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The Siege of Oporto in The Times of London

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Abstract:

The thirteen-month long siege of the northern Portuguese city of Oporto constitutes a decisive episode in the six yearlong Portuguese civil war (1828-1834). In the English-speaking world this conflict is commonly called the War of the Two brothers which took place between Dom Pedro and his younger brother Dom Miguel. It was a war, not only for the Portuguese succession, but which constitutes an important chapter in a long-drawn-out ideological conflict which has shaped the modern world between the forces of liberalism on the one hand and absolutism/conservatism on the other and whose first notable manifestations took place in the late 18th century with the American Revolutionary War and, on European soil, with the outbreak of the French Revolution. An ongoing ideological conflict which would be re-enacted time and again in different parts of the European continent, and indeed around the planet, throughout the 19th and 20th centuries and which has still not finished. Some of the most notable ideological battles in this ongoing conflict between the forces of liberalism and traditional conservatism, apart from the American and French Revolutions, are the Napoleonic wars, the three-19th century Spanish Carlist wars, the Russian Revolution, the Spanish civil war, amongst many other smaller conflicts, eventually leading to the cataclysmic Second World War.

The landing of an 8,300 strong liberal expeditionary force at the village of Mindelo on the Portuguese coast from the Azores on 8th July 1832 marks the beginning of the triumph of liberalism in, not only Portugal, but in neighbouring Spain as well, and the ascendancy and consolidation of liberalism in the rest of continental Europe as a first step towards global liberal hegemony and dominance which characterizes the 20th and 21st centuries.

As far as I know, to date, this research paper is unique as it relates to the coverage of the siege of Oporto in the daily editions of The Times of London newspaper thereby offering an invaluable insight into the conflict based on The Times newspaper's digital archive relating to the Portuguese conflict whilst at the same time providing an interesting reflection on the contribution of the coverage in The Times to the beginnings of modern foreign and war correspondents, the development of public opinion in contemporary Western democracy, and of British attitudes towards, and participation in, the siege of Oporto and the Portuguese Civil war in general.

Keywords; Siege of Oporto, Portuguese civil war, Dom Pedro, Dom Miguel, Donna Maria, liberalism, absolutism, conservatism, The Times, Portugal, Spain, Great Britain, the Holy Alliance.

Introduction

The Portuguese Civil War, and the Siege of Oporto in particular, have been largely overlooked in contemporary historiography, despite their historical importance and relevance for today's modern world. Nowadays, Dom Pedro is remembered slightly more than his absolutist younger brother Miguel, but the largely forgotten nature of the two conflicts is clearly demonstrated by the fact that there are few historical monuments left to the Portuguese Civil War and comparatively little academic literature about them either, especially regarding the siege of Oporto. It has become a forgotten chapter of contemporary Portuguese history. As the victors are the ones who write the history books it follows logically that most of the few remaining historical monuments from this period commemorate the victory of the liberal forces over the absolutist Miguelites.

As a direct consequence of this situation of general neglect and a lack of interest previous studies and academic literature related specifically to the Siege of Oporto are very limited. Most of the studies related to this particular period of early 19th century Portuguese history deal with the more general topic of the Portuguese Civil War rather than specifically with the Siege of Oporto. Hugh Owen's and Charles Napier's classic accounts of the Portuguese Civil War and the Siege of Oporto, both published in 1836, constitute the basis upon which a limited collection of posterior books and articles have been added over the years.¹This research paper represents, to date, the only known academic study specifically related to the coverage of the Siege of Oporto in the daily editions of *The Times* of London newspaper.

Contrary to popular belief amongst many people today who instinctively regard *The Times* as a naturally conservative newspaper, *The Times* has since the beginning of the 19th century, and particularly from 1817, when the great liberal editor Thomas Barnes took over, taken a generally pro-liberal political stance openly supporting the Whig Party led by Earl Grey, Palmerston and Lord Melbourne and the social reform movement in early 19th century Britain. This markedly reformist liberal stance meant that *The Times* was popularly known as *The Thunderer*² and logically led the newspaper to publicly support in its editorials and pages the liberal or constitutional cause in the Portuguese Civil War which began in 1828 with Dom Miguel's usurpation of the Portuguese throne from his young niece, and Dom Pedro's daughter, Donna Maria. Until the Tory government led by the Duke of Wellington suddenly fell from power on 15 November 1830 and the Whigs under Earl Grey and Palmerston took over, *The Times* publicly and consistently criticised the pro-Miguelite Tory foreign policy as embodied in the de facto recognition of Miguel as king of Portugal and other domestic policies generally opposed to social reform and the expansion of the suffrage. *The Times* openly supported the 1832 Reform Act and other reformist legislation like the Factory Act³ and strongly criticised Wellington's anti-reformist attitude thus actively contributing to the fall of Wellington's ultra-Tory government by losing a motion of confidence in the Commons.

The Times therefore was, in short, an important and increasingly influential pro-liberal and reformist voice in British and European society during the course of the 19th century supporting initially the reformist Whig Party up until late 1834 when the editor Barnes definitively fell out with the Whigs over the controversial policy areas of church reform in Ireland and the establishment of harsh prison like workhouses for the poor under the New Poor Law of 1834⁴ switching support to the new reformed brand of Toryism under Sir Robert Peel.

¹Bent, Mike. British steamer involvement in the Portuguese Civil War, 1828-1834. *International Journal of Maritime History*. September 2019.

Lambert, Andrew. Napier, Palmerston and Palmella in 1833: The Unofficial Arm of British Diplomacy in Guimará, A. *Naval Leadership in the Atlantic World*. London. University of Westminster Press. 2017.

Martelo, David. *Siege of Porto 1832-33 – The City Invicta*. Lisbon. Prefacio. 2001.

Napier, Charles. *An Account of The War in Portugal Between Don Pedro and Don Miguel*. London. T & W Boone. 1836.

Owen, Hugh. *The Civil War in Portugal, and The Siege of Oporto, by a British officer of Hussars*. London. Edward Moxon. 1836.

Soriano, Simão José da Luz. *History of the Siege of Porto*. Lisbon. A. Leite Guimarães. 1889.

Veludo Coelho, Sergio. *The War of the Two Brothers: The Portuguese Civil War, 1828-1834*. Warwick. Helion. 2021.

²*The History of The Times or The Thunderer in The Making 1785 To 1841*. London. The Times Publishing Company Limited. 1935.

³In 1833 the Government passed a Factory Act to improve conditions for children working in factories. Young children were working very long hours in workplaces where conditions were often terrible. See: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/19thcentury/overview/factoryact/>

⁴The Act has been described as a classic example of Whig-Benthamite reforming legislation of the period. It was based on Thomas Malthus's principle that population increased faster than resources unless checked, the "iron law of wages" and Jeremy Bentham's doctrine that people did what was pleasant and would tend to claim relief rather than work.

The Act was intended to curb the cost of poor relief and address abuses of the old system, prevalent in southern agricultural counties, by enabling a new system to be brought in under which relief would only be given in workhouses, and conditions in workhouses would be such as to deter any but the truly destitute from applying for relief. See: <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/19thcentury/overview/poorlaw/>

This new strategic political alliance with the recently modernized Tories was to be consolidated by the change of parliamentary allegiance of the newspaper owner John Walter junior MP to the Peelite Tory Party and his important role in the formulation of Peel's politically progressive Tamworth manifesto.⁵⁶

The principal hypotheses and objectives of this paper, within the scope of the overall general theme of the coverage of the siege of Oporto in *The Times*, are the more specific subtopics of the consequences of the transformation of *The Times* into an important independent and influential liberal minded reformist newspaper within early 19th century British society and how the coverage of *The Times* contributed to: the consolidation of liberalism in Portugal and in neighbouring Spain, the emergence and development of modern foreign and war correspondents, the development of an informed and critical public opinion as an important tool for political control, governmental transparency and parliamentary accountability which have come to be regarded as essential elements of the modern democratic system of government, and finally the relationship between the proactive liberal editorial political stance of *The Times* during the early 19th century and official British government foreign policy in relation to the siege of Oporto, the wider Portuguese Liberal Wars and the expansion of liberal regimes across Europe.

The Transformation of *The Times* into an important and influential modern newspaper in the early 19th century

The Times of London is one of Britain's oldest and most influential newspapers and has long been regarded as one of the world's great newspapers. *The Times* was first published in London in January 1785 by John Walter⁷ its founder. At first it was originally called *The Daily Universal Register* and it wasn't until three years later, on January 1st, 1788, that it finally adopted what has become the world-famous name of *The Times*. To the surprise of some *The Times* does not have the honour and prestige of being the oldest British daily newspaper still in regular publication. This honour is held by *Lloyd's List*⁸, which has been in continuous publication since 1734, but now only prints information restricted to shipping news. A very large part of the early success and fame of *The Times* was due to the fact that it was fortunate to have remarkable owners and editors from early in its life.

⁵Fenton, Laurence. *Palmerston And The Times: Foreign Policy, the Press and Public Opinion in Mid-Victorian Britain*. London. Bloomsbury. 2012. Pp. 40-41.

⁶The Tamworth Manifesto was a political manifesto issued by Sir Robert Peel in 1834 in Tamworth, which is widely credited by historians as having laid down the principles upon which the modern British Conservative Party is based. Peel intended "to fully convince the country and electorate that there was a substantial difference between his brand of modern reformed conservatism and that of his predecessor and 'old tory' Wellington."

⁷John Walter, I, (1739, probably in London, England—November 16, 1812, Teddington, Middlesex). Founder of *The Times*, and of a family dynasty which owned the newspaper for nearly 125 years. Walter turned *The Times* from scandal to more serious journalism and is credited with successfully organising (whilst in prison for having libelled members of the British royal family) a prestigious foreign news service from the European continent, which helped launch *The Times* on its course toward pre-eminence in covering foreign news.

⁸Lloyd's List is one of the world's oldest continuously running journals, having provided weekly shipping news in London as early as 1734. It was published daily until 2013 (when the final print issue, number 60,850, was published), and since then is now published in updated digital format only. See: <https://www.lloydslistintelligence.com/about-us/our-history>

The transformation of *The Times* into a modern independent journal begins with its original founder John Walter I or senior, but it was in the watershed year of 1803 when John Walter II or junior⁹, the second son of the founder John Walter I, took over the ailing newspaper from his elder brother William becoming sole manager and editor eventually making *The Times* solvent by 1814, who along with the help of its first great liberal editor in chief Thomas Barnes¹⁰ (editor 1817-1841), who made the newspaper a name to be reckoned with. Building on the foreign news services established originally by his father John Walter junior gave *The Times* an important advantage over, not only over its commercial rivals, but also regarding official government dispatches. To the surprise of many Walter famously published in 1805 an account of the British naval victory of Trafalgar several days before the British government received an official Royal Navy military despatch. Government ministers and high-ranking officials began to realise that the quickest way to obtain the latest foreign news was to enquire at Printing House Square. This situation was famously demonstrated when a few years later during the Napoleonic embargoes Castlereagh, the Foreign Secretary, asked Walter to update him on the latest news from the continent. Thanks to the combined efforts of the founder of *The Times*, his second son Walter junior and Thomas Barnes *The Times* in the first years of the 19th century successfully managed to establish a reputation amongst the educated classes as a leading and reliable source of the latest foreign news.

Once John Walter junior had appointed Barnes as editor in 1817 Walter increasingly distanced himself from the day to day running of *The Times* focussing more and more instead on his personal ambition to become a country gentleman and parliamentarian. It is not until 1819 that there is a formal transfer of power and Barnes takes over. However, the authority of Barnes is will not be complete at the helm of the newspaper until twelve years later in 1831. Barnes's unfettered reign in charge of *The Times* would last just ten years until his death in 1841.

The growing reputation as a strong independent reform minded newspaper famous for criticising parliamentary hypocrisy and championing freedom of the press meant that *The Times* was popularly known from 1830 onwards by the nickname of "The Thunderer" due to its well informed, articulate and strongly expressed editorial opinions. *The Times*' first owners and editors were quite remarkable for not being just good managers and journalists but were also technological visionaries as under their vanguard leadership *The Times* became the world's first mass circulated daily newspaper due to the innovative early adoption of the Koenig steam printing press which gave the paper the competitive advantage of being able to include the latest news and to print it much faster than other rivals. The visionary efforts of the early owners and editors of *The Times* helped to make the publication the first truly national daily newspaper by taking full advantage of the newly developed steam trains to transport copies of the paper quickly to the burgeoning towns and cities across Britain at this time and thereby contributed decisively to ensuring a fast-growing readership and rising social influence for *The Times* and its resultant profitability. Between 1815 and 1850 *The Times* managed to increase its circulation by eight-fold from 5,000 in 1815 to 40,000 by 1850 and, at the same time, came to be widely regarded as the very embodiment of the British establishment¹¹.

⁹John Walter, II, (born February 23, 1776, Battersea, London, England—died July 28, 1847, London), English journalist, second son of John Walter I, founder of *The Times*, London, who developed (along with Thomas Barnes, editor in chief from 1817 to 1841) a great daily newspaper from a small partisan sheet. Succeeding his elder brother, William Walter, as manager in 1803, he made *The Times* solvent by 1814, in which year he became the first to adapt steam power to printing. Steam presses made *The Times* the first newspaper capable of meeting the circulation demands of both a wide reading public and advertisers aiming at the bulk of the population. Enabled thus to refuse political party subsidies or private bribes, he converted *The Times* into what was described (by the 4th earl of Clarendon) as "the true exponent of what English public opinion is or will be." Walter spent large sums on maintaining an "Extraordinary Express" to bring news from British India. He organized a courier service from Marseille to Paris, a carrier-pigeon delivery from Paris to Boulogne, and a cross-Channel steamer service from Boulogne to Dover linked with a special train to London. In addition, he was the first newspaperman in Britain to use the electric telegraph and is said to have appointed the first full-time war correspondent. See: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/John-Walter-II>

¹⁰Thomas Barnes, (Sept. 16, 1785, London—died May 7, 1841). British journalist who as editor of *The Times* for nearly a quarter of a century helped establish its highly regarded reputation for independent journalism.

¹¹Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "The Times". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 16 Sep. 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Times>

This success was, in large part, due to a combination of various factors such as editorial independence, good management, high standards of reporting and accuracy and constant technological innovation contrasting with a deep respect for tradition at the same time. In short, *The Times* was a ship which had, not only a good captain at the helm, but good and intelligent owners as well. Like this *The Times* was able to steam ahead of its immediate rivals.

The consequences of the successful development and transformation of *The Times* from being initially a modest four-page two and a half penny broadsheet with the main aim of publicising a new innovative system of typography that personally interested John Walter and which published mainly commercial news and information including some scandal to becoming a widely respected and socially influential British newspaper by mid-century, were manifold with repercussions not only for domestic British politics, but also for foreign and colonial affairs, and especially for European affairs, with great influence on emergent public opinion and many important areas of official British foreign policy. In his first editorial Walter declared that a newspaper:

“ought to be the register of the times and faithful recorder of every species of intelligence; it ought not to be engrossed by any particular object; but like a well-covered table, it should contain something suited to every palate: observations on the dispositions of our own and of foreign courts should be provided for the political reader; debates should be reported for the amusement or information of those who may be particularly fond of them; and a due attention should be paid to the interests of trade, which are so greatly promoted by advertisements.”¹²

Arguably, *The Times*, can be regarded throughout most of the 19th century as constituting in many respects a sort of unofficial and independent arm, and even a rival at times, of the British government and the Foreign Office in so much as the support *The Times* manifested in its pages for the consolidation of liberalism and the cause of social reform at home, around Europe and the world at large coincided frequently with official British government policy objectives. By the time John Walter I's grandson, John Walter III, took over the newspaper in 1848 *The Times* had largely succeeded in establishing the foundations of its reputation as the most important and prestigious British daily newspaper. Its immense prestige cast a large shadow over the 19th century newspaper world and the impressive aura surrounding *The Times* has survived largely intact down to the present day.

The Times was not the only standard bearer for the cause of social reform and liberalism within the ranks of contemporary early 19th century British newspapers. There were other pro-liberal reform minded newspapers such as *The Morning Chronicle* (1769), initially the *Morning Herald* (1780), *The Observer* (1791), *The Scotsman* (1817), *The Manchester Guardian* (1821) and *The Sunday Times* (initially founded in 1821 as *The New Observer*)¹³. The very nature and fabric of British society at this time was conducive to the setting up and establishment of liberal minded journals and publications. One of the many consequences of the Protestant Reformation¹⁴ across northern Europe in general, but especially in England, was to seriously question traditional authority, customs and beliefs thereby accelerating the growing influence of liberal thought and social tendencies. The religious and cultural revolution of the Protestant reformation sowed the seeds of political and social liberalism in British society and transformed it into becoming one of the leading liberal societies in Europe and the world from the 17th century onwards. In this social context the setting up and publication of an increasing number of liberal minded journals in Britain from the early 18th century is of no surprise and a sign of the changing times. *The Times* is a good example of this fact and played an important role in helping to transform Britain into a modern liberal society and promote liberal ideas and values across Europe and the world during the course of the 19th and 20th centuries.

¹²Reid, Alanah. “A History of the Times Newspaper”. *Historic Newspapers*: <https://www.historic-newspapers.co.uk/blog/the-times-newspaper-history/>. Harpenden. Historic newspapers Ltd. 2021.

¹³ Founded independently to *The Times* on 22 October 1822 finally coming under the same ownership in 1966.

¹⁴See: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Protestantism/The-Reformation-in-England-and-Scotland> and Thomas Keith: *Calvinism's Discontents*: <https://www.thenation.com/article/culture/james-simpson-permanent-revolution-review/>

The Contribution of *The Times* to the consolidation of liberalism in Portugal.

On an almost daily basis during the thirteen months of the Siege of Oporto¹⁵ the editorials and the columns of *The Times* publicly supported Dom Pedro and his daughter Donna María and the cause of liberalism in general in Portugal and neighbouring Spain.¹⁶ In this way *The Times* acted as an unofficial gazette of the Whig party and government under Earl Grey's leadership during the siege of Oporto. The openly pro-liberal stance of *The Times* acted as the journalistic artillery of the liberal cause in the ideological battle for the control of Portugal and the Iberian Peninsula. The siege of Oporto and the Portuguese civil war were not just a simple dynastic dispute between two brothers for the crown of Portugal, but an important battle with far reaching consequences in the ideological war for the control and destiny of Europe and, indeed the entire world, which was being increasingly played out across Europe and other parts of the world such as the American continent since the times of the revolutionary 16th century Protestant Reformation manifesting itself bloodily now and then most notably in the case of the English Civil War and the American and French Revolutions at the end of the 18th century.

There have been many episodes to this epic worldwide ideological war over the centuries. The siege of Oporto and the Portuguese civil war were just one particular episode in this long-drawn-out centuries old conflict. *The Times* early on took, and has taken since, an active part in this ideological war between the forces of absolutism and traditional conservatism on the one hand and the forces of liberalism and social reform on the other. It is an ideological war which still rumbles on into the contemporary world and is not as yet finished, but through which the forces of liberalism have come to dominate and control all of the Western world, and which have an ever-increasing influence in the rest of the world even although sometimes growing western influence is violently rejected by some non-western cultures.

The Times was in the 19th century, and continues to be in today's world, a mouthpiece and standard bearer in favour of modern liberal culture and values making an important contribution through its pages to the shaping of, not only modern Britain, but of Europe and the rest of the world as well. The publicly manifested support of *The Times* for the liberal cause in Portugal formed part of a large-scale strategic policy shared with and actively supported by the Whig government in Britain and the liberal restoration government of Luis Phillipe in France to promote the setting up of liberal minded regimes and governments in Portugal, Spain and across Europe as a whole for the accelerated transformation of European society according to liberal values and ideals. Oporto and Portugal were just one small part of an ever-increasing liberal map of Europe in the making. It is not an exaggeration to say that *The Times* formed an important part in a growing unofficial international network of pro-liberal publications and of reform minded liberal politicians spread across Europe and the world forming a sort of, to use the term, *liberal international* not far off and even more successful than the famous Communist International organisations first set up from 1864 to promote the international diffusion of Marxist ideals and governments.¹⁷

The Times under Thomas Barnes's editorship forged a political alliance of sorts with the new Whig government of Earl Grey supporting a reformist agenda which included parliamentary reform involving a limited extension of voting rights and the reduction of corrupt "rotten borough" parliamentary seats controlled by the aristocracy in favour of more representation for the growing industrial areas in the north of England such as Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds.

¹⁵The Siege of Porto is considered the period between July 1832 and August 1833 in which the troops of Dom Pedro remained besieged by the forces of Dom Miguel I of Portugal. The resistance of the city of Porto and the troops of Dom Pedro made the victory of the liberal cause in the Kingdom of Portugal possible. See: <https://www.heyporto.com/en/o-cerco-do-porto/>

¹⁶Under the editorship of Thomas Barnes and the ownership of John Walter *The Times* included frequent, almost on a daily basis, editorial articles and numerous other different articles in its daily editions favouring the liberal cause in the Siege of Oporto and in the Portuguese Liberal War. *The Times* acted as a standard bearer for the cause of Dom Pedro and his daughter Donna Maria in the Portuguese civil war and in promoting the consolidation of liberal regimes in both Portugal and Spain at this time.

¹⁷See: <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Comintern>

This alliance was the result of the close friendship between Barnes and the influential Scottish lawyer and reformist politician Henry Brougham¹⁸ who was one of the founders of the famous literary magazine the *Edinburgh Review*.¹⁹ Barnes and Brougham had known each other for many years since the 1810s, but it was in the 1820s during the famous trial of Queen Caroline²⁰ when they began to collaborate most. Brougham was Queen Caroline's chief legal counsel during the trial and passed on many important legal documents during the trial to Barnes to be printed exclusively in *The Times* in what became a mutually beneficial relationship for both men. *The Times* sold more daily editions due to public interest in the trial and Brougham obtained a privileged platform for self-promotion and publicity in the national news.

When Brougham was eventually elected as a Whig MP for Yorkshire at the 1830 general election and appointed as Lord Chancellor the relationship with Barnes reached a crescendo. Brougham and Barnes would meet frequently to draw up pro-reform articles to be published in *The Times*. The political importance of Barnes increased considerably because of his close relationship with Brougham and the new Whig government. This situation was illustrated by a growing number of Whig ministers and leading politicians who met with Barnes to talk politics or for social visits. Social reform was the all-important fashionable topic of the moment, and *The Times* received an avalanche of petitions which were sent in from all around the country. Although revolution was preached in the pages of many more radical newspapers at the time *The Times* advocated moderate reform. The Whig elite and Barnes himself were against enfranchising the lower levels of the working classes. By early 1831 such was the influence of both men, each in their respective fields, that it is no exaggeration to say that Barnes and Brougham each "felt that they were in control of the very destiny of the country".²¹

Oporto and Portugal both played an important strategic part in this grand international liberal plan for world hegemony as they acted as a vital foothold and door of entry into the Iberian Peninsula and as a gateway to the rest of the European continent for the increase of liberal influence and the setting up of liberal governments across Europe in a domino fashion. The liberal victory in Oporto in August 1832 was an important first step in the progress and consolidation of liberalism not only in Portugal, but also in neighbouring Spain and its transatlantic Empire and across Europe in general. The liberal victory in Oporto and Portugal in many ways was a watershed moment in European history and marked definitively an important point in the consolidation of the new liberal age in Europe and the world. A new era of world history had begun in earnest, and which has still not finished: the age of liberalism.

The Contribution of *The Times* to the Development of Foreign and War correspondents.

Together John Walter Senior and his second son John Walter junior both gave great importance to the coverage of international affairs and foreign news in the daily pages of *The Times*. A combination of increasing literacy and newspaper readership, especially amongst the middle and professional classes from the late 18th century onwards, and a corresponding increase in popular interest in foreign affairs and travel in general related to the big issues of the moment such as the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, the Greek and Belgian wars of independence and colonial news from around the expanding British Empire, in particular from India, helped *The Times* establish a reputation as a national leader and reference in quality foreign news. Walter junior spent large amounts of money on maintaining what has been called an "Extraordinary Express" to bring news from British India and was also famous for having organized a highly elaborate and complicated news network to make sure *The Times* became a market leader in quality foreign news which included a French courier service from Marseille to Paris, a carrier-pigeon delivery service from Paris to the port of Boulogne, and a steamer ferry service from Boulogne to Dover linked with a special train

¹⁸Henry Peter Brougham, 1st Baron Brougham and Vaux, PC, QC, FRS; 19 September 1778 – 7 May 1868) was a British Whig statesman who became Lord High Chancellor and played a prominent role in passing the 1832 Reform Act and 1833 Slavery Abolition Act. See: <https://spartacus-educational.com/PRbrougham.htm>

¹⁹The *Edinburgh Review* is the title of four distinct intellectual and cultural magazines. The best known, longest lasting, and most influential of the four was the third, which was published regularly from 1802 to 1929. See: <https://spartacus-educational.com/Jedinburgh.htm>

²⁰The Queen Caroline Affair, 1820. See: <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/periods/hanoverians/queen-caroline-affair-1820>

²¹Fenton, Laurence. *Palmerston And The Times: Foreign Policy, the Press and Public Opinion in Mid-Victorian Britain*. London. Bloomsbury. 2012. P29.

on to London. In addition to all of this, Walter junior was the first newspaperman in Britain to use the electric telegraph and is said to have appointed the first modern full-time war correspondent Henry Crabb Robinson.²²

After making the acquaintance of John Walter junior the young Crabb Robinson became foreign correspondent for *The Times* in the northern Prussian town of Altona in 1807 reporting on the fortunes of the Napoleonic wars between the months of March and August. Crabb's famous letters "From the Banks of the Elbe" were a novelty in modern journalism in that they arguably began a new area of war reporting by giving the British public the best possible information then available about continental affairs. On returning home Crabb Robinson took over the newly established post of foreign news editor in *The Times*. The following year from August 1808 to the end of January 1809 Crabb Robinson was sent to Spain as a "special correspondent" landing at the city of La Coruña in the north-western region of Galicia to report for *The Times* on the Peninsular war against Napoleon. From La Coruña Crabb Robinson sent a series of letters entitled 'Shores of the Bay of Biscay' and 'Coruña,' the first letter appearing on 9 August 1808 and the last on 26 January 1809. Robinson was in the rear of the army under the command of Sir John Moore at La Coruña experiencing the cannon fire at first hand, saw the wounded and French prisoners brought to La Coruña, and waited till the enemy had been driven back before he returned to England, arriving in Falmouth on the 26 January 1809. Crabb reoccupied his post in *The Times* London office until 29 September 1809. Because of his writings and articles from Altona and Spain many people regard Crabb Robinson as the first modern war correspondent.

The Times under John Walter senior, but especially under Walter junior and Thomas Barnes, gave great importance to quality news from all over the country, not just from London and its surrounding area, and from abroad as well. A network of national and foreign correspondents was established for the sending of the latest news to Printing House Square in London. John Walter junior is credited with setting up between 1805 and 1807 the first special foreign news service network made up of a non-professional corps of foreign news correspondents directly responsible to *The Times* HQ in London which was unparalleled at the time. No other competitor had anything similar in nature or size.²³ This network of both national and foreign news correspondents for the gathering and sending of quality news stories, plus the innovative financial and editorial independence of *The Times* under the young Walter and Barnes, constituted the two most important pillars in ensuring the fame and commercial success of *The Times* in the early 19th century.

Unfortunately, in keeping with the strictly enforced editorial policy of Barnes, the vast majority of articles and news stories which appear in *The Times* at this time during the Siege of Oporto are anonymous. Anonymity was a common practice at the time with its proponents firmly believing that it made readers consider the information and opinion offered on its own merits rather than on the reputation of its author. Barnes gave great importance to the anonymity of journalistic articles and tried to defend this policy when criticised for the legal protection offered by nameless articles:

"The impunity (said *The Times* in 1835) is purely nominal; for though the writer in a newspaper is obliged by a bond of honourable confidence not to claim even the honour due to his own writings, he is sufficiently known to be subject to all the responsibilities and penalties for any violation of social decorum. The public is a gainer as it obtains a full and free discussion without any mixture of that egotism and self-intrusion which are almost inseparable from the compositions of any individual writer in his own personal character."²⁴

In keeping with this editorial policy of anonymity foreign correspondents writing for *The Times* from the European continent, especially from the some of the most important capital cities of the moment such as Paris and Madrid, habitually used a series of capital letters such as the letters "Z" and "G" for the correspondents in Paris and the letter "Y" for the Madrid correspondent to sign their articles and writings rather than using their real names. The direct consequence of this policy of anonymity implemented by Thomas Barnes is that we cannot easily identify the personal names of the individual correspondents writing articles for *The Times*.

²²See: Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 49: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-1900/Robinson,_Henry_Crabb

ROBINSON, HENRY CRABB (1776–1867), diarist, youngest son of a tanner who died in 1781, was born at Bury St. Edmunds on 13 March 1775.

²³Durán De Porras, Elías. "Henry Crabb Robinson y la sección internacional The Times a comienzos del siglo XIX" published in *Historia y Comunicación Social* 14, 2009. p73

²⁴*The History of The Times or The Thunderer in The Making 1785 To 1841*. London. The Times Publishing Company Limited. 1935. Page xiii.

This professional zeal and obsession of Barnes for maintaining at all costs the anonymity of correspondents writing in *The Times* is expressed and supported in a quotation from a country clergyman who in the generation following Barnes wrote more than two thousand leading articles for *The Times* and who expressed and justified the journalist's anonymous professional vocation such:

He must (he wrote) be content to be counted as nothing in the future, as in the present, to be unknown or set aside, and never to take rank among the real influences of his time. His labours will be rewarded, but not as men ordinarily count reward. He will have a real power – his work will be deep and lasting, but his name will be obscure or evanescent. He will affect the tone of the nation for which he writes, and will thus be the indirect cause of its most noble after-growth. The pillar will not be of his raising, and will certainly not bear his name inscribed upon it, but he will be the foundation of the whole, the first necessary condition of the state of public sentiment from which it has been raised from seeming independence. To those who are dissatisfied with such a position among the unrecognised forces of the world we will say that they must try some other line, for which they have not the temper of journalists.²⁵

The efforts of *The Times* to obtain and receive quality foreign news quickly were further complicated by the preferential practice by which Government Ministers and foreign Ambassadors in London received their foreign correspondence before journalists and their newspapers. There was a long-standing system by which foreign news articles and letters were first received by the Post Office which sorted and translated foreign news before being passed on to journalists and their newspapers. This system of government control meant that the confidentiality of foreign news and letters was systematically vulnerated. Those newspapers and publications known to be favourable to the government of the day were frequently given preferential treatment and priority for delivery being marked "Ministerial". *The Times*, which was not a "ministerial" newspaper favoured by the government found most of its foreign news articles and letters systematically delayed by administrative red tape in the English Channel ports by Customs and Post Office officials frequently to the commercial advantage of its immediate competitors. This led to a situation whereby some unscrupulous newspaper proprietors tried to bribe officials in the Post Office to pass on to them any interesting news stories or intelligence before being delivered to diplomats or newspaper competitors receiving their foreign news and post.

This was a form of abusive and corrupt official censorship and political discrimination exercised by the governments of the day which Walter tried to fight against by a combination of repeatedly protesting to official circles and by also trying to set up alternative means by which foreign news and correspondence was sent undercover being addressed to a number of private mercantile houses in London to avoid being slowed down by unnecessary and frustrating administrative controls. It is said that the *Courier* had paid £200 in one year to the newspaper Comptroller to assure this priority for his newspaper. This already difficult situation would be made worse by the naval blockades of the continental system during the Napoleonic wars which would make the reception of foreign newspapers and news by 1809 almost impossible except in the case of using smugglers to bring in news and intelligence from the continent. This difficult situation led Walter junior to smuggling in copies of the most important European newspapers with the then Foreign Secretary Castlereagh reportedly approaching Walter for an update of the latest European news. The foreign news coverage of *The Times* was a source of much pride to Walter junior at this time and was widely respected by the reading public of the time, rivals and government ministers alike.

Foreign correspondents working for *The Times* were not the only source of information published by *The Times* in its daily pages covering the siege of Oporto. News and intelligence were also obtained via a varied collection of sources which included local newspapers, notable continental publications mostly from Paris, diplomatic officials working in Portugal, officials in the Portuguese public administrations, military personnel on active service from both sides, financial news, local residents and businessmen and also passing travellers. Editorial comments relating to the Siege of Oporto were also a very important and, almost a daily source, of educated opinion of both the political situation and what was happening on the ground in Portugal, but from an unashamedly pro-liberal perspective. Many times, these alternative and complementary sources of news about the Siege of Oporto were more important and extensive in the pages of *The Times* than the dispatches from the foreign correspondents in situ working for *The Times* or other notable foreign newspapers.

²⁵Ibid, page xiv.

With reference to Table 1 we can clearly see that private letters, editorials from *The Times*, articles from local Portuguese newspapers, articles from important continental newspapers (mainly French from Paris) and financial intelligence compiled in London by *The Times* relating to the Portuguese conflict are amongst the most important regular sources of information and news published in the daily editions of *The Times* relating to the Siege of Oporto.²⁶ It is a myth of modern journalism to believe that the only source of news about wars is from professional newspaper correspondents either in situ or not. It is evident from Table 1 that lots of invaluable information about the Siege of Oporto is also obtained from other varied alternative news sources. After carefully analysing the pages of the daily editions of *The Times* during the thirteen months of the Siege of Oporto it is clear that foreign and war newspaper correspondents did not have a monopoly on what was happening in Portugal. This fact is even more true today, with all the possibilities of modern digital communication technology, than it was in the past relating to the Siege of Oporto. Rather than just limiting itself to the publication of articles alone about the Siege of Oporto sent by foreign and war correspondents *The Times*, and especially its vanguard owners and Barnes as editor, must be recognised for their foresight and journalistic professionalism in collecting and publishing varied and multiple sources of information in its daily pages thereby offering an enhanced and fuller understanding of the events of the Siege of Oporto as an important chapter of the more general early 19th century Portuguese Liberal Wars.

The Contribution of *The Times* to an informed and critical public opinion as an important tool for the development of modern democracy

The first class reporting and excellent general coverage of both national and international news, and in particular of foreign conflicts like the Siege of Oporto, by *The Times* during the early 19th century not only helped transform *The Times* into a modern newspaper, but also helped make it an institution of national reference in Britain with a growing influence amongst the educated classes of British society. *The Times* quickly became a national and international reference to be consulted on a wide range of important issues. Readers were informed on a daily or regular basis of the latest developments regarding a wide range of important contemporary events both at home and abroad. It was the modern beginnings of the development of an informed and educated public opinion based on quality mass journalism. The improvements in news coverage and reporting meant that newspapers like *The Times* could influence public opinion, and therefore the political system and governments, as never before helped also by the extension of the franchise in Britain during the course of the 19th century. By the middle of the 19th century *The Times* had established itself as the most prestigious and influential British daily national newspaper. Thomas Barnes and his successors were figures of national relevance to be reckoned with.

The advent of modern quality mass journalism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, of which *The Times* from the turn of the century was increasingly the best example, indicated a shift in political power towards the Fourth Estate²⁷ and a corresponding diminishing of the political power and influence of the nobility and the clergy who had been traditionally the ruling classes in European society. Thomas Carlyle wrote in 1841:

Does not, though the name Parliament subsists, the parliamentary debate go on now, everywhere and at all times, in a far more comprehensive way, out of Parliament altogether? Burke said there were Three Estates in Parliament; but, in the Reporters' Gallery yonder, there sat a Fourth Estate more important far than they all. It is not a figure of speech, or a witty saying; it is a literal fact, —very momentous to us in these times. Literature is our Parliament too. Printing, which comes necessarily out of Writing, I say often, is equivalent to Democracy: invent Writing, Democracy is inevitable. Writing brings Printing; brings universal every-day extempore Printing, as we see at present. Whoever can speak, speaking now to the whole nation, becomes a power, a branch of government, with inalienable weight in law-making, in all acts of authority. It matters not what rank he has, what revenues or garnitures: the requisite thing is, that he have a tongue which others will listen to; this and nothing more is requisite. The nation is governed by all that has tongue in the nation: Democracy is virtually there.²⁸

²⁶See Table 1 in Annex A.

²⁷Thomas Carlyle attributed the origin of the term Fourth Estate to Edmund Burke in a parliamentary debate in the House of Commons in 1787 to refer to the opening up of British parliamentary debates to the press. However nowadays it refers to the press and news media in general both in the explicit capacity of advocacy and implicit ability to frame political issues through public opinion.

²⁸Carlyle, Thomas. From Lecture V given on 19 May 1840 and published the following year in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*. London. James Fraser. 1841.

Journalism and the press have long been recognised as being an important force in politics and government and is regarded as being an integral and vital part of modern democracy. For democracy to work well it requires citizens to be well informed to be able to decide properly on important issues of the day. In a representative democracy the informative function of the press is of the greatest importance in promoting the democratic accountability of public officials. If the public do not know what their elected political leaders are deciding and doing then the democratic political system will not work in the best interests of the common good in society. To be able to hold politicians to account for their actions and policy decisions there needs to be a free and quality press. The press should also serve the function of exposing people to other opinions different and even opposed to their own in order to favour understanding, tolerance and respect in a pluralistic society where freedom of speech is properly respected as a basic democratic value.

There had been no violent equivalent of the French Revolution in Britain, but the power and control of the old regime was in the process of passing to the ascendent middle classes, especially the upper middle, propertied and professional classes. The rise of the modern press, or the Fourth estate, was the reflection of this process of social change. The fast-growing power and influence of the press, and especially of influential newspapers like *The Times*, converted their owners and their editors into persons of great social and political power over political parties and governments. This growing political power and influence of the press did nothing but grow as the 19th century progressed being consolidated due to the rise in numbers of an educated public capable of reading and understanding news stories in depth coupled with the extension of the right to vote.

The almost daily quality coverage and reporting about the Siege of Oporto, and of the general situation in Portugal during the so-called Liberal Wars, made an important contribution to the development of an informed and critical public opinion in early 19th century Britain which would have far reaching and cumulative consequences not only for the consolidation of democracy in Britain, but also for the triumph of liberalism in Portugal and neighbouring Spain. This singular and varied coverage of the Siege of Oporto by *The Times* and its contribution to the development of a mature public opinion also helped the consolidation of democracy in Britain by promoting government transparency and accountability, not just via parliamentary debates and control, but by helping an increasingly well informed public to intervene more actively in the political process and the formulation of public policy directly through the election process or alternatively more indirectly by writing letters to the editor of *The Times* to be published, to members of parliament or government ministers.

The Relationship between the editorial stance of *The Times* and official British government foreign policy in relation to the Siege of Oporto and the Portuguese Liberal Wars

Although there was no obvious direct connection between the pro-liberal editorial stance of *The Times* and the formulation of official British government foreign policy in relation to the Portuguese Liberal Wars in general, and the Siege of Oporto in particular, we must recognise that there were many striking coincidences and similarities between the two. Throughout the period in question, and especially from 1822, there was a considerable continuity and consensus relating to British foreign policy especially after the death of the arch conservative Tory Castlereagh and his replacement by the more liberal minded George Canning and the fact that Lord Palmerston dominated British foreign policy for most of the period from 1830 to 1865 (except for the brief period of Peel's 1834 government). General political support from successive British governments after 1830 for the liberal cause and the young constitutional Queens in both Portugal and Spain against their more conservative uncles became a basic cornerstone of British foreign policy for the advance and consolidation of liberalism on the European continent. *The Times* actively supported and reinforced official British support for the constitutional cause in the Iberian Peninsula from the early 1820s through its pro-liberal editorial policy and wide-ranging comprehensive coverage of events. The increasingly good relations between *The Times* and some leading influential figures in early 19th century British political circles, as the newspaper became more influential and prestigious under Barnes's leadership, undoubtedly helped increase channels of communication and synchronise common political goals.

The Peterloo Massacre in August 1819²⁹ was a turning point for the political allegiance of *The Times*. Barnes took the decision to shift the political allegiance of the newspaper in line with his increasingly reformist beliefs and inaugurated a policy of public editorial support for the Whig opposition with contrasted with his predecessor's openly pro-Tory stance. Thomas Barnes had close personal ties with some leading Whigs of the day and with the Earl Grey government. Chief amongst them was the influential Scottish reformist lawyer Henry Peter Brougham³⁰ who became an important source of many of Barnes's leading articles which helped the newspaper greatly increase its readership and following as a trusted source of up to date and relevant information about current affairs and the politics of the day. Barnes and Brougham became very good friends and most mornings had breakfast together. This close relationship angered the Tories and they bitterly complained that Henry Brougham had become the real editor of *The Times*. Barnes was now a committed supporter of parliamentary reform and Catholic Emancipation and on an almost daily basis pressed the Whig government, through his editorials, to act. The political views of Barnes as editor of *The Times* had a great influence on public opinion. After Brougham was elected as a Whig MP and later appointed Lord High Chancellor from November 1830 Barnes's influence in government circles increased dramatically. Lord Lyndhurst went as far as describing Barnes as "the most powerful man in the country."³¹ Brougham had previous knowledge and acquaintance with Portugal. In 1806 the then Whig Foreign Secretary, Charles James Fox, appointed Brougham as the secretary of an official British diplomatic mission to Portugal to try to prevent the anticipated Napoleonic invasion.

However, this marriage of convenience with the Whigs did not last very long. From 1834 Barnes increasingly drifted away politically from the Whigs. One of the main reasons for his disillusionment was their support to reform the Poor Laws which Barnes believed to be too harsh. At this time Barnes gravitated again towards the Tories and became a close friend and collaborator with the new reformist leader of the Tories Robert Peel. Barnes actively helped Peel to draw up the famous Tamworth Manifesto issued in 1834 which marked a new modern beginning for the Tories supporting mild reform measures.

Once Barnes received guarantees from Peel and the leadership of the newly reformed Tory party, now called the Conservative Party, that they would not repeal any of the important social reform measures passed by the Whigs, such as the 1832 Reform Act and the Tithe Act, and that there would be no change in foreign policy, Barnes agreed that *The Times* would now support Sir Robert Peel and his new government of Tory reformers which first took office in November 1834. The traditional support of the Tories for the interests of the landed aristocracy and the *ancient regime* was quickly passing. With the dawn of the age of democracy and the extension of the franchise the Tory party had to adapt to new social circumstances to survive politically. The middle and upper middle classes were now politically in the ascent taking over control of the main institutions of government. This watershed moment of change for the Tory Party also meant a more receptive attitude towards the constitutional cause in both Portugal and Spain. Barnes and his close friendship with Peel at this time helped bring about the ideological shift of the Tories into accepting and forming part of the age of social reform and democracy. It was, however, the Whig party which had traditionally supported a more favourable policy towards the expansion of liberalism both at home and abroad, and especially the government of Earl Grey from November 1830 to July 1834 in power during the Siege of Oporto, which was in charge of formulating a favourable official British foreign policy for the promotion of the constitutional cause in the Iberian Peninsula.

The Tories under Peel now accepted all of the important reform measures previously adopted by the Whigs. This ideological shift of the Tories towards the political centre ground and a more liberal reformist attitude was also reflected in a change in policy towards affairs in Portugal. The long-standing Tory support for the Holy Alliance and for the cause of Dom Miguel in the Portuguese Liberal Wars now changed.

²⁹The Peterloo Massacre was the brutal dispersal by cavalry of a radical meeting held on St. Peter's Fields in Manchester on August 16, 1819. The "massacre" (likened to Waterloo) attests to the profound fears of the privileged classes of the imminence of violent Jacobin revolution in England in the immediate years following the Napoleonic Wars. For radicals and reformers alike the Peterloo massacre symbolized Tory callousness and tyranny. It profoundly influenced Thomas Barnes and helped make him openly support the cause of social reform and the Whig Party.

³⁰ See footnote 18 above.

³¹ Roy Jenkins, *Portraits and Miniatures*. London. MacMillan. 1993.p. 176

With Palmerston as Foreign Secretary for most of the time from 1830 until 1851 and Peel in charge of the Tories from November 1834 this meant that there was now no open division and disagreement between both main British political parties, the Whigs and Peel's Conservatives, relating to the constitutional cause of the young Queen Donna María in Portugal and Doña Cristina in Spain. British support for the constitutional cause in both Portugal and Spain was strengthened and consolidated from 1834 onwards as a result. The political map of Europe was changing as the cause of liberalism spread across the continent from West to East.

Conclusion

Thanks to the exceptional qualities of the Walter family proprietors and Thomas Barnes as editor *The Times* had established itself as the leading quality national newspaper during the period 1832-33 of the Siege of Oporto. The in-depth coverage of news in general, including foreign news from Portugal at the time of the Portuguese Liberal Wars, meant that *The Times* was able to influence public opinion and government policy in an unparalleled manner. This was especially true during the years of Whig government under Earl Grey from 1830-34. *The Times*, under Barnes' direction and editorial control from 1817, became a beacon of liberal values in favour of social and political reform both at home and overseas. Barnes enthusiastically supported Catholic emancipation in Ireland and the extension of the franchise to the middle classes at home whilst also supporting, through countless editorials and an almost daily comprehensive coverage of the Portuguese Liberal Wars and the Siege of Oporto, the constitutional cause in both Portugal and Spain.

From Thomas Barnes onwards *The Times* played an increasingly important role in promoting the advance of liberalism both in Britain and on the European continent. This was largely achieved through its promotion of pro-liberal values and quality reporting which made it increasingly popular and profitable as well. By the time the Grey government took power in November 1830 *The Times* had become the leading British daily newspaper of the period with a formidable reputation and an important influence over public opinion, political leaders including official British domestic and foreign policy. During the first half of the 19th century *The Times* played a considerable role in helping to increase awareness of and support for the constitutional cause in Portugal and neighbouring Spain and can therefore be said to have greatly helped in the consolidation and triumph of liberalism both at home and abroad, especially the Iberian Peninsula, at this time in the early 19th century.

ANNEX A. Table 1

ANNEX A

Table 1.

Sources of news and intelligence related to the Siege of Oporto appearing in *The Times* during the months of the conflict: July 1832-August 1833

Month and Year	Editorial comments	TCA	LN: Portugal and Spain	CP (mainly French)	Mil.	Dip.	Gov. Pubs	LR+ Bus.	Fin.	PC+ letters
July 1832	11	7 (2 "Z")	5	2	3	1	6	0	8	8
Aug 1832	13	10 (5 "Z")	12	6	4	1	5	3	10	33
Sep 1832	5	4 (2 "Z" + 2 "G.D.")	20	4	4	1	4	1	10	15
Oct 1832	7	9 (3 Oporto, 1 "G", 1 "C" and 2 "G.D.")	8	1	1	1	10	2	3	3
Nov 1832	8	9 (2 "G.D. and 1 "N")	14	0	0	1	1	4	3	9
Dec 1832	2	6 (5 "G.D. and 1 "Z")	4	0	0	1	9	0	3	1
Jan 1833	4	14 (11 "G.D.", 1 "N", 2 from Falmouth +1 from Oporto)	8	3	4	1	4	2	7	17
Feb 1833	6	5 (3 "Z" and 2 "G.D.")	1	1	3	0	5	0	0	2
Mar 1833	4	13 (6 "G.D.", 3 "Y" and 1 "G", 1 "A.B." and 2 unknown from Falmouth)	10	0	1	0	1	0	8	1
Apr 1833	3	23 (1 unknown from Falmouth, 1 unknown from Hampshire, 4 "G.D.", 3 "Y", 14 unknown from Oporto.)	3	0	6	1	1	0	7	3
May 1833	0	1 "Z", 1 "Y" and 12 unknown	7	1	2	0	3	0	5	4
Jun 1833	6	1 "Z", 1 "Y", 3 unknown, 3 unknown from Falmouth and 7 unknown from Oporto.	0	1	0	0	4	1	3	6
July 1833	12	2 "Z", 2 "Y", 1 "G", 4 unknown from Falmouth, 2 unknown from Faro, 2 from Lagos, 1 from the Algarve, 1 from Tavira, 1 from London, 1 from Villa Nova de Gaia and 5 unknown.	5	2	1	2	4	0	10	14
Aug 1833	11	5 "Y", 3 "Z", 5 unknown Falmouth, 5 London, 2 unknown, 8 Lisbon, 2 Plymouth, 1 Fort Julian, 10 Oporto and 1 Hampshire	3	8	2	0	8	0	8	19

Table Key:

TCA = Times correspondent articles,
 LN = local newspapers in Portugal and Spain
 CP = Continental publications (mainly French)
 Mil. = military dispatches
 Dip. = diplomatic channels
 Gov. Pubs = government and official publications including reporting of British parliamentary debates
 LR+Bus. = local residents and businessmen

Note: Explanation of The Times foreign correspondent anonymous article letter symbols by correspondent location:

"G.D." = Oporto, Lisbon and Falmouth
 "A.B." = Madrid
 "Y" = Madrid
 "G" = Paris
 "Z" = Paris, Lisbon and Madrid

Archives:

The Times Archive. Online Digital Archives 1832-1833. News Corp UK & Ireland Limited. London

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