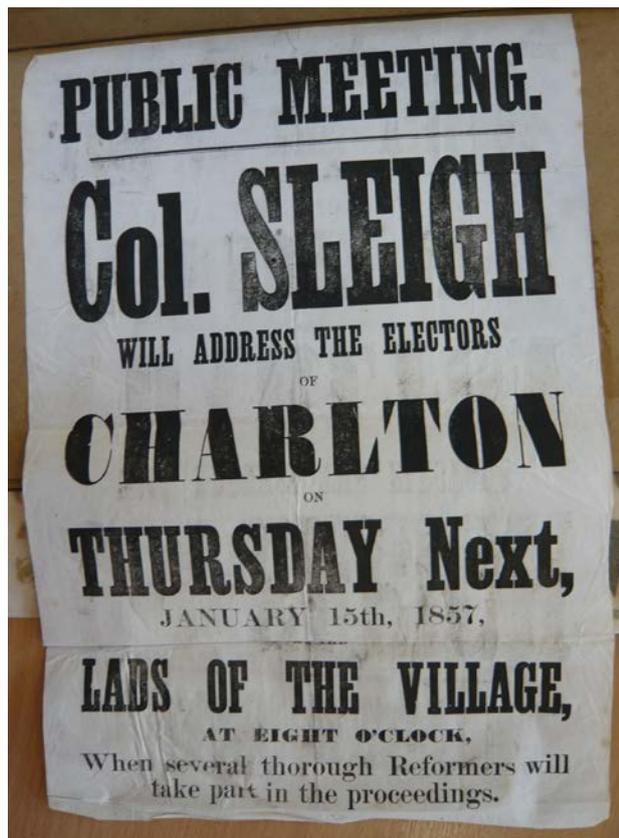
Furthermore, the important references to Sleigh being the creator of the cheap press is yet another reconfirmation that it was he who established the Penny Press and not J.M. Levy and his son Edward, as has so often been reported. As reported in Chapter 3.2, Sleigh v. Cole.

“Mr.” Sleigh

The Times on the same day, January 9, (p.10), concluded its report by referring to Col Sleigh as “Mr. Sleigh”. It is clear that Sleigh’s campaigning for the abolition of commissions by purchase was not new as he had expressed them from the start in the pages of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* Sleigh’s views were totally at odds to those of Codrington, whose views were traditionalist and those associated with the upper classes at the time. Sleigh held more modern views and appeared, at heart, a champion for a fairer society.

January 10, 1857. Sleigh nominated

At Sleigh's meeting held at Greenwich a Mr Townsend was called to the chair, and in opening the business he said that it once more became their duty to select a member to represent them in the Commons House of Parliament, and to choose a good, faithful, conscientious man. He went on to praise Col Sleigh by saying that there could not be found a gentleman, in all England, more deserving their respect, esteem, and good wishes.



41. Greenwich/Charlton poster

Army reform

The remainder of the meeting was taken up, as so many were, by Sleigh advocating the necessity of reforming the army by the abolition of promotion by purchase, and the institution of promotion by merit. He also contended that the disgraceful punishment of the lash should be abolished, and the income tax increases, levied to finance the Crimean War, should be abolished. He also advocated, as the momentum of the election intensified, that a poor man's endeavour to obtain justice in England, was so encumbered by legal costs and taxation that, if he was unable to pay, he was ruined for life - yet could have been proved innocent!

Sale of *The British Army Despatch* comes back to haunt Sleigh

Walker v Sleigh—Queen's Bench Division

The election battled on with enthusiastic and sometimes vituperative banter until suddenly to Sleigh's horror, a law report appeared on page 4 of *The Daily Telegraph* dated Monday January 26 1857, and in *The Times*, January 26, 1857, p 10, under the collective heading "Law Intelligence." QUEEN'S BENCH, WESTMINSTER, Jan. 24 (Before Lord Campbell and Justice Wightman, Crompton and Coleridge.)

Walker v. Sleigh

The plaintiff in this case is one Samuel Walker, a major in the militia, and he sued Colonel Sleigh to recover a sum of money, the value of a publication named *THE BRITISH ARMY DESPATCH*, which the colonel had sold to the major, in 1854.

Mr Edwin James, Q.C., now moved for a rule to show cause why an order made at Chambers should not be rescinded, and why the plaintiff should not proceed to trial at the sittings after Term. It was stated that the cause had come on for trial at Westminster, when it was arranged that the proceedings should be settled upon the defendant undertaking to pay £500 for debt and costs; and it was then stipulated that during the time for the payment of the instalments nothing should be done by Colonel Sleigh to prejudice the plaintiff's right, and it was further agreed that, in the event of the defendant not paying the instalments, the plaintiff should be at liberty to sign judgment for £900, the defendant giving his undertaking that there was not then any existing bill of sale upon the property, and that he would not execute any to the prejudice of the plaintiff. The first instalment of £250 was not paid, and the plaintiff issued execution.

Attempt to arrest Sleigh

Upon that the officer attempted to arrest him, whilst canvassing the electors of Greenwich, when the colonel produced a protection which he had obtained under a debtor and creditor arrangement. This protection had been filed after the colonel had undertaken to do nothing to the prejudice of the plaintiff. The protection extended to 24th of February next, at which time the colonel might be returned for Greenwich, and the plaintiff would not be able to arrest him then, because of his privilege. The learned counsel submitted that the action, which was to recover £1,200, ought to go down for trial. Rule granted, upon ex parte statement [from one side only] of plaintiff's counsel, the defendant having the privilege of showing cause against the rule.

***The Times*, January 26, 1857 (p.10) also printed a law report:**

Walker v. Sleigh

Mr. Edwin James, Q.C., moved for a rule to show cause why an order made by Mr. Justice Crompton should not be rescinded, and why the above cause should not be tried at the next sittings. The plaintiff had purchased off the defendant a publication called the *BRITISH ARMY DESPATCH*, and the action was brought to recover back the purchase money, £1,100, on the ground of misrepresentation of its value. Before the cause came on for trial it was compromised on the defendant agreeing to pay £500 by instalments and on certain terms; these terms, the learned counsel now stated, the defendant had violated. The instalment had become due, but was not paid; and when the officer went to arrest Colonel Sleigh he produced a protection from the Insolvent Court, which would expire on the 24th of February, by which time the defendant expected to be the Member for Greenwich. This was a gross breach of faith, and might have the effect of defeating the plaintiff's remedy. The Court granted a rule to show cause.

The words "misrepresentation of its value" appeared in *The Times* but not in *The Telegraph's* report.

Col. Sleigh, who had transferred half the equity in *The Daily Telegraph* during the preceding eighteen months to his printer J.M. Levy still had enough clout within the paper, to take a complete column on the letters page of the same issue stating his side of the case. The prose and rhetoric is typical of Sleigh's campaigning and persuasive style and yet one is left with questions as to what really had gone on and what had not been declared.

January 26, 1857 *The Daily Telegraph* p. 3.

GREENWICH ELECTION

How the "Screw" Had Been Attempted To Be Put Upon Colonel Sleigh

To The Editor of *The Daily Telegraph*

Sir--In your columns will be found reported the case of Walker v. Sleigh. And I take an early opportunity of exhibiting to the electors of Greenwich the manner in which the opposite party in the present election, finding that I am certain to be returned to Parliament as the representative of that borough, have endeavoured to cripple my exertions and put the screw upon me, through the medium of an individual who is in receipt of Government pay, and who resides in Charlton.

Well aware that the enemy has not hesitated to circulate every rumour injurious to myself, I feel called upon to give a personal explanation of certain circumstances, after which I feel satisfied I shall receive the sympathy of every honest elector in the three towns. I am not to be cowed down and crushed by the Government or their tools; and I well know that the attempt which has been made to injure me will recoil with ten-fold force-like the boomerang - upon the heads of those who hoped, by their machinations, to crush me, and drive me out of the field.

In the year 1854, I sold to an individual of the name of Walker, who describes himself as a "Major in the Militia," a newspaper I had conducted for some time, called the *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard*, and for which I received the sum of £900. After selling the paper to the Major, I assisted him, voluntarily, and without pay or reward, to edit his journal for nearly twelve months. In the year 1855, Major Walker informed me he expected a Government appointment (and I beg to remark, en passant, that the Major has been for years a steady applicant for Government pay), and requested me to see if I could resell the paper for him. Before I would attempt to do so, I informed him he must state what the paper was then worth. I received, in reply, from Major Walker, the following letter:

To: Lieut. Colonel Sleigh.

February 9th, 1855.

My Dear Colonel - Although much pressed for time, I comply with your request for an early answer to your note. I am not unwilling to treat for the sale of the paper, and as I am expecting shortly to be called upon to take up the appointment I mentioned to you the other day, I will name £1,500 as a price that will ensure a speedy arrangement of the transaction. A paper of established and increasing influence is not readily obtainable at so easy a price, but, under the pressure of time, I do not object to make some sacrifice.

Believe me,

yours very sincerely,

Samuel Walker.

Sleigh's letter continued...

I did not succeed in finding a purchaser for the paper, and I heard no more of the matter until 24th May, 1855, when I read in *The Times* newspaper the following advertisement, which Major Walker informed me was inserted by him: "First - class weekly newspaper for sale. This is an excellent opportunity for a gentleman of position seeking suitable occupation for his time and remunerative return for his capital. For terms apply to X.Y.Z, 2, Warwick Street, Cockspur Street."

It was very evident, therefore, that four months after the Major wrote to me to say his paper was worth £1,500, he still continued of the same opinion. I further read in the *British Army Despatch*, at the end of the year 1855, the announcement, in commencing a new year, that the "proprietor was grateful for the continued success of his journal." Major Walker having failed to sell the paper, and having ad interim obtained the object of his anxious solicitude - a majority in a regiment of militia - thought of an excellent plan to get rid of the concern, which was by bringing an action against me to re-pocket his £900, upon the plea that the paper was not worth what he had given for it.

Consequently in March, 1856, two years and two months after he had been in possession of the paper, which in February, 1855, a year after his purchase of it, he wrote to me to say was worth £1,500, in fact £600 more than he gave me for it, this honourable major in the militia, brought an action against me, on the plea that the paper was not worth what he had paid for it, and yet this same individual, in February, 1855, twelve months previously, wrote to me that the paper was worth £1,500.

A worthless purchase

If such was not the case, it is evident that this "officer" was quite willing to make his endeavour to take someone in by selling to them that which, in 1856, he finds it convenient to designate a "worthless purchase." How far such conduct is compatible with that which should govern an "officer and a gentleman," and a major in the "King's Own Light Infantry Regiment of Militia," perchance the Horse Guards and his brother officers may be called upon by me to decide.

The action dawdled on until November 28, 1856, when the cause was set down for trial. Hearing that Major Walker, although it was only from his acknowledged mismanagement of, the *British Army Despatch*, and his being incapable of writing a single line of original composition, had lost by the paper, and as he had served in the

army, I felt sorry for him, and having also a wholesome dread of law and lawyers, and having the adage before me as to the “glorious uncertainty of the law,” I against the advice of my counsel, and my solicitors, consented to settle the action by letting him sign judgment for £500 - £250 to be paid on the 15th January and £250 six weeks after; I paying down the costs. I paid in cash the costs, amounting to nearly £100, and not thinking that a day or two in payment of the first instalment would make much difference, I allowed the 15th to go by without paying the £250; but on the morning of the 16th my solicitors waited upon the solicitor of Major Walker, and requested that he would not sign judgment until one o’clock, when the £250 would be paid. But, true to the natural instinct of a lawyer, as the clock struck eleven, off he rushed and signed judgment, not only for £600, but for a £400 penalty. I, time after time, by my solicitor and others, even after this, proffered the £250 cash down, but nothing would be accepted but the £900.

For, to use the words of Major Walker’s solicitor, “The Colonel is sure to get returned for Greenwich, and then he will be protected from arrest.” I then offered to give security for the £250, to be paid within six weeks, so that my privilege from arrest could not operate to the disadvantage of Major Walker. This was also refused, nothing but the “pound of flesh” would satisfy the Shylocks of the law; and at once sheriff’s officers were despatched to Greenwich, to watch for me and arrest me and thereby, that once accomplished, the Government candidate would have the field to himself.

Under these peculiar circumstances, I felt it at once to be my duty to lay the above facts before some leading members of my committee; and they advised me, by all means, to resist such oppression. Having offered to Major Walker the full amount of his unjust claim, and having refused it, I felt justified in stating that I desired to make a fair and proper arrangement with Mr. Walker, and requested encouraging that protection from arrest which, thank Heaven! Every honest Englishman can avail himself of, even without a seat in Parliament.

Accordingly, accompanied by some members of my committee, I went, on the 20th instant, before Mr. Commissioner Holroyd, and these facts were stated, and that I desired to make a fair and proper arrangement with Mr. Walker, and requested ad interim, that protection which is granted under the “Private Arrangement Act of 1840.” I received protection from arrest, and thus the Government were prevented the extreme pleasure of seeing me driven out of the field. While I have done this, I beg to state, that my property will pay twenty shillings in the pound to any just creditor I

have in the world; but I will not pay the Shylock an infamous demand of £900, when, in point of fact, I did not rightly owe that man one farthing.

Under the Arrangement Act, four-fifths in number and amount of a man's creditors can compel a severe creditor to consent to the terms offered. I have more than that amount who will see me through this gross attempt at oppression; and thus "Samuel Walker, Major in the Militia, residing in Charlton," will find that, despite his aid to Government wishes, I shall be returned for Greenwich; and in fact, that I only now hold a legal protection, which a member of Parliament has a right, and which I will have.

The "screw" has thus been put upon me, but the Government will find that the free and independent electors of Greenwich will not permit a popular candidate to be injured in their estimation by any machinations of the enemy.

I well know that I can rely upon those hosts of noble friends in the borough of Greenwich, who will now only the more enthusiastically put the shoulder to the wheel, and exhibit to the world that they estimate a man of intellect and worth far beyond Government influence; and the efforts of Government oppression will not injure the candidate who has received their sympathy and support.

In conclusion, and to show how little I care about the attempt which has been made to injure me by the publicity of the proceedings taken in the action of Walker v. Sleigh, I request insertion in *The Daily Telegraph* a full report of the case, under the head of "Court of Queen's Bench." It will be seen by perusal of the proceedings that, as my chances of success at Greenwich increase, so do the demands of the major in militia. It was £250 when I was not a candidate, £500 after my triumphant meetings, £900 on the 16th, when my success was pretty certain, and on the 24th, when success was placed beyond doubt, the demand rises to £1,200 and at this rate of progression, calculated upon success on the day of the election I shall find the Government ally clamorous for £5,000. This may be fairly called "screw" but the enemy, in this instance, to their cost, will find that they have overshot the mark.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

B.W.A. Sleigh.

Greenwich. Jan. 25, 1857.

Major Walker would have been concerned having his business correspondence aired so publicly and by the setback in the repayment of his money. If Sleigh were to win

the Greenwich seat on February 10, 1857, he would get parliamentary protection, so Major Walker had to act quickly.

January 22, *The Daily Telegraph* p.2.

Sleigh continues to canvas unabashed

Sleigh canvassed on seemingly unperturbed by all the financial demands and in a speech on January 21, he declared:

...that he believed there was a universal sympathy in his favour in every part of the borough, and he felt confident that his prospects of becoming their representative were most cheering. (Loud cheers). He had invariably throughout his life, sympathised with and advocated the cause of the people. He had succeeded in establishing a cheap and free press, so that the people at large might enjoy the same advantages as the wealthy classes, and the principles enunciated in that newspaper were the principles he was prepared to adhere to if returned as their representative. (Loud Cheers) He revered the constitution of England, but he revered it only in proportion as it respected the rights and immunities of the people. (Cheers)...

Sleigh's leading articles

Sleigh was absolutely right in this declaration, and his campaign had been a mirror of his leading articles in *The Daily Telegraph* and whatever failings he had in his business dealings, he expounded his views with a pioneering spirit. It was for these reasons that he appealed to the underdogs in the constituency.

Major Walker still in pursuit

In the meantime, Major Walker had been preparing his strategy for the return of his money from Sleigh, and this was now a race against time as the election was due on February 10. But with all the public airing of his financial problems, Sleigh now used attack as his best means of defence and maintained throughout that Walker and the government were out to discredit him and assure a win for Codrington.

The Government screw

As part of Sleigh's attack he published in *The Daily Telegraph* on January 29, (p.2), the following:

The “Government Screw” The following letter has been addressed to Colonel Sleigh, and Colonel Sleigh has written to the Secretary of the Admiralty, reminding him of the written promises given by the Government, that they will not interfere directly or indirectly with the votes of those under their employ; and, further, Colonel Sleigh has intimated to the Government that should this interference continue, Colonel Sleigh will bring the whole subject before Parliament”.

The letter reads:

Jan. 26 1857

Sir- I have taken the liberty to inform you that the “screw” is attempted to be put on in Woolwich Dockyard. I think after the orders being received that no officer was to interfere in the coming election, that it is shameful for a certain foreman in Woolwich dockyard to canvas the workshops, this party being a committee man for Sir W. Codrington. If this is worth your notice, I should like to see it published. I can furnish you with the person’s name if required. I have not had an opportunity seeing you, so I have taken the liberty of communicating to you this fact. –Yours, very respectfully.
John Tinsley.

Another note appeared in the same issue written from: “Greenwich Road.” We are further informed that Colonel Sleigh, and several leading gentlemen of Woolwich, have demanded that the foreman alluded to be discharged, for his illegal interference with the votes of the workman.

January 30, 1857.

Sleigh wrote from the Committee Rooms, Portland Hotel, Greenwich, to R.B. Osborne Esq., M.P., Secretary, Admiralty.

Sir- I request you will, without delay, bring to the notice of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the following facts, which require their lordships’ early and serious attention. I received a letter signed by the secretary of the admiralty, and dated the 17th December (1856), in which he informed that – “the department altogether abstained from mixing itself up in electioneering contests, and declined to influence, either directly or indirectly, those under their control”... in exercise I take the above to mean, that while my lords very properly decline to influence the votes of those

under their control,” that they will not sanction the exercise of direct influence brought to bear by officers in their pay, to coerce the votes of men in the Government Dockyards, and that if such conduct is brought home to any officer thus illegally acting my Lords of the Admiralty will not hesitate to uphold in all its integrity the strict meaning of the promise contained in their lordship’s letter of the 17th December.

I have to report that the foreman of the smithy of Woolwich Dockyard, who is on the committee of Sir W. Codrington, is openly, in the Government workshop, canvassing the men of his department for the votes for General Codrington. I have further to report that Mr Hadfield, of the dispensary department, Deptford Dockyard, has been sending for the men employed in the dockyard into the surgery in the victualling yard, and soliciting their votes for General Codrington.

I have no hesitation in designating such conduct as subversive of the order and letter of my Lords of the Admiralty, and, as a candidate for the representation of the borough of Greenwich in Parliament, I now call upon my Lords of the Admiralty to suspend those officers, and thereby prove to the electors that the Government is not ‘indirectly’ sanctioning the ‘direct influence’ of those officers in their employ, in thus illegally, unconstitutionally, and most unwarrantably tampering with the suffrage of men in the Government dockyards.

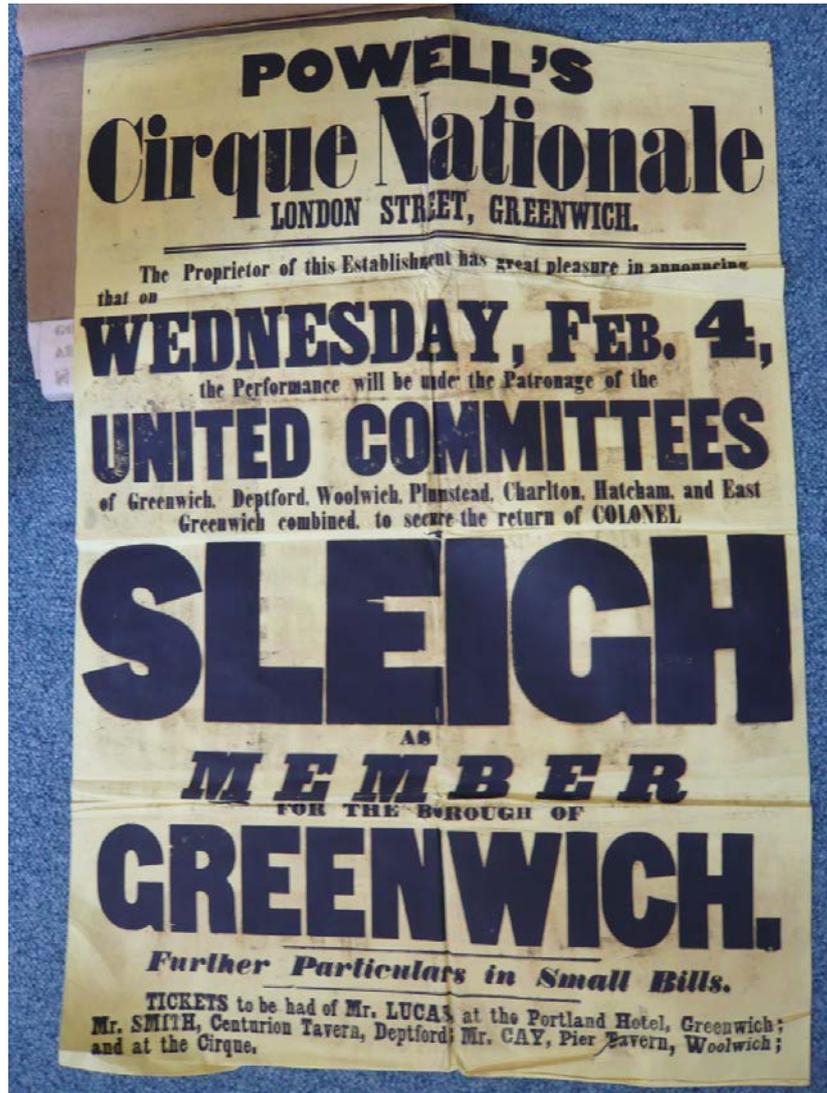
It is necessary that I should request an immediate reply to this letter, as I intend to make it public, together with the answer of my Lords of the Admiralty, and failing to protect the men in their suffrage from Government interferences, the whole question shall be stated upon the hustings, and brought before Parliament.

I am, Sir,

your obedient servant

B.W.A. Sleigh.

January 28, 1857 p.3. At a meeting in Deptford: Sleigh assured the audience that his brightest ambition was to be of service to the poor men, and to defend their rights in the Commons House of Parliament.



42. Powell's Cirque Nationale Poster

February 4, 1857 p.3. A letter was published in *The Daily Telegraph*:

GOVERNMENT "SCREW"

Admiralty, SW., Feb 2, 1857

Sir - I have laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 31st ultimo, which was only received this day, and I am commanded to acquaint you that my Lords will make inquiry into the allegations therein contained.

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,

Thos. Phinn

February 5, 1857. Sleigh published a notice in *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, stating that “he had had many favourable meetings in the borough against... my opponent, notwithstanding his being backed by that broken reed, of imaginary myth, “Government influence”.

Major Walker issues a summons

However on the same day at this critical point of the election campaign and with only five days to go before polling day, there appeared in *The Times* on page 9, the following notice possibly placed at the behest of Major Walker who was desperately trying to get his money back from Sleigh:

COURT OF BANKRUPTCY, Basinghall Street, Feb.5, 1857

Before Mr. Commissioner Evans.

Re: Colonel Sleigh.

This was a trader debtor summons taken out by Major Walker against Colonel Sleigh on a claim arising from the sale of a newspaper.

The summons being returnable today the solicitor for Major Walker was in attendance. Colonel Sleigh did not appear either personally or by solicitor, and a record was entered on the proceedings thus: An act of bankruptcy will have been committed by Colonel Sleigh on the eighth day from the service of the summons, and the summons must have been served at least four clear days out of that number, to be returnable today. It follows that Colonel Sleigh may be adjudicated bankrupt on or before Monday next.

The appearance of this bankruptcy notice in *The Times* came as a surprise to Sleigh and the negative publicity would not have helped his public standing during the last few electioneering days.

February 7, 1857. *The Daily Telegraph* published on p.3, the account of Sleigh’s address to his faithful following of the previous evening and it is all too clear that Sleigh, despite his exhausted and bronchial condition, was fighting for all he was worth...: “He was confident of being returned their representative. (Loud Cheers) ...”He did not care how much he had been vilified and abused, for in the midst of all, his honour, he knew had never been tainted. (Cheers). He did not care for that one

paper, *The Times* (hisses); that print had not failed that day to perpetuate a foul calumny, untrue and base. It had published that paragraph in the midst of the great battle, when they knew that victory was in his power. (Cheers and groans for *The Times*)”.

At the end of the meeting a resolution was passed stating that they held Sleigh in high esteem:

“The electors treat with sovereign contempt the base efforts of Colonel Sleigh’s enemies to injure him in their esteem and, it was further received that *The Times* newspaper, and other tools of the Government, deserve the execration of every honest English heart for their paltry and mean efforts to injure a man who so superior to them in intellect, and the claims of a genius worthy of our esteem.”

Codrington taunts Sleigh

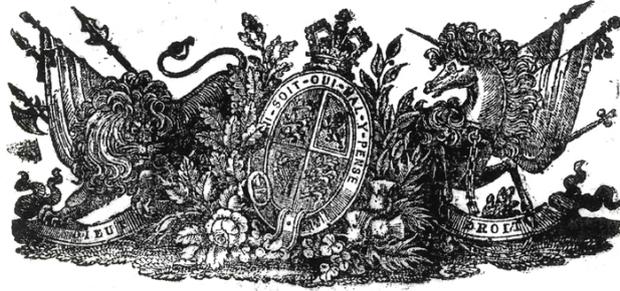
Codrington made much political capital of the bankruptcy notice in *The Times* and Sleigh in a speech to the electors fought back....

“He [Col Sleigh] would, upon the hustings, inform General Codrington, he was deficient in the intellect necessary to represent them; that he displayed the worst of taste by having resort to consolation from the cowardly attacks of *The Times* newspaper. He [Col Sleigh] would upon the hustings screw the very liver out of his opponent, and if General Codrington, despite his K.G.B’s, dared to taunt him with the lies of the jurists, he would grapple with the General, and not fear to tear out a recreant tongue. (Loud Cheers).

Hustings erected – the nomination of candidates

The nomination of candidates for the Borough of Greenwich took place on the morning of Monday, February 9, 1857, on the hustings erected near St Alphage Church. The two candidates attempted to address the electors but the noise and excitement almost drowned their words. The returning officer inquired if any elector had any other candidate to propose, and none other coming forward, the name of General Codrington was put and a considerable number of hands held up. Mr. [as *The Times* described him on page 3, February 10, 1857] Sleigh was next, and the show was much in his favour.

SLEIGH & VICTORY



Come all you jovial Greenwich blades,
Wherever you may be,
Cheer up and vote like Britons bold,
For gallant Colonel Sleigh,
Let us have no flogging general,
Let us have the poor man's friend,
It must be he, brave Colonel Sleigh,
We to parliament must send.

CHORUS.
Then hasten to the poll my lads,
Let Greenwich happy be,
And elect with joy the poor man's friend,
The gallant Colonel Sleigh.

To do away with flogging:
Codrington has no idea,
Although he is a soldier,
And has been to the Crimea,
He says he likes the income tax,
For what I cannot tell,
Unless it is to have a spree,
At the glorious Dog and Bell.

Cheer up you brave collegemen,
And sport your noble pegs,
And fight away so jovially,
Brush up your wooden legs,
Vote for Sleigh and victory,
On to the hustings jog,
If you dare to vote for Codrington,
You will get nicely flogged.

You pretty girls of Woolwich town,
And soldiers jovial be,
You cannot have a better man,
I know than Colonel Sleigh.

He swears he does not like the cat,
Or any cruel rigs,
But Codrington can flog a man,
A donkey or a pig.

Behold the thousands unemployed,
In all the country through,
Their families lamenting,
And no work for them to do,
And if you send up Codrington,
The hour you will curse,
If times are hard and trade is dead,
He make it ten times worse.

Then here's success to gallant Sleigh,
In porter wine and ales,
And the dayies or the dusthole,
And the pretty Prince of Wales,
They will not vote for Codrington,
They don't like him to see,
The ladies don't like flogging,
So they stick to Colonel Sleigh.

Sleigh must go to parliament,
When he will boldly fight,
For honour and for glory,
And to gain the poor man's right,
So don't delay a moment,
All you Greenwich votes flee,
That wishes to obtain your right,
And vote for noble Sleigh.

Dever, Printer, 13, Cit. St., Adyar Street

43. Election words played to marching band during the election campaign

The poll was fixed for the next day, Tuesday, February 10, (p:5) and *The Times* declared that the opinion of the borough seems all in favour of General Codrington's return by a large majority.

The Telegraph, Tuesday, February 10, (p.3) declared that the struggle will be an unusual one, but if the promises hold good, Colonel Sleigh will be M.P. for Greenwich.

On polling day, February 10, Codrington had an early lead over Sleigh and as the day continued this lead increased and there was no sign of hope for Sleigh.

On February 11, (p.5), *The Times* took great pleasure in reporting:

The polling for this borough commenced yesterday morning at 8 o'clock. Though at the nomination the show of hands was greatly in favour of Colonel Sleigh, yet it was generally considered that he stood no chance at the poll. There was, in fact, just sufficient excitement to obstruct much of the business of the town without in the least affecting the result as to General Codrington's return. All that gentleman's supporters therefore took the matter very coolly, and the regular constitutional bustle was only maintained by the adherents of his opponent who, to do them bare justice, exerted themselves in that respect most astonishingly.

***The Daily Telegraph*, p. 3. published a very different view...**

"It was evident to all present at the election that Colonel Sleigh had fairly succeeded in ingratiating himself with the majority of those persons whose occupation and means of livelihood connect them with the borough, and it is confidently believed that had not an unsparing application of the screw been applied, the result would doubtless have proved greatly in favour of the gallant Colonel. However, by the unlimited exercise of Government influence, and through the assistance of those parties actually dependant for their livelihood upon the "powers that be", a number of the voters were precluded from recording their practical approval of the Colonel's principles. And actually compelled, if not to support his opponent, at least to remain neutral in the contest (sic).

Codrington 2,975

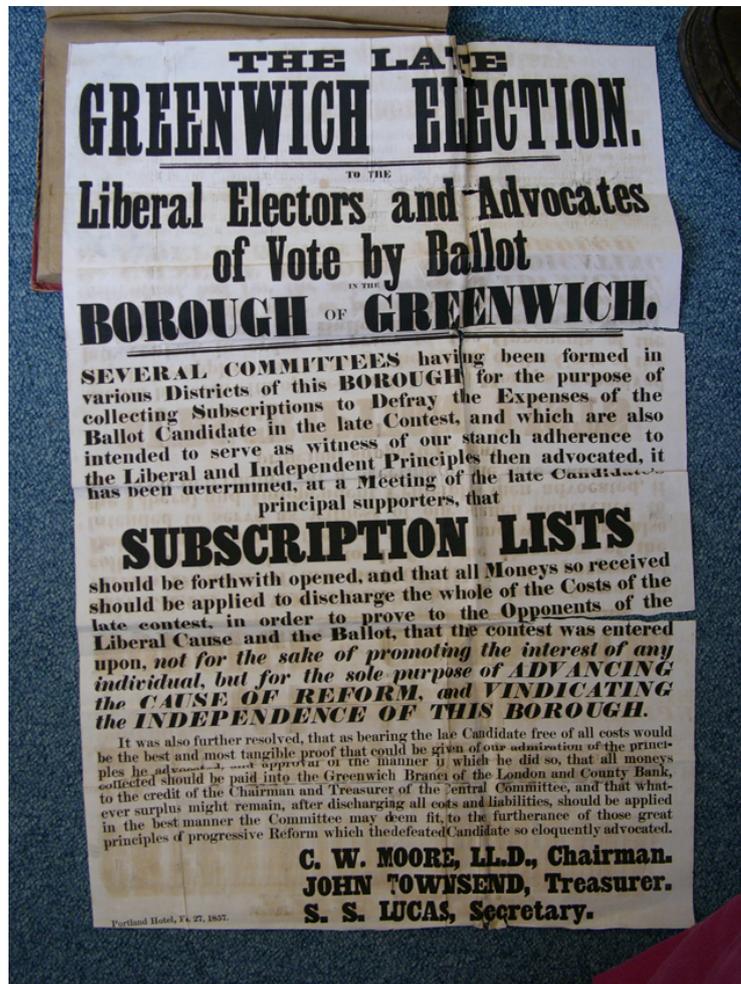
Sleigh 1,543

The Times, February 15, 1857 (p.5), summed up the campaign by saying that...

"A general opinion seemed to prevail, even among the warm supporters of General Codrington, that had that gentleman been opposed by any man of mark and influence he would have been heavily defeated; but, as it was, he obtained a large majority, the electors seeming to think that, as between Sir William and his opponent, they had nothing but the unpleasant choice popularly known as 'Hobson's'.

Sleigh seeks funding to defray his election attempt

To help defray the expenses of Sleigh's election campaign, posters were subsequently displayed in the constituency seeking funds.



44. Poster displayed in Greenwich, Woolwich and Deptford seeking funds for Sleigh's failed bid to get elected.

Sleigh sells the remaining 50% of his shares in *The Daily Telegraph* to J.M. Levy

On February 17, 1857, Col Sleigh with substantial election, personal and business debts, including claims from Major Walker for the return of monies due from the contested sale of the *Military Despatch*, had no option but to sell his remaining fifty per cent interest in *The Daily Telegraph* to J.M. Levy, his partner and printer.

Chapter 7

7. 1

The Question of Ownership: June 29, 1855 - February 17, 1857

Analysis-correction-confirmation

Lucy Brown who gave a paper entitled, *THE TREATMENT OF THE NEWS IN MID-VICTORIAN NEWSPAPERS*, to The Royal Historical Society on March 5, 1976 mentioned that *The Daily Telegraph* was a great success story of the 1860s

It had been acquired in 1855 by its printer, J.M. Levy, when it was running into debt. With his son Edward as editor, he made a conspicuous success of it as a penny paper.

The paper described itself as “independent Liberal” (Hesketh Pearson, *Labby; the life of Henry Labouchere* London, 1936, pp.68-69). It seems probable that the Levy-Lawson family, who had acquired it, so to speak, by accident, looked on it primarily as a commercial venture which should be run as a profit.

The phrase “acquired, so to speak, by accident” is of interest and this research considers the facts of the acquisition in 1857 in depth.

There has always been much confusion and many varying references to the ownership question of *The Daily Telegraph* from its inception in 1855. This research has concluded, from new findings, that Sleight launched his newspaper on June 29, 1855, with three partners each investing £1,500. The partners, colleagues of his from *The Army & Navy Club*, were Edward Heneague Dering, Cholmely Edward Dering and Edmund Yates Peel. This partnership was short lived and was dissolved on August 18, 1855. (*British Gazette* 1855 p. 4155)

From this point onwards it is most commonly recorded that J.M. Levy took control of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* title after “only a matter of weeks” and then reduced the price to one penny.

There are also many reports stating that J.M. Levy “owned” *The Sunday Times*. It is beyond doubt that he did not, and this can be seen from the law report which was published in *The Times* on March 17, 1856.

In this report it is clearly described that Levy had the opportunity to purchase, at different times, either a portion or the complete title of *The Sunday Times* but failed to do so. Had he done so it is extremely doubtful whether *The Daily Telegraph* would have survived as the under-capitalised Sleigh would have been unable to continue on his own. It is also evident from my research, backed up by original sources, that Sleigh played a much more active part, and for a longer time, than has been reported. A tremendous amount of success and with it good fortune had been achieved after the final pay-off to Sleigh on February 17, 1857. But memories were short as only thirty three years after Sleigh had founded *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, in 1855, J.M. Levy in his various obituaries, was being credited as “one of the founders of *The Daily Telegraph*”. Although he had an early printing involvement - a founder he was not.

To add to the misleading reports it must be noted that *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage* (2003, p.594) states inaccurately that “Joseph Moses Levy founded *The Daily Telegraph* and forwarded the cheap press”. *The DNB* 2004 (Vol.33 p.559) indicates, also inaccurately, that Levy became the owner as well as printer of *The Sunday Times*. It goes on to say more accurately that he took over, in 1855, the printing of *The Daily Telegraph*, founded by Col Sleigh but then carries on, less accurately, with the often repeated line that he and his son Edward took control in August 1855 and dropped the *Courier* from the masthead title and reduced the price to one penny.

Surprisingly, Sir William Berry, who purchased *The Daily Telegraph* with Sir Edward Illife and Sir Gomer Berry from the Burnhams in 1928, stated in his book *British Newspapers and Their Controllers* (Camrose1947): “Levy was already interested in newspapers, being the owner of *The Sunday Times*...” He went on to say that “Colonel Sleigh's finances failed after a few months...” Hobson et al (1972) state that... “a printer named J.M. Levy, became its [*The Sunday Times*] chief proprietor in 1855. But finding that he had his hands full with *The Telegraph*, which made history in Fleet Street when he reduced its price to one penny in September, 1855, he sold his interest to E.T.Smith...” Neither Levy being described as the owner of *The Sunday Times* nor his selling it to E.T. Smith is correct. This is confirmed in the following chapter, 7.2, Levy v Lamb court case on March 12, 1856, and can now be fully refuted. (Interview Nick Mays, senior archivist News International, on June, 16, 2006.)

Levy v. Lamb – the full report

March 17 1856: *The Times*, p.10, published a law report of the case Levy v. Lamb before Vice-Chancellor Sir W.P. Wood.

This was a motion on behalf of the plaintiff to restrain the defendants, G H. Lamb, H. Lamb and Thomas Lamb, from completing or taking any further proceedings towards completing the sale of *The Sunday Times* to the defendant E.T. Smith, and from assigning or transferring the newspaper or any share therein to Smith or any other person without the plaintiff's consent. It appeared from the statements in the bill that the plaintiff had been requested in October, 1854, by Lamb's defendants, who were the proprietors of *The Sunday Times* to undertake the management of the paper.

The plaintiff [J.M. Levy] stated his terms in a letter of October 25, 1854, and in November 1854 it was agreed, in an interview between the plaintiff and the defendant George Lamb, that the defendants should engage him for the term of three years at five guineas a week to manage and conduct *The Sunday Times*, this salary to be increased to eight guineas a week as soon as the profits of the paper should be increased to the extent of £1,000 per annum, and that the plaintiff should have the option at any time during the term of three years of purchasing a quarter of the newspaper for £2,000.

This agreement was, at the request of George Lamb, reduced into writing by the plaintiff and signed in duplicate. The two copies of this agreement were sent to George Lamb for the signature of himself and his brothers, and several ineffectual applications were made by the plaintiff in 1855 that the agreement should be returned to him signed by the defendants.

Towards the end of 1855 the plaintiff was invited to purchase the whole of the newspaper, but declined to take upon himself so large a responsibility. Having subsequently been informed that the defendants were determined to sell the paper, he wrote to the defendant H. Lamb, on January 28 1856, expressing his surprise at what he had heard, especially after the arrangement between them that he should have the right to purchase a quarter of the paper within a given period.

He admitted that the agreement, with only his signature attached, had been lying in the hands of George Lamb, at whose request, and upon the ground that there was rarely an opportunity of getting half an hour with the defendants on the affairs of the paper, he had allowed the completion of the agreement to stand over (sic), and that he had not objected to this, knowing the agreement to be morally and legally binding, at

the same time urging them at once to complete the documents and settle the arrears of his salary .

On the following day Henry Lamb called upon the plaintiff and made certain propositions to him about purchasing half of the paper, and did not, according to the plaintiff's statement, dispute or question his right, under the agreement, to purchase a quarter of the paper; but, on the contrary, admitted his right. After some further negotiation, the plaintiff, on February 21, 1856, offered to purchase the paper for £3,000, to be paid by instalments. On February 25, the plaintiff was informed by the defendants that they could not accept his offer, as they had made other arrangements.

The intended purchaser

As soon as he learnt that Mr. E.T. Smith, the leasee of Drury Lane Theatre, was the intended purchaser, the plaintiff, on February 28, gave him notice of the agreement of 1854, and that proceedings would be taken to restrain the assignment or transfer of the paper. The plaintiff who had filed his bill on the 3rd of March obtained an interim order restraining the defendants, George, Henry, and Thomas Lamb, until after Saturday last, from completing the sale, or signing or transferring the paper to the defendant E.T. Smith. The defendants had filed affidavits denying many of the plaintiff's statements, and stating that they looked upon the agreement as a proposal by the plaintiff; that it had never been signed, from its containing a stipulation to engage the plaintiff for three years certain and an option to the plaintiff of purchasing a quarter of the newspaper, to both which stipulations the plaintiff was well aware that the defendants positively objected, and that the proposed agreement was accordingly laid aside, and never shown to Henry and Thomas by George Lamb.

Mr. Bolt and Mr. Speed [barristers] now moved for an injunction, and contended that the agreement of December 1854 had never been repudiated by the defendants, who had clearly assented to it by their course of dealing with the plaintiff, and that they were bound to adhere to its provisions. The defendant Smith had clear notice of all the circumstances and could not be allowed to complete his purchase to the injury of the plaintiff's rights, which were those of a partner; nor had the Lambs any right to sell their three-fourths of the concern without the plaintiff's consent.

The Vice-Chancellor (without calling upon Mr. Daniel and Mr. Cottrell [barristers] for the defendants) said that the plaintiff was not entitled to the injunction asked for, as at the present time there was no sufficient agreement established. A verbal communication had taken place between the parties towards the end of 1854, and a letter was sent in October of that year by the plaintiff, stating his terms, in which no definite time was fixed during which the engagement was to be binding upon the parties.

An agreement, signed by the plaintiff in duplicate, had been handed over to the defendants, and it was certainly a remarkable coincidence that the agreement should not have been shown to the other defendants by George Lamb. It was stated that the defendants were not disposed to bind themselves to the terms. At all events it was not signed, and it was surprising that the plaintiff should have been content to allow it to remain unsigned. He had entered upon the management of the paper at five guineas a week, and continued in that position until he received an intimation of the sale of the paper. At all events, he had a right to consider himself aggrieved at the treaty having been entered into without his own proposal having been definitely settled.

There was much to show that Henry had in a great measure acquiesced in the plaintiff's view of his claim; at the same time, the letter of 28th January indicated that the agreement was not considered by the plaintiff as finally adjusted and concluded.

The highest that the plaintiff had brought his case to was that the defendants wished to have his services, thinking them of value, and were willing to retain them up to the actual sale of the paper, but that the agreement had not been signed, and in his own view it had not assumed its actual completion. Thomas Lamb was in no way affected, nor was it necessary upon the present occasion to consider the position of Smith. (End of trial in Victorian legal parlance)

Levy loses *Sunday Times* printing contract

This case obviously resulted in a split between J.M. Levy and the proprietors of *The Sunday Times*; Levy not only lost his employment but also his printing contract. To add insult to injury *The Sunday Times* awarded Levy's competitor and former *Daily Telegraph* printer, David Mithchell Aird, of 18 Exeter Street, Covent Garden, their printing contract.

T.P. O'Connor, who joined *The Telegraph* in 1867, wrote the obituary of the late managing editor Sir John M. Le Sage (died 1926), made the inaccurate and astonishing remark, "that Sergeant Sleigh (Lt Col Sleigh's barrister brother) was the originator of the penny press". Sergeant Sleigh and had no connection with *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

As a result of my showing Duff Hart-Davis the document dated February 17, 1857, (Document 1), which I had found in the Fleet Street basement in 1987, he was able to include an accurate reference to the transfer dates of ownership question. He wrote: "Earlier accounts have suggested that this [the transfer of ownership] happened after only a few weeks; but a document which came to light when the paper vacated 135, Fleet Street, in 1986, shows that Levy made Sleigh a payment of £2,000 on 17 February 1857." (Hart-Davis 1990, p.28)

This was Sleigh's final payment to J.M. Levy who thus became the proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph*.

T.P. O'Connor on another occasion, while delivering his speech at a dinner on September 28, 1918, celebrating the conferment of a knighthood upon John M. L Sage, said *inter alia*, "of course it [*The Daily Telegraph*] was not started by the Levy family, it had another set of proprietors". At this Lord Burnham (the second Baron and only Viscount) immediately cut in by saying "after three months". Mr.O'Connor replied diplomatically "Then I am wrong..." He wasn't! Burnham's reaction indicates again that the Levy family considered their "take over" to be the date of their printing arrangement on September 2, 1855 rather than their actual takeover on February 17, 1857.

This is strange as in 1915, just sixty years after *The Daily Telegraph* was founded, and three years before Viscount Burnham made his "after only three months" interjection, *The Daily Telegraph* had been involved in attempting to unravel the mystery as to exactly when the ownership passed to the Levys. The question was raised in an exchange of letters which came to light more recently.

The exchange of letters:

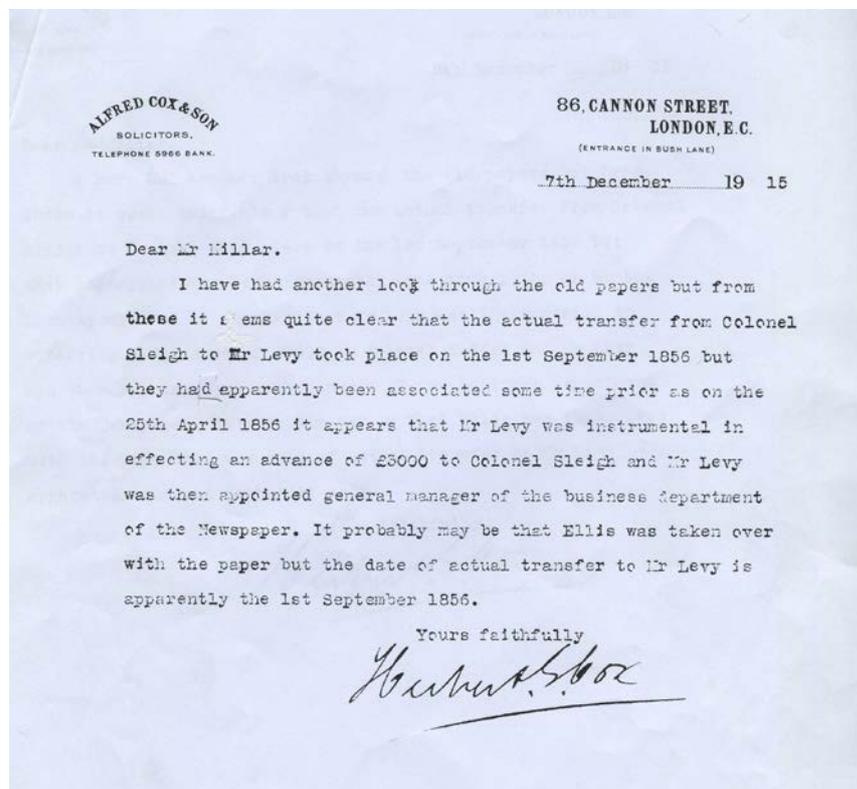
From *The Daily Telegraph* Office to Alfred Cox and Solicitors, 86, Canon Street, London E.C. dated 6th December 1915.

Dear Mr Cox,

I have received your telephone message, from which I understand that the Agreement between Colonel Sleigh and Mr. J.M. Levy by which Mr. Levy took over the "Daily Telegraph" from its former proprietor is dated September 1st 1856.

I enclose you the passage from our memoir of Lord Burnham, on which this date has an important bearing. You will see that therein we state that Mr. Levy took over the paper in August 1855. This statement is based upon the fact that the imprint is changed on the morning of September 2nd, so that the name of the printer is given as Joseph Ellis, instead of Mr Mitchell Aird. Joseph Ellis, as I daresay you remember was the foreman printer of the "Daily Telegraph" within our memories. How is it possible to reconcile the two statements? It may, of course, be that Ellis acted for the firm of J.M. Levy in printing the "Daily Telegraph" for Colonel Sleigh. Can you throw any light on this? Yours truly:

The above letter was written by Mr. Millar a staffer on *The Daily Telegraph*, who received the following reply on December, 7, 1915:



45. Letter from Herbert Cox

Had Herbert Cox read the whole document (1), he would have seen in the final paragraph that “on February 17th 1857 for a further and final payment by Levy to Sleigh, the remaining portion [50%] was transferred for the sum of £2,000, and that Sleigh was forbidden to publish a 1d newspaper within a 50-mile radius of London.”

7. 2

Confirmation of the early ownership sequence of events

Sleigh’s bankruptcy hearing on December 22, 1857, gives an authoritative account of the ownership question, which together with the findings in the Sleigh/Levy document dated February 17, 1857 (Document 1) corrects beyond doubt the inaccuracies still passed down to the present day. The early history of the ownership sequence is now recorded correctly.

December 22, 1857, p. 9, *The Times* having been irritated by Sleigh for the past two years gave full vent to the case and its report, no doubt published with a certain amount of glee, ran to over a column. The report sums up Col Sleigh’s business and personal life between 1850 and 1857. This was not the first time that Sleigh had appeared before Mr. Commissioner Holroyd. *The Times* had previously reported his appearance in the Court of Bankruptcy on September 4, 1850, p.7.

***The Times* December 22, 1857, p. 9.**

Court Of Bankruptcy, Basinghall Street,

Before Mr. Commissioner Holroyd.

RE COLONEL BURROWS WILCOX ARTHUR SLEIGH.

The bankrupt was a newspaper publisher, of 253, Strand. His accounts extend from March 1855, to November 1857, and contain the following items: Deficiency in March, 1855, £583; present creditors, £4,629; assets (doubtful), £50; housekeeping expenses £2,560; losses, £2,364, including by horse, brougham, and harness, £111; Sale of *British Army Despatch*, £900; Greenwich election, £573; Midhurst election, £20; Boston election, £100; old debt to Mr Botha renewed, £286. This was an examination meeting.

Mr. Young appeared for the assignees and Mr. Norton for the bankrupt.

The bankrupt, examined, said that his accounts commenced with a deficiency of £523, but the amount was owing to his friends - not a shilling was owing to the public. He declined to state what his occupation had been since 1850.

The commissioner-That won't do. You must answer the question.

The Bankrupt-I will be guided by your Honour.

Examination continued: It would really be difficult to say what he had been doing since 1850. He believed his occupation was going abroad. In 1851 he went to the United States. He travelled there as a gentleman. Decidedly he went to other places, to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward's Island. At the latter place he was colonel in the militia and a justice of the peace. He purchased a property there. The property was an estate of about 120,000 acres. Something per annum was to be paid for it. The purchase money was about £20,000. It was a speculative purchase.

He paid a first instalment of £500, on the purchase to the lawyers. He had been unfortunate with lawyers. In consequence of purchasing this property he was appointed a justice of the peace also a colonel of the militia, having been a retired officer in Her Majesty's service. There was a law in trustee, and there was a difficulty in obtaining a recognition of the title. There was a bit of litigation about the matter, and Captain Gray, of the Dragoon Guards, proposed to take the property off his hands and he reassigned the property to Captain Gray. He had received a release from the purchaser of the land - oh dear, yes.

He had published a book - unfortunately two or three books. Had no recollection of reviewing these books himself in the *British Army Despatch*. He did not review his own books. He could not recollect everything that had appeared in that paper. He had run a steamer of 900 tons from New York to Quebec, which carried mails. The steamer did not pay, and he incurred considerable liabilities on that account, but which had since been paid. He had a release. He had had a release in full on that steamer. Oh! yes - oh dear - yes! He, like many other military gentlemen, entered late speculations. Before leaving America every farthing had been paid.

Re-examined: He petitioned this Court for private arrangements in July, 1856, and obtained protection for a limited period. He did not recollect stating, with a view to prolong the period of protection, that he had liabilities to a large amount in the United States.

This Statement having been read from the files of the Court:

The bankrupt said he now recollected it. At the time of making it he was not aware that the debts of the ship had been cleared off. He had since made inquiry and had found that everything was cleared off. He did not think that protection was extended in consequence of the statement referred to. He could produce receipts from America

unequivocally so. Mr. Lee (the unofficial assignee) should have them tomorrow; oh dear, yes! He received in February, 1854, a sum of £900 from Major Walker for the purchase of the *British Army Despatch*.

From the period of parting with the *Despatch* to starting *The Daily Telegraph* he was travelling about with his family in the United Kingdom. He was not earning a farthing during this time. The £900 received from the *Despatch* did not enable him to start the *Telegraph*. He had lived upon it, every farthing was gone. He had £1,500 advanced to him to start *The Daily Telegraph*. He had three partners in starting it. The three partners advanced the capital, and, if he might adopt the courteous term of Mr. Yonge, he advanced the intelligence. After some time his partners, who appeared to have a keener perception of the position of the cheap press than himself, wished to withdraw. He wished to go on, but they were in great funk, and said "Pray take our shares. Give us £450 and we will retire." He said "Done" and the £450 was divided among them. The property thus became his own. In August or September, 1856, he parted with one half share of *The Daily Telegraph*. He unfortunately got into the hands of the Israelites and Mr Joseph Moses Levi (sic) got the half share.

Mr. Yonge - How was that?

The Bankrupt- I owed him £2000 for machinery, paper and law costs. The other shares were disposed of to Mr. Levi some time in February- I think between the 17th and 21st. You ought to know the date as you received £120 out of it. The nominal purchase money was £2,000, and it was to be paid. I did not receive it, though.

Examination continued: Between the time of starting *The Daily Telegraph* he was possessed of a property qualification to sit in Parliament. He saw the drift of Mr. Yonge's question, and would with great pleasure tell him what this qualification was. It was a rent-charge granted to him on certain estates in England, of the amount of £200 a year. He had not the deeds now giving him this right.

Mr. Yonge: What were the particular estates?

The bankrupt appealed to the Court, and was informed that he was bound to answer all questions in respect to property that had been or was still in his possession.

Mr. Norton: It is not desirable that the names of the owners of the estates should go forth to the public. The names will be given to Mr. Yonge.

Re-examined: The qualification was a rent-charge for life upon property in Shropshire and Kent, as granted by parties whose names he would give privately, if desired.

Mr. Yonge: You need not give the names. I know something of the matter.

Examination continued: In 1856 he had something to do upon two occasions as a candidate for a seat in Parliament at Boston and Midhurst.

Mr. Yonge: You had this qualification upon each of these occasions?

The Bankrupt: Yes; I think so, to the best of my belief, but I cannot state positively, as it did not in either case go to a contest, and the qualification was not called for.

Examination continued: In January and February of the present year he was a candidate for Greenwich. At that time he had no property, but his interest in *The Daily Telegraph* and his property qualification, and some personal property, such as horses. He recollected making at the election for Greenwich a declaration to the best of his knowledge and belief that he had the proper qualification in the form of a rent - charge upon certain property.

Mr. Yonge: I have not asked the name of the owner, but I must ask you the place at which place the property was situated?

The Bankrupt: It was a rent-charge on property in Shropshire. The rent was £1,200 a year. It was a life charge.

The Commissioner (to Mr Yonge): You have the document. There is no occasion to ask the bankrupt what you know.

Examination continued: He knew Ellen Spellen. That lady was still living. Also knew Ann Jenkins of Conduit Vale, Blackheath, the persons upon whose lives the rent charge was granted. They are both alive. At the time of the election the deeds were in the hands of the solicitor of the gentleman granting the life interest, as was usual in such cases.

Mr. Yonge: The property was yours?

The Bankrupt: Yes; but it was in the hands of the solicitor acting for the owner.

Examination continued: He re-assigned the property almost immediately after the election - about a fortnight after. He thought it was in the year 1856 that the Shropshire property was conveyed to him, and in 1857 that the Kent property was similarly transferred. It was transferred before the election. He had not the slightest memorandum on the subject.

Mr. Yonge: Do you recollect what representations you made at the Greenwich election as to the amount of your property?

The Bankrupt: I must have an extraordinary memory to recollect all that I said at the election. I addressed no less than 50 meetings.

The Commissioner: I think this may be dispensed with.

Examination continued: He recollected making an application to this Court in February last, when Mr. Yonge's clerk tried to arrest him at Greenwich, but did not succeed. At the Greenwich election he stated that his personal goods and chattels were worth £200, the amount required by statute. The said property included a brougham by Nurse and gold military appointments. The brougham (which he bought new in 1856) had since been sold, as also the horses and harness and everything of the kind. The cost of the brougham was £150, and he had paid £100 on account and given a bill for the remainder. His gold military appointments cost him £150. They were out of date and he had since sold them for £7 or £8.

Mr. Yonge: What was your object in renewing the debt of Mr. Botha, the tailor?

The Bankrupt: I do not know that I am obliged to state my object. I decline to answer what my object was.

Mr. Yonge: Mr. Botha was your consenting creditor on the occasion of your affairs being brought before the Scotch Sequestration Court in August last?

The bankrupt explains that there were six other consenting creditors. He did not succeed in the Sequestration Court. His early supporting creditor on that occasion was Mr. Botha. Between February and August he was travelling about, and when in Scotland he was engaged in endeavouring to sell some land in South America. This was the ground for his being described as a merchant in the Scotch Supreme Court. His solicitor told him this was the proper turn for the court. Had Mr Yonge now done with him?

Mr. Norton: Yes. You will now please to answer a few questions which I shall put to you.

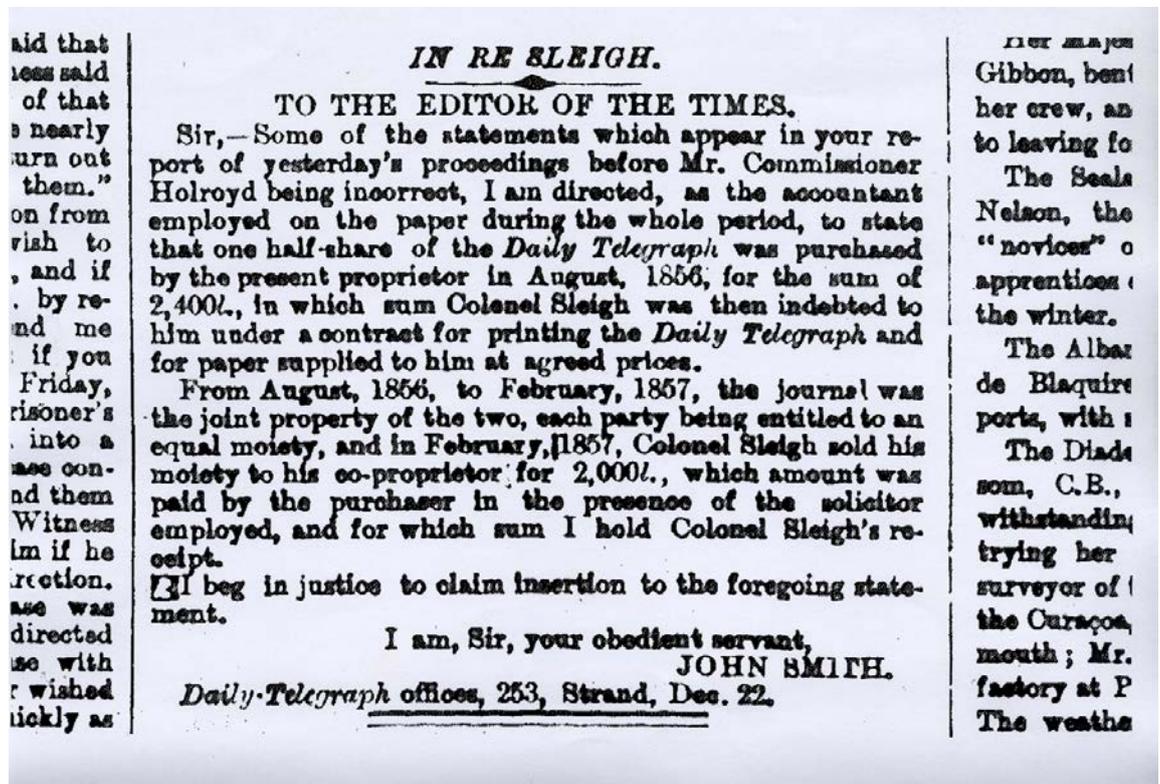
Re-examined: Could not have obtained his appointment in the militia if he had not previously been several years in Her Majesty's service. During the time of the Greenwich election Major Walker tried to arrest him. He believed Major Walker acted as a tool to the Government to whom he (Colonel Sleigh) was opposed. Major Walker held an appointment under Government and he (bankrupt) was against Government. Greenwich was neither a Government borough, but it was Woolwich that beat him. Greenwich and Deptford were on his side, and but for Woolwich he would have been M.P. for the borough. Mr Yonge thought they should have further information. Here was a gentleman

whose balance sheet showed that he had been living at the rate of £1,000 a year, and who only produced assets of £60. The Commissioner thought that no benefit could come from an adjournment. The bankrupt had furnished all the information required.

The bankrupt passed accordingly.

Sleigh's statement of non-payment refuted

The following day December 22, 1857, p.12, *The Times* published a letter from *The Daily Telegraph's* accountant refuting Sleigh's statement that he had not been paid the £2,000 mentioned in his bankruptcy case; this published letter shows, all too clearly, the unreliability of Lt Col Sleigh.



46. *The Times* letter refuting Sleigh's Bankruptcy Court statement

December 22, 1857. *The Daily Telegraph* simply stated that:-

Before Mr. Commissioner Holroyd Re: B.W.A. SLEIGH.

To-day was appointed for the last examination of Burrows Wm. Arthur Sleigh. The bankrupt passed.

It is not surprising that the proprietors gave this little space and made no reference either to the details or to *The Daily Telegraph*. It is though as surprising as it is dismissive that they abbreviated Sleigh's second name Wilcox to "Wm" as in William. It had only been ten months since J.M. Levy and Sleigh had signed the document (Document 1) whereby Sleigh relinquished, or was forced to relinquish, his share of the newspaper he had fought so courageously to establish.

In the fourth Lord Burnham's book *Peterborough Court* published in 1955, *The Daily Telegraph's* centenary year, he states that on September 1, 1855, the Levys reduced the price of the newspaper down to one penny. This is inaccurate as Levy was still employed by *The Sunday Times*, as seen in Cole V. Levy (3.2), at this time and it was Sleigh who was the originator of the penny press in the Britain. As described in Chapter 4, Sleigh had seen the penny press operating successfully in America and was determined, from the launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* in 1855, to emulate this in Britain; this was long before Levy became involved.

Levy did become the printer of *The Daily Telegraph* on September 2, 1855, a move that made good commercial sense as he was already printing *The Sunday Times*, and had spare capacity during the week. As the printer/manager of *The Sunday Times* and with a young son working on that newspaper, he would have worked very closely with Sleigh and brought first-hand experience to the table. With Sleigh's mounting debts to Levy and others, this was in his own interest as, unless the paper profited or at least broke even, he would not get paid.

It is confirmed by my research and backed up by an original signed document, that Sleigh did not renounce his final part of *The Daily Telegraph* to the Levys until February 17, 1857; this was seventeen months after he had launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on June 29, 1855. (Document 1)

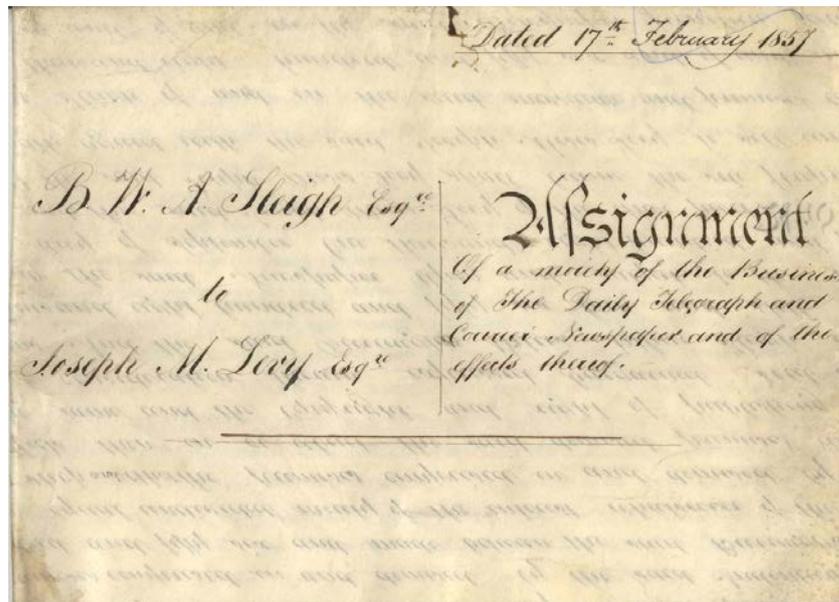
Chapter 8. The Levy partnership takes full control.

8.1 J.M. Levy, the manager and printer of *The Sunday Times*, becomes also the printer of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on September 3, 1855, this being edition number fifty seven. (Notice, p. 4 at foot of column 6, see chapter 10.1).

February 17, 1857. Sleigh, who had just been defeated by the Liberal General Sir William Codrington for the Parliamentary seat for Greenwich, had by now enormous personal and commercial debts, which he had no means of repaying. To clear the money he owed, his only option was to sell his remaining fifty percent share of *The Daily Telegraph* to Levy for £2,000.

Assignment drawn up

An “Assignment of a moiety of the Business of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* Newspaper and of the effects thereof” was drawn up, and on February 17, 1857, was signed and sealed by B.W.A. Sleigh and J.M. Levy.



47. Assignment between Sleigh and Levy, February 17, 1857
(Document 1)

It must have been an enormous relief for the Levys to be finally shot of Sleigh. Although he had done wonders for *The Daily Telegraph*, by virtue of his stubborn and audacious personality, which had landed him into so much trouble in earlier ventures.

He had kept the title going where others might have fallen by the wayside. The Levys claimed that pundits, at the time, considered their venture foolhardy and doomed to failure, but in reality they had seen that Sleigh's ideas, and his application of the more enlightened American-styled newspaper practices, were popular with a wide selection of readers.

Having lost his court case against Lamb described in chapter 7.1, for the right to buy all or part ownership of *The Sunday Times*, Levy had also lost the printing contract through the acrimony the case had brought. If he were to remain in the newspaper business, keeping *The Daily Telegraph* in print was probably his only chance. With the circulation doing well at 27,000 copies sold per day, and having their own established printing plant, this was a project he now entered with cautious excitement.

The new era of journalism and the penny press, which had been established by Sleigh and his editor, Alfred Bate Richards, and further encouraged by the second editor, Thornton Leigh Hunt, during the previous seventeen months, was to be the foundation upon which J.M. Levy and his son Edward would build. Sleigh had broadened the reporting of stories, writing them in a semi-feature style and readers were drawn to the paper. Any money that Richard Cobden had put in to the venture had been soon depleted and the Levys owed nothing, editorially, to the Rational Peace Party. So J.M. Levy, his family and George Moss put their available money behind the venture and started to stamp their authority on it.

8.2 The Character of J.M. Levy



48. Levy Family Coat of Arms granted to J.M. Levy



49. *J.M. Levy (1812-1888) by Sir Hubert von Herkomer*
Printer and Chief Proprietor from February 17, 1857
Born December 15 1812 – Died October 12, 1888

Joseph Moses Levy was born in Whitechapel in the East End of London and attended Bruce Castle School in Tottenham. At the age of fourteen he started a seven-year apprenticeship as a printer in Germany. He then returned to London and bought a small printing establishment in Peterborough Court which was off Shoe Lane and behind 135 Fleet Street. He established a good and reputable business and through this company he became the printer of *The Sunday Times*, a newspaper he subsequently managed but never owned. Levy is incorrectly described “as owner, as well as printer of *The Sunday Times* (founded in 1822), making himself chief proprietor in 1855...”[the reference continued incorrectly]... “Levy’s ever-rising costs forced him to sell the *Sunday Times*”. (*DNB* 2004, p.559). See also Levy v. Lamb (Chapter 7.1).

Levy was not a self-publicist and his approach was one of methodical steadiness, the enjoyment of a large family and an interest in music and the theatre. He lived in Doughty Street amongst writers and artists and his friends included the actor Henry Irving, Charles Dickens, the journalist and novelist Edmund Yates and other leading actors and theatre managers. An example of his steadiness and diffidence in risk-taking is seen in the account of his failure to buy *The Sunday Times* (Chapter 7.1). This he felt was too big a gamble and was, without his realising it at the time, a critical decision for him and his subsequent *Daily Telegraph* partners.

It was a family decision to take on the debts, much of them owed to Levy's printing company, for printing and paper costs, which Sleigh had accrued. J.M. Levy would have undoubtedly backed off had his son Edward, his machine foreman George Moss and his brother Lionel not spurred him on. Despite his caution and having lost his court case to acquire a part or all of *The Sunday Times*, Levy's appetite would have been whetted to have a chance at newspaper proprietorship. His involvement with Sleigh, despite his subsequent demise, presented Levy with this chance.

In a conversation with the late Hon. Hugh Lawson, who subsequently became the 6th Lord Burnham, while he was deputy general manager in the early 1980s, he said that he felt that J.M. Levy's involvement with the newspaper had been wrongly eclipsed by his son Edward.

“The Institution”

Throughout J.M. Levy's proprietorship there appeared to be a mixture of benevolence and a marked meanness in remunerating his staff. The memory, carried along from colleague to colleague was recorded by Bell (1928).

“[Levy was] that of a patriarchal figure - a grave, just, somewhat grim man, who behind an impenetrable mask concealed a kindly heart. He was most charitable, a precise, rather severe old gentleman. His grave face glowed with pride when in early days he was able to inform his leader writers that *The Daily Telegraph* had actually been mentioned in Parliament. He allowed nothing to interfere with his daily conduct of the paper. When prosperity came, there was no difficulty in getting from him large sums for machinery, or for building - £15,000 or £25,000 - once he was convinced that the expenditure was for the paper's advantage; a rise of £1 a week in anybody's salary was a matter for serious consideration. In conversation Levy always referred to *The Daily Telegraph* as “the institution.”

Jewish proprietors

Jews had become a major factor in British journalism during the nineteenth century. Reuters, founded by Paul Julius Reuter (whose name at birth was Israel Beer Josephat), supplied information on world events to the press, and to the government as well. A member of Sassoon family owned and edited *The Sunday Times* (1894-1904) and Harry Marks founded the *Financial Times*. Sir Alfred Mond controlled the *English Review* and also published the *Westminster Gazette*, and Harry Oppenheim had a major interest in the *Daily News*.

Lionel, the brother of J.M. Levy, had changed his name from Levy to Lawson for, he claimed, “business reasons”. Their father, Moses Lionel Levy, was an Orthodox Jew who had married Helena, daughter of J. Moses. Both J.M. Levy and Lionel Lawson are buried at the Jewish cemetery in Balls Pond Road, Dalston, which indicates, perhaps, that neither converted, unlike Edward Levy, to the Anglican faith.

Amongst the obituaries to J.M. Levy (Burnham Archive) there is recorded the story which was passed from the *Pall Mall Gazette* on October 17, 1888 to the *Piccadilly* on October 18th and then to the *North British Daily Mail* on October 20. The story reads:

Not “Lawson” but “Levy.”

“Mr. Joseph Moses Levy, one of the founders of *The Daily Telegraph* who has just passed away at a ripe old age, was rather proud than otherwise of his Hebraic descent. I remember once, after being introduced to him, he embarked on a long conversation - I might almost call it a soliloquy, as it was all about himself and “the Paper” - and, after awhile, something fell from me concerning his son’s change of name upon inheriting the fortune left him by his uncle, Mr Lionel Lawson (whose real name was likewise Levy). I inadvertently addressed the patriarchal journalist as “Mr Lawson,” whereupon he remarked, with a wag of the head and a knowing smile, “No - not Lawson; Levy. Ted is Lawson, but I am Levy - old Levy the Jew.”

8.3

The character of Edward Levy



50. Edward Levy – *The Guv'nor*, 1st Baron Burnham

Born December 28, 1833 - Died January 9, 1916

J.M. Levy's son Edward had learnt his trade as a compositor and as a journalist through his father's involvement with *The Sunday Times* and, from the start, he enjoyed the newspaper industry. Having attended University College School, Gower Street, London, he was well prepared for his first job as a journalist, and was appointed drama critic on *The Sunday Times*.

On February 20, 1862 he married Harriette Georgiana, aged 29, daughter of the actor-manager Benjamin Nottingham Webster, in a Church of England ceremony in Kennington, after having converted to the Anglican faith. In November 1853 Webster had made a surprise purchase, becoming the proprietor of *The Field* magazine, but he sold it the next year. (Rose 1953, p. 46)

Edward was created a baronet by Gladstone in October 1892 and Balfour subsequently raised him to the peerage in 1903 as the first Baron Burnham. He died in 1916 aged 83 and is buried, with his wife, at the parish church in Beaconsfield. He is regarded as the architect of the success of *The Daily Telegraph* and the new journalism, the seeds of which had been sown by Sleigh.

Edward appears to have been less of a business man and more of an inspired editor/visionary. The fourth Lord Burnham wrote, of his grandfather...

“In the early stages....the frugal mind of J.M. Levy and the untried spirit of his son (Edward) must have been sorely tested.” (Burnham 1955, p.10)

It was the classic case of the ‘older head on younger shoulders’, a blend of two very different personalities that fortunately worked so well for their newspaper.

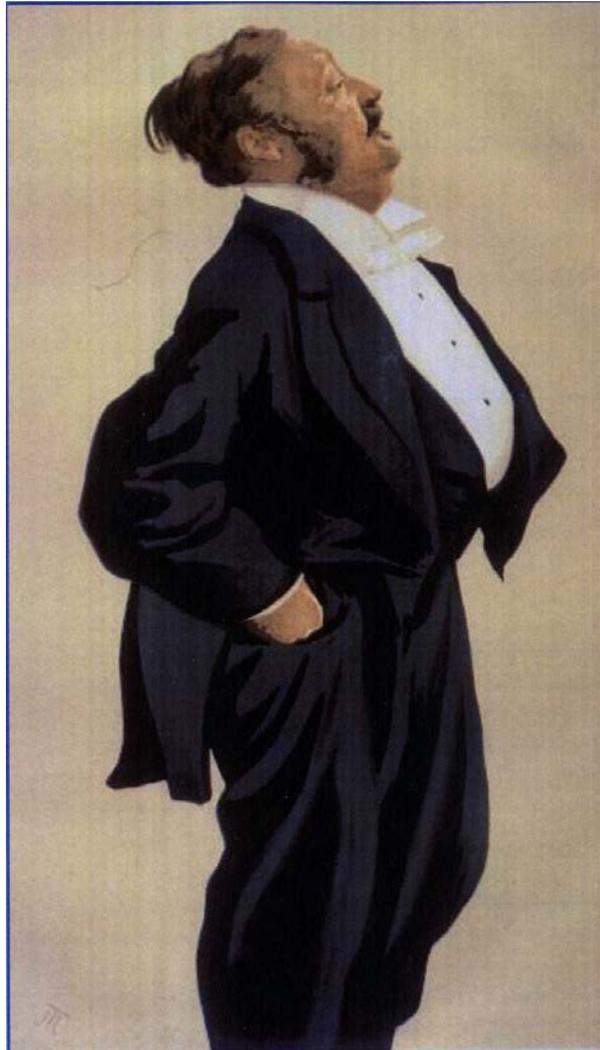
It was Sleigh’s foresight in changing to a new style of journalism, at the price of one penny, which set the venture on a successful path, a style which the Levys recognised and continued and develop. J.M. Levy and his son Edward, despite their different characters and generation gap, were the partners crucial to the success of *The Daily Telegraph’s* rapid development.

Edward was a quick and perceptive thinker who had an immense capacity of geniality, friendship and good humour. He was a natural newspaper man inasmuch that the product came first, rather than business considerations. Show Edward a balance sheet, it was said, and he would say “take that thing away, I don’t understand such things!” (Burnham 1955, p.171)

Edward was popular with his staff referring to him always as the ‘guy’nor’, their loyalty was returned without question. This affection and respect was earned by his total involvement with the newspaper. He would invariably return to the newspaper offices, after a dinner or a visit to the theatre, to check things prior to publication. The Levys, father and son, matured and developed with their newspaper’s success, and their elegant homes became the centre of London and county society, leading to friendship with royalty.

8. 4

The character of Lionel Lawson



51. *Lionel Lawson, Born 1823 died 1875.*

Majority shareholder and brother of J.M. Levy

Lionel Lawson was the entrepreneur brother of J.M. Levy and hence uncle to Edward. His somewhat larger than life character was well known in Paris and London. He remained a bachelor yet fathered several children. His obituary in *Truth* (September 25, 1875) written by Henri Labouchère, sums up his personality so well. This obituary did however result in a bout of fisticuffs outside the Beefsteak Club and a challenge to a duel, between Edward Levy-Lawson and Henri Labouchere. The subsequent court case, which widely publicised, held the British public enthralled for days. The libel claim brought by Edward was dismissed and he backed down from the challenge to a duel.

THE LATE LIONEL LAWSON

TRUTH'S TRIBUTE FOR WHICH ITS EDITOR WAS CANED

From London *Truth*, September 25 1875

“Lionel Lawson, whose death took place last week, was a cognate personage in London, and was a singular instance of the good luck that attends some persons through life.

He was born with no fortune or a very small one, and his real name was Levy. Why and when he altered it to Lawson I never heard, but some twenty-and-five years ago he had established a prosperous ink manufactory in Paris, and was known to his friends as “Inkerman Lawson.” At the time the penny London daily press did not exist. The first attempt in this direction was made by Lt Col Sleigh, who brought out a newspaper of one sheet, called *The Daily Telegraph*. It was printed by a printer in a small way of the name of Levy, who was a brother of Lawson. The Colonel soon came to the end of his resources, and the printer took over the paper for what was due to him. Lawson then advanced £1,500 to carry it on, £500 of which he had himself, £500 he borrowed, and the third £500 he obtained from a fund of which he was a Trustee. In consideration of this advance it was agreed that he should receive half the possible profits of the undertaking. Still *The Daily Telegraph* did not prosper, and Levy was obliged to obtain further funds by selling a share to a publican called Moss, who owned a pot-house in the neighbourhood of the printing office. The new supply of funds was nearly exhausted when the paper duty was taken off, and then *The Daily Telegraph* entered into the career which has been so financially successful.

Lawson never interfered with the management of the paper, but left this entirely in the hands of his brother and his nephew, contenting himself with the bargain by which he received half the annual profits. With these profits he bought houses and securities. Whatever he touched turned to gold. If he purchased real estate, it at once became more valuable; if he bought the most depreciated of securities, they were certain to rise in the market. The amount of money of which he died possessed must have been something enormous. Although not a genius, he was a shrewd and clever man, and he was a very pleasant companion. I used to know him very well. And although I never concealed from him my low opinion of *The Daily Telegraph* as an organ of public opinion, we were always the best of friends. He cannot be said to have been sordidly stingy, for he never denied himself of the best of everything, and I really believe that

had I told him that £5 would have saved my life, he would have given me this sum. But his mania was to die an exceedingly rich man.

I remember that he once came to me to propose that a combination should be entered into between the London papers to force the First Lord of the Admiralty to take them “out and out,” and not on a “sale or return.” “But surely, my good friend,” I said “you make more money already than you know how to spend.” “That,” he replied, “is not the question. There are people who say that if only I live long enough I shall die the richest commoner in England, but if Smith does not accept the fair risks of trade, he will die richer than me.” I looked at him to see if he were joking; but not at all. He had almost tears in his eyes at the thought of this possibility.

Of death he always had the greatest dread, not from any abstract thought of what would occur to him in another world, but because the grave would bring accumulation to an end. I used sometimes to look at him sadly. Seeing my eyes fixed on him, he would become nervous, and would ask me “what was the matter?” “You are not looking well,” I would say. The blood would at once rush to his face. “Look at yourself in a glass,” I would continue, “you looked flushed.” When he perceived that this was true, his anxiety would become great, and he would hurry home to put himself in the hands of a physician.

He lived over a shop in Brook Street, where he had caused, at considerable expense, a fire-escape to be constructed, down which he could flee in case of danger. Every now and then he would purchase some enormous mansion, with the intention of emigrating to it, but in the end he always let it. His last purchase was a house opposite the Langham Hotel, which he was converting into residential chambers, and in one of these chambers, he told me, he intended to live.

Theatres and restaurants were a favourite speculation of his. He and some friends owned the Star and Garter at Richmond. The Gaiety Theatre was his property, and for long he more or less dabbled in its management. A year or so ago he made such extensive purchases in Turkish bonds that they were transported to his broker in three cabs which they filled. Had he only lived, his proverbial luck would have rendered this rubbish valuable, but with his death the last hope of Turkey ever extricating herself from financial difficulties is extinguished.

To say that Lawson was either a philanthropist or an exceptionally useful citizen would be an exaggeration, but there were many good points about him; I and others who knew him well, liked him, and we shall miss his portly presence and his cynically clever small talk. If only my poor friend could read the amount of probate to which his personal estate is sworn, it would be a great comfort to him; but this, alas, is denied to him.”

The First Sea Lord, referred to in the obituary, was the newsagent and parliamentarian W.H.Smith (1825-1891), whose appointment as First Sea Lord gave rise, it was said, to the character of Sir Joseph Porter in Gilbert and Sullivan’s opera *H.M.S. Pinafore*. Throughout his three years in office he was always known as and referred to by Disraeli as “Pinafore Smith.”

8. 5

The character of George Moss



52. *George Moss – The only non-family shareholder.*

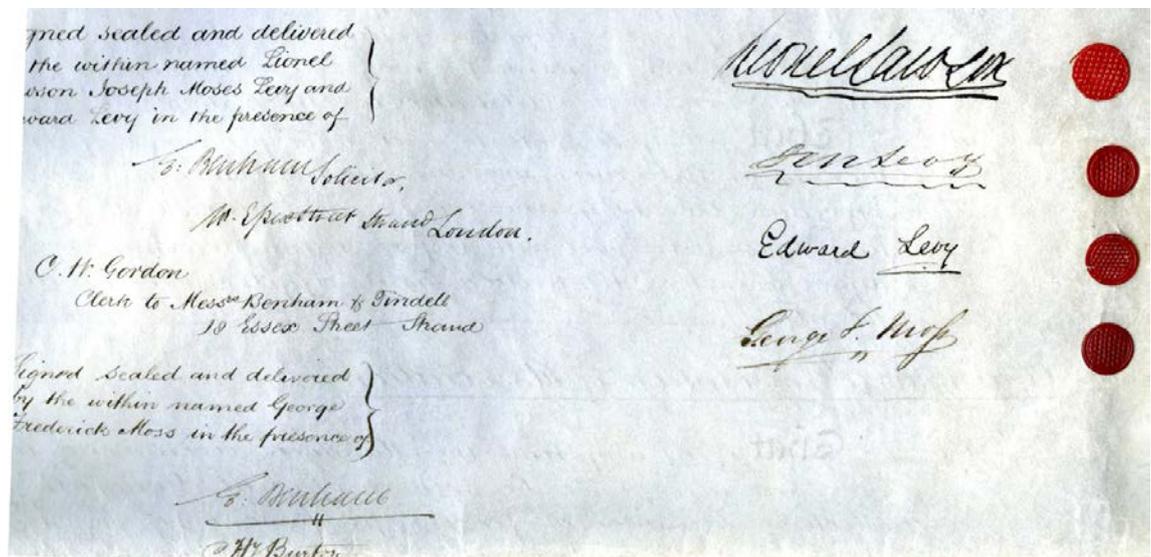
Died November 1, 1872

George Moss, who was not a relative of the Levy family, has been described as a machine minder and as the printer “Inky Moss.” He has also been referred to as a publican but in the words of Edward Levy, who employed him (Edward Levy-Lawson, *The Times*, March 29 1881, p.6, stated in court “The Queen on the prosecution of Lawson V Labouchère”): “...he was the son of a proprietor of a public house; he was a man of energy, superintendent of the printing machinery”.

In the *Glasgow Herald* obituary of J.M. Levy was written: “The story is well known of how he [J.M. Levy] was minded to discontinue it [*The Daily Telegraph*], and was only prevented from doing so by the explosive interposition of one of the printers, who had prophetic belief in the future of the journal, and was willing to back his belief by staking his whole life savings in the shape of a loan to the proprietors. Mr Levy never forgot the man’s loyalty and insight, and his loan, or proffered loan, came back to him in a golden harvest”.

Moss thus became the fourth shareholder, taking eight out of the sixty four shares.

8. 6 The partnership is formalised



53. Document signatures formalising the Partnership.

J.M. Levy, Lionel Lawson, Edward Levy and George F. Moss

(Full transcript - Document 2)

The collective expertise of J.M. Levy, now aged 45, a printer and publisher, his son Edward, aged 24, well educated with printing and editorial experience assisted by the

financial involvement of Lionel Lawson, aged 34, an entrepreneur and socialite ‘man about town’ who was well known both in London and Paris was now complete with the share of the non-family partner George Moss, the works superintendent, with a passion for success. Together they formed a formidable partnership.

Lionel Lawson’s involvement with *The Daily Telegraph* was only as an investor and he was never an active managing proprietor. Financially he and Moss had the most to lose as theirs was a hard cash investment rather than taking the title on as an unpaid debt, which was the case of J.M. Levy.

In 1860, the circulation was steadily rising and was now over 100,000 printed copies per day. (*The Times* daily circulation in 1860 was 65,000). The new ownership structure of *The Daily Telegraph* was now fully formalised and the capital holding of sixty four parts was divided up between the four partners:

Lionel Lawson	32
J.M. Levy	16
George Moss	8
Edward Levy	8

Management style

The active partners continued to work from 253, Strand taking on the lease which Sleight had signed on March 12, 1856. (This signing is further proof of Sleight’s continuing proprietorship at that time).

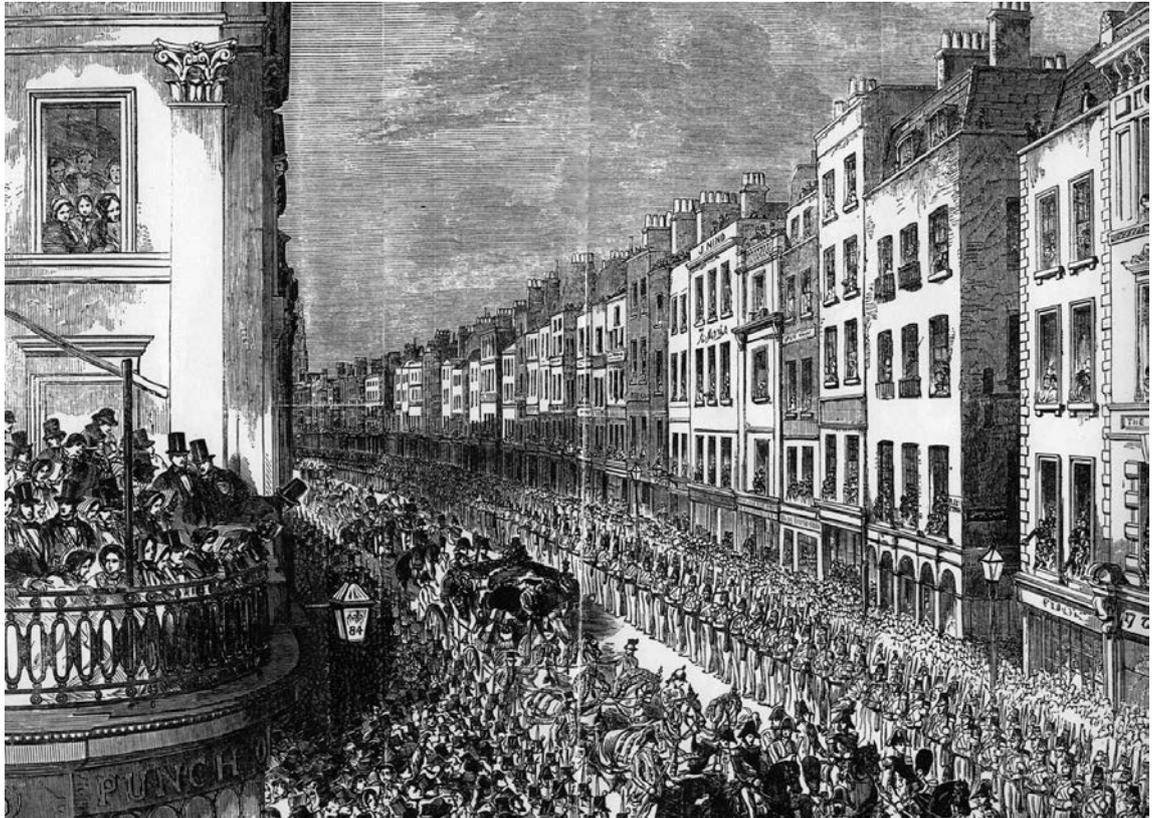
The Daily Telegraph had since its inception, being a new and untried newspaper, suffered from a lack of advertisement revenue, and there was reluctance by advertisers to associate their product with a newspaper selling for only one penny. Edward Levy, in later life told the story of the early struggles in getting the newspaper established, and how the advertisement revenue from the first day of the Levy proprietorship amounted to just seven shillings and six pence. (Burnham 1955, p.5)

This was, in all probability, the revenue from the issue of September 17, 1855, the date that the Levy’s commenced their printing arrangements with Sleight, rather than their first day of full proprietorship (February 17, 1857). By the time of the formalised partnership in 1860, the reluctance to the penny press had diminished and the revenue was becoming more buoyant and ever rising.

8. 7

1861 *The Daily Telegraph* offices remove to 135, Fleet Street

The move from 253, Strand took place in 1861. *The Daily Telegraph's* home was now 135, Fleet Street, the famous address that was to be its headquarters for the next one hundred and thirty years.



54. *Daily Telegraph* offices, 135, Fleet Street 1861.

The Levys continued to acquire more buildings within the labyrinth of Peterborough Court and built enlarged printing halls to meet the rapid growth in circulation.

8. 8

***Daily Telegraph* rules and regulations circa 1860**

These rules and regulations, which date from the 1860s (illustration 55), show the tight control held by J. M. and Edward Levy on the newly-founded newspaper. The company appeared to be strictly managed, patriarchal and well disciplined.

DAILY TELEGRAPH.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. All persons engaged on the Establishment—in the Counting-house, in the Printing Office, and in the Machine Department—must report their names on entering and leaving the Premises to the Time-keeper, in the Porter's Lodge; for which purpose entrance and exit must be made through the Printing Office door in Peterborough Court.

2. The Time Paper will be examined daily by Mr. EDWARD LEVY, and every deviation from the hours fixed for each employé will be noted, and dealt with according to discretion.

3. No person will be permitted to leave his employment to talk to friends or visitors. All communications with those engaged in every department must be made by letter. The Porter cannot carry messages or transmit notes. Letters sent by post must be enquired for at the Porter's Lodge.

4. Except on the business of the Office no Gentleman employed on the "Daily Telegraph" can be seen in Peterborough Court, or at 135 Fleet Street; without special instructions to the contrary, he will be denied to all applicants.

5. The Editor cannot be seen by any one; all communication with him must be by means of letter, to which no answer can be guaranteed.

6. Letters for various Gentlemen having rooms in the Establishment must be placed in those rooms as soon as delivered, and not detained by the Porter.

7. Arrangements connected with gas and fire will be strictly supervised, and the slightest neglect will be cause for serious complaints on the part of the Proprietors.

8. Applications for stationery for every portion of the Offices should be made to Mr. HARVEY, who will be responsible for the proper supply of the same, and who must give written orders for the printing and stationery required in all departments.

9. A note must be taken of the name of any person calling in the absence of the Gentleman whom he may be desirous of seeing, and the same shown on the entrance of the party for whom inquiry has been made.

10. The Porter shall be responsible for the fact that all Goods delivered on the premises shall weigh precisely the weight at which they are invoiced; and any shortcoming must be immediately made known to Mr. EDWARD LEVY.

11. A strict note will be taken of all carelessness in the

Machine Department, and any accident, the result of such carelessness, shall be reported; it also shall be ground for complaint if any of the hands are seen taking paper for their own use or amusement, lighting pipes on the premises, or using other urinals than those provided for their convenience.

12. Strict cleanliness will be enforced; and this is specially recommended to the attention of the Compositors and Machinists.

13. By Nine o'clock in the morning all the Offices must be prepared, and all the necessary fires lighted; the Staircases, Publishing Office, Court, Machine Room, and Premises generally must be swept; and those in charge of such duties will be made strictly answerable for their fulfilment. The Head Printer shall be responsible for the cleanliness of the Composing Rooms; and the water closets on the basement floor shall be under the daily superintendence of the person whose duty it is to sweep out the Machine Room and Wetting Cellars.

14. No tobacco is to be smoked on the Establishment, without a place is provided especially for that purpose.

15. For the accurate receipt of paper, according to the delivery-note, the Chief Wetter shall be accountable; each parcel delivered shall be weighed, and the particulars and result reported personally by the Chief Wetter to Mr. EDWARD LEVY as soon as possible after the receipt of the paper.

16. Members of the Newsvendors' trade will be prevented from loitering about the Court and Publishing Office by the Porter, and order preserved during the hours of publication.

17. All communications put into the Editor's box must be delivered to the Sub-Editor up to the hour of his leaving; after that time, Telegrams, &c., must be handed by the Porter to the Compositors in waiting, or to the Publisher. The Editor's box must be searched for letters every ten minutes throughout the day and night.

18. All waste paper and string, in every department, must be collected together, and daily deposited in the receptacles provided for that purpose.

19. Letters to be posted, from all the Offices, must be handed to Mr. WRIGHT, in the Counting-house, who will be responsible for their transmission.

20. Any hands leaving mugs, dishes, boots, or articles of domestic use, or clothing, about the Machine-room or the Machines, shall be reported.

55. Rules and regulations – circa 1860

8.9 Vision and style awareness

J.M. Levy and Edward were also very definite about their business and journalistic objectives and, with their managing editor, Thornton Hunt, set out some early guide lines.

From the start of the new era, instructions were given to all writers of *The Daily Telegraph* that in a series of paragraphs each must start with a different word, unless there was some special reason; and in an article a word should not be repeated (unless again out of necessity), within a reasonable distance of its first use. For these two innovations alone J.M. Levy and Edward set a basic standard to the reading public which indicate their meticulous approach to the editorial content style.

(Bell 1928, p. 33)

Instinct for good journalism

The Levys were admired for their shrewdness by a young journalist James Macdonnell (1842-1879), who served on *The Daily Telegraph* for ten years before joining *The Times* in 1875 as a leader writer.

He described them as... “having no knowledge of literary quality themselves yet had an unerring instinct for what was good journalism...when a young journalist was protesting as to the soundness of his reasoning in an article, Levy retorted: “We don’t want sound reason we want sound writing”. When this story was told to Alexander Russel of *The Scotsman* he slapped his thigh, and cried an oath – “The Lord knew what He was about when He chose that people for His own!” (Reid 2008, pp.134,135)

Demands on staff journalists

Further observations of the Levys by James Macdonnell are shown in these extracts from letters written, in 1865 after he had joined *The Daily Telegraph* from the *Northern Daily Express* as a writer and assistant editor, to a friend on the Scotsman Wemyss Reid, who after a distinguished career in journalism, was knighted in 1892. These show first hand, the demands on a journalist of that time ...

July 9, 1865

“...I received the most marked kindness from young Mr. [Edward] Levy (his father is on the continent). My work isn’t heavy. I don’t go to the office till ten, and in future shan’t go till later. Then I may leave between one and two, and don’t return till between six and seven. By ten, or thereabouts, my day’s work is done. If I am not mistaken, Mr. Levy is fully satisfied with me.

Already I choose the subjects for the leaders, and indicate what I think should be in line of comment - subject, of course, to revision by Mr. Levy [Edward]. At night I go

over the articles, striking out and putting in what I choose - subject again to his decision. This is delicate work and takes much time, especially as my superiors are so fastidious in matters of style that every clause of every sentence must undergo a rigid examination.

I was set to leader writing on the third day after my arrival...I have formidable men, however, to compete with, such as Edward Dicey and a brilliant Oxford scholar [Edwin Arnold] who has left the principalship of an English college [in India] for the press.”

In the next letter to Reid, sent nine months later, Macdonell was less enamoured of his task...

March 17, 1866

“The Levys are exceedingly kind to me; but they have exaggerated ideas of the pressure which brain and body can bear...All leaders pass through my hands, and often they have to be altered, added to, subtracted from - sentences recast - that the revision of four leaders often takes five hours. You will have some idea of the extent to which the corrections go when I tell you that they cost something like a thousand pounds a year.

Such is my nightly work; but all the forenoon, from ten till nearly two, I am occupied reading MS and letters, writing epistles to contributors, people who wish an interview with the editor, revising proofs of articles, and taking over the most fitting subjects for discussion with Levy and Thornton Hunt. Then perhaps I write a leader or go to the House, and listening to a debate and write an article on the subject. Of late, however, my routine duties have grown so much as to put leader writing out of the question.”

The Levys influence both to editorial style and content was typical of their ongoing desire for a well written newspaper and, as can be seen in the rules and regulations (Illustration 55, p.179) they kept a tight control of the company in all departments.

Chapter 9. Progress - new proprietorship

9.1 Competition and price war

June 29 1857, *The Standard* became an eight-page morning paper and sold at two pence. On that day it declared:

...It was determined that a step should be taken in advance in every department of the journal. All the truly able and efficient portion of the staff were retained; fresh blood from the best tried sources was introduced; the size of the paper was doubled; the expression of opinion was widened from narrow sectarian views to the comprehensive judgment and reason of unbiased Englishmen, in order that the journal might find an acceptable place in every family.

February 4, 1858 On this date the competition between *The Standard* and *The Daily Telegraph* got much keener when *The Standard* reduced the price of its eight-page paper to one penny and announced it was:

“...Bound to no party, our only object and aim are to make this journal the earnest and honest representative and exponent of true English spirit, interests, prosperity and freedom; striving manfully for the permanent advance and greatness of the entire British Empire”.

9.2 Increased pagination - eight pages for one penny

March 29, 1858 Eight weeks later on *The Daily Telegraph* increased its pagination to eight pages and kept the price at one penny. The eight-page paper consisted of forty columns of which eleven and a half were devoted to advertisements.

Indicator of the Levy's objectives

To coincide with this decision to publish an eight page newspaper, and to counter *The Standard's* declared objectives, *The Daily Telegraph's* first leader explained, how, after one year of their full ownership, the Levy partnership viewed their newspaper. This was a flag-waving exercise and serves as a useful indicator of *The Daily Telegraph's* management objectives:

March 29, 1858 – Leading article

We this day inaugurate the first attempt in the Metropolis of England to present the Public with an original eight paged *Daily Telegraph* at the price of one penny.

The earliest design of *The Daily Telegraph* as the first established organ of the cheap press, was enunciated in 1855 - "Let but the public support our enterprise, and we shall be prepared still further to extend our dimensions." Within six months of that date the promise was fulfilled, and we then stated:- "The enlarged size which we this day present to our readers, is but an instalment of what *The Daily Telegraph* will yet do" There are those in the world of politics and journalism who know that during a considerable period it has been contemplated to render this journal, in words employed upon its experimental publication at the price of one penny, "one of the largest, best, and cheapest newspapers in the world." It is of little consequence, and barely worthy of record here, that our plans, having been freely canvassed beyond the limits of confidential conversation, have been partially adopted in an immature form by certain of our aged and struggling contemporaries. *The Daily Telegraph*, however, holds its position historically as the leader and exemplar of the Cheap Press in Great Britain and it is totally without fear or prejudice that we observe the endeavours made to rival its immediate and universal success. The daily publication, at a low price, of a high-priced Tory contemporary, under an altered name, in no way interferes with our broad idea, which is that of presenting to the public an organ fully equal, in point of tone and material, and otherwise superior in several important respects, to any of its competitors. So far the prosperity of *The Daily Telegraph* has been without precedent or parallel.

It has maintained a steady course; it has been the unflinching advocate of Liberal views; it has circulated through every quarter of the United Kingdom; it has a special correspondents in France, Prussia, Russia, India, Canada and other great centres of diplomatic and industrial action abroad; and it may be boldly affirmed that its general discussion of public affairs has been a theme for universal approval. That these points have been appreciated has been shown by enormous regular sale achieved. Upon this subject we have no wish to deal in the inflated language of exaggeration, which has

been so often fruitlessly and delusively employed by some of the struggling followers.

8,351 Copies a day to W.H. Smith

The public, after all, is the best judge, and it would be no less absurd than unworthy to countenance the system of puffing by which ancient and exhausted prints endeavour to galvanise themselves into a temporary resurrection. Although the matter is really of very little moment to our readers, we would add, by way of demonstrating our good faith - a fact which speaks for itself, and needs amplification, namely, that within the four weeks ending Saturday last, 200,434 copies of *The Daily Telegraph*, an average of 50,108 a week, or 8,351 a day, have been supplied to one eminent firm alone, that of Messrs. W.H. Smith and Sons, of the Strand.

New machinery

It has been found necessary, in consequence of the gigantic pressure on our means of production anticipated, upon no uncertain grounds, from this day's development of *The Daily Telegraph*, to organise new machinery, and to provide the most efficient appliances of modern mechanism, in order to ensure a simultaneous supply throughout the metropolis and provinces. These arrangements will have attained, in a very short period, an entire state of completion: meanwhile we are fully prepared to meet any possible demand that may now arise. It will, we feel assured, always be borne in mind that *The Daily Telegraph* is the first original journal, consisting of eight pages, published in the metropolis, at the price of one penny; it may be known to some of our readers that the very antiquated contemporary has ventured upon the experience of selling itself through one door as a high-priced, and through another as a low-priced paper, adopting the device of an *alias*; but this experiment can only be attended with one result, and what that result is, must be patent to all who are acquainted with the history and statistics of party newspapers from the earliest date to the present time. At all events, *The Daily Telegraph* belongs to no such category. With its own establishments, its own political and literary staff, its own correspondents, it has also its own opinions. It is not compelled to repudiate the views of its contributors or its Toryism in one column and Whiggery in another. It is a journal with a principal and a policy—following no faction, obeying no

official inspirer, hampered by no obligations to clubs or individuals. It is neither pledged to, nor in the pay of any cliché. It stands upon its Liberalism, upon its completeness as a newspaper, upon the popularity it has acquired during the course of its existence as the senior journal of the Cheap Press in Great Britain.

Views are those of the intelligent public

We, have the best reasons for believing that the views of *The Daily Telegraph* are those of the intelligent public at large. Throughout the great Parliamentary and electoral conflicts on Chinese policy, the battles of the constituencies last year, the Indian rebellion, the recent collision of parties in the House of Commons, the debates and controversies on the Conspiracy Bill, the agitation for Reform, the appeals to the Government in support of the national honour abroad - we have received the amplest testimonies to the spirit, impartiality, and vitality of our opinions. It is true that we have correspondents who favour us frequently with criticism and sometimes with rebuke; but were it possible to insert one fiftieth part of the communications addressed to us, it would be seen that a vast majority express the most cordial concurrence in our views, and a hope that from these principles and sentiments we shall never swerve. Encouraged by the national support, and strengthened by the assurance that nothing hitherto achieved approaches the development at which we aim, we present *The Daily Telegraph* to the public this day, as the equal in size of any of its high-priced contemporaries, as foremost in Liberal politics, and as the champion of those principles which can alone ensure the welfare of the community.

It would be superfluous to indicate the course of the public discussions which *The Daily Telegraph* will in future pursue. Its view, its spirit are known to its readers, and nothing more is necessary than to remark that what the journal has been it will continue to be-a steady and determined exponent of liberal policy, fearless in criticism, unflinching in judgement, diverging neither into flattery nor undeserved personal attack; but intently watching the progress of public affairs, and accompanying them with such daily commentaries as may be at once interesting and practical. We stand apart from Toryism, with the decayed faction, its superannuated organs, its sordid and enfeebling prejudices; we are no advocates of Whiggery, with its

insincere and pallid professions, its feeding upon the credit of past reforms, its procrastination, narrowness, and piecemeal pedantry. We have never undertaken to champion the “independent Liberals” in Parliament, many of whom are a discredit to the House of Commons and a delusion to their constituencies.

In the general interests of the nation, in purely English spirit, without undue laxity or unnecessary restrictions, we stand by those great principles which have made this country what it is and will continue to perpetuate its far spreading greatness and its flourishing glory, so long as they remain undimmed and unaltered. In harmony with the wants and feelings of the times, *The Daily Telegraph* is from this day permanently established as a first-class full sized journal, and if the past be presage of the future, it must henceforth stand upon an equality with the foremost of its contemporaries. (*Daily Telegraph*, Leader March 29, 1858, p.3)

Need to enlarge the editorial department

The competition between the papers was intense and *The Standard*, which had been launched in 1827, had a more experienced staff than *The Daily Telegraph*. This in particular would have focused the Levys’ minds on how to counter the attack. The classic approach of adding value to the product and keeping the price low was their initial response. They would have also felt that the time had come to enlarge the editorial department.

9. 3

Editorial Strategy

The Levys, Edward in particular, had a flair for recruiting the right person for the right job and this, with their management awareness, was crucial in withstanding the competition. Their editorial strategy, a rare one in the industry, was not to impose what they thought the readers wanted, but to regard the newspaper as a mirror which reflected the news that interested them and presented it in an enhanced manner.

This was their genius and they prospered because they understood their readership and *The Daily Telegraph* became the paper where “news” played the biggest part, putting it way ahead of its contemporaries.

This successful approach silenced their critics, albeit after some shaky months, when their friends and business acquaintances thought they were doomed to failure. They then started to recruit more writers. To this task their natural perception and considerable skill stood them well. Rather than employing conventional Fleet Street journalists, they recruited young individuals who could write with authority and entertainingly, in a new feature style and who would be excited, rather than put off, by writing for a newspaper selling at one penny. There was much Fleet Street scepticism and rank-pulling from established journalists to those writing for the penny press. This feeling was also shared by the public who, at first, could not believe that, a paper selling for one penny, would have anything worthwhile to say.

Courage and foresight

There was clearly a lot to consider at this turning point in the progress of journalistic style and reader expectation. The Levy partnership was far from prosperous yet their confidence in breaking down the old barriers and traditions of the press indicate their courage and foresight. From the start *The Daily Telegraph* had shown that there was a demand for a less hidebound approach to journalism and that there was a place for a mid-market, well-written newspaper in the Great Britain.

So *The Daily Telegraph* set out to continue Sleigh's objectives and to extend news coverage and cater for a new public who, prior to the arrival of the penny press, had been unable to afford a heavily taxed newspaper. There were those too, and a rapidly increasing number of them, who had recently benefited from the development of education and increase in literacy. With all this in mind, the new editorial team was being carefully assembled.

9.4 The triumvirate – The roaring lions of Fleet Street

There were three highly significant appointments made by J.M and Edward Levy, who showed such judgement that their decisions had a most positive impact during the next sixty years. Known as the Triumvirate and, as described later by Mathew Arnold, as the roaring lions of Fleet Street, (Burnham 1955, p.11) each had their own particular strengths, and collectively became a huge editorial force in Fleet Street.



56. *George Augustus Sala, 1828 - 1896. Legendary journalist, Co-founder of Savage Club 1857 and The London Press Club 1882*

While J.M. Levy was living in Doughty Street, Bloomsbury, Edmond Yates, who wrote regularly for Charles Dickens' journals, was a neighbour. Levy had read and been impressed by an unsigned article in the Dickens journal, *Household Words*, had

felt that the writer's style would suit *The Daily Telegraph*. Yates knew the writer and introduced J.M. Levy to George Augustus Sala.

For the interview Sala hired a "black camlet vest, profusely embroidered with beads and bugles of jet, a chocolate coloured frock coat and Blucher boots". Thus attired, he joined the paper as a "paid contributor" and continued until he died in 1896. "He was a heavy man, short and stoutish, and his face was blotched and course-featured: distinctly a florid person...He had a feature [his nose] which, alike for its size, its peculiar contours, and its fiery hues, was destined to become Fleet Street's most famous Landmark."

Sala was 29-years-old when he started contributing to *The Daily Telegraph* and became probably the most read journalist of the nineteenth century and the most significant "roaring lion" appointment *The Telegraph* ever made.

As a freelancer on *The Daily Telegraph* Sala was happy with this arrangement. It provided an income and a freedom that appealed to his Bohemianism, by being paid by the column, he claimed that his income never dipped below £2,000 a year. This did not stop him running up considerable debts and being imprisoned for them in 1858. He was taken on in the new spirit of *The Daily Telegraph* as the first of the non-political writers. In nearly forty years work for the paper Sala wrote less than forty leading articles on political topics. "A working journalist of the second, third and fourth decades of the Victorian era," was Sala's self-description. His regular articles, on a wide range of topical subjects, were exactly what the public wanted and the circulation increased rapidly.

A new journalistic outlook

This journalistic innovation in *The Daily Telegraph* symbolised the new outlook of the newspaper, J.M. Levy would say to him "Mr Sala, what we want is a human style; something that appeals to the fancy as well as the hearts of the people". "Very well, Mr. Levy; but there are different kinds of humanity you know, good, bad and indifferent". "You speak truly Mr Sala, but we want you to put aside the indifferent and the bad, and stick to the good. These were the only instructions Sala ever received. He represented the essence of *The Daily Telegraph* among the new middle-class, whose readership was the mainstay of the paper.

Aside from the paper, he was a co-founder of The Savage Club in 1857 and The London Press Club in 1882. (Griffiths 1994, p.504)

Edwin Arnold



57. Edwin Arnold

1832 - 1904

Editor of The Daily Telegraph 1873-1900.

The next significant appointment to the editorial department was Edwin Arnold's who joined the paper in 1861 and became managing editor after Thornton Hunt died in 1873. It was by complete chance that Edwin Arnold became a member of the staff. He had been sent a copy of the *Athenaeum* magazine dated August 31, 1861, containing a review of his latest work, *The Book of Good Counsels*.

The placing of this advertisement indicated a new departure for the Levys and shows that they were putting much thought into the formation and balance of their new editorial team. The advertisement, in the *Athenaeum*, which resulted in Arnold's appointment, called for a writer of liberal views. According to Brooks Wright (1956 p. 48), "He accepted the post in all sincerity, for he was an enthusiastic young liberal, a believer in social reform, a supporter of the *Risorgimento* and an enemy of Louis Napoleon. He always remained a liberal on domestic issues, but his imperialist views became apparent almost at once. The first editorial which he wrote was on the British Empire in the East, and soon an Oriental flavour was noticeable in the columns of the paper. The effect of these editorials was to keep the public constantly aware of the magnitude of England's imperial heritage and the possibility of yet greater growth in the years to come."

Arnold's background was more academic than journalistic. He had received a brilliant education at King's School, Rochester, and at King's College, London, and, after being awarded a scholarship, he went up to University College, Oxford. This was followed by an appointment as a schoolmaster in Birmingham, before becoming principal of the Decan Sanskrit College at Poona, India.

Arnold, who was 29-years-old and on leave from India, was hoping to gain employment in England. He replied to the advertisement, and as described by Burnham (1955 p. 43) was invited to the *Daily Telegraph* office at 135, Fleet Street for his meeting with J.M. Levy. He was asked if he had been in a newspaper office before, to which he truthfully answered no. Levy, warming towards Arnold, set him the task of writing an essay, without reference books, on the Prusso-Danish crisis. On reading these Levy was so impressed that he immediately hired Arnold by saying, "You are now a member of *The Daily Telegraph* editorial staff!"

Arnold as described by Viscount Burnham

In a Supplement to *The Daily Telegraph* published to coincide with the opening of the new building at 135, Fleet Street on November 5, 1930, the grandson of J.M. Levy, Viscount Burnham, wrote of Arnold:

"Edwin Arnold was a man of middle height and rugged features. For the greater part of his life he wore a black velvet skull cap, which concealed a wen [a sebaceous cyst] on his forehead. In later life, when the operation was made possible by the advance in

medical skill, he had it successfully removed; but with or without it, he was a remarkable looking man.

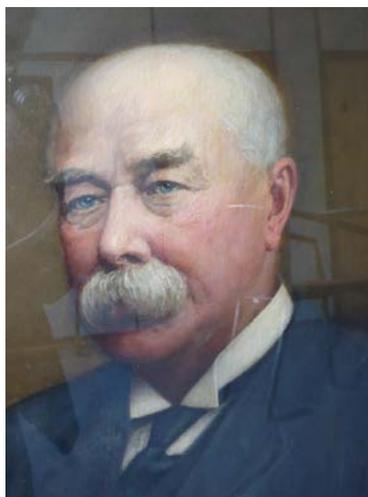
In his very ugliness there was a real presence of dignity and attraction, which required no added peculiarities to make itself felt. To show his sympathy with the nations of the East, Sir Edwin mostly had the rosette of the Order of the Medjiclie in his button-hole, and I never recollect seeing him in anything but the frock coat, which was in his day the regulation dress for the professional man. It has sometimes been suggested that Sir Edwin became himself a Buddhist in his old age. This I do not believe; but his Buddhist sympathies were shown by his marrying, in later life, a charming Japanese lady, who still survives him.”

J. Hall Richardson wrote that J.M. Le Sage claimed that Arnold was a Buddhist. (Hall Richardson 1927, p.118) It has also been said that Edwin Arnold should have been appointed Poet Laureate but that Queen Victoria was concerned that he had become a Buddhist and had vetoed the appointment. (Stated by Anthony Haviland-Nye, Director of *The British Buddhist Association*. June 9, 2010.)

Sala and Arnold – a mighty pair

Sala and Arnold were, as Viscount Burnham put it, “a mighty pair and together, in combination rather than in unison, under my father’s [Edward Lord Burnham] direction and guidance, they made, for the most part, *The Daily Telegraph* the power it was in the Victorian Era”. (*Daily Telegraph* supplement, November 5, 1930 p. xvii)

John Merry Le Sage



59. John Merry Le Sage. 1837- 1926

The decisiveness of the Levys, when confronted by potential talent, is testament to their good judgement which played such a significant part in the formation of this new team of original and brilliant writers. This approach extended to the selection of John Merry Le Sage at a salary of three guineas a week. (Burnham 1955, p.3).

Within the triumvirate of Sala, Le Sage and Arnold, it was only Le Sage who had had any newspaper experience. This he had gained on the *Torquay Directory* before moving to the *Western Morning News* at Plymouth where he was, strictly speaking, a newspaper administrator. Although he had success as a special correspondent by getting an account of the entry into Paris of the German army in January 1871, hours ahead of his rivals, reporting the coronations of Alexander III (1881) and Nicholas II (1894), and reporting from Egypt in 1882, he never achieved much recognition as a writer for *The Daily Telegraph*.

What he did have, crucially, was his executive skill combined with his clear understanding of the *Telegraph* middle-class readers and knowing instinctively where their interests lay. This was his greatness and made him the ideal catalyst for the more inspired writers and, in all his dealings, with the general staff and the daily routine of the newspaper. He remained the autocrat of Peterborough Court during his sixty years' employment. Throughout those decades he strongly maintained the traditions which the paper had established and its special position, which Edmond Yates once described as "the organ of the knife-board of the omnibus". Le Sage regarded the middle-class as the backbone of the country, and had little sympathy with the democratic reform and reformers, "To let well alone" was one of his working principle.

News interested him more deeply than politics, and the minutiae of any political controversy bored him. He liked it presented, as he said, "in six lines". Le Sage made up his mind quickly - a great editorial virtue; and as a judge of men he had great faith in what he called his "journalistic instinct", which worked 'in flashes'. The criticism of outsiders he met with imperturbability; it was a fixed article of his creed that enemies of *The Daily Telegraph* always came to a bad end, sooner or later.

(*DNB* 2004, p. 414)

His steady hand was shown by his often repeated advice "If in doubt - don't".

Le Sage's appointment was another example of Levy's uncanny skill in steering *The Daily Telegraph* in his intended direction; and his quick decisiveness that played such a vital part in regenerating the newspaper in its rapid path to prosperity.

Unlike Sala and Arnold, who both lacked real newspaper experience, Le Sage had this in abundance. The triumvirate, with the calm and thoughtful Arnold and the audacious Sala plus the key editorial managing skills of Le Sage formed the groundbreaking team of the new era of enlightened journalism at an affordable price. Arnold and Le Sage both became managing editors who were subsequently knighted.

It was said of John Le Sage, who joined the *Telegraph* in 1863, aged 26, "that his greatness was that he knew his public, and none could sense better in his Victorian day what interested the vast middle class for whom the paper catered, and from which he himself sprang".

T.P. O'Connor describing Le Sage in his early days recalled...

"The searching, good-humoured, almost quizzical eyes of a man who took everything seriously but nothing tragically, and who had the sober and realistic commonsense that faced things as they came, and knew neither exaltation nor despair. This equitable temperament, this acceptance of facts, this readiness for every day's work as if the work were just a new experience-that really was the secret of Le Sage's long regime at *The Daily Telegraph* ...It is the steady workman like Le Sage who keeps the world going. Nothing disturbed him." (Burnham 1955, p.50)

Le Sage's career spanned sixty years

This appointment was particularly fortuitous for the Levys as his career spanned sixty years with *The Daily Telegraph* and throughout this time he worked virtually hand in hand with successive generations of the proprietorship, from J.M. Levy to his son Edward and, finally his grandson Harry. They could not have had a more decisive, steadier or more level-headed disciple; so high was he held in esteem that Viscount Burnham described him: "...after Dr Johnson, he is the greatest man who ever walked Fleet Street" (At Le Sage's 1923 retirement dinner 1923).

9.5 Telegraphese

The Telegraph was written, according to Matthew Arnold, in a style that was turgid and portentous and he, mockingly called it “Telegraphese”. Sala’s style was described “as an influence on the New Journalism and his leaders in *The Daily Telegraph* significantly contributed to its massive circulation figures. To Matthew Arnold however his Telegraphese was representative of the Philistinism of the middle classes.” (Edwards 1997, p.131)

It was said by rivals that over each fireplace these words were inscribed: “Ordinary papers call a spade a spade - we call it an agricultural implement”. (Hind 1922, p.256)

It was Arnold who described the journalists as “the roaring of the young lions of Peterborough Court”. But as the 4th Lord Burnham pointed out, “it was the language of the stars, and news was reported in a reasonably plain and straightforward style. Its leaders expressed the thought of most of its readers better than they could express it themselves, and sometimes inspired them to higher thought and greater endeavour which, as good citizens, they welcomed”.(Burnham 1955, p.98)

Whether it was the roaring lions of Peterborough Court or the language of the stars, the paper gained much popularity and it was Edmund Yates who characterised the typical *Telegraph* reader as the man on the knifeboard of the Clapham omnibus. (Howse 2005, p.36)



60. “The paper of the man on the Clapham omnibus”

Reflection of world events

The proprietors and the triumvirate looked upon the *Telegraph* not only as a mirror in which the world's events should be reflected, but also affairs that gave interest in the lives of ordinary men and women. This was a new concept in newspapers and helped to win the readers' loyalty. It was becoming the paper of "news", reporting in a much wider style than its contemporaries. *The Daily Telegraph* rose in prosperity and world importance by its news. The *Telegraph* news stories were often written in a feature style, which was a new departure in Fleet Street. In the early days there were no "features;" written by specialist writers, these did not appear until the late 1860s.

Building on Sleigh's original editorial hopes and style

The new proprietors of *The Daily Telegraph* and their managing editor quickly grasped the mood of the potential readership. They were young, curious and a new generation of aspiring people rapidly gaining confidence. Thornton Hunt, aged 46, who the Levys had inherited from Sleigh, was then the most experienced newspaper writer on the staff. Their style and mission continued in the, now departed, Sleigh style. They were in no doubt that Sleigh, an accomplished writer, had laid the foundation that had made *The Daily Telegraph* such an early circulation success with this new reading public.

Sleigh had been convinced that the established British Press covered a very limited selection of news compared with the newspapers he had read in America. To redress this he had published on September 19, 1855, the first book review and on October 27, 1855, the first dramatic criticism appeared. It is very much to the credit of Thornton Hunt and the Levys that they had the foresight to continue publishing these in the same style that Sleigh had created.

9.6 Charity appeals

The proprietors were by 1862 beginning to feel the advantage of an enlarged and better balanced staff force. At this time news of the plight of the Lancashire cotton industry and the resultant suffering was on the minds of the country.

There was a high level of unemployment, riots and general suffering. This was generally blamed on President Lincoln's order, during the United States Civil War, to blockade the Confederate southern ports, these being the outlets for the raw cotton on which the Lancashire mills depended.

The Daily Telegraph Lancashire Cotton Famine Relief Fund was launched and the mounting donations were published in the paper and yielded £6,000. This set a trend which continues to this day.

9.7 Foreign news coverage

Sleigh, being a well travelled man, had realised from the start, the importance of foreign news coverage and the Levys continued to develop it. The excitement of wider news coverage was welcomed by both the new and established readership.

Foreign correspondents of the 1850s were a very different type of journalist to those working out of Fleet Street. These journalists were mostly male and would be, or become, long-term residents of their particular country of work. They would be more likely to stay put and change their newspaper, rather than be posted to another country. These foreign correspondents were generally older than the average home-based journalists and would be fluent in another language. They were usually posted abroad because of their social standing and contacts. Foreign nationals were sometimes recruited and obviously their local knowledge was invaluable. This was particularly the case during the early years of the nineteenth century and probably shows that there was a shortage of competent British nationals available.

This was beginning to change and *The Daily Telegraph* employed British nationals from an early stage. By the 1860s other newspapers were replacing their foreign nationals with British citizens as the existing foreign correspondents went in to retirement. Karl Marx was a well known example of a foreign national who was working for the *New York Tribune* in London. Despite the high cost of obtaining news from overseas it was justified because people in Great Britain had always taken an eager interest in foreign news and, perhaps, being detached from the continent, considered a far off place in those days, this interest was more acute than on the continent itself.

Sleigh, had not had the means to employ resident correspondents in the major cities, but was able to make good use of Bayle St John who became *The Daily Telegraph's* first foreign reporter. His contributions from Paris covered more than a quarter of a column and, as he also had other outside journalistic work, he must be regarded as a *Daily Telegraph* stringer.

In France, Henri de Villemessant, the editor of *Le Figaro* said that “a dog run over on the Grande Boulevard caused more sensation in Paris than a revolution in Poland.” It

wasn't his lack of awareness of a good story as he was also known for another famous remark "If a story doesn't cause a duel or a lawsuit, it isn't any good!"

The British public, too, had always been interested in human stories; and, especially in London, where there was always interest in the social life in foreign capitals - particularly the intrigues of Courts and the scandals of society. The foundation for foreign news that Sleight had created was fully recognised by Edward Levy who took personal charge of this department.

Preference of news by letter rather than by telegram

Edward Levy encouraged it as much and always insisted that foreign correspondents and stringers sent their reports by letter. This he maintained was much better than by telegram which eliminated the flow of gossip and too often led to mistakes.

Felix Whitehurst appointed Paris correspondent

The first real full-time Paris correspondent was Felix Whitehurst. His two predecessors, Bayle St John and Watts Phillips were part time employees. Whitehurst was not only an old friend of J.M. Levy but had also inherited a fortune in 1850. His connections and confidence coupled with his wit made him a firm favourite in Paris and Sala who knew him well described him thus:

"Whitehurst was a light and pleasant writer, who was always *au courant* with everything that was passing in the political and fashionable world, and whose conversation in private life was full of gay persiflage and pleasant anecdote. He was a man who looked on the sunny side of things; his main pursuit in life was *la bagatelle*; whose only trouble in the world was to get the seam of his silk stocking precisely in the middle of the calf of his leg when dressing for a Court Ball - an Imperial Court ball *bien entendu*, for Felix Whitehurst was in the best of good graces both at the Tuileries and at the Palais Royal, was equally a favourite with the Emperor and Prince Jerome Napoleon."

Whitehurst's talents were fully recognised by the Levys as exactly the kind of correspondent they wanted and their vision on this, as well as many other matters of home news, went a long way in capturing the new eager newspaper buying public.

Discretion and trust

It was said of Whitehurst that he was a diplomat as well as a journalist. He had that balance of entertaining writing coupled with just enough discretion to maintain the

confidence and trust of those of whom he reported. This journalistic integrity was recognised by the Emperor and as such he was given information and special items of news which his Imperial Majesty wished the British public to know. Whitehurst's office and residence in the Boulevard Malesherbes became a meeting place for the English and French upper classes and by this means they and Whitehurst were able to keep up to date with the latest news from London: *The Daily Telegraph* had the best informed British correspondent in the French capital and this gave the young newspaper an early and enormous boost to its growing popularity.

So influential was *The Daily Telegraph* in Paris that it was "popularly supposed to be subsidised in the interests of the French Emperor" (J.M. Levy's obituary in the *Totnes Times*, October 20, 1888). This, too, appeared in his obituary in the *Beverley Recorder* on October 20, 1888. Amongst the many other obituaries to J.M. Levy there was this reference...."It must have been to the success of Felix Whitehurst to which they referred. The fall of Paris and the collapse of the Empire broke Whitehurst's heart and he retired to Baden and died in 1877."

During the 1860s, *The Daily Telegraph* was far ahead of all its contemporaries as readers, through the paper's own foreign correspondents, were informed of the rise and fall of politicians abroad, and were given more information than the residents of European capitals could obtain from their own strictly censored newspapers.

The proprietors augmented their foreign correspondents with the newly foreign news service introduced by *Reuters*. This gave a wider spread of foreign news and a considerable saving as well.

9. 8

Political stance 1855-1865

The appeal of the early *Daily Telegraph* was not particularly related to its political slant as it was not a politically motivated newspaper. Its appeal stemmed from the wide and ever-widening news coverage compared to those published in *The Morning Post* and *The Times*. This is not to say that the proprietors and early managing editors were uninterested or politically apathetic. With its large and ever increasing circulation, the prime minister of the day could see its potential as an ideal means to reach the new reading public, those who were attracted to the new penny press. As the newspaper and proprietors established themselves so their confidence increased, and the influence and power of the newspaper became more apparent and their interest in politics became more focused.

The Levys in 1857 were new to political and public affairs and, although interested in music and theatrical productions which became evident in the newspaper, they had no strong political views. Unlike Sleigh, whose leaders campaigned for reforms in civilian and military life, it was sometime before *The Daily Telegraph* had a positive editorial confidence under the Levy ownership.

Supports Palmerston

The Daily Telegraph became an essentially Liberal slanted newspaper. Col. Sleigh's attempts to get into Parliament in 1856-1857 were on the Liberal ticket.



61. Lord Palmerston – Served twice as Prime Minister

The paper supported Lord Palmerston in its early appearance as the first penny London morning newspaper. As described in the full leader of March 29 1858, p.5 (also described in Chapter 9.2) the paper, by then under the full control of the Levys declared ...

We present *The Daily Telegraph* to the public this day, as equal in size [now published as an eight page newspaper to compete with *The Standard*] of any of its high-priced contemporaries, as foremost in Liberal politics, and as the champion of those principles which can alone ensure the welfare of the community.

It would be superfluous to indicate the course of the public discussions which *The Daily Telegraph* will in future pursue. Its view, its spirit, its style are known to its readers, and nothing is necessary than to remark that what the journal has been it will continue to be – a steady and determined exponent of liberal policy, fearless in criticism, unflinching in judgement, diverging neither into flattery nor into undeserved personal attack; but

intently watching the progress of public affairs, and accompanying them with such daily commentaries as may be at once interesting and practical. We stand apart from Toryism, with its decayed faction, its superannuated organs, its sordid and enfeebling prejudices; we are the advocates of Whiggery, with its insincere and pallid professions, its feeding upon the credit of past reforms, its procrastination, narrowness, and piecemeal pedantry. We have never undertaken to champion the “independent Liberals” in Parliament, many of whom are a discredit to their constituencies.

Edward Levy editor-in-chief

The Daily Telegraph proprietors always appointed managing editors rather than full editors as we know them today. From the start of the Levys, full involvement of *The Daily Telegraph* on February 17, 1857, Edward Levy, *the guvnor*, was appointed by his father, J.M. Levy, as editor-in-chief, and Thornton Hunt, the experienced and loyal sage, continued in his role as managing editor until his death in 1873.

Edward Levy’s first steps into realm of politics

Edward Levy’s first step into the realm of politics was, significantly, in the effort to remove the paper duty. Although the tax on newspapers had been repealed in 1855, there was still a tax on unprinted paper which was not repealed until 1861. This tax was impeding the development of *The Daily Telegraph* as it was the only national newspaper selling at one penny, and the profit margin was very slender.

Edward Levy’s platform supporter was George Augustus Sala whose first public speeches had been on this subject. *The Daily Telegraph*, through leading articles and reports, heightened public awareness and Edward Levy and Sala joined a deputation which went to Downing Street to present their case to the Prime Minister, the Earl of Derby. Sala describing the encounter wrote:

...the Prime Minister did not precisely turn them out of the room or bid the messenger quoit them downstairs, but he looked at them as Jupiter Hostis might be expected to look on an assembly of black beetles.

The meeting ended when the Earl told them scornfully, that as long as he and his colleagues remained in office there was not the remotest chance of the paper duty being abolished. However, despite these disappointing words, it was finally abolished, after a struggle, in the next year’s budget.

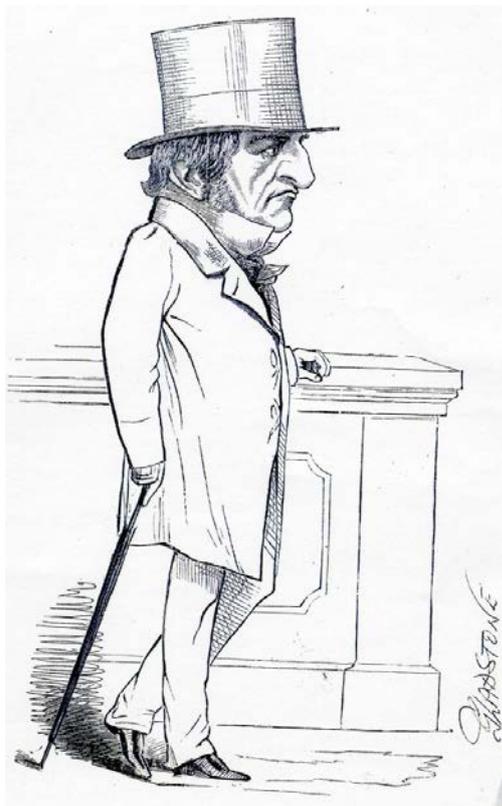
Gladstone becomes Prime Minister

Palmerston died in 1865 and Gladstone who had been his lieutenant, formed his first Ministry in 1868, when *The Daily Telegraph* had been established thirteen years; he was well regarded by *The Daily Telegraph*, still under the managing editorship of Thornton Hunt.

The paper dubbed him as “the People’s William”, a phrase which became attached to Gladstone throughout his life. Even in later life his description as “The Grand Old Man” was less commonly used than “the People’s William”.

J.M. Levy hands over to his son Edward

After J.M. Levy handed the reins of the newspaper to his son Edward, *The Daily Telegraph’s* political reputation rapidly advanced. Edward had a wide variety of friends on both sides of the two Houses of Parliament, and Black Rod allowed him to listen to the debates in the Lords from the bar of that House, which was normally allowed only for members of the Commons. This distinction was also granted to Delane, editor of *The Times*, and confirmed that *The Daily Telegraph* was gaining political authority.



62. Gladstone – “The People’s William”

Chapter 10. Circulation success

10.1 Printing and circulation: 1855-1865

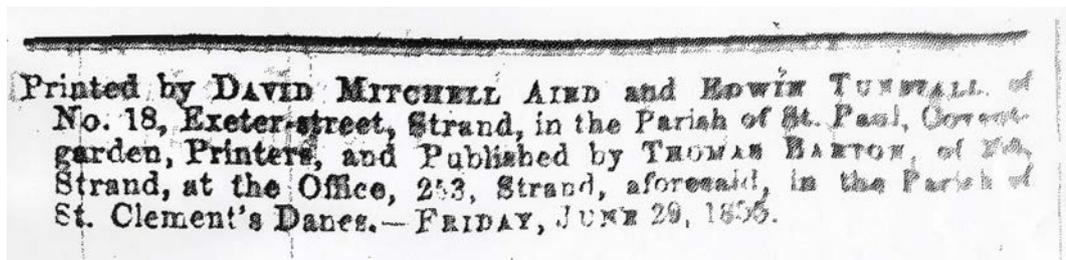
During *The Daily Telegraph's* first decade great pressures were encountered by the proprietors in printing and distribution. The early problem was in getting the wholesalers and newsvendors to handle a newspaper which sold for only one penny, at that price, although no statistical breakdown exists, it was unlikely to be profitable for them to do so. As described in Chapter 5.5, Sleigh countered this, in the short term by employing news boys to sell the newspaper on the streets.

As the circulation increased so the wholesalers yielded, but such was its popularity that demand soon outstripped the supply from the old flat bed printing machinery. J.M. Levy was in no doubt that a massive investment in plant and machinery was needed and approached Hoe and Co. in New York.

Ordering, manufacturing the machinery and trans-atlantic delivery was a slow business at this time and it would take up to a year and a half before the machines were fully installed printing. After encountering numerous delays and technical hitches it wasn't until 1865 before the full printing capability could satisfy the huge demand.

June 29 - September 1, 1855

The original company with which Sleigh had arranged to print the first numbers of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* was David Mitchell Aird and Edwin Tunstall. The announcement printed at the foot of the final column on the back page of edition number one, on Friday June 29, 1855, indicates that the publisher was Thomas Barton at *The Daily Telegraph* offices at 253 Strand.



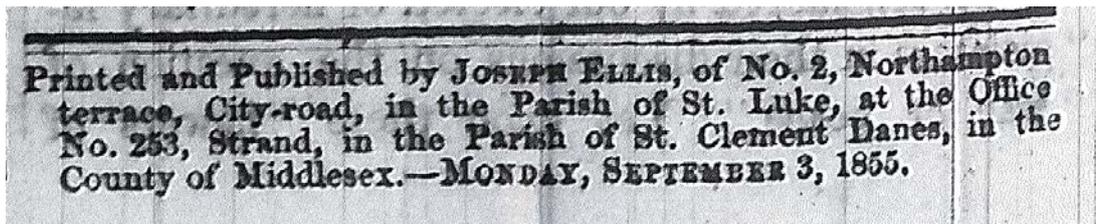
63. David Mitchell Aird and Edwin Tunstall, 18 Exeter Street, Strand, in the parish of Covent Garden, Printers - June 29, 1855.

1855 July: *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* circulation described as just a few thousand copies per day. (Galley - Appendix 1)

September 2, 1855 Levy

In Chapter 4.13 it was explained that Sleigh had already run out of money and was unable to continue printing with David Mitchell Aird and Edwin Tunstall. The paper seemed doomed, but his luck changed when he met quite by chance, the printer J.M. Levy, in Fleet Street. This meeting resulted in an agreement that Levy would commence printing, subject to terms and conditions, from September 2, 1855.

Joseph Ellis was appointed superintendent of the printing works for J.M. Levy. Although in 1855 Levy had a printing office in Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, the address that appeared at the foot of the final column on the back page of the newspaper was given as:



*64. No.2 Northampton Terrace, City Road, in the Parish of St Luke
Monday September 3, 1855.*

Northampton Terrace no longer exists and has been built over, but census returns indicate a residential terrace. It was most likely the home of Joseph Ellis, the printer and publisher.

1855, September 20

The circulation growth pattern was spectacular and there were many claims of success printed on the leader page. From 1855 the circulation rose from just a few thousand a day to this claim by Sleigh published on September 20, 1855 (p.206). No actual circulation figure was given.

TO ADVERTISERS.

THE Circulation of *The Daily Telegraph* EXCEEDS THAT OF ANY LONDON MORNING NEWSPAPER, with the exception of the *Times*. More than that, the Circulation of *The Daily Telegraph* is greater than any FOUR MORNING Newspapers all put together. As an ADVERTISING MEDIUM, *The Daily Telegraph* stands second only to the *Times*. This journal not only circulates with the million, but it is taken in the very highest circles. We will venture to assert that there is no one Daily Newspaper so universally read in London, and all over the United Kingdom as *The Daily Telegraph*. It is to be found at the chief Club-Houses and Hotels, at every Railway Station and Commercial place of resort, at every Newsvendors and the corner of every street. The Banker, the Merchant, the Peer, the Member of Parliament, the Lords and the Commons, all now alike read *The Daily Telegraph*. One Advertisement in our columns will have a fairer chance of being seen by a greater number than if inserted in the crowded Supplement of our inflated contemporary.

As the million read *The Daily Telegraph*, so it is one of the finest mediums in England to make the wants of Advertisers known to the million.

TERMS FOR ADVERTISEMENTS.

SIXPENCE A LINE for General Advertisements, Trade Announcements, Want Situations, Amusements, &c.

NINEPENCE A LINE for Public Companies.

TWO LINE ADVERTISEMENTS, ONE SHILLING.

 All Advertisements must be paid Cash in Advance. No Accounts opened.

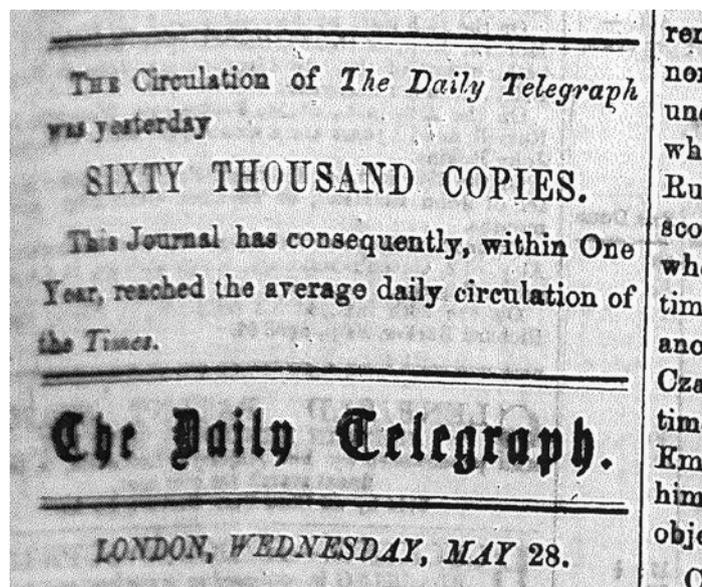
OFFICES: 253, STRAND, NEAR TEMPLE BAR.

The Daily Telegraph.

LONDON, THURSDAY, SEPT. 20.

By January 1856, *The Daily Telegraph* circulation had increased to 27,000 copies per day sold. (Burnham 1955, p.6)

1856 May 28, P.3 A notice was published in *The Daily Telegraph* stating that within one year the circulation now was equal to that of *The Times* ...



66. Notice May 28, 1856

10.2 Demand was beginning to outstrip supply.

1857 March 31, P.3

Another notice (Illustration 65) was published to inform both the trade and the readers how the next phase of the printing plant was progressing:



67. Another machine being erected

A counter measure was introduced...

While waiting the second Hoe printing machine to become fully operational, it was decided to print on one side of the paper the pages without news early in the day, then rerun the other side through the presses with the latest news at night; this was only a stopgap measure.

1858, March 29, P. 5

In the leading article of this day, the Levys proclaimed...

Although the matter is really of very little moment to our readers, we would add, by way of demonstrating our good faith, a fact which speaks for itself, and needs no amplification, namely, that within four weeks ending Saturday last [February 28 – March 27, 1858] 200,434 copies of *The Daily Telegraph* – an average of 50,108 a-week, or 8,351 a-day, have been supplied to one eminent firm alone, that of Messrs. W.H. Smith and Son, of the Strand.

It has been found necessary, in consequence of the gigantic pressure on our means of production, upon no uncertain grounds, from this day's development of *The Daily Telegraph* [the increase in size to an eight-page newspaper] to organise a new machinery, and to provide the most efficient appliances of modern mechanism, in order to ensure a simultaneous supply throughout the metropolis and the provinces.



68. New enlarged format

1859, February 12. P.3

Now printing eight-page newspapers and able to supply sixty thousand papers by seven o'clock in the morning

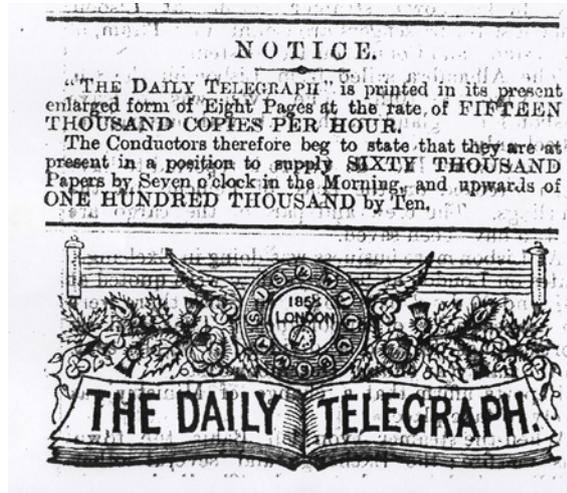
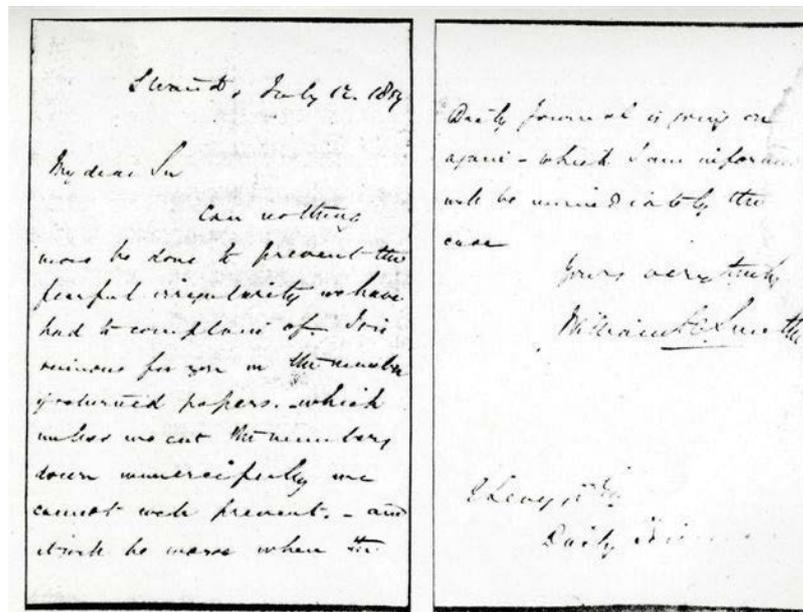


Illustration 69

On July 12, 1859 a letter (Illustration 70) was received by J.M. Levy from
William H. Smith:



“My dear Sir, Can nothing be done to prevent the fearful irregularity we have had to complain of. It is ruinous for you in the number of returned papers, which, unless we cut the numbers down unmercifully we cannot well prevent – and it will be worse when the Daily Journal is going again – which I am informed will be immediately the case. Yours very truly, William H. Smith

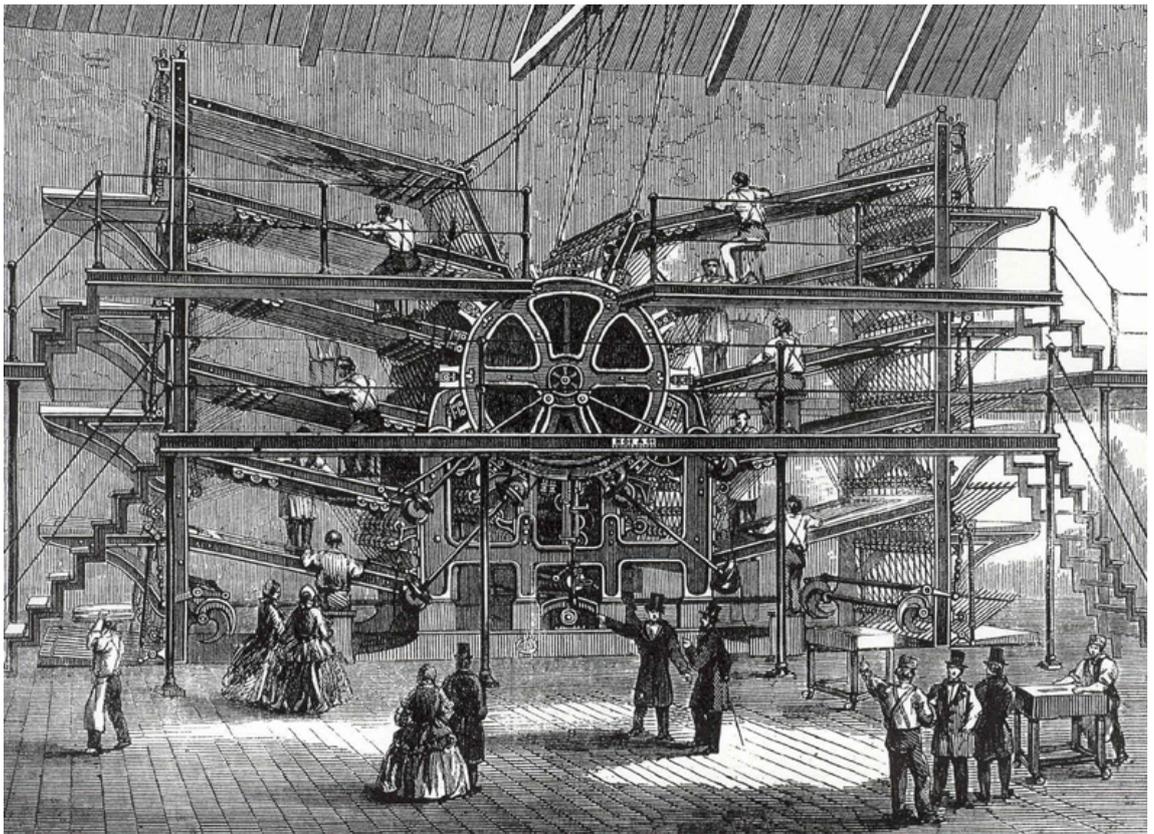
10.3 New technology

By 1860 there was a good railway network for distribution of newspapers and news was beginning to be sent and received more by electronic telegraph. The whole industry was being revolutionised and the Hoe rotary presses were being installed producing twenty-to-twenty five thousand copies per hour, a vast increase from the old flat bed presses. At the same time literacy had increased rapidly in the UK and there was growing national confidence, better wages and housing for the workers.

By this time, but only in the short term, *The Daily Telegraph* printing department had installed adequate machinery and the printing was centralised in Peterborough Court, Fleet Street. Circulation was still increasing at a rapid and unparalleled rate.

1860 February 1

New Printing Offices



71. *The imported Hoe Ten feeder American press –
The actual Daily Telegraph machine*

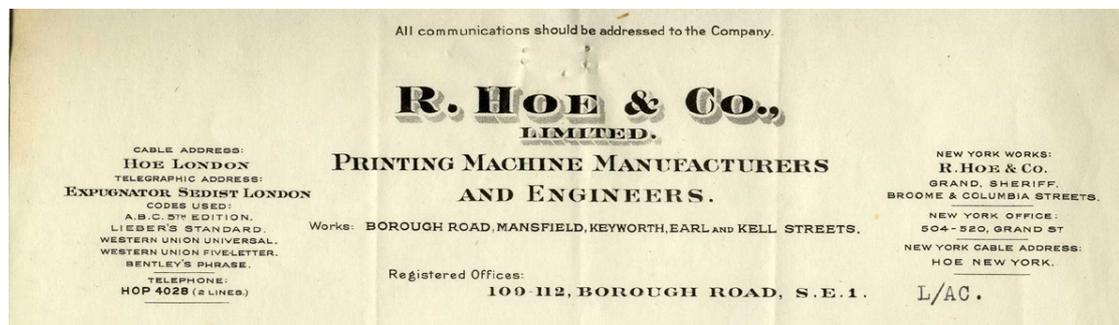
The proprietors issue a statement to readers explaining the workings of the Hoe presses.

“Daily Telegraph” Printing Office

Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, E.C.,

February 1st, 1860.

The “Daily Telegraph” is now printed at the above address, in the spacious offices designed and built for the purpose, by Messrs. Arding and Son, of Dorset Street. The Ten Cylinder Type Revolving Machine, employed for its production, has been manufactured by Messrs Hoe and Co., of New York, and is the first of its dimensions which has been brought to Europe.



72. R. Hoe & Co., letterhead

It was invented by Colonel Richard M Hoe, in 1846, and patented in 1847. It is, as its name indicates, on the rotary principle; that is, the forme of type is placed on the surface of a horizontal revolving cylinder of about four feet and a half in diameter. The forme occupies a segment of only about one-fourth of the surface of the cylinder, and the remainder is used as an ink-distributing surface. Around this main cylinder, and parallel with it, are placed ten smaller impression cylinders.

The large cylinder being put in motion, the forme of Types thereon is carried successively to all of the impression cylinders, at which a sheet is introduced and receives the impression of the type as the forme passes. Thus as many sheets are printed at each revolution of the main cylinder as there are impression cylinders around it.

One person is required at each impression cylinder to supply the sheets of paper, which are taken at the proper moment by fingers or grippers, and after being printed are conveyed out by tapes, and laid in heaps by means of self-acting flyers, thereby dispensing with the hands required in ordinary machines to receive and pile the sheets. The grippers hold the sheets securely, so to the distributing surface of the main cylinder. This surface being lower, or less in diameter, than the forme of types, passes by the impression cylinder without touching. For each impression cylinder there are two inking rollers, which that the thinnest newspapers may be printed without waste. The ink is contained in a fountain placed beneath the main cylinder, and is conveyed by means of distributing rollers to the distributing surface on the main cylinder. This surface being lower, or less in diameter, than the forme of types, passes by the impression cylinder without touching. For each impression cylinder there are two inking rollers, which receive their supply of ink from the distributing surface of the main cylinder and ink the forme as it passes under them, after which they again advance to the distributing surface.

Each page of the paper is locked up on a detached segment of the large cylinder, which constitutes its bed and chase. The column-rules run parallel with the shaft of the cylinder, and are consequently straight, while the head, advertising, and dash rules, are in the form of segments of a circle. The column-rules are in the form of a wedge, with the thin part directed towards the axis of the cylinder, so as to bind the type securely.

These wedge-shaped column-rules are held down to the bed by tongues, projecting at intervals along their length, and which slide in rebated grooves, cut crosswise in the face of the bed. The spaces in the grooves between the column-rules are accurately fitted with sliding blocks of metal, even with the surface of the bed, the ends of which blocks are cut away underneath to receive a projection on the side of the tongues of the column-rules.

The forme of type is locked in the bed by means of screws at the foot and sides, by which the type is held as securely as in the ordinary manner upon a flat bed, if not even more so. The speed of these machines is limited only by

the ability of the feeders to supply the sheets. From twenty to twenty-five thousand impressions an hour can be worked by the ten-feeder Machine.

Colonel Richard M. Hoe's invention was the first successful attempt to print, on the rotary principle, with ordinary types made up on a cylindrical forme. This system combines the greatest speed in printing, durability of machinery, and economy of labour.

The Daily Telegraph Machine, including flyers, is thirty-five feet long, twelve feet wide, and eighteen feet high; it weighs upwards of thirty tons; was brought to this country in forty-seven cases, and was erected in an unprecedented short space of time, by zealous exertions and under the active superintendence of Mr. William Conquest.

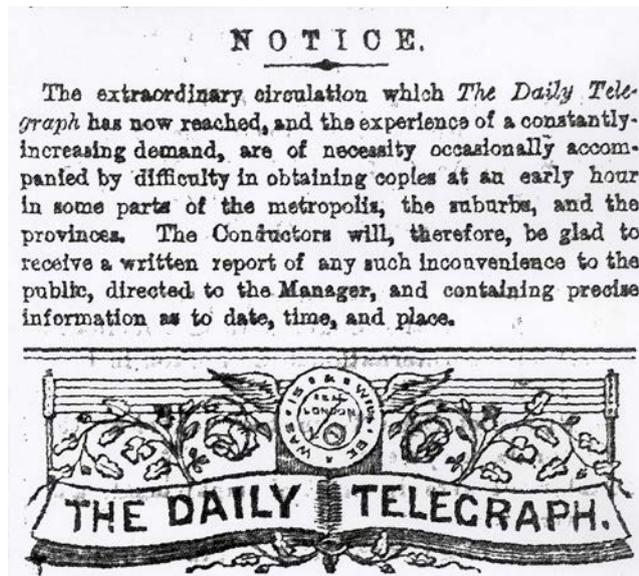
The whole of the machinery for driving the above has been designed and manufactured by Messrs. Symons Brothers, Engineers and Millwrights, of Southwark Bridge Road, and consists of a pair of Beam Engines of twenty-five horse-power combined, the steam cylinders being thirteen inches in the bore. The motion is communicated from the engine crank-shaft by a spur fly-wheel of ten feet diameter, which works into a pinion six feet diameter, "gear'd" with wood teeth. This is fixed on the main shaft, to which is connected the entire machinery throughout the establishment.

(From a contemporary *Daily Telegraph* information letter - February 1, 1860)

10.4

1860 November. Printing supply difficulties re-emerge

It was only ten months since the proprietors had issued their statement that the new printing offices had been completed, but shortfalls were emerging again. Another Hoe Ten feeder American machine was to be ordered and a notice was published in the newspaper.



73. A notice in *The Daily Telegraph* November 29 - 1860.

1861 November – yet another machine to be erected

A year later the next Hoe machine was by now printing successfully and the distribution problems were, for the time being, more in order. The proprietors published this notice which stated that the erection of the new machine has been completed and that they could supply one hundred thousand copies by half past six in the morning and forty thousand additional copies in each succeeding hour.



74. Notice

1861, December 18

Circulation declared in *The Daily Telegraph* as: 141,662. (Burnham1955, p.12)

1862, November 6

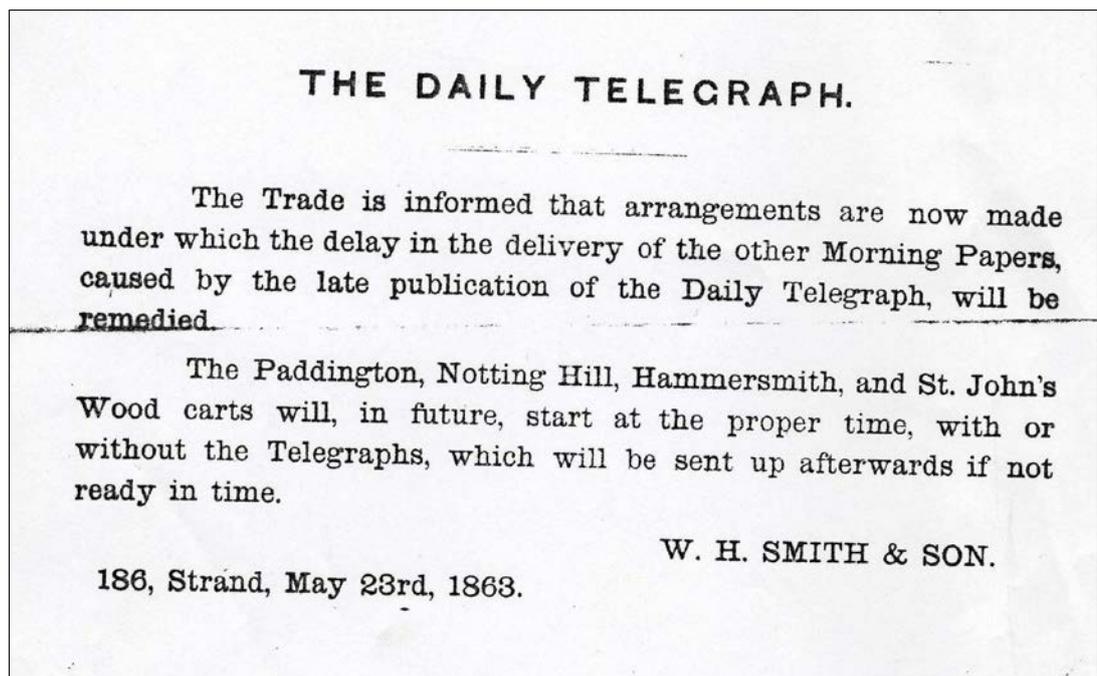
The circulation of *The Daily Telegraph* is claimed to equal, within a few thousands that of all the other morning newspapers put together. (*The Daily Telegraph* p.3)

1863, March. Four page supplement - Princess Alexandra's visit

The circulation reaches 205,884. (Burnham, 1955: p.13)

1863 May 23. A notice was received by *The Daily Telegraph*

W. H. Smith sends an ultimatum as the circulation continues to increase:



75. W.H. Smith's notice

January 2, 1865. Soon to print 80,000 an hour

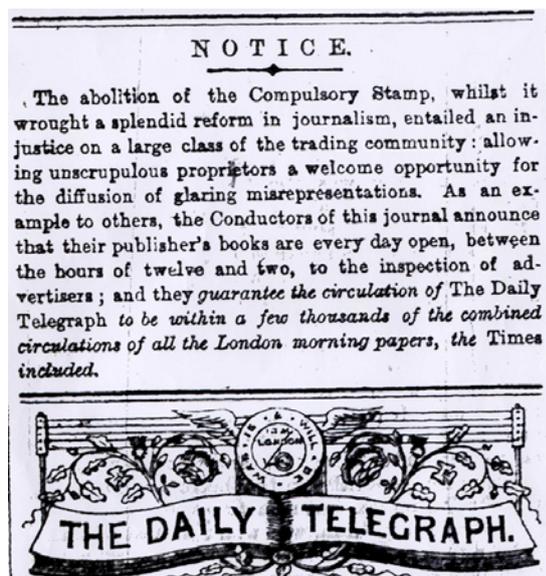
Now at last after nearly an eighteen month wait, the new machinery was coming on stream and the proprietors were about to be able to print a sufficiency of newspapers, on time, to meet the anticipated surge in circulation.



76. Proprietors notice published January 2, 1865

10. 5. 1865 Machines are now fully operational and a daily full printing run is achieved. The largest circulation in the world

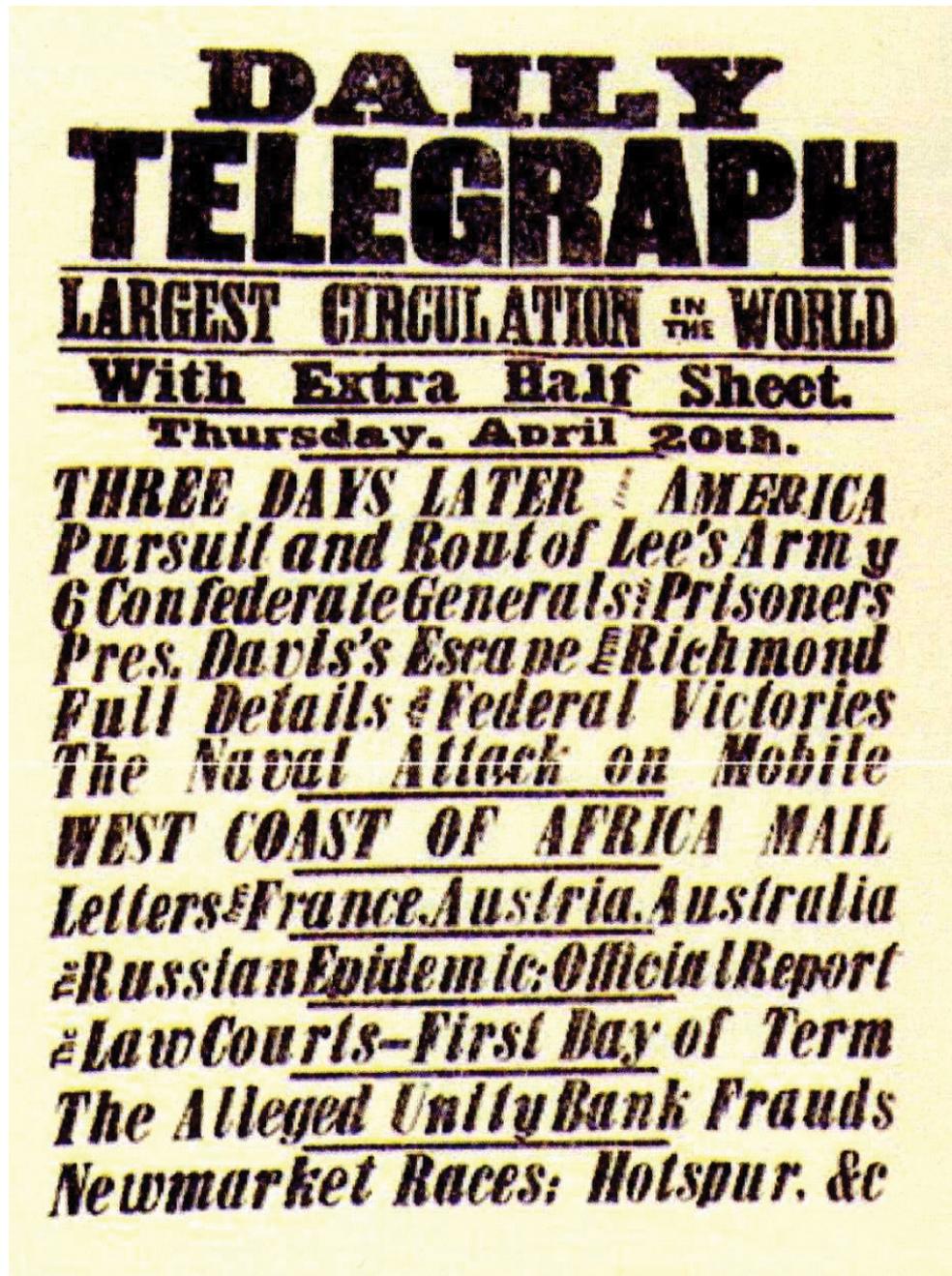
By April 1865, the Hoe presses were all in place and printing reliably. Only now, ten years since the launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on June 29, 1855 - the first day of the abolition of the Stamp Duty - were the proprietors in a position to meet the still growing demand of the readership.



77. 1865 Indication of an estimate of 200,000 copies sold per day

April 20, 1865 - Thursday

With a consistent circulation of over 200,000 copies sold per day, the proprietors were confident enough to declare on the contents bills that *The Daily Telegraph* had now reached the largest circulation in the world.



77. Contents Bill declaring
THE LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WORLD
Thursday April 20, 1865

CONCLUSIONS

During the 1850s, after the Great Exhibition, Britain was growing in confidence and had become the richest country in the world. A new feeling of opportunity was gradually leading to a more aspiring life-style. The middle classes, who were benefiting from better housing as new terraces were being built and to gradual move to suburbia. An extending railway network gave new opportunities for travel and holidays, many inland residents had never seen the sea or travelled far the cities. This extending railway network benefited the newspaper industry making large distribution possible and giving the British an opportunity, not possible in many countries, to obtain national newspapers. This was further enhanced in June, 1855 when the government stamp duty on newspapers, which has been claimed to be a tax on knowledge, was abolished. This led to a reduction in the price of newspapers and the emerging more literate middle classes began to have a greater awareness of the government's activity.

The early details recorded of Lt Col Sleigh, the founder of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* were extremely sparse. It was known that he was born of English parents in Montreal, while his father was there on a medical lecture tour. That Sleigh has always been referred to as Colonel indicated some military background, but little else was known of him. As the research progressed through genealogical and military records, and the discovery and purchase of a book he wrote in 1853 titled *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings or, Travel, Life and Adventure in the British North American Provinces*, an impression of Sleigh began to emerge.

Sleight, it can now be confirmed was known by his third name, Arthur, and it has also been confirmed that Sleight is pronounced *slee* not *slay* as had previously been thought. This pronunciation has been endorsed not only by his recently traced descendants, but also by the rhyming of 'slee' with 'free' in an election song composed and written by his supporters during the Greenwich bye-election.

No portrait image of Sleight was known to exist but, through this research, an early sepia photo portrait has now been identified. This discovery resulted from a visit to

Carol Lourdas, a descendant of Sleigh, following up a letter she had sent to *The Daily Telegraph* in 2005, at the time of its 150th anniversary. Carol was aware that a forebear had been involved at the launch of the newspaper but was not aware of having a photograph of Sleigh. It was an exciting moment when, looking at an old family album, a sepia photograph was found which was clearly marked on the back “Col B.W.A. Sleigh”. His likeness, tall and arrogant with a positive presence, did much to bring the research to life and was not unlike the emerging mental image formed of him.

Arthur Sleigh turned out to be a complex character possessing a blend of original thinking with, perhaps, an excess of persuasiveness and an instigator of grand schemes which he carried forward with rumbustious arrogance. He disliked authority, particularly authority placed upon persons through privilege alone. The idea of officers obtaining their commissions by purchase, without any military training, he found particularly repugnant. This did not stop him purchasing his own commission in the 77th Regiment of Foot!

His book *Pine Forests and Hackmatack Clearings* is very well written although, of course, it leaves out his less successful times. It gives accounts of his army postings in Canada, his travels in the United States and glowing references to himself as the owner of a large estate, proprietor of several companies including a bank and a steamship company. The estate and his companies, like all of his ventures, were short lived. To his credit his schemes were generally forward thinking, and had he been able to see them through, the Eastern Seaboard of Canada, Canada itself and The United States would have had railroad and shipping links well ahead of their time.

His contempt for the Maritime Provincial politicians is well documented in his book and this, it was subsequently discovered, was due to their exposure of him as a fraudster rather than the important landowner, banker, railroad director and shipping owner he claimed to be. Through his foolhardiness and misplaced courage he soon lost his friends, backers and their respect as the reality of his ill-founded situations were revealed.

The sequence continued on both sides of the Atlantic as new and unsuspecting hopeful parties fell under his spell. This was, seemingly, an uncontrollable pattern of

Sleigh's character, and the research has unearthed a sequence of ventures all with the common fault, that of being unprepared and under capitalised. Sleigh's fertile mind, and 'get rich quick' ideas, coupled with his persuasive manner, led him into these financial difficulties. His recurring habit was to draw in local and national dignitaries and, upon their creditability, secure loans often without their knowledge. This gave Sleigh at times temporary celebrity status. Bankruptcy and imprisonment in Halifax, Nova Scotia was not the first or last of his troubles.

Was he an out-and-out dishonest man or an unscrupulous opportunist? Probably the latter as it seems that all his various ideas were entered into with hope and success in mind; yet he seemed unable to control his ambitions. He was bombastic and relentless in the pursuit of his ideas and had the trait of self-aggrandisement not uncommon in reckless adventures.

His unstoppable inventiveness and energy is clearly seen between 1852 and 1857 when in this short time he:

1. Put a deposit, and only a small deposit, on the 70,000 acre Worrell estate on Prince Edward Island and claimed to be a grand paid-up landowner, but all too soon had to surrender it.
2. He then paid a deposit on an ocean going steamship the *Albatross*, based on false hopes of lucrative contracts, he became a local hero but was soon compelled to disband the project.
3. He became deputy-chairman of the Halifax and Quebec Railway a Canadian railroad company, which he soon jettisoned blaming government interference.
4. Then he attempted to set up a bank in Charlottetown. A rare, Sleigh-signed three-dollar bill is in the collection of The Royal Bank of Canada. His bank soon closed.
5. Sleigh was created an honorary colonel in the Canadian Militia and made a JP. Soon after this he was committed to a debtor's prison in Canada and these honours were hastily withdrawn. This did not stop him from using the rank Lt Col for the remainder of his life.
6. In a fit of pique, and in an attempt to restore his wounded pride, he wrote a book titled *Pine Forests and Hackmatack Clearings* which was published in London by Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street in 1853. He quite naturally portrayed himself as a heroic figure and blasted the politicians who had exposed his unreliability.

7. He then launched in 1855 *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* in London.

8. While running the *Telegraph* he made three unsuccessful attempts to gain a seat as a liberal in Parliament, Midhurst, Boston and Greenwich. On February 17, 1857, Sleight was bankrupt and he had no option but to surrender his remaining shares in *The Daily Telegraph* to his printer J.M. Levy.

After this he carried on with other schemes including *The British Columbia Transit Company*, a fraudulent venture resulting in him fleeing to Spain to avoid his debts. Sleight then tried to establish a colony in New Brunswick for, in his words, “like-minded people.” This scheme soon ended in failure. He was last heard of trying to raise money for a railway in India. Sleight died in 1869 at The Royal Avenue, Chelsea, and is buried in Brompton cemetery.

Sleight, launched *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* on June 29, 1855 in London. The many reasons for launching a newspaper have been discussed in 4.1 and for Sleight it was not just another of his grand schemes, although self-grandiosity was never far from his mind. He saw it as a way to increase his influence and a possible means of getting into parliament. He always had a lot to say.

A particularly interesting fact, revealed during this part of the research, is that Sleight was in New York at about the time of the launch of the *New York Times* in 1851. Inspired by this Sleight was determined to launch his own newspaper in London and followed much of their style and methods. Sleight was intrigued that *The New York Times* was sold as a penny (one cent) newspaper. His admiration for the American press was exemplified in his first leading article published in edition number one of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, on June 29, 1855. He maintained that literacy was more advanced in America than in Britain. Added to this, Sleight noted the wide selection of news and the involvement of the editors - often with their name appearing on the front page. Newspapers in the America had not been impeded by government suppression, as the stamp duty had been removed twenty years earlier. Their content was aimed not so much at the elite, but more to the man in the street. This resulted in high circulation returns and, priced at one cent, the news was within reach of all.

For his launch of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, Sleight needed backers and he found these through his membership of the Army & Navy club in Pall Mall. Three members each put in £1,500. Sleight chose June 29, 1855 as his launch date, this being

the very day that the Stamp Duty act was repealed. Sleight's newspaper was priced at two pence, which was outrageously cheap compared with the other London papers. Soon after, on September 17, 1855, inspired by *The New York Times* Sleight reduced the price of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* to one penny - thereby establishing the penny press in the UK. The readers liked the news reported across a wider selection, than had previously been seen, and warmed to the new low price. Sleight boldly declared that *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* would be fiercely independent of all parties yet, soon after the start there were, mysteriously, leaders and letters referring to *The Rational Peace Party* and support for Richard Cobden.

The mystery deepened when a letter (4.10), hitherto unknown, was discovered from Sleight to a George Dornbusch in which he offered to become the official voice of *The Rational Peace Party*. This was only seven weeks after the launch, so clearly Sleight was already short of funds and saw this as a potential lifeline.

Extensive research then focused on the unknown Dornbusch and *The Rational Peace Party*, leading eventually to a meeting with a fifth generation descendent Kevin Beurle. This was a significant meeting and Beurle explained that Dornbusch was a wealthy publisher of a listing directory of incoming sea vessels called *Floating Cargoes*. He was a staunch vegetarian, teetotaler and committed to peace. Significantly, he was also an associate and admirer of Richard Cobden, so much so that he included the name Cobden in his son's name, and shared many of his philosophical objectives. I was shown Dornbusch's diary (Illustration 24) and noted how he had generously contributed to Cobden's funeral fund. Sadly Kevin Beurle, who had given his time and shared his information so generously was killed in a freak holiday balloon accident at Cappadoccia, Turkey on May, 29, 2009.

No deal was struck with Dornbusch or his associates but, after much more research into the scenario of *The Rational Peace Party*, a reference was found claiming, the hitherto unknown fact, that Cobden had advanced monies to Sleight in return for campaigning for peace within the editorial columns of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* (Chapter 4.9). This Cobden did as a precursor to launching, with his campaigning colleagues, a pro-peace newspaper from Manchester – *The Morning Star*, planned to be sold at one penny. It is probable that Cobden's funding was short-term and that he suggested Sleight approach his friend George Dornbusch as a possible backer.

Cobden was later quoted as saying that it had been a mistake to allow *The Daily Telegraph* to establish a firm hold on the one penny public before launching their own one penny newspaper *The Morning Star*.

After only eight weeks from the launch of *The Daily Telegraph*, the three investing partners, members of The Army and Navy Club, were at odds with Sleigh. They did not like his overtures to the *Rational Peace Party*, and were highly nervous of the mounting debts and uneasy with the penny price point. Sleigh was prepared to stand his ground and promptly bought them out, albeit at a loss of £1,050 each from their initial capital outlay of £1,500. Sleigh described them as “being of great funk”.

Sleigh now found himself proprietor, editor and managing director. Despite the responsibilities, he revelled in the removal of negativity and caution; Sleigh had always been immune to such attitudes! The struggling enterprise proceeded with an expansion of foreign news, sports writing, book and theatre revues and campaigning for the betterment of the lot for the man in the street. The future though still looked bleak. Sleigh, who had reduced the price of the newspaper to one penny, soon found that the already reluctant advertisers were not keen to have their products associated with such a cheap newspaper.

The readers liked the editorials and, priced at one penny, the circulation started to climb at a healthy rate and the paper was soon selling 27,000 per day. Sleigh found himself with a popular newspaper with a rising circulation but, without advertisers’ support, the high production costs meant that with each edition he was getting more and more into debt. He split from his printers, Aird and Tunstall, after only seven weeks and the newspaper, through lack of capital, was about to fold.

Sleigh had a lucky break when he was introduced to J.M. Levy who was a printer and the manager of *The Sunday Times* in Fleet Street. As Levy was only printing on Saturday night, he had spare printing capacity on the remaining six nights of the week. He agreed therefore to print *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

Given this reprieve, Sleigh continued to campaign for reforms in the army and navy, the practice of commissions, by purchase, in the services, the abolition of flogging, the reform of the voting system and the creation of life peerages. He appointed Thornton Hunt as managing editor and started to widen the editorial to include book and theatrical reviews. Sleigh also conceived the idea of a box number system for advertisement replies. His constant theme was against the likes of the Duke of Cambridge who, he felt, had been an inadequate commander in the Crimean war. The

Duke was also president of Sleigh's club, the Army and Navy, so perhaps they had had a contretemps there too?

Sleigh's restless mind soon started on his long-held hope for a seat in parliament. In 1856 he offered himself to stand for Midhurst and Boston, but both attempts failed. Nothing had ever been recorded in biographical stories of Sleigh's attempt in 1857 to gain the nomination for the Liberal seat of Greenwich. His opponent was General Sir William Codrington.

Sleigh could not have found an opponent who represented, to him, the very worst aspects of class and privilege, a subject that he had campaigned against since his launch of *The Daily Telegraph* seventeen months previously.

The lack of any knowledge of Sleigh's hard fought campaign in this by-election is surprising, as many columns were printed in *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*. This account was discovered, by chance, when working through the bound volumes of the newspapers, seeking circulation figures.

The Daily Telegraph had been going for nearly a year and a half when Sleigh's political attempts commenced. This gave Sleigh the opportunity to base his speeches on the theme of his leading articles and his ideas of which he was always so vociferous. Sleigh was ahead of his time in his hopes for vote by ballot and his speeches on anti-flogging in the services were received with enthusiasm. A public challenge as to whether he was entitled to style himself Lt Col, which he wasn't, and the awkward re-emergence of Major Walker to whom he had previously sold an overpriced publishing business, did not help Sleigh's chances. Added to this was another bankruptcy case against him. Sleigh felt the system was against him and that the establishment would ensure a victory for Codrington. It did!

After Sleigh's election defeat at Greenwich he was now bankrupt and he had no option but to transfer his remaining interest in *The Daily Telegraph* to J.M. Levy. The ownership of *The Daily Telegraph* from June 29, 1855 to February 17, 1857 yielded many surprises.

It is generally recorded that the Levys were either the founders of *The Daily Telegraph* or that they took control of the title on September 2, 1855. Both are incorrect as this was, in fact, the date of their *Daily Telegraph & Courier* printing arrangement. This date over the years has become the legend of their commencement

of ownership. At this time J.M. Levy was still business manager and printer of *The Sunday Times*. *The DNB*, *Burke's Peerage* and most Fleet Street history books all report the early ownership incorrectly.

It was the discovery, in the basement of *The Daily Telegraph* offices in Fleet Street, of a folded vellum document dated February 17, 1857 which set me on this path of research, the contents of this signed and sealed document between Sleigh and Levy contradicted all existing facts published of the Levy's early ownership.

To summarise the findings of *The Daily Telegraph* ownership question:

1855 September 2: J.M. Levy becomes the printer of *The Daily Telegraph*.

1856 March 12: J.M. Levy after his court case, *Levy v Lamb* (Chapter 7.2) leaves the employ at *The Sunday Times* and loses his printing contract with them.

1856 April 2: J.M. Levy advances £3,000 to Sleigh and is appointed the business manager.

1856 September 1: Levy enters into 50/50 partnership with Sleigh.

1857 February 17: J.M. Levy becomes sole proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph* for a further payment to Sleigh of £2,000. A condition put in to the contract by J.M. Levy ensured that Sleigh was not to produce or sell a one penny newspaper within a 50-mile radius of the City of London.

It has also always been reported, in all authoritative accounts, that J.M. Levy had owned *The Sunday Times*, this, as proved by this research, is not the case. This was a real surprise. The document dated February 17, 1857, and the finding of an account of the trial *Levy v Lamb*, published in *The Times* and *Daily Telegraph* show that, without question, Levy never owned all or any part of *The Sunday Times*.

These details are from a signed document (Document 1), the court case *Levy v Lamb* (Chapter 7.1) and from the published proceedings of Sleigh's bankruptcy hearing (Chapter 7.2). The early ownership and transfer of *The Daily Telegraph* from Sleigh to Levy, and his involvement with the *Sunday Times*, is now recorded accurately for the first time.

The Levys, while Sleigh was at the helm, had seen the opportunities of the newly established penny press all too clearly, and were eager to oust him. From February 17, 1857, the Levy family took full control of *The Daily Telegraph* and subsequently divided the shares into sixty-four parts. J.M. Levy took 16 parts, his son Edward took eight parts, their machine minder George Moss took eight parts and the remaining thirty-two parts were taken by Lionel Lawson, the brother of J.M. Levy.

Sleigh's pioneering ideas were continued by the Levy's after he was forced to sell his interest in *The Daily Telegraph*, and it is to their credit that they recognised this and carried them forward.

Now being in sole charge of the newspaper they set about its re-establishment. The management was left to J.M. Levy and his son Edward, the two other partners played no active part in their decisions. It was the good chemistry between the Levy father and son that set the newspaper on a rapid course to prosperity. J.M. Levy was the shrewd business man, whereas Edward if shown a balance sheet he would say "take it away my boy, I don't understand these things." What Edward did possess, and this became crucial to the future of the newspaper, was an uncanny ability to select the right person for the right job. Such was this strength, it was said, his decisions were reached with lightning speed and deep insight.

His skilful selection process resulted in the recruiting of Edwin Arnold, J.M. Le Sage and G.A. Sala. These were known as the triumvirate and they were the comment and leader writers working in isolation and exclusively for Edward Levy who had become editor-in-chief aged 23. The members of the triumvirate all enjoyed careers spanning upwards to five decades with Arnold and Le Sage receiving knighthoods.

The popularity of the penny newspaper, with its wide selection of news, brought its own problems, particularly keeping up the print run to satisfy the demand. New steam-driven ten Hoe feeder presses had to be imported from New York, and the teething troubles in setting them up continued to haunt the proprietors. W.H. Smith wrote and asked "...is there nothing that can be done with the late delivery of *The Daily Telegraph*".

It was often said that *The Daily Telegraph* prospered on sensationalism and to an extent this was true. It had, however, an amalgam of erudition together with a blend of more lurid stories of divorce, murders and gory accidents. This gave the newspaper an appeal across several fronts and the readers had the chance to be mentally extended on

the one hand and an eagerness to devour and be entertained by the continuing more human stories.

The Daily Telegraph became the paper of news, both home and foreign. The latter was particularly intriguing for the majority of readers who, in those days, were not widely travelled. The style of the newspaper which, to a large extent, was due to the fortuitous skills of Edward Levy and J.M. Le Sage, was consistent and appealing and reflected the loyalty of the editorial staff.

The question as to why a newspapers' circulation goes up or down has baffled proprietors for centuries and this has been a constant thought during this research. Crucially the early editors of *The Daily Telegraph*, by publishing human stories, often with an element of teasing sensationalism, intrigued the readers. This kept them in a state of eager suspense so they bought the newspaper every day to read the continuing stories. This "cliff hanger" formula is followed by today's television soap operas, with dramatic success.

But there is no doubt that, combined with this formula, the greatest contribution came from Sir John Le Sage who, over six decades, dispensed great executive skills and had the clear understanding of the *Telegraph's* middle class readers and knew instinctively where their interests lay. His enormous personal support to the Levy family was such that, when he retired in 1923, Viscount Burnham in a speech described him...

"That after Dr Johnson, Le Sage was the most important figure ever to have walked down Fleet Street."

The Daily Telegraph's popularity, once established, was such that there was always an abundance of advertisements awaiting publication and a continually rising circulation.

The proprietors kept a steady hand on the business, but Edward Levy put the newspaper itself before business considerations. His thoughts were concentrated on the editorial content which was delivered with the utmost care. He was often to be seen in the composing room late at night, dressed in his dinner jacket, adding last-minute corrections.

J.M. Levy and son Edward knew where their diverse skills lay and this was an enormous contribution to the staff and readers alike. They were accomplished and lucky that their newspaper, without strong political bias, had an appeal to a new eager

and literate rising middle-class audience at an affordable price. *The Daily Telegraph's* success was spectacular and by 1865, just ten years after the launch, the Levys were on their way to becoming amongst the most wealthy newspaper families in the world. In a speech made by T.P. O'Connor when Sir John Le Sage retired on June 21, 1923, he referred to the early days of *The Daily Telegraph*, and remarked:

“...that when he was young the so called spirit of the Press was based on the assumption that what the writer had to avoid was anything which gave a real, personal and human interest to events of the day.” He went on to say that the reason why *The Daily Telegraph* made the extraordinary bound into immediate popularity and extraordinary influence was the fact that Edward Levy saw that the so called “dignity of journalism” was only another word for making journalism uninteresting and flat. “If journalism covers, as it ought to cover, every domain of human life and interest and gets down to the roots of events in personal characters and secret source of events: if British journalism holds, as I think it does, the best points in the journalism of the world, you must look to the pioneers of that new world of journalism, in the men who created *The Daily Telegraph* of the past”. These words were, of course, greeted by enthusiastic applause!

In Sleigh's mission statement written in 1855, when he reduced the price of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* to one penny, he declared:

“There is no reason why a daily newspaper, conducted with high tone, should not be produced at a price which will place it within the means of all classes of the community. The extension of the circulation of such a journal must prove beneficial to the public at large. If artisan and Peer can alike peruse daily the same wholesome literary matter, produced by first class writers, the general tone of society must benefit. The working man will feel assured that we consider that he is deserving of having laid before him a newspaper compiled with care which places it in the Hamlet and secures its place in the Palace”.

Sleigh was described by T.P. O'Connor, in the obituary of Sir J.M. Le Sage, as a “dashing adventurer”. This was kinder than a previous description which described him a “reckless adventurer”. He was also described in an article published in *The Quarterly Review* dated October 1880, as “a gentleman of great courage and

energy, but possessed of hardly sufficient capital to make a cheap paper a paying speculation”.

Sleigh, who continued to go from pillar to post after he had been forced to sell out to the Levys on February 17, 1857, could only look on from afar as his newspaper went from success to success. He lived another twelve years, during which time the circulation grew to over 200,000 copies per day. In April 1865 *The Daily Telegraph* announced that it had achieved ‘the largest circulation in the world’

His plans, dreams and passion were, for once in his life, yielding the fruits he had hoped; but the Levys who, from a chance meeting in Fleet Street in 1855, were now the beneficiaries..

The Daily Telegraph, now (2010) in its one hundred and fifty sixth year of publication, would have soon foundered without Sleigh’s tenacity from 1855-1857. There is also no doubt that without the Levy’s inspired proprietorship from 1857 to 1928, *The Daily Telegraph* would not have progressed the way it did.

FINIS

Appendix 1

Unidentified and undated galley-proof

Looking back 3
gether. And so the little money invested in the speculation was gradually growing less, and the circulation of the paper was also getting lower and lower. Our editor was, however, still hopeful, and was fertile in expedients to keep the journal afloat. From a circulation of a thousand or so a day our journal gradually fell to one of from two to three hundred a day. The two club gentlemen who had embarked with the "Colonel" in founding the paper, began to fear accumulating debts and difficulties, and expressed a wish to retire from the concern. The "Colonel" saw his chance, and jumped at the opportunity. Accordingly in due time a notice appeared in the London Gazette dissolving the partnership that existed, if any partnership ever existed, and turning over the property, such as it was, to the "Colonel." Our editor, now sole proprietor, no sooner got our journal into his own hands than he determined to carry out an idea he had long entertained. Forthwith our journal was to be reduced to the price of one penny, and notices were at once issued to this effect. On the 17th of September, 1855, our first penny number appeared. A daily paper for one penny took the London market at once. Instead of from two to three hundred a day, in a week we were printing as many thousands. And here a fresh and unforeseen difficulty arose. The newsvendors, with the Leviathan news-vendor—a great monopolist—at their head, stubbornly refused to sell our paper. They could not afford to come down to our office for the paltry profit of fourpence on every thirteen sold. What was to be done? The "Colonel" determined on enlisting a detachment of boys drawn from the ragged schools of the metropolis, and making flying newsvendors of them. For these boys uniforms were provided, and on their caps was worked in large letters the name of our journal. Their instructions were to station themselves at the newsvendor's doors, bawl out the name of our paper and the price. And this they did to a good tune. Our circulation was going up daily; our paper was being bought; our advertisements were rapidly dropping in. The newsvendors did not like the boy interference with what they considered the rights of their trade, and so they met together in a body and resolved to send down a deputation to our proprietor. After an interview, the "Colonel"—who always fought shy of deputations—agreed to withdraw the ragged school boys, on certain conditions. The "Colonel" further engaged with this deputation to send round our journal every morning in carts to the news-vendor's shops. And so he did for a short time; but, the demand for our journal daily increasing, the "Colonel" at length took the matter up boldly, and determined on fighting the newsvendors. He issued an order that on and after a certain date the news carts would be withdrawn, and intimating that all newsvendors requiring our journal must come to the office and buy for themselves. This, after some remonstrance, they at length did. The Leviathan newsvendor, too, was glad to come to terms with the "Colonel," who thus obtained a great victory over a strong combination—not, however, without a struggle.

For a while the "Colonel" had the ball at his feet. Every man worked like a slave to

W/O
Walter
as we have said
200

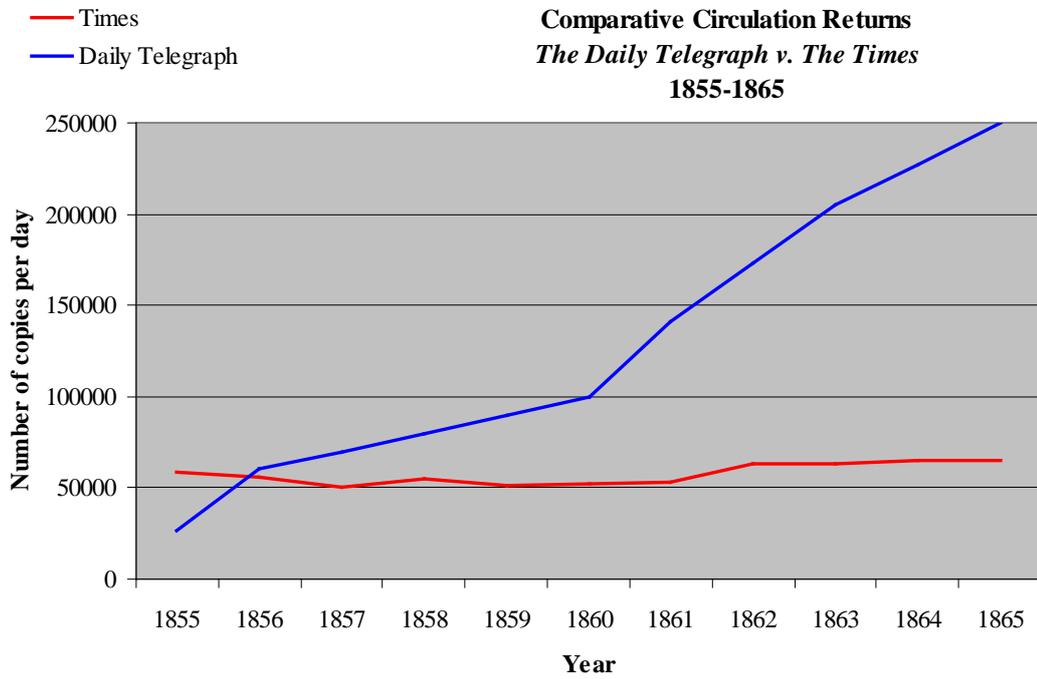
keep our journal equal in all respects to its high-priced contemporaries. Bold and fearless leading articles, good commercial news, summaries of parliamentary debates, fair general news, all the telegrams that could be cribbed, a Paris letter, sporting news, and "selections" or "prophecies" from a well-known hand, soon raised our journal in public estimation, and we were fast becoming a power, with a circulation only excelled by one of the London high-priced journals. But our success soon brought an opponent into the field. We were to be crushed, chawed up. A powerful party in Manchester, with the view of promulgating those opinions peculiar to the Manchester school of politics, determined on starting a penny daily paper in London. The "Colonel," however, always great at expedients, was determined not to be beaten. Our plans were secretly laid, and on the day our rival was announced to appear, our journal was to be permanently enlarged to a size one-fourth over and above the new paper. On the 17th of March, 1856, the first number of the penny Manchester organ was issued, and on the same day our journal came out in its enlarged shape. "I'll take the wind out of their sails," said the "Colonel," and so he did. The public, always eager for quantity, flocked to our journal, and higher and higher went the circulation. We were now printing from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand a day. Increased sale, however, only brought with it increased expenditure, and, as a matter of course, increased monetary difficulties. Paper was dear, there was still a heavy duty upon it, and our staff had been considerably increased. Weekly wages had to be paid, paper bills had to be met, and advertisement accounts, on which we mainly depended, were ~~due~~ in coming in. And so the "Colonel" was getting slowly but surely into debt. Still he struggled on with indomitable pluck, living from hand to mouth. ~~Our~~ clerk and cashier was a man of expedients. He could cut a five or a ten-pound note in two, and leave each of the halves with neighbours, getting the full value of the note, bringing the brother halves together again when a little money came into the exchequer. This five-pound note did duty for a time as ten pounds, and ten-pound notes as twenty pounds. And our difficulties were not lessened by our editor's ambition. He would get into parliament, and expose in the House of Commons the incapacity of the heads at the Horse Guards. But there was a property qualification required for members then, and our editor had no property. He succeeded, however, in borrowing an old lady's rent-roll, and, on the strength of this, came forward as the Liberal candidate for a Lincoln borough. His canvass was, however, a fruitless one, and so he beat a retreat—a very ignominious one—before nomination day.

Back to London our editor—and now it must be borne in mind "Colonel," proprietor, and editor were one—came, but somewhat unsettled. He had set his mind on parliament, and no one could persuade him to wait his opportunity. We were fast growing in influence as a newspaper, and in a short while would have been able to have fought successfully for a candidate in the Liberal interest, but not yet.

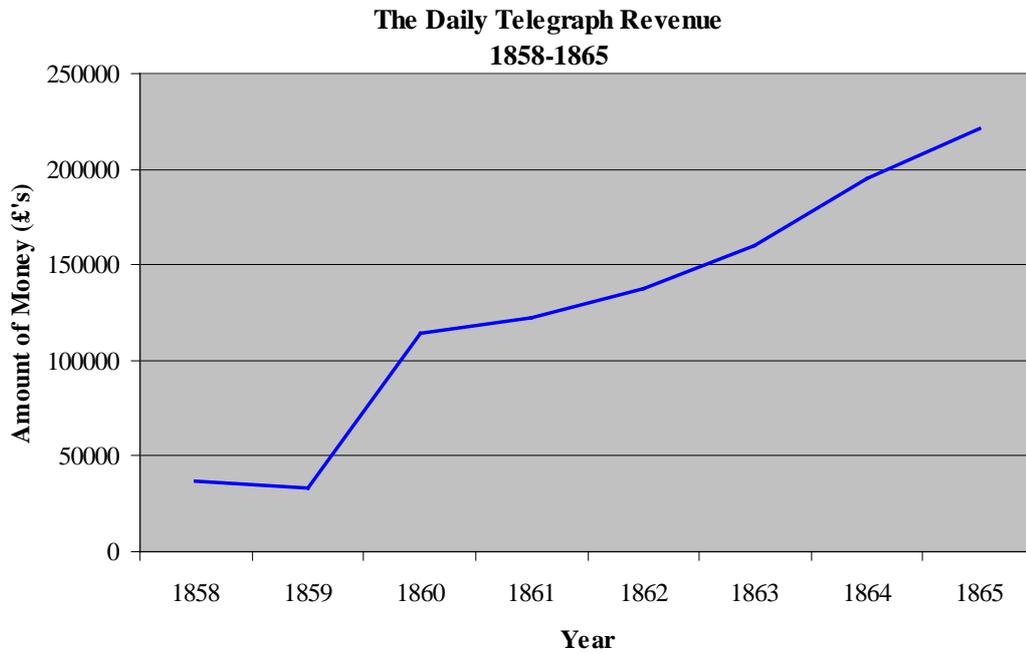
A great murder had been committed in Staffordshire, and the people were eager to

arranged to
tardy
The money
#a#
W
1/2
1/3
1/4

Appendix 2



Source: *The Daily Telegraph and The Times archives.*



Source: *The Daily Telegraph*

Appendix 3

December 31 1864, Expenditure - The Daily Telegraph

Balances 31 Dec 1864

	Private Ledger	Dr.	Cr.	Profits
36	Compositors	4071 18 7		
39	Country Advertising	14 10 2		
45	Salaries Office	1085 15 .		
55	do Machine	2902 17 9		
56	Stereotype	489 5 .		
71	Rent Bank Taxes	446 17 8		
74	Interest of	9005 3 7		
78	Profit Slip	196 7 10 196 7 10		700 17 5
79	Capital			2500 " "
80	Copyright	4989 2 10		
81	Repairs premises	74 6 1		
89	Law-books	231 1 4		
94	J M Levy	2565 " "		
99	Edw Levy	1282 10 .		
101	" Mts	1282 10 .		
108	Bad Debts	76 " 10		
109	Suspense of		23 7 9	
172	Plant	1276 9 8		
78	Profit Slip of		2261 15 10	
174	New premises	5321 13 7		
182	Deposit of	2000 " "		
190	Discounts &c	38592 7 11		149 1 5
202	Office furniture	1014 18 6		
210	Machine stores	333 6 3		
211	W Thompson	300 " "		
212	J Lawson	530 " "		
214	Quarry creditors		196 72 10	
217	A R Sala	497 3 .		
220	Sills removed	348 8 10		
235	Advertising of		55238 9 6	
265	Publishers Sales		45695 13 "	
282	G Turner	2 " "		
284	General trading of		940 11 10	
286	New Water Co	1200 " "		
295	Fredk Expenses	1821 9 4		
302	Bills Payable		829 4 6	
304	Process	7 10 .		
305	Misc	91 " .		
306	Manuaco to	108 " 10		
308	Freehold of	7824 7 "		
310	Literature	8329 8 7		
423	Commissions	1261 4 2		
		94581 14 2	5135634 13 9	
	Manuac Ledger	816 3 7	13 7 9	
	Advertising "	12 7 7	116 3 7	
	Bought Ledger	8978 10 10	1 11 6	
	Cash at Bank	381 11 5	4409 1 6	
	Petty	97874 16 8	1005814 4	
		140361 10 4	116 3 7	
		98677 12 3	116 3 7	

Appendix 4

The Daily Telegraph time line 1855 - 1865

1855 June 29: *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* founded with three partners. The office at 253, Strand and the printers for the first seven weeks were Aird and Tunstall, Exeter Street, Covent Garden, London.

1855 September 3: J.M. Levy takes on new printing contract. At the foot of the final column on the back page it stated:- Published by Joseph Ellis, 2 Northampton Terrace, City Road, in the Parish of St. Luke in the County of Middlesex.

1855 September 17: J.M. Levy was still managing *The Sunday Times*. Sleigh on this date reduced the price to one penny, in accordance with his original plan and following his observations of the launch of *The New York Times* in 1852. Sleigh thus became the Father of the Penny Press in Britain.

1855 August 16: Sleigh's three partners, E.H. Dering, C.E. Dering and E.Y. Peel withdraw from the venture. A notice appears in *The London Gazette* and Sleigh assumes the role of Editor/Proprietor. Soon after this, Sleigh appoints Thornton Hunt as Managing Editor.

1856 March: Levy loses his court case against George Lamb for the right to purchase "all or part of *The Sunday Times*" and his contract to print *The Sunday Times* is revoked.

1856 April 2: J.M. Levy advances Sleigh £3000 and becomes business manager. This payment was probably made in lieu of money owed for printing and paper.

1856 September 1: J.M. Levy enters into 50/50 partnership Sleigh. This too was probably to offset printing costs owed by Sleigh to Levy.

1857 February 17: Sleigh on this date, having failed to get elected to the Liberal seat of Greenwich, J.M. Levy takes full control and proprietorship and Sleigh is paid off with £2000 and forbidden by contract (Document 1) to produce a penny newspaper within a 50-mile radius of London.

1857: George Augustus Sala, (aged 29 years) joins *The Daily Telegraph* spends the next 48 years as a high profile "non staff" contributor.

1858 March: *The Daily Telegraph* remained a four-page newspaper under the direction of the Levys but on March 29 1858, they doubled its size to eight pages and

kept the price at one penny. This increase in pagination was in response to a threat from *The Standard*, a morning paper, which started publishing, from that date, an eight-page edition. *The Standard*, on February 4, 1858, had reduced the price down to two pence and became a severe threat to *The Daily Telegraph*, which although selling at one penny, was half the size of *The Standard*.

The competition between *The Standard* and *The Daily Telegraph* had the effect, still felt in the newspaper industry today, of competitors adding value to their product, without a price increase, resulting in increased circulation and advertisement revenue. *The Daily Telegraph* offering eight pages for one penny was a journal “without precedent or parallel” declared the Levys and was now beginning to emerge from its earlier financial difficulties. Sleigh’s original idea of following the American style of journalism with a wide spectrum of news at a low cover price, which the Levys maintained, was now beginning to reap rewards and the cash flow problems were lessening. The new proprietors were gaining confidence and the gap was closing between the established grand newspapers and the “upstart Penny Press”.

1858 April 10: Early device appears on leader page.

1858 April 19: A new device and motto “*Was, Is and Will Be*” appears at the head of the leader page for the first time. Lord Burnham refers to this in his book *Peterborough Court*, (1955). “This device, he wrote, came from a suggestion for a coat of arms when the parvenu printers [Levys] first began to take an interest in the peculiar customs of the aristocracy”. An early example shows the arrow pointing to “was” and in a later design the arrow points to “will”. This was thought to convey a more positive impression. The Wings of Hermes and the telegraph poles indicated speed and the modern approach to the conveying of news and the clock indicated the off-stone time for the nightly first edition.

1859 November 29: The foundation of the new era was cemented by the signing of a contract between J.M. Levy, his son Edward, Lionel Lawson (brother of JML) and George Moss. In this they divided the company into 64 shares (Document 2) This was a more common practice in shipping and this could have been coincidental as they valued the company at £6,400. J.M. Levy took 16 shares, Edward his son 8 shares, Lionel Lawson (name had been changed from Levy) brother of JML 32 shares and George Moss (machine manager) 8 shares. (Document 2)

1860: Levy and partners purchase 135, Fleet Street. This was to be the address of *The Daily Telegraph* for the next 137 years.

1861: Tax on newsprint abolished. (Tax on newspapers was abolished in June 1855).

1861: Edward Dicey joins *The Daily Telegraph* (29 years old). A leader writer and special foreign correspondent, who in 1870, became editor of the *Daily News* and then, soon after, *The Observer*.

1861: Edwin Arnold joins *The Daily Telegraph* (29 years old). He became a key member of the paper's editorial staff for the next forty years, the author of *The Light of Asia*. He was subsequently knighted.

1862 September 22: Further property purchased around the 135 Fleet Street/Peterborough Court. The growing *Daily Telegraph* having left 253, The Strand now settles into Fleet Street offices for both editorial and printing purposes. At this time and continuing well into the late 1860s there was a wave of optimism in the country. The Indian Mutiny and the Crimean war were over and a sense of relief and peace was felt. *The Daily Telegraph*, as a newcomer on the newspaper scene, reflected the new spirit of the age. Affordably priced at one penny and with an ever-widening appeal, the paper was beginning to make steady ground.

Politically, the mood was changing from the old conservatism towards liberalism and this *The Telegraph* supported. Gladstone was christened, by *The Daily Telegraph*, as "The People's William", the name was adopted nationwide. The tone of the paper during the sixties was Gladstonian and liberal.

1863: John Merry Le Sage joins *The Daily Telegraph* (26 years old). Le Sage served the paper for the next sixty years and was knighted.

1863: *The Daily Telegraph* sells 207,000 copies when the Prince of Wales married Princess Alexandra of Denmark.

1863: *The Daily Telegraph* was instrumental in exposing a scandal which was threatening to overthrow Lord Palmerston and his government. Thornton Hunt wrote a leader stating: "A grave scandal has arisen in society, attaining the name and of the very foremost man of our time. It is alleged by anonymous accusers, and the many bitter tongues which love the taste of malice, that the Premier is guilty of that offence against the laws of morality which England is understood to regard with peculiar odium." The case was eventually dismissed and *The Daily Telegraph* featured prominently as the only newspaper which had had the courage to expose the scandal in the first place. Disraeli's cynical remark on the case was that: "If the Prime Minister were proved to have indulged in a liaison at the age of eighty, an admiring public would at once have made him dictator."

1863-1865: *The Daily Telegraph* circulation rose rapidly and demand outstripped supply. New Ten Hoe feeder machines were ordered from New York, but it was a very slow process from the order to the actual operational printing.

1865: By April all the machines were finally installed in a new printing hall in Peterborough Court, Fleet Street, and the circulation was declared as:

The Largest Circulation in the World

Appendix 5

Time line 1818-1887

Burrows Willcocks Arthur Sleigh, family and associates

1818: Born. William Campbell Sleigh (B.W.A. Sleigh's brother) Dublin

Educated: Westminster School. Barrister. (died 1887)

1820: Alfred Bate Richards, born in Worcester and a School contemporary of William Campbell Sleigh (Westminster) and a friend of B.W.A. Sleigh. They shared a love of Canada and had similar ideas for a trans-Canada railway and the military.

Educated Westminster School, a Barrister, Soldier and first editor *The Daily Telegraph*. His editorship lasted less than six months. (died 1876).

1821: Born B.W.A. Sleigh, founder of *The Daily Telegraph*, soldier and entrepreneur, born in St Paul Street, Montreal. His father William Willcocks Sleigh, a doctor, was on a medical lecture visiting sabbatical in Montreal. (died 1869).

1823: Sleigh family return to England.

1825: B.W.A. Sleigh Commences education in England.

1831: August 30, Dr. W.W. Sleigh surgeon, living at Alpha Road St Marylebone, declared bankrupt.

1834: Dr. Sleigh and family leave England for USA. Settle for a while in Philadelphia and possibly Cincinnati.

1837: Dr. Sleigh still living in North America, Canada and Philadelphia.

1836-1840: B.W.A. Sleigh at school/college in Canada

1841: B.W.A. Sleigh shown on census return as "Gentleman of independent means" residing in St. James Square, London.

1842: July 23, Sleigh enlists, at Chatham, with the 2nd West India Regiment as an Ensign.

1842: (circa) Marries Miss Franklin, daughter of a Royal Artillery army colonel. Soon after Sleigh becomes a widower.

1844 November: Obtains Lieutenancy by purchase in Jamaica in 2nd West India Regiment.

1845: 77th Foot Regiment Sleigh transferred to this regiment by purchase.

1846 May 17: Marries Charlotte Spellen. St Luke's Church, St Anne Street, Shandon, Cork, Ireland.

1847: Daughter Charlotte Sarah born in Middlesex.

1845: 77th Regiment arrives in Halifax, Canada. This takes Sleigh to a posting in the maritime provinces.

1845: Dr. Sleigh living in Chiswick

1846 February 17: and March 20: Court and Social reports in *The Times*: Queen's Drawing Room Reception, St James's Palace. Gentlemen attending... also present Lieut. B.W.A. Sleigh.

1846 June 19: 77th Regiment posted to Sydney, Nova Scotia, arrived July 2.

1846 August 8: 77th Regiment leaves Sydney, arrives Halifax August 10.

1846 September 2: 77th Regiment left Halifax for Quebec City.

1846: Stationed in Ireland 77th Regiment.

1847: Completed book "*The Outcast Prophet*" a three volume novel.

1848 September 12: Sleigh sells his Commission.

1848: Sleigh returns to England.

1850 April 1: Publishes *The Royal Militia and Yeoman Cavalry Army List No.1.*

1850 September 4: Court of Bankruptcy. "The case heard before Mr. Commissioner Holroyd was not worth detailed report. B.W.A. Sleigh of Berners Street, Oxford Street, described as a printer and connected with *The British Army Despatch*, and secretary of the Army and Navy Club, appeared on his adjourned last examination and passed." (*The Times*, Sept 4, 1850). Sleigh's address is given as 50, Bedford Street and 42, Thurloe Square London.

1851: Residing at 15, Kent Terrace, Marylebone, with Charlotte his wife, aged 25, Charlotte his daughter aged 4, Kate Helena his daughter aged 2, Nora daughter aged a few months. Three female servants. Sleigh had sold *The British Army Despatch* to a

Major Walker for £900. He was enjoying the high life on the proceeds. The sale came back to haunt him.

1851: Daughter Nora born in Surrey.

1851-1852: Travels in the United States at about the time of launch of *The New York Times*.

1852: Becomes Deputy Chairman, “Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Railroad Company”. This company was soon disbanded, Sleigh blamed local government interference.

1852 June: Owner (with others) of steamship *Albatross*, Sleigh claimed to be sole owner. This gave Sleigh instant but short-lived fame and respect.

1855 July 3: (*The Islander*-Newspaper) The screw steamer *Albatross*, Captain Kearney arrived from New York via Halifax on Friday, and leaves for Quebec on Monday. This fine steamer has been purchased in New York by Captain Sleigh to be placed in the line as a regular Packet between Quebec, Halifax, Pictou and Charlottetown. Arrived on the *Albatross*: Capt. Sleigh and his lady, three children and two servants; Messrs John Mclean, John McDonnell, Maurice Swabey, Hazen, Mitchell and four in steerage. Continuing to Quebec: Mr Lindsay, RN and ten in steerage.

1852: Purchases (small down payment only) 100,000 acres in King’s County, Nova Scotia, for £20,000. Sleigh claimed to be the grand land owner but was unable to make further payments.

1852 July 12: Sleigh arrives at Charlottetown from Halifax with wife and three children and two servants.

1852: Awarded a Lieutenant Colonelcy in a Prince Edward Island Militia Regiment. Becomes a Justice of Peace.

1852 July 26: The Government honours Col B.W.A. Sleigh with a gala banquet in appreciation of his public spirit. But the supposed proprietor, prospective banker and ostensible steamship line operator is a humbug. *Albatross* sold.

1852: Autumn. Sleigh in Halifax Jail, Prince Edward Island, for his debts, soon released

1852: London and completes his book *Pine Forests and Hacmatack Clearings*.

1853: Dr. Sleigh living in London.

1854: Becomes a member of the Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall

1855 June 29: Takes on three partners from the Army & Navy Club, Edward Heneage Dering, Edmund Yates Peel, Cholmely Edward Dering. Each invested £1,500 to launch *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*.

1855 August 18: Sleigh buys out his partners for £450 each. They were concerned about the rapidly rising debts and Sleigh's involvement with *The Rational Peace Party* and Cobden.

1856: January: Sleigh attempts to gain nomination for the parliamentary seat of Midhurst. Soon withdraws his nomination.

1856: March: Attempts and fails to get nomination to the parliamentary seat of Boston Lincolnshire

1856: March 4. Sleigh Fails to attend Court of Bankruptcy summons issued by Major Walker.

1857: January Seeks Liberal seat at Greenwich bye-election.

1857 February 5: Fails again to attend Court of Bankruptcy summons issued by Major Walker.

1857 February 12: Fails to win Greenwich bye-election. Defeated by General Codrington

1857 February 17: Sleigh, now completely without funds and in debt to the J.M. Levy for his share of the printing costs, sells his remaining half share of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* to J.M.Levy for £2,000. Exit contract stipulates that Sleigh is forbidden to launch a one penny newspaper within a 50 mile radius of London.

1857 December 21: Bankruptcy Court, Basinghall, before Mr Commissioner Holroyd.

1859: Son, Arthur Burrows, born in Middlesex.

1860: Dr. Sleigh living at 49, Middleton Square, London.

1861: Residing at 30, Grove End Road, Marylebone. Charlotte wife, Arthur Burrows son aged 2, Charlotte 14, Kate 12 and Nora 10. Four servants one male, 3 female.

B.W.A.Sleigh set up "*The British Columbia Overland Transit Company*" a to be fraudulent company purported to provide transport to the goldfields for prospectors. Subsequently found.

1862 May 5: William Campbell Sleigh (B.W.A.Sleigh's brother) unsuccessfully contests Conservative seat of Lambeth.

1863 July 20: Sleigh's wife Charlotte (Spellen) dies.

1863 December 30: Dr. Sleigh (BWAS father) dies at 15, Trinity Terrace, Brixton. Effects under £200.

1863 January 17: Sarah Sleigh (BWAS mother) dies at Bark Place, Bayswater.

1865: B.W.A.Sleigh's daughter Ethel born (mother Emma Papps).

1865 October 7: B.W.A.Sleigh's daughter Kate Helena dies.

1866 November 25: on Ralph Gervaise, born (mother Emma Papps).

1866 March 3: William Campbell Sleigh (BWAS brother) unsuccessfully contests Stafford.

1867: March 19: Gervaise (Sleigh – son) dies in Bromley, Kent.

1867 December: Sleigh Marries Emma Oriana Papps, Liverpool.

1868: Daughter Alice born.

1868: May 29: William Campbell Sleigh (BWAS brother) unsuccessfully contests Conservative seat of Huddersfield.

1868 November 17: William Campbell Sleigh (BWAS brother) unsuccessfully contests Conservative seat of Frome.

1869: March 22: B.W.A. Sleigh dies at No 9, Royal Avenue Terrace, Chelsea, and buried in vault D, compartment 6, Brompton Cemetery London. No will or administration.

1870 April 1: William Campbell Sleigh (BWAS brother) contests unsuccessfully the Conservative seat of Newark.

1870 May 13: Lt Col. B.W.A. Sleigh deceased. If the widow of this deceased will COMMUNICATE with Messrs. Dyke & Stokes, of 18 Bennett's Hill, Doctors Commons, she will hear something to her advantage. (Classified Advertisement in *The Times*)

1887 January 23: William Campbell (BWAS brother) dies. Buried Isle of Wight

Appendix 6

Time line 1811-1888

Joseph Moses Levy

1811 December 15: Born in London to the merchant Moses Levy and his wife Leah.

1822 circa: Educated at Bruce Castle School and subsequently apprenticed in Germany in the printing trade.

1830: Levy married Esther and they had six children. Their eldest Edward became a baronet in 1892 and was raised to the peerage as Baron Burnham of *Hall Barn, Beaconsfield, Bucks*, July 31, 1903.

1838 circa: Set up a printing business at Peterborough Court, Fleet Street.

1844 circa: Commenced printing *The Sunday Times*.

1854 October. Levy was requested by proprietors of *The Sunday Times* to manage their newspaper. Levy's terms were for three years at five guineas per week and then his salary to be increased to eight guineas per week as soon as the profits increased by £1,000 pa.

He was also given an option to buy, at any time within the three year term, a quarter share at £2,000. Levy requested George Lamb, *The Sunday Times* proprietor, to sign the document in 1855. This was never done. Towards the end of the year Levy was invited to purchase the whole newspaper but declined feeling that it was too much responsibility.

Lamb was determined to sell *The Sunday Times* and found another bidder. Levy wrote to Lamb on January 28, 1856 stating his surprise that their verbal agreement for Levy to purchase a share of *The Sunday Times* was being overlooked. Although Levy recognised that Lamb had not signed any agreement confirming he felt the arrangement to be morally binding.

On February 21, 1856, Levy offered to purchase by instalments *The Sunday Times* from Lamb for £3,000. In the meantime a better offer was made by E.T.Smith. Lamb proceeded with the sale and Levy took the matter to court. After a thorough trial the case was overturned on March 12, 1856.

1855 September 2: The printer of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier*, Mitchell Aird and Edwin Tunstall, 18 Exeter Street, Strand, Covent Garden, is replaced by Joseph M. Levy of Peterborough Court, Fleet Street.

The foreman for J.M. Levy's printing works was Joseph Ellis and his address was given as 2, Northampton Terrace, City Road, London. This off site address could well have been to distance Levy's company from Sleigh's precarious financial state.

1856 March: J.M. Levy ceases, after an acrimonious court case, to manage and print *The Sunday Times*.

1856 April 2: Levy advances £3000 to Col Sleigh and is appointed general manager of the business department.

1856 September 1: Levy and Sleigh in 50/50 partnership.

1857 February 17: J.M. Levy becomes sole proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph* having made a final payment of £2,000 to Sleigh. As part of the agreement, Sleigh was not to produce or sell a one penny newspaper within a 50-mile radius of the City of London.

1865 April 20: Levy declares that *The Daily Telegraph* has now 'The Largest Circulation in The World'.

1888 October 13: J.M. Levy dies.

APPENDIX 7

Register of proprietors and Directors

1855 - 1903

1855 June 29: B.W.A. Sleigh, William Campbell Sleigh and Alfred Bate Richards

1855 December: B.W.A. Sleigh sole proprietor

1856 September 1: J.M. Levy and B.W.A. Sleigh 50/50 partnership

1857 February 17: J.M. Levy now sole proprietor. Levy pays Sleigh a final payment of £2,000 and they sign an exit agreement. (Document 1).

1860: New agreement signed by the four partners:

By Indenture made between Lionel Lawson 1st part. Joseph Moses Levy 2nd part. Edward Levy 3rd part. George Frederick Moss 4th part. John Smith and Joseph Randall Palmer (Trustees) 5th part. It was stated that the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th parties were the proprietors of the daily morning newspaper called *The Daily Telegraph* and that

Lionel Lawson was entitled to one half share, Joseph Moses Levy to one fourth share, Edward Levy to one eighth share and George Frederick Moss to one eighth share. And it was then mentioned that the parties 1st 2nd 3rd and 4th had agreed to establish an association or partnership for the purpose of carrying on the newspaper subject to provisions and agreements. And it was declared that the interest of the Proprietors in the Newspaper and Capital should be considered as divided into 64 shares and that Lionel Lawson was then the proprietor of 32 shares, Joseph Moses Levy of 16 shares, Edward Levy of 8 shares and George Frederick Moss of 8 shares.(Document 2).

1866: John Smith retired and Frederick Field Whitehurst appointed as a new trustee.

1870: Frederick Field Whitehurst retired and Charles Emilius Wright appointed a new trustee jointly with Joseph Randall Palmer.

1872 November 1: George Frederick Moss died intestate.

1872 December 13: Elizabeth Hubbard Moss, the widow of George Frederick Moss, became entitled to 4/64ths shares

1873 December: Elizabeth Hubbard Moss married Richard Louis Cooke.

1877 June 6: Joseph Randall Palmer dies.

1879 Sept 20: Lionel Lawson dies.

1875 August 4: The will of Lionel Lawson had appointed Edward Levy and George Faudel Phillips executors and trustees.

1879 October 10: The will of Lionel Lawson proved.

1875 December 11: Edward Levy assumed by Royal License the surname of Lawson in addition to his own.

1887: The will of Joseph Moses Levy appoints Edward Levy Lawson, his brother Albert Levy and George Faudel Phillips executors and trustees.

1888 October 12: Joseph Moses Levy died

1888 December 7: The will of Joseph Moses Levy proved.

1892 October 13: Edward Levy Lawson created a baronet.

1893 May: Albert Levy died.

1897: George Faudel Phillips created a Baronet.

1903: Sir Edward Levy Lawson, Bart, created a peer, becoming the first Baron Burnham.

APPENDIX 8

Book Reviews

SECOND EDITION, Price 12s.

PINE FORESTS & HACKMATAK CLEARINGS;

Or, Travel, Life, and Adventure, in the British North American Provinces. By Lieutenant-Colonel Sleigh, C.M., Late of Her Majesty's 77th Regiment.

Richard Bentley, New Burlington-street.

REVIEWS.

Colonel Sleigh's volume is full of practical information in regard to the political and social condition of our North American Colonies. It is as useful, clear, and convenient a compendium of information on the subject as we are acquainted with. Colonel Sleigh writes from long and intimate knowledge of the people whom he describes, and amongst whom he has lived as an officer in his Sovereign's service. *His is not the zeal without knowledge, or the 'got up' knowledge of so many travellers. Colonel Sleigh has done something more for the Colonists than write about them.* Colonel Sleigh's remarks on the useless expences of the British Army should be read with attention. His is no Manchester schoolman's dogma, but the *statement of an English officer of rank, a warm admirer of the vocation of arms.* Altogether, a very useful and interesting work."—Morning Chronicle, October 5, 1853.

"Colonel Sleigh has had every opportunity of making himself thoroughly acquainted with the scenes he describes. The information he has imparted is varied and extensive. To those who want information on the state of public opinion many of the authors statements will be as amusing as instructive. As a book of Travels the work possesses great interest. The author misses nothing of interest in his way, and tells his own adventures with considerable humo and force. *We can recommend Colonel Sleigh as an admirable guide through the Provinces, and whose opinions as to the political evils of the Colonies and their remedies are entitled to great respect.*"—Daily News, July 5th.

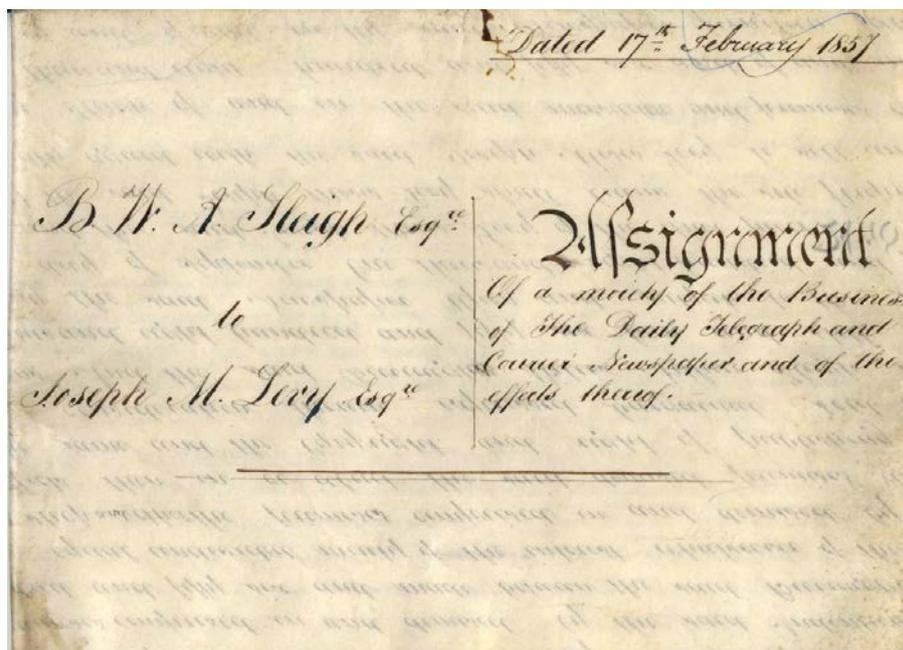
"Colonel Sleigh's adventures are many and amusing. He has seen almost every degree of American society. The authors opinions, it may be supposed are well founded and valuable. But knowledge without the power of expressing it is valuable only to the owner. This power, however, the author possesses in a high degree. *He expresses thoughts evidently the result of wide observation and deep reflection. The opinion of a man of such evident talent and experience must have considerable weight.*"—Standard, May 28th

"Colonel Sleigh's work is both instructive and amusing. The whole of the volume will repay perusal with interest, as much from the information it conveys as well as from the general tenor of its observations. It is therefore recommended to public attention as the latest, and perhaps also the most authentic work upon the Canadian Colonies hitherto published."—Observer, June 5th

"Lieutenant-Colonel Sleigh has a good right to be heard about the British North American Provinces. He was quartered as an officer in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Lower Canada and even as late as the spring of 1852 he crossed the Icy Straits to Prince Edward Island—an expedition of the dangers and difficulties of which he gives a very graphic account. *The political institutions, the commercial progress, and the industrial resources of the Colonies engage, however, the largest share of his attention; and upon these subjects his information is copious and accurate.* The book demands an attentive perusal, and the reader who studies it with any care will find himself well repaid."—Morning Post, July 21st

"*Colonel Sleigh has claims to be heard on the social and political questions raised in his volume beyond those which can be granted to most writers.* We refer, therefore, to this volume of Travels and Adventures with more than usual confidence."—Leader, July 2nd.

Document 1



ASSIGNMENT of a moiety of the Business of *The Daily Telegraph & Courier* Newspaper and effects thereof. B.W.A. SLEIGH Esq. to J. M. LEVY Esq.

Dated 17th February 1857

THIS INDENTURE made the seventeenth day of February in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifty seven between BURROUGHS WILCOX ARTHUR SLEIGH of 253 Strand in the City and Liberty of Westminster late a Lieutenant Colonel in Her Majesty's Service of the one part and JOSEPH MOSES LEVY of Shoe Lane in the City of London printer of the other part.

WHEREAS by indenture dated the twelfth day of March One Thousand eight hundred and fifty six and made or expressed to be made between William Hope Sir Charles Young and Thomas Mills of the first part William George Lysley and Caroline his wife of the second part, and the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of the third part All that messuage or tenement and shop known as NO. 253 Strand in the parish of Saint Clement Danes in the City and Liberty Of Westminster with the appurtenances was demised to the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh his executors administrators and assigns for the term of Twenty one years from the twenty fourth day of June One

Thousand eight hundred and fifty five subject to the payment of the yearly rent of Five hundred and twenty pounds and the performance and observance of the Covenants and conditions in the same Indenture contained and on the Lessees part to be performed and observed.

AND WHEREAS the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh was on and prior to the first day of September One thousand eight hundred and fifty six the sole Proprietor of a certain newspaper known and published as “The Daily Telegraph and Courier” otherwise “The Daily Telegraph” and of the Copyright and right of publishing the same and also of certain fixtures furniture fittings and effects situate in upon or about the messuage and premises comprised in the demised by the said Indenture of Lease.

AND WHEREAS by Indenture dated the first day of September One Thousand eight hundred and fifty six and made between the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of the one part and the said Joseph Moses Levy of the other part. One equal undivided moiety of the interest whatsoever of the said Burroughs Arthur Wilcox Sleigh of and in the said messuage or tenement and shop and of other premises comprised in and demised by the said indenture of Lease.

AND WHEREAS the said Newspaper is published at the said messuage and premises comprised in and demised by the said indenture of lease *AND WHEREAS* by indenture dated the first day of September One Thousand eight hundred and fifty six and made between the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of the one part and the said Joseph Moses Levy of the other part. One equal undivided moiety of the interest whatsoever of the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of and in the said messuage or tenement and shop and other the premises comprised in and demised by the said recited indenture of lease and of and in the fixtures fittings and effects then in or about the said demised premises and of and in the said Newspaper and the business of printing and publishing the same and the Copyright and right of publishing the same and the profits thereof with the appurtenances was for the valuable consideration therein expressed bargained sold and assigned to the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators and assigns And the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh and Joseph Moses Levy have since the said first day of September One thousand eight hundred and fifty six been and still are Co-partners in equal shares in equal shares in

the said Business of printing and publishing the said Newspaper Upon and subject to the terms and conditions comprised in certain Articles of Partnership dated the same first day of September One thousand eight hundred and fifty six and made between the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of the one part and the said Joseph Moses Levy of the other part.

AND WHEREAS the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh hath agreed with the said Joseph Moses Levy to sell assign to him all the remaining equal moiety of the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of and in the said messuage and premises comprised in the said recited Indenture of Lease of the said twelfth day of March One thousand eight hundred and fifty six and of and in the said Co-partnership business now carried on by himself and the said Joseph Moses Levy and of and in the said Newspaper furniture fittings and effects whatsoever hereinafter described and of and in all book debts now his and owing to the said Co-partnership at the sum of Two thousand pounds and also to enter into such Covenant for not carrying on a similar business within fifty miles of the City of London as hereinafter appearing.

NOW therefore this Indenture *WITNESSETH* that in pursuance of the said agreement and in consideration of the premises and of the sum of Two thousand pounds of lawful money Current in Great Britain to the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh by the said Joseph Moses Levy paid immediately before the execution hereof the receipt of which said sum of Two thousand pounds and that the same is in full for the purchase of one equal undivided moiety of the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of and in the said Leasehold premises business Newspaper Copyright and effects hereinafter described and hereby assigned or intended so to be the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh doth hereby acknowledge and from the said sum of Two thousand pounds release the said Joseph Moses Levy his heirs executors administrators and assigns *ALL* that the one undivided moiety or equal half part or other the part share whatsoever of the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh of and in firstly the said messuage or tenement shop and premises No. 253 Strand described and *comprised* in the said recited Indenture of Lease of the twelfth day of March One thousand and eight hundred and fifty six and thereby demised unto the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh his executors administrators and assigns for the term of Twenty one years from the twenty fourth day of June One thousand eight hundred and fifty five as aforesaid And secondly of and in the said

Newspaper and the Copyright and right and business of printing and publishing the same
And also of and in all the debts now owing to the said Co-partnership business.

AND still remaining unpaid And also of and in the fixtures furniture plant and effects
whatsoever comprised in the schedule hereto And all the estate rights title interest
property possibility expectancy claim and demand whatsoever both at law and in
equity or otherwise howsoever of the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh therein
and thereto *TO HAVE AND TO HOLD* all and singular the said equal undivided
moiety of and in the said messuage or tenement and premises comprised in the said
recited Indenture

Of Lease with the appurtenances unto the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors
administrators and assigns for all the now unexpired residue of the said term of
Twenty one years granted therein by the said recited Indenture of Lease of the twelfth
day of March One thousand eight hundred and fifty six but subject nevertheless to the
payment of the yearly rent of Two hundred and twenty pounds and the observance
and performance of the covenants and conditions in the same Indenture contained and
thenceforth of the lessees part to be paid performed and observed.

AND TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the one undivided moiety or equal
half part of and in the said Co-partnership business Newspaper Copyright Book debts
and effects whatsoever hereinbefore described and hereby assigned and released or
intended to be and every part thereof with the appurtenances unto and by the said
Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators an assigns absolutely to the intent
that the said Joseph Moses Levy may become the sole proprietor of the said leasehold
premises Co-partnership business newspaper fixtures and effects with the full power
for him and them to use the name or names and act as the Attorney or Attorneys of
the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh in suing for recovering receiving and giving
receipts for the said book debts or any or either of them.

AND the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh doth hereby for himself his heirs
executors and administrators and assigns covenant with the said Joseph Moses Levy
his heirs administrators or assigns That the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh hath
not made done or made done or suffered any act deed or thing by reason whereof the
said premises hereinbefore described and hereby assigned and released or intended so
to be or any part thereof are in or can be impeached incumbered released or otherwise

affected contrary to the true intent hereof and also that the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh now hath lawful authority to assign and release the same premises with the appurtenances unto the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators and assigns and to make such assignments and release respectively hereby in manner aforesaid and according to the true intent hereof And also that the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh his executors or administrators shall not nor will without the previous consent in writing of the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators or assigns receive release or deal with the same premises or any part thereof or revoke or prejudice any power thereby given to the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators and assigns concerning the same or make do or suffer any other act deed or thing contrary to the true intent hereof And also will at all times hereafter upon request and at the expense of the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators and assigns make do acknowledge execute inrol (sic) register and perfect all such acts deeds and things for further and absolutely and satisfactorily assuring the said hereby assigned premises unto the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators or assigns as the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators or assigns shall from time to time hereafter reasonably require.

AND also that the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh will not at any time hereafter without the previous consent in writing of the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators and assigns be in any manner concerned either for profit or otherwise in any business of printing publishing or selling any newspaper now or hereafter to be published daily at a price of one penny per copy within the City of London or the distance of fifty Statute miles therefrom.

AND the said Joseph Moses levy for himself his heirs executors administrators and assigns doth hereby covenant with the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh his heirs executors administrators and assigns That the said Joseph Moses Levy his executors administrators and assigns will during the continuance of the said recited Lease of the twelfth day of March One thousand eight hundred and fifty six duly pay the rent received and also the several debts now owing by the said Co-partnership and will indemnify and save harmless the said Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh his executors administrators and assigns and his and their lands and tenements goods and chattels from and against the same respectively and every part thereof *IN WITNESS* whereof the said parties to these Present have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written.

THE SCHEDULE above referred to:

First Floor, Front Room; One writing table, One Library Table, One Easy Chair covered leather, Six Mahogany Chairs Covered leather, One Sofa Covered leather, One Mahogany Wash Stand and Fittings, One Glass Case, Tender and Set of Fire Irons, One Carpet and Hearth Rug, One Coal Scuttle, One Gas Chandelier with four burners, One Envelope and Paper Case, One small table. BACK OFFICE, One looking Glass, Two Windsor Chairs, One set of Window Curtains and Binds.

First Floor Back Room:

One Writing Table, One Printed Deal Slab, Six Horse Hair Chairs (Mahogany), Five Windsor Chairs, Fender and Set of Fire Irons, Carpet and Hearth Rug, Two Ink Stands and five files, One Desk Stool.

Second floor, Back Room: One Writing Table, Six Wood Chairs, One Carpet, One Fender and Set of Fire Dogs, Two Ink Stands, One Painted Deal Slab.

Ground floor, Cashiers Office: One Desk Stool and Chair, One Painted Book Case, Copying Machine and Stand.

Publishers Office: Three Counters Mahogany Tops, Five Desks and Two Stools, Three Deal Benches.

Advertising Office: One Desk and one Stool, Five Ink Stands.

Back Office: One Deal Bench.

Received the day and year first within written of and from the within named Joseph Moses Levy the sum of Two thousand pounds being the Consideration money within mentioned to be paid by him to me. B.W.A.SLEIGH

Witness A.S. Edmunds.

Signed Sealed and Delivered by the within named Burroughs Wilcox Arthur Sleigh and Joseph Moses Levy in the presence of A.S. Edmund Solicitor. St Brides Avenue, Fleet Street.

Document 2

DEED OF SETTLEMENT OF THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

Benham and Tindell, 18, Essex Street, Strand

THIS INDENTURE made the Twenty ninth day of November one thousand eight hundred and sixty BETWEEN LIONEL LAWSON of Bouverie Street Fleet Street in the city of London Printers Ink Manufacturer of the first part JOSEPH MOSES LEVY of Doughty Street in the County of Middlesex Gentleman of the second part EDWARD LEVY of Danes Inn in the same County Gentleman of the third part GEORGE FREDERICK MOSS of Poppins Court Fleet Street aforesaid Wine Merchant of the fourth part and JOHN SMITH of number 135 Fleet Street aforesaid Gentleman and JOSEPH RANDELL PALMER of Old Ford Road Row in the County of Middlesex Gentleman Trustees for the purposes hereinafter mentioned of the fifth part.

WHEREAS the several persons parties hereto of the first second third and fourth part share the Proprietors of the Daily Morning newspaper called *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH* and are severally interested therein in the proportions following the said LIONEL LAWSON is entitled to one half share thereof the said JOSEPH MOSES LEVY is entitled to one fourth share thereof and each of them the said EDWARD LEVY and GEORGE FREDERICK MOSS is entitled to one eighth share thereof.

AND whereas the said parties hereto of the first second third and fourth parts have agreed to establish an Association or partnership for the purpose of conducting and carrying on the said Newspaper in the manner and under and subject to the several clauses provisions and agreements hereinafter contained and for that purpose to assign and transfer their several and respective interests in the said Newspaper to the said parties hereto of the fifth part as Trustees for the said Association NOW this Indenture WITNESSETH in pursuance of the said Agreement and in consideration of Ten

shillings of Lawful money of Great Britain by the said JOHN SMITH and JOSEPH RANDELL PALMER at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents paid to each of them the said LIONEL LAWSON, JOSEPH MOSES LEVY, EDWARD LEVY and GEORGE FREDERICK MOSS the receipt of which said several sums each of them the said LIONEL LAWSON, JOSEPH MOSES LEVY, EDWARD LEVY and GEORGE FREDERICK MOSS doth hereby acknowledge they the said LIONEL LAWSON, JOSEPH MOSES LEVY, EDWARD LEVY and GEORGE FREDERICK MOSS DO and each of them DOTH by these presents assign transfer and set over unto the said JOHN SMITH and JOSEPH RANDELL PALMER their executors administrators and assigns ALL and every the right title an interest which they the said LIONEL LAWSON JOSEPH MOSES LEVY EDWARD LEVY and GEORGE FREDERICK MOSS now have and which each of them now hath either at law or in equity and either separately or jointly and which several rights titles and interests together comprise the full and absolute ownership and copyright free from Encumbrances of the Newspaper and property hereby assigned of and in ALL THAT DAILY MORNING NEWSPAPER called *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH* and the right of printing and publishing the same and the right to the use of the said title and every modification thereof TO HOLD the said Newspaper and all other the premises hereby assigned or intended so to be unto the said JOHN SMITH and JOSEPH RANDELL PALMER their executors administrators and assigns absolutely nevertheless IN TRUST for the several persons who may from time to time be partners or PROPRIETORS in the Association hereinafter established and to be held assigned and disposed of under and subject to the several clauses conditions provisos and agreements hereinafter contained AND this Indenture further WITNESSETH that each of the said several persons parties hereto of the first second third and fourth parts doth hereby for himself his heirs executors and administrators covenant promise declare and agree separately with and to each of the others and their respective Executors administrators and assigns and also as another and a separate Covenant with and to the said JOHN SMITH and JOSEPH RANDELL PALMER their executors administrators and assigns in manner following that is to say...

1. THAT in the interpretation of these presents words denoting the singular number shall be understood to apply to a plurality of persons or things and the words denoting the masculine gender shall be understood to apply also females...

2. THAT the several persons parties hereto of the first second third and fourth parts and all such other persons as hereafter become partners or proprietors in the Association (all which persons are hereinafter called "the Proprietors") shall while holding shares therein be and constitute an Association or partnership and shall use the style or name of *THE DAILY TELEGRAPH NEWSPAPER COMPANY* and shall pay up hereinafter provided the amounts which may be called upon their respective shares in the manner hereinafter mentioned and shall perform observe and abide by the several engagements of these presents on the part of the Proprietors to be performed observed and abided by...

3. THAT the Association shall be considered as having been formed on the first day of July One thousand eight hundred and fifty nine and the profits and losses thereof from that day inclusive shall belong to and be taken and borne by the Association and that the Proprietors shall continue until dissolved under the provisions in that behalf hereinafter contained.

4. THAT the business of that Association shall be the carrying on of the said Newspaper.

5. THAT the principal office or place of business of the Association shall be at such place as the Managers may determine and until any other place is determined on by the Managers at number 135 Fleet Street and the adjoining premises...

6. THAT the capital of the association shall in the first instance be the sum of £6000: Subject to the several liabilities) and that the Interest of the Proprietors in the said newspaper and such Capital shall be considered as divided into sixty four shares of £100 each-- And lists or schedules of the several assets and of the several liabilities in respect of the said Newspaper as on the said first day of July shall be made out and signed by the said parties hereto of the first second third and fourth parts and such assets shall be the property of and be accounted for the said Association and such liabilities shall be borne and paid by the said association...

CLAUSES AS TO GENERAL MEETINGS.

7. THAT the Proprietors shall meet together at the principal office of the Association or at such other convenient place and on such convenient day in each of the months of March and September in every year as the Managers may from time to time appoint for the following purposes only namely receiving and either approving or rejecting the Accounts and Balance Sheets of the Association and determining on any

recommendation of the Managers with respect to a dividend and every such Meeting shall be styled an Ordinary General Meeting...

8. THAT the Balance Sheet of the association shall be prepared by the Managers at least one week before any General Meeting and left at the principal office for the inspection of the other Proprietors and that every Balance sheet of the Association shall when approved by an Ordinary General Meeting be binding and conclusive upon all the Proprietors and upon all other persons interested in the Association or in any of the shares therein...

9. THAT the Managers may convene a meeting of the Proprietors for any purpose connected with the affairs of the Association at any other time and every such meeting shall be called a Special General Meeting and shall be held at such convenient place and time as the Managers appoint...

10. PROVIDED that except the Appointment of a Chairman and the question of adjournment no Special General Meeting shall enter upon any business not specified in the Circular convening it...

11. THAT no General Meeting shall proceed to business or transact or discuss any business except while there are personally present two or more Shareholders holding amongst themselves one half of the shares in the association...

12 THAT if the requisite number of Proprietors be not present and proceed to business within one hour next after the time appointed for holding any General Meeting no business shall be transacted thereat but the Meeting shall stand adjourned to such convenient day hour and place as the Managers may appoint...

13. THAT every ordinary General Meeting shall be convened by circular to be sent to every Proprietor not less than seven days previously specifying the time and place at which such Meeting is to be held and in case of a Special General Meeting the business proposed to be transacted...

14. THAT a Special General Meeting may from time to time on the recommendation of the Managers resolve that an additional amount of Capital the amount to be fixed by the Meeting shall be raised by the creation of new shares and thereupon the Managers shall proceed to issue and to sell or dispose of such shares in such manner as they may think desirable and the Managers are hereby authorised to divide any additional Capital that may be resolved upon into such number of shares of such amount as they may think fit and either at once or from time to time to issue such shares and either at par or at a premium and to fix by what instalments the amount

payable for or upon such shares shall be paid PROVIDED that on the issuing of any such new shares the then Proprietors shall pro rata have a right of pre-emption at the price and on the terms fixed by the Managers.

15. THAT a Special General Meeting may from time to time on the recommendation of the Managers determine to repay rateably to the Proprietors such proportion of the Capital as shall appear to the Managers to be in excess of the requirements of the association and the Managers shall within a reasonable time after such Meeting and either by one or several Instalments as they may think best repay such proportion accordingly.

16. THAT a Special General Meeting may on the recommendation of the managers ammend repeal or alter either wholly or in part or substitute others for all or any of the clauses or provisions of this deed and may resolve that any addition to this deed shall be made by any supplementary deed or deeds or otherwise and such supplementary deed shall be executed by the managers and when so executed shall be binding upon all the Proprietors.

17. THAT an adjourned meeting may transact any business which might have been transacted at the meeting from which such adjournment took place and which was then left untransacted but no other business.

18. THAT at every General Meeting one of the managers shall preside as Chairman but if both be absent or unwilling to preside then the Proprietors present shall appoint one of their number to preside as Chairman.

19. THAT minutes of the proceedings of every General Meeting shall be kept by the Managers and shall be signed by the Chairman of such meeting and the Minutes so signed shall be conclusive on every Proprietor and on all other persons interested in respect of the shares that the proceedings of which any Minute is entered took place at a General Meeting duly convened and constituted according to the provisions of these presents and held upon the day of which the same purports to have been held.

20. THAT at every General Meeting all questions except those with respect to which it is by these presents otherwise especially provided shall be determined by a majority in value of the Proprietors present in person or by proxy and voting at the Meeting.

21. PROVIDED always that no Proprietor shall be entitled to vote or to be present at any Meeting whilst any money is due from the Association.

22. THAT every Proprietor in whom any shares are vested as a Trustee may in respect of such shares vote as if he held them in his own right and not as Trustee and the Association shall not be bound or permitted to enquire whether such vote is given in accordance with the wish of the *Cestui que* trust or be affected by notice to the contrary But every such Trustee shall for all purposes as between him and the other Proprietors be considered as a Proprietor in his own right.

CLAUSES AS TO MANAGERSHIP.

23. THAT there shall be two Managers of the said Association and that the said Lionel Lawson and Joseph Moses Levy shall during their respective lives or until they shall respectively resign the Office and whether or not they retain shares in the said Association be the Managers of the said Association.

24. THAT each of them the said Lionel Lawson and Joseph Moses Levy may from time to time whilst they shall respectively continue to be Managers appoint a deputy with all or such of his own powers privileges and duties as he shall see fit to delegate to him and such appointment may from time to time at his own pleasure revoke and every such Deputy shall have and exercise all powers privileges and duties delegated to him as fully and effectually as such powers privileges and duties could have been exercised by his principal and in all cases in which any act is therein provided to be done by or t Managers the same shall be as binding and effectual if done by or to the deputy or by or to one Manager and the deputy the other.

25. THAT upon the decease or resignation of either of the present or future Managers of either of the present or future managers the surviving or continuing Manager and in the event of the death or resignation of both the Managers for the time being some Proprietor shall forthwith convene a Special General Meeting of the Association for the purpose of appointing some Proprietor or Proprietors to be Manager or to be Manager as the case may require of the Association in the room of the Manager or Managers so dying or resigning And the Proprietor or Proprietors who may be selected by a Majority in value of the Proprietors present personally or by proxy and voting at such Meeting shall be the Manager or Managers as the case may be of the Association in the room of the Manager or Managers so dying or resigning as aforesaid and in the meantime the surviving or continuing Manager or in the event of there being no surviving or continuing Manager the Proprietor holding the greatest number of shares and willing and able to act shall have and exercise all the powers

privileges and duties which may be their vested in or imposed upon the Managers either by these presents or by any deed supplemental hereto.

26. THAT the Managers shall have the entire and absolute control management and superintendence of the Editing printing publication and circulation of the said Newspaper and of all matters relating thereto and of all the affairs and concerns of the said Association except only where herein otherwise provided.

27. THAT whenever the Managers are unable to agree as to any matter or matters over which they have the control management or superintendence the same shall be determined by a Special General Meeting which either or both the Managers may forthwith convene.

28. THAT the Managers shall appoint remove and fix the duties and salaries of all clerks and servants of the Association and the securities to be taken with them and shall and may commence prosecute defend manage and conduct or compromise or refer to Arbitration all legal or equitable proceedings taken by on behalf of or against the said Proprietors or the Managers or against any printer or other person against whom any legal proceedings may be taken for or on account of any matter arising out of or connected with the said Newspaper--and shall and may for the purpose of the said Association and in order to promote the objects of the Association but not otherwise in their own names or otherwise but on behalf of and at the risk of the Association take leases purchase and make contract for premises machinery type plant materials and goods borrow money contract debts and issue Bills of Exchange or Promissory Notes and shall and may sign receipts or authorise any other person or persons to sign receipts or authorise any other person or persons to sign receipts for money or effects which receipts shall exonerate all persons paying or delivering money or effects from all responsibility in respect of the application thereof and shall and may compound any debt or debts owing to the Association or refer to Arbitration any difference arising between the Association and any person or persons. And generally the Managers shall and may do all such other acts and things as they shall see fit in relation to the objects and business of the said Association.

29. PROVIDED always that as to every future Manager it shall be competent for any special Meeting of Proprietors to modify lessen or take away any of the powers or authorities herein before reposed in the said Managers and to reserve or give to the General Meetings of Proprietors all such of the said powers of authorities as shall be deemed expedient.

30. PROVIDED also that if the present or any future Manages shall enter into any contracts whereby the other Proprietors shall be subject to pecuniary liability not for the purposes of the said Association or to promote the objects thereof or shall be concerned as Manager Editor Printer or Agent for any other Daily Newspaper he shall thereupon cease to be Manager and all powers vested in him as such Manager shall thereupon cease.

31. THAT the Managers may from time to time by writing under their hands make calls for money on the Proprietors for the purpose of paying any liabilities comprised in the Schedule of liabilities to be signed as hereinbefore mentioned or any debt due from the Association or for the purpose of meeting losses incurred by the said Association or providing Capital for the necessary purposes thereof.

32. PROVIDED that no call shall exceed the sum of twenty pounds per share or be made within one month of any previous call or be payable until the expiration of ten days after it has been made.

33. THAT the Manager shall pay to each of the Proprietors out of the Association the sum of twelve shillings and six pence per share per week which will be debited to the account current of the several Proprietors.

34. THAT if the Ordinary General Meeting shall determine upon paying a dividend to the Proprietors the Account current of each Proprietor shall be credited with the amount of the dividend payable to him and the Managers shall pay to each the balance only appearing due to him upon his account current but if the Ordinary General Meeting shall not determine upon paying a dividend or the proportion of any Proprietor of such dividend shall be less than the amount due from him on his Account Current then the amount standing to the debit of the Account current of each Proprietor or the balance of such amount as the case may be shall within one month after the Ordinary Meeting be repaid by the Proprietor to the Managers on account of the Association.

35. THAT the Managers shall from time to time select some private Banking firm or some Joint Stock Banking Company to be Bankers of the said Association and that all monies received by or on behalf of the Association shall be paid to the Bankers for the time being of the Association and every sum paid by and on behalf of the said Association exceeding five pounds shall be paid by Cheque on the said Bankers.

36. PROVIDED always that the Manager may permit the Cashier of the Association or any other servant of the said Association or any other servant of the said Association whom they may select to have in his hands or at his disposal any sum not exceeding at any one time Fifty pounds for the purpose of making petty disbursements he duly accounting to them for the same when and as they may require.

37. THAT the Managers shall cause proper Books of Account to be kept and full and accurate entries to be made therein of all receipts and payments by or on behalf of the said Association and of the credits debts and liabilities of the Association and all such matters transactions and things as will show the true state of the affairs and accounts of the Association.

38. THAT the Managers shall within two months after the Thirtieth day of June and Thirty first day of December in each year cause such Books of Account to be duly balanced up to and including those respective days and shall also cause true and correct statements of the affairs of the Association on the said respective days to be made and showing the profit or loss made during the half year and all the assets and liabilities of the Association.

39. THAT on two days notice to be given to the Managers or either of them the books of account and Balance Sheets of the Association shall be open at all reasonable times to the inspection of any Proprietor and any Proprietor shall be at liberty during such time to make copies thereof and extract therefrom.

40. THAT the Managers shall keep a Book to be called "The Register of Proprietors" and shall therein enter the sixty for shares into which the Proprietorship is hereby divided in a regular numerical series from 1 to 64 inclusive and the names and addresses of the persons who are now or who may from time to time become Proprietors of any said Shares And it is hereby declared that the said Lionel Lawson is the present Proprietor of thirty two shares to be therein numbered 1 to 32 inclusive that the said Joseph Moses Levy is the present Proprietor of the sixteen shares to be numbered 33 to 48 inclusive, that the said Edward Levy is the present Proprietor of eight shares to be therein numbered 49 to 56 inclusive and that the said George Moss is the present Proprietor of the eight shares to be therein numbered 57 to 64 inclusive.

41. THAT if the Capital be increased under the power for that purpose herein contained the additional shares to be issued shall be entered in the said book in continuation of the same numerical series and the names and addresses of the several Proprietors of the same shall be entered therein in like manner.

42. THAT the said Register of Proprietors shall from time to time be authenticated by the signature of the Managers thereto and such authentication shall take place at the first Ordinary Meeting and so on from time to time at every succeeding Ordinary Meeting.

43. THAT these Presents and every Deed Supplemental hereto “The Register Of Shareholders” and “The Register of Transfers” hereinafter mentioned and all Accounts Books Minute Books Managers Reports Deeds Leases Contracts and other Documents and papers belonging to the Association shall remain and be kept at the principal office or in such other place of Security and with such precautions for the safety thereof as the Managers from time to time appoint.

44. THAT if the said John Smith and Joseph Randall Palmer or other of them or any Trustee or Trustees of the said Newspaper appointed as hereinafter provided shall die or be abroad or desire to be discharged or refuse or become incapable to act or if a Special General Meeting shall dismiss the said John Smith and Joseph Randall Palmer or either of them or any future Trustee or trustees of the said Newspaper from their office then and in every such case it shall be lawful for a Special General Meeting of the Association to appoint a new Trustee or new Trustees in the place of the Trustee or Trustees so dying or being Abroad or desiring to be discharged or refusing or becoming incapable to act or being dismissed as aforesaid and that upon every such appointment the said newspaper and any other property or effects of the Association then vested in the Trustees or Trustee for the time being or in the executors or administrators or of the last surviving or continuing Trustee shall be so conveyed assigned and transferred that the same may be vested in the surviving or continuing Trustee jointly or in such new Trustee or Trustees solely as the case may require.

45. THAT every Manager and also every Trustee and every Officer of the Association and their respective heirs executors and administrators shall at all times be indemnified and saved harmless out of the funds of the Association from and against all loss costs charges and expenses and all liability whatsoever which they or any of them may pay sustain or incur by reason or in consequence of any contract or agreement entered into by them or any of them for or on behalf of the Association or by reason or in consequence of any action suit or proceeding brought carried on or prosecuted against them or any of them in or about the execution of the duties of their office and also from and against all other cash charges and expenses whatsoever

which they or any of them have respectively paid sustained or incurred in or about the formation and establishment of the Association or may respectively paid sustained or incurred in or about the formation and establishment of the association or may respectively pay sustain or incur in or about or in relation to the affairs thereof.

46. THAT every Manager and also every trustee and every Officer of the Association and their respective heirs executors and administrators shall be charged and chargeable with so much money only as he shall actually receive and shall not be answerable or accountable for the other Managers Trustees or Officers or any of them or for any person or persons appointed by them to collect or receive any monies payable to the Association or in whose hands any of the money or property of the Association may be disposed or lodged for safe custody or for any other purpose or for the insufficiency or deficiency in title value of any property purchased or taken on lease or acquired by the Managers for or on behalf of the Association or for any loss damage or misfortune which may happen in the course of the execution of the Managers Trustees or Officers or any of them of the duties of his or their office unless the same happen through the wilful default of such Manager Trustee or Officer.

Clauses as to shareholders and shares

47. THAT the managers shall forthwith deliver to each of the present Proprietors and from time to time to every Proprietor a certificate of the number of shares in the Association held by him and certifying his proprietorship thereof.

48. THAT the certificates of shares shall be in such form as the Managers from time to time approve and shall be signed by the Managers for the time being.

49. THAT if any certificate be worn out or damaged then upon such certificate being produced to them the Managers may cancel such certificate and give in its stead a similar certificate and upon proof of the loss or destruction of any certificate the Managers may give a new certificate in its place.

50. THAT in every case of a new certificate being granted the Managers shall make an entry of the fact in the Register of Proprietors.

51. THAT whenever any share is vested in two or more persons the person whose name stands first in the Register of Proprietors as a holder thereof shall be the only person entitled to vote or recognised as a Proprietor in respect thereof.

52. THAT no Proprietor shall transfer any shares whilst any call upon that share or any other share held by him remains unpaid although the notice hereinbefore required to be given of any call may not have expired or while any money is due from him to the Association.

53. THAT subject to the preceding provisions any Proprietor may without the consent of the other partners in the Association by Deed duly executed by both the transferor and the transferee transfer any of his shares in the Association to any person whomsoever and such Deed of Transfer when so executed shall be delivered to the Managers and shall be preserved at the principal office or such other place of security as the Managers may from time to time appoint.

54. THAT if any share or right thereto be transmitted by or in consequence of the marriage of a female proprietor or by any lawful means other than a transfer by Deed the fact of such transmission shall be authenticated by a Statuary Declaration by some competent person in such form or in such other manner as the Managers may prescribe and every such Declaration or other Document of authentication shall state the identity of the person from whom such Share is so transmitted and such Declaration shall be left with and kept by the Managers.

55. THAT if such transmission be by the marriage of a female Proprietor the Declaration or other prescribed document shall have annexed thereto a duly certified copy of the Register of such marriage or other sufficient legal evidence of the celebration thereof.

56. THAT if such transmission be by virtue of any Will or Testamentary Instrument or by intestacy or by Bankruptcy or Insolvency or by any Lawful means other than a transfer by Deed or by marriage the probate copy of the Will or other Testamentary Instrument letters of Administration or other instrument or Document by which such transmission was effected or may most properly be proved or an Official or examined copy of or extract from the same respectively shall be produced to the Managers with the required Declaration or other Document of authentication and shall be left with them for at least three clear days.

57. THAT the Manager shall enter a memorial of such Instrument of transfer or transmission or other Document produced in a book to be kept by them for that purpose to be called "*The Register of Transfers*" and the fact of such entry having been made shall be indorsed on the instrument of transfer or transmission.

58. THAT any entry or memorandum which upon any transfer or other transmission of any share is made by the Managers in pursuance of these presents in "*The Register of Proprietors*" or in "*The Register of Transfers*" shall as between the Association and the person thereby appearing to have been the last previous holder of the share and all persons claiming under him be binding on him and them and he or they shall not call in question the validity of any such entry or memorandum.

59. THAT the Managers may from time to time close "*The Register of Transfers*" for not exceeding fourteen days before every ordinary meeting and any transfer made while that *Register* is so closed shall as between the Association and the parties to such transfer be considered as made after such Ordinary Meeting.

60. THAT the husband of any female proprietor or the Assignees of any Bankrupt or Insolvent Proprietor or any person to whom any share is transmitted by lawful means other than a transfer of Deed and who desires to hold such share and who has not already executed and is not then bound by these presents shall in addition to the authentication of transmission to him of such share and within one month next after such Declaration or other document of authentication and the evidence in support of the same are left with the Managers execute a Deed of Covenant in a form to be approved by the Managers binding himself his heirs executors and administrators to perform observe and abide by the Clauses stipulations and conditions of these presents and any further or other Deed supplementary hereto.

61. THAT any such person who does not desire to hold such share may within three months next after the transmission thereof to him duly transfer the same by deed to any other person without executing any such Deed of Covenant but not before any such or other document of authentication and evidence are so left with the Managers.

62. THAT every such Deed of Covenant shall apply not only to the share in respect to the transmission of which it is more immediately executed but also to every other share to which the person executing it afterwards becomes entitled by any lawful mode transmission other than transfer by deed and in the event of any such subsequent transmission to him whilst he continues bound by such Deed of Covenant he need not execute any other Deed of Covenant.

63. THAT Legatees or next of kin of deceased proprietors shall not as such be entitled to any of the rights or privileges of proprietors but the executors or administrators of deceased proprietors shall for all the purposes of these presents after the transmission to them of the shares of deceased proprietors is duly authenticated act as the holders

of such shares and may transfer the same by deed to any such Legatee or next of kin or to any other person or persons and the assent by an Executor to the specific bequest of any share shall not vest the same in the Legatee without a transfer by deed duly made and perfected pursuant to these presents.

64. THAT the interest dividends and other profits in respect of any shares transferred or otherwise transmitted which accrue due in the interval between the transfer or act or event by which the transmission is caused or effected and the subsequent delivery to the Managers of the *Deed of Transfer* declaration or other prescribed document and evidence and (if required) *Deed of Covenant* shall be retained by the Managers during such interval and the right of voting and shall and all other rights and privileges in respect of the same shall remain in suspense.

65. THAT so soon as the entry of such transfer or transmission is made and (if required) such *Deed of Covenant* is entered into and delivered to the Managers such intermediate interest dividends and other profits shall on payment of all sums (if any) remaining due and unpaid in respect of such share be paid and accounted for the person to whom such transfer or transmission is made or (as the case may be) to the husband of the female proprietor the Executors or Administrators of the deceased proprietor by whose marriage death bankruptcy or insolvency or by any Act or event of or affecting whom such transmission is caused or affected.

66. PROVIDED that clause 60 to 65 respectively shall be without prejudice to the validity of any payment vote or other Act in respect of any share as to which there shall have been such transmission before the same became known to the Managers.

67. THAT any Deed of Transfer deposited with the Association shall at the request in writing and at the expense (if any) of the proprietor to whom the Transfer s made or of his Executors or Administrators or other representatives and of any subsequent holder of any share comprised therein be produced and shown at the principal office of the Association to such proprietor or his representatives or to any other person as he or they request.

68. THAT any Proprietor who acquires any further share by any mode of transmission other than transfer by Deed and who by reason of his having previously executed and continuing bound by these presents need not execute a *Deed of Covenant* and who desires to hold such further share shall on receiving the certificate in respect of such further share sign and deliver to the Managers a receipt for such certificate in such form as the Managers prescribe and such receipt shall be retained by the Association

and shall be evidence against such Proprietor and all parties claiming under him of his being the holder of the share specified in the certificate for which such receipt is given and if such share be vested in more than in more than one person such receipt by any of them and all persons claiming through or under them respectively.

69. THAT when and so often as any change of ownership of any share takes place by any means whatsoever and when and so often as any share is forfeited under the provisions of these presents the Managers may require that any previously delivered certificates of the former ownership of the holder his executors or administrators but also the person who has become entitled to any share shall respectively be bound to deliver up such certificate accordingly.

70. THAT the Association shall not be bound to see to the execution of any trust expires or implied or to the performance or satisfaction of any equitable or other obligation or liability of any nature whatsoever to which any share may be subject and shall not recognise or be affected by any notice of any such trust obligation or liability or any partial or future interest in or affecting any share.

71. THAT no proprietor shall be entitled to vote or exercise any privilege of a proprietor until he in person or by Attorney duly constituted (and the instrument of whose appointment shall be delivered to and kept by the Association) shall have executed these presents or some Deed of Covenant referring thereto as herein mentioned.

NON PAYMENT OF CALLS

72. That if any Proprietor fail to pay any call on all or any of his shares in the Association on the day appointed by the Managers for payment thereof he shall pay interest at the rate of five per cent per annum upon the amount in arrear from him such interest being computed from such appointed day until the amount in arrear be actually paid and the right of such Proprietor and of every person claiming through or under him to receive dividends and all his rights and privileges as a Proprietor shall be suspended until every such amount in arrear together with such interest is paid.

73. THAT if any Proprietor shall allow such amount or any part thereof to remain unpaid for the space of twenty eight days after the time appointed by the Managers for the days after the time appointed by the Managers for the payment of any Call the Managers may in their discretion give such Proprietor twenty one days notice of their intention to forfeit all the shares of such Proprietor in the Association and the Managers may at any time after the expiration of such twenty one days and before

payment of the amount in arrear and the interest therein by writing under their hands declare all or any of the shares of such Proprietor in the Association absolutely forfeited and that whether the Association have need of the amount or not and thereupon such proprietor shall cease to be a partner in the said Association and to have any interest in the said Association or in the profits or property of the said Association and his right to a proportion of the profit and property of the said Association and also the right to an account shall be absolutely extinguished.

74. PROVIDED always that if such forfeiture is not within twelve months thereafter confirmed by a special General Meeting of the proprietors it shall be of no effect.

75. THAT for all liabilities and engagements from time to time due to or subsisting with the Association shall in all cases have a paramount lien on the sums payable for dividend interest or other share of profits to every proprietor whether the debts liabilities or engagements be those of such proprietor solely or jointly or in partnership with any person.

NOTICES

76. THAT every notice required to be given to any Proprietor (whether any Manager or not) may be served upon such Proprietor personally or by its being left at the address appearing as his in the Register of Proprietors or by its being put into the post directed to him at the same address in sufficient time to admit of its delivery in due course of post within the period (if any) prescribed for giving it and every Proprietor shall be bound by every notice served on him in any such mode and shall not be admitted to prove that it was not in fact delivered to him.

77. THAT any person who by transfer operation of law or other means whatever becomes entitled to any share shall be bound by any and every notice which before his name and address is entered on the Register of Proprietors is given to the person from whom he derives title to the share.

78. THAT every notice required to be given to the Managers shall be considered as duly given if delivered to either of them personally or if left for them at the principal office or if put in the post directed to them at the principal office in sufficient time to admit of its being delivered in due course of post within the period (if any) prescribed for giving it.

CLAUSES AS TO ARBITRATION

79. THAT for the purposes of Clauses 80 to 89 inclusive respectively the husband of any female proprietor the executors or administrators of any deceased proprietor the

assignees of any Bankrupt or Insolvent Proprietor the Committees of any Proprietor non compos mentis and the Guardians of any Infant Proprietor shall be deemed a Proprietor.

80. THAT if at any time during the continuance or after the dissolution of the Association any difference arise between the Managers on the one hand and any of the Proprietors on the other hand or between any of the Proprietors concerning the construction or effect of any clause in these presents or any breach of alleged breach thereof or concerning the conduct or management of the affairs of the Association or any matter or thing relating thereto or touching or concerning the obligations or liabilities of any Proprietor or otherwise in relation to his position as such Proprietor then and as often as the same occurs instead of any action suit or other proceeding at Law or Equity thereon such difference shall on the request of any party thereto be referred to the Arbitration of some indifferent person as the sole Arbitrator if the parties differing so agree and if not then to the Arbitration of the three indifferent persons to be appointed as follows.

81. THAT each of the parties differing (whether consisting of one person or more) shall nominate one indifferent person to act as an Arbitrator on his or their behalf and the two Arbitrators so appointed shall within ten days after the nomination of the one last appointed appoint a third Arbitrator.

82. THAT the award of such sole Arbitrator or of such three Arbitrators or any two of them on the matters referred shall be binding and conclusive upon the parties differing and upon all persons claiming under them respectively so as such award be in writing and be signed by such sole Arbitrator or by such three Arbitrators or any two of them and be ready to be delivered to the parties or to either of them requiring the same written fourteen days after the appointment of such sole Arbitrator or of the last of such three Arbitrators or within such further time as such sole Arbitrator or such three Arbitrators or any two of them in writing under his or their name or hand or hands from time to time appoint.

83. THAT if either of the parties differing fail to appoint any Arbitrator within fourteen days after Notice in writing given to him or them by the other of such parties requiring him or them so to do and the party giving such notice have appointed an Arbitrator then the Arbitrator so appointed shall be deemed and act as a sole Arbitrator so appointed shall be deemed and act as a sole Arbitrator duly agreed on

and appointed according to Clause 80 and his award shall be binding and conclusive accordingly.

84. THAT the Award and any such Arbitrators may direct by whom and to whom and in what manner the costs of and incidental to the reference and Award shall be paid and failing such direction the parties differing shall pay their own costs and shall pay in.

85 THAT the sole Arbitrator or the three Arbitrators or any two of them may if they think fit and after such notice to the parties differing as they or he shall think sufficient proceed in the absence of both or either of the parties differing.

86. THAT the sole Arbitrator or the three Arbitrators or any two of them may if they think fit make several awards each as to part of the matters referred instead of one Award on all matters referred and every such partial Award shall with respect to the matter awarded to be valid binding and conclusive as if that matter were the only matter referred.

87. THAT the sole Arbitrator or the three Arbitrators or any of them may examine on Oath or on Affirmation or Statuary Declaration in Lieu of Oath the parties differing and their respective witnesses.

88. THAT the submission to reference made by these presents may on the application of any person interested be made a Rule of any of the Superior Courts at Westminster and the Courts if they so think fit may remit the matter with any directions to the Arbitrator or Arbitrators.

89. THAT full effect shall be given to the provisions of these presents for Arbitration according the Common Law Procedure Act 1854 and every or other Act from time to time in force with respect to the determining of differences by Arbitration and applicable in that behalf.

CLAUSES AS TO DISSOLUTION OF ASSOCIATION

90. THAT if at any time the Managers recommend that the said newspaper be sold a Special General Meeting summoned for the purpose may by a Resolution of the majority comprising two thirds in value of the Shareholders voting in person or by proxy at such Meeting authorize or agree to the sale thereof upon such terms as the Special General Meeting may determine and the Resolution of such majority shall be binding upon every Proprietor and partner in the Association.

91. THAT when the Managers shall certify that any such sale has been completed and at any time if a special General Meeting summoned for the purpose shall by a majority comprising Shareholders holding two thirds of the capital of the Association

voting personally or by proxy resolve that the Association ought to be dissolved the association shall be and is hereby declared dissolved accordingly.

92. THAT thereupon the Managers shall proceed in such manner as they shall think fair and reasonable to meet the existing engagements of the Association and shall cause the said Newspaper and so much of the funds and property of the Association as shall not then consist of money to be converted into money in such manner and upon such terms as the Managers may think proper and as soon as conveniently may be so much of the funds and property of the Association as shall not be required to meet the existing engagements thereof shall be paid to and distributed amongst the Proprietors or their respective executors or administrators in the proportions in which they shall be respectively entitled thereto and all disputes concerning the title thereto shall be decided by Arbitration in the manner herein provided for the settlement of differences. IN WITNESS whereof the said several parties to these presents have hereunto set their respective hands and seals the day and year first written above.

Signed sealed and delivered

by the within named:

Lionel Lawson

Joseph Moses Levy

Edward Levy

in the presence of

G. Benham Solicitor,

18,Essex Street, Strand.

C.H. Gordon, clerk to Messrs

Benham and Tindell.

18 Essex Street, Strand.

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